

# SOCIAL VALUES AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

A Study of those Values said to be "Traditional" in  
Chilean Society, their Change in Historical  
Time and the Reflection of Change  
in Chilean Education

*by*

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## A B S T R A C T

The present study deals with Social Values and educational change in Chile. An investigation of those values said to be "traditional" in Chilean society, their change in historical time and the reflection of change in Chilean education. The comparative method was explored and found to be an advanced procedure of investigation that requires careful planning together with a substantial amount of relevant description. The descriptive approach was found to be a relatively simple method that prepares conditions for a future comparative method. This approach is more suitable at this stage for the Chilean educational reality. In order to enrich the descriptive approach a structural-functionalist perspective was used. The combination of the descriptive approach and structural-functionalist perspective generated a framework that permitted an historical and sociological interpretation of the Chilean traditional value systems. A certain degree of maintenance and continuity of traditional values was identified, together with the generation of new values. A conscious social integration of traditional and new value systems was observed in the Chilean educational process.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

In the present study we shall emphasize the traditional values in Chilean society and how they have affected the educational process. This does not mean that social change has not been considered to be important; on the contrary we cannot but stress its great importance.

If we understand the forces that maintain a society in terms of customs, norms, values and ideologies, then we may endeavour to understand the dynamics of social change. Both traditional and social change are conditioned and affected by the prevailing material circumstances of that society. The level of technological development determines to a certain extent the type of values generated by a society. The reverse is also true; the value system of a society influences its material development.

An attempt will be made to analyze those factors which have contributed to the development of the social and educational process in Chile. In order to do this, we shall begin with a geographical and historical description of the country, which will serve as a general framework.

We shall then examine some alternative methods and perspectives in the fields of history and sociology which will assist an analysis of educational and social situations in Chile, both past and present.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND AND THE PEOPLING OF CHILE

Chile is located in the extreme S.W. of South America, between the  $17.5^{\circ}$  and the  $56^{\circ}$  latitude in the axis of the  $70^{\circ}$  meridian. The length of the continental country is approximately 4,270 km. and its average width is only 180 km. The maximum width at  $52.21^{\circ}$  latitude in the extreme south is 435 km. and the minimum width at  $51.4^{\circ}$  latitude is 15 km.

Chile has  $741,767 \text{ km}^2$  in area of which  $542.00 \text{ km}^2$  are deserts, mountains, swamp and other areas inhospitable for man. All the neighbouring countries of Chile have a larger territory.

Chile is a long, narrow country with a great variety of climates. Cunill (23) has described fourteen different climatic zones, including deserts, steppes, mediterranean, maritime, tundra and polar. But in general five zones are clearly identified in Chile. The 'Norte Grande' a desert area, rich in minerals, the 'Norte Chico' a semi-desert zone, the 'Valle Central' the rich agricultural and densely populated part of the country, the 'Zona Sur' the southern forested area, and the 'Zona Austral' the extreme south with its island the fiords. X

If we look at a map from south to north, with a pre-conceived idea that the centres of attraction are in North

America and Europe, we see that Chile has an eccentric position. If the centre of a geographical projection were the Pacific ocean then Europe would become marginal, in contrast to the countries that are placed on the Pacific Rim.

The question as to whether Chile is an isolated country is a topic that has been discussed for a few centuries by colonial officials of Spain, geographers, natural scientists, (Ackerknecht, 1) historians, (Encina, 35) writers, (Latorre 85) and politicians.

The country is isolated geographically because of extensive deserts in the north, extensive masses of ice in the south, the massive Andean Cordillera in the east, and the empty Pacific ocean in the west. The narrow Central Valley and the length of the country, contributed further to its internal isolation, especially at a time when transportation systems were less advanced.

Paraguay became an isolated society because of geographical and political factors during the XVIII and XIX centuries. The influence of the Jesuits and later on the dictatorship of Dr. Francia kept that country isolated for a long period of time.

In Chile the political and intellectual elite were aware of their political and geographical isolation and in spite of this limitation wanted to get in contact with foreign cultures and benefit from what they had to offer.

Perez-Rosales (112) describes the aspiration of many Chileans during the beginning of the Republic to travel abroad. Rich and poor alike, they travelled to Australia, China, California and Europe.

The Chilean elite had the custom of minimizing their intellectual isolation by sending their children, especially males, to be educated preferably in Europe, but if not, in North America. Bernardo O'Higgins, Chile's national hero was one of the first Chileans to be sent to London in 1795 by his father, the viceroy of Peru. The influence of Francisco de Miranda, a Venezuelan professor was important, together with the secret society 'Lautaro' that helped to generate the republican ideology of independence later adopted in Chile by O'Higgins.

The statistical and demographic information in Chile is considered by historians, economists, and sociologists in general as being accurate. Even the early information (Tacla 141) is reliable if we adjust some of the indexes and criteria of collection of information.

The population grew from 1,01 million in 1835 to 1,81 million in 1865 to 2,69 million in 1895 to 4,28 million in 1930 to 7,37 million in 1960 and is expected to reach to 13,67 million in 1990. Chile now in 1978 has approximately 11 million inhabitants. The life expectancy in 1975 for men was 64 years; for women, 69.9 (Cunill 23)

TABLE 1

Composition of the Population in Chile Between 1671-1700  
and 1751-1775, Expressed in % (after Cunill 23)

Period of the Study	Native Indians	Spaniards	Mixed Blood	Not Available
1671-1700	54.59	8.93	22.2	14.29
1751-1775	14.09	47.11	31.08	7.59

In the XVI and part of the XVII centuries the Spaniards who arrived in Chile were predominantly from Andalusia, and Extremadura; later in XVII and XVIII centuries the proportion of Spaniards changed to Castillia, Navarros and Basques (Frias 44).

During the existence of the Spanish colony it was important to know the proportion of 'purity of blood' in the population. The population was divided into the following classes; Spanish-white, Chilean-white, mixed white and Indian, mixed white and black. Two further classes were pure Indian and pure black. The native Indian population in Chile in 1976 was approximately 3.2% of the total population. This minority is predominantly rural.

The Chilean elite of the XIX century did not own capital in the same proportion as did the elite of other

Latin American countries (Pinto 44). Though many established large estates or 'fundos'.

In the 1830's the Chilean government began to promote immigration of European population. The major stream of population approximately 8,000 came from Germany. This population contributed in the development of agricultural land in southern Chile. Between 1893 and 1905 about 8,000 immigrants from Spain, Italy and Switzerland arrived.

The demographic statistics of the XIX century were not concerned in obtaining information about the extension of 'blood-mixing'.

At the present time Chile has low immigration rate; the

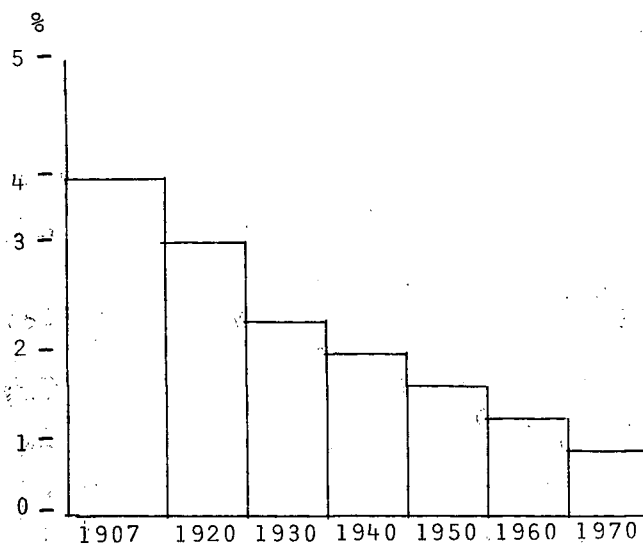


Figure 1 (After Cunill)

Percentage of Foreign Population  
in Chile

proportion of foreigners has decreased steadily in relation to the general population. (Figure 1)

Germani (52) analyzes the negative and positive effects of this demographic phenomenon. The expansion of Agriculture and industry are some of the positive effects. The excessive growth of Buenos Aires, cultural shock, social and political stability are some of the negative effects.

In 1875, approximately 73% of the population in Chile lived in the rural areas; in 1970, less than a century later, 74.6% of the population lived in urban areas. In 1967, 73% of all the working force was laboring in cities of Santiago, Valparaiso, and Concepcion (Cunill 23).

The urban revolution, a typical change of the XIX century, affected Chile. The industrial centres were in 1967 located in the three major cities, 39% in Santiago, 8.52% in Valparaiso, and 4.77% in Concepcion. Since the 1960's Corfo, a powerful state-owned, policy making agency has been developing industries in smaller urban centres of Chile.

The rural areas have been affected for many centuries by an unequal distribution of land. In 1965 the agricultural land of the country measured 30,648,700 hectares. The following table gives the distribution of land (Table 2).

Between 1965-1974, a total of 5,809 farms with a total of 9,965.868 hectares were distributed to peasants by the Corporation of Land Reform (CORA). Since 1973 the trend has changed and 1,626.700 hectares were restored to their former owners. CORA has been left with 8,341.168 hectares

TABLE 2  
Farming Surface Expressed in Hectares, Census 1965  
(After Cunill)

Surface of the Farm	Number	Surface in Hectares	% of the Number	% of the Surface
Less than 10 hectares	156,708	437,300	61.8	1.4
From: 10 to 99 hectares	74,120	2,343,200	29.3	7.7
From: 100 to 999 hectares	19,333	5,572,400	7.6	18.2
1000 hectares and over	3,331	22,290,800	1.3	72.7
TOTAL	253,492	30,648,700	100	100

which will be formally distributed to peasant families who have worked on that land during the last few years. The impact of the land reform will be seen in future years. Agricultural, livestock and dairy products have increased moderately in relation to the new distribution of land.

In 1970, 21.4% of the labour force worked in agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Approximately 47% of elementary schools were in the rural area with a low 1% of high schools (Cide 20).

The big change in education in rural areas, in the last ten years has been the emphasis on elementary rather

than on high school education.

We have found that nearly all of the 122 urban centres in Chile have only one high school, attended by a low percentage of rural students. Later, these students must migrate to the big cities to obtain further education.

Of the 122 main urban centres, 12 were founded during the XVI century, 3 were founded during the XVII century, 50 were founded in the XVIII century, 51 were founded in the XIX and only 6 during this century.

Chile was chiefly settled in the XVIII and XIX centuries; during the present century, very few cities other than Santiago, Valparaíso and Concepción have expanded their population significantly.

TABLE 3

Chilean Working Force in 1970  
(After Cunill)

"Blue Collar" and Peasant	White Collar
73%	27% = 100%



TABLE 4  
University Attendance in 1970  
(After Cunill)

"Blue Collar" and Peasant Background	White Collar Back- ground
2%	98% = 100%

According to Schiefelbein (129) 90% of the elementary needs were fulfilled in the country in 1970; but only 10% of those who had finished elementary education had access to a University education. Of the 10% that had access to the university, 2% were from Blue Collar working families and peasant families (Table 4). At the same time both Blue Collar workmen and peasants formed 73% of the working force of Chile in 1970. (Table 5). The access to higher education in Chile remained up to that date extremely difficult for the working classes.

## CHAPTER THREE

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The origin of the word Chile can be traced to the Inca Empire. It was a common practice during the Inca empire to move entire populations from one part of the empire to the other. These populations were called Mitimaes in the Quechua language, spoken in the Inca Empire. Many indigenous families from the fertile valley of Arequipa in Peru were sent to the newly conquered valley of Quillota. In the XV century this valley was named by the Mitimaes peoples as "Chilli", because of its resemblance to their original homeland.

Later on the Spaniards used this work to refer to the extensive central valley of Chile.

The Inca warriors were unable to expand their empire further south than the river Maule. The Araucanian population were formidable warriors - so much so that during the occupation by the Spaniards they were never subjugated, and only in 1881 during the republic were they totally assimilated.

Almagro, a Spanish explorer and 500 Spaniards together with approximately 4,000 Peruvian Indians began to explore

Chile during 1535. The route he chose was through the Atacama, a desert in the northern part of Chile.

After many difficulties he arrived at the central valley of Chile. Gomez de Alvarado was the first Spanish commander to establish contact with the aggressive Araucanians in 1536.

In 1540 Valdivia with only 150 Spaniards decided to colonize Chile. He arrived at the valley of the Mapocho river in 1541 and there he founded the city of Santiago. The early Spaniards were disappointed to discover that there was little gold in the country. Although the new colony was considered by the Spaniards as poor, remote and dangerous, the Spaniards began to expand their conquest of the land because they believed in the conversion of Indians to the Catholic religion. They were interested in building a powerful empire, and they realized that the English, French, and Dutch had a permanent interest in settling new colonies in the Americas.

Spain had frequently sent military forces to Chile during the 300 years war with native Araucanians. This led to a large percentage of Spanish blood in the population and also resulted in a high level of military experience and organization.

Ercilla (1533-1593) wrote an extensive epic poem, "La Araucana", that was translated into many European languages.

This poem became famous because of the confrontation of two cultures, the Araucanian and Spanish. In spite of its many inexactitudes, it contains valuable historical and psychological information. "La Araucana" is considered an important contribution to the Chilean national identity.

During the era of the Spanish colony Chile became a captaincy, ruled by a governor, and a complex body of civil, ecclesiastical and military institutions. The viceroy of Peru also had power in the affairs of Chile, but it was a limited power in view of the special situation of Chile, during the war of Arauco.

The Spanish governors in Chile were considered at this time to be both honest and capable.

By the end of the XVIII century the life style of the colony had changed, especially in the central valley of the country, which is very fertile. For instance there were 149 holidays in a year at this time and this pattern reflected the traditional Spanish past. This was changed by the new Bourbon dynasty inaugurated with Philip V. (1700). This dynasty also changed the political, economical and religious policies of the Spanish empire. In Chile, specifically, the new economic and practical philosophy was represented by Castillian-Basque immigrants who created a strong local aristocracy.

The Jesuits introduced important social reforms in Chilean society, in the fields of religion, land tenure

and especially in education.

The Napoleonic wars in Europe, and the occupation of Spain by the French, had an unsuspected effect on the Spanish colonies in America. Self government was proclaimed in Chile in 1810. This was one step towards total independence.

Restoration of the old monarchies though in a weakened form was possible in (1815) after Napoleon had been completely defeated. Spain was then able to reconquer some of its former American colonies.

The United States and Great Britain interfered in this manoeuvre concerning its former colonies, by blocking possible expeditions of the Spanish Navy. Chile and Argentina defeated the Spanish Army in the battle of Maipu in 1818.

The Argentinian San Martin, together with the Chilean O'Higgins, organized a naval expedition to Peru, in order to liberate that country from Spain. Chile's official independence came in 1818.

In Chile, the next few years were politically unstable, but in 1830 a new social and political order was established. Chile was able to organize itself politically, ideologically and economically in such a way that social order and continuity were possible. This social phenomenon was labelled as Portalianism by Chilean historians, politicians and sociologists. It was the strong willed minister Portales

who inaugurated an era that has greatly influenced the history of Chile.

The conservative party was in power for thirty years (1831-1861). In 1833 an authoritarian constitution was written; it was modified by the liberals in 1874, but was still being applied well into the twentieth century (1924).

The war against Peru and Bolivia was won swiftly by an efficient army and navy in 1839. This gave the country a sense of national unity. During that period Chile became relatively powerful in the Pacific, and its navy reached Central America. During the same period, expansion towards the west coast was also taking place in North America, although it had not yet reached the Pacific coast.

The Liberal ideology began to expand in different areas of society; in education, politics and economics. The Liberal party was able to elect its first president in 1861, and Balmaceda was the last liberal president (1891). He developed a combination of advanced Liberal policies in economics and education, together with an authoritarian political perspective of government.

Chile had experienced the impact of social change. Cities like Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion had become new centres of industry and commerce.

The political and economic direction changed in Chile after the civil war of 1891. Balmaceda antagonised the rising plutocracy but was ultimately defeated and committed suicide. He had planned to use the revenues of the newly developed nitrate mines to industrialize the country.

Political and economical power was fragmented. A parliamentary system of government was introduced (1891-1924) which weakened the traditional power that the president had. The municipal governments became autonomous following the Swiss model of the times. The political system became an oligarchy, in reaction to an advanced middle class type of liberalism.

Arturo Alessandri (1920-1925) proclaimed a new constitution in 1925. The middle classes in Chile had begun to grow rapidly, and the working class had begun to have an autonomous political expression. It was only during the second presidency of Arturo Alessandri (1932-1938) that the political panorama of the country began to change.

The masses began to participate in the political process by means of unions, popular vote, conventions, rallies, mass demonstrations. Politically Chile became a pluralistic society, with a big variety of ideological expressions. Political combinations and re-combinations generated the new successive governments. Chile became a dynamic balance and counter balance of many social and economic interests.

There was a relative freedom in the framework of what was considered a modern democracy. The social evolution towards this type of political expression became recognized as 'the Chilean tradition of democracy'.

During the Frei government (1964-1970) a paradoxical political phenomenon began to occur; a tremendous

fragmentation of political expressions together with a latent political polarization. The political fragmentation generated many divisions within the political parties; but at the same time the problem of a socialist Marxist system of government had to be solved.

A coalition of the left made it possible for Allende to obtain a plurality (36.30%) of the votes, in contrast to the candidate Alessandri (34.98%). As had become traditional in the Chilean democracy, parliament confirmed the highest relative majority. Allende then became the president of Chile (1970-1973). At the time of writing a military government remains in control.

Chile has changed its political and economic direction with the new government of Pinochet. Officially political organizations do not exist. The economic system is now following a neo-liberal pattern.

We have developed a geographical and historical outline of Chile in order to create a general framework of background material. With this background in mind we may now begin to explore and describe those values which are said to be 'traditional' in Chilean life and culture. Subsequent chapters will describe various approaches to studying such values, and analyze their place in contemporary society in general, and in education in particular.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

According to Rossello (119) it was Jullien who initiated the studies of comparative education as early as 1817, in France. It was Jullien as quoted by Rosello who expressed the idea that "new means to perfect the science of education are necessary; they will become a beautiful monument erected to the betterment of the human condition".

The new means was the comparative method and the goal was the betterment of humanity. Science and ethics were firmly linked. The philosophy of progress could be fulfilled through new methods of social change, of which the scientific revolution was one.

The comparative method is an 'indirect experiment', because it is not always possible to manipulate, and control artificially the many kinds of complex variables. Durkheim (32) carefully established the rules for the use of the comparative method. He was aware of Comte's unconditional positivism (22).

It was impossible to reduce every social phenomenon to a specific quantity. The ideal condition for an extreme positivist would be reached, when science could reduce all possible information into a mathematical quantitative

expression. There are two main reasons why this mathematical reduction of social reality is possible. First, because nature operates in a continuum, and in such a way that it can be accessible to the investigators as a flow. The second reason is that a new positivist scientific method has been developed.

Hans (63) indicates that Comparative education has followed the same trend as many other comparative disciplines. In the beginning the studies were systematic - (anatomy, geology, philosophy, education); then the common origins and historical differentiation in time and space were investigated.

Social change in the XVIII and XIX centuries generated new comparative methods, seeking to justify, explain, and perhaps re-direct the change. Montesquieu, established a comparative model by using history and taxonomy in *L' Esprit des Lois*". Goethe published a comparative anatomy in 1795 and, according to Schneider, Kandel synthesized the ideas of Goethe by using the following lines: "In order to know yourself compare yourself with others" (Kandel 77).

The Chilean naturalist Molina was interested in developing a comparative study of "the three kingdoms of nature" as early as the beginning of the XIX century. He published, in 1821, what was at the time an advanced theory of the natural relationships of mineral, vegetable and

animal kingdoms. The comparative and evolutionary elements that he developed were used later by many scientists of that century, including Darwin (Briones 15).

Rack, Bopp and the Grimm brothers were interested in a comparative linguistics, grammar and philology. Later, in the same century, Levi-Strauss referred to these studies in his comparative structural-functionalist approach to anthropology (90).

The learning process is a 'natural' phenomenon for all mankind, it is fundamental. So the different educational systems that have arisen are mere "historical events". They may be studied, but are not the fundamental back-bone of the learning process of man (Rubio 121).

Kazamias and Massialas (78) explained that it was Sadler in the 1900's who established the historical and sociological conditions for a modern comparative education. They said that Sadler was interested in identifying those determinant factors which are related to the educational systems such as: the state, the church, politics and national minorities.

There are three main aims that justify these studies:

- a) the better understanding of the spirit and tradition of an educational system
- b) the possibility of using scientifically developed guidelines for educational reform
- c) the hope that such studies would contribute to a better understanding among people.

It was Higginson (68) who gave us further information about the extensive work of the English educator, Sadler. We can now, in retrospect, see the value of Sadler's achievements. He was able to establish the relationship between different educational systems, especially with reference to what was considered exotic in the Victorian milieu, the oriental way of life.

Sadler introduced the idea that a non-European education could achieve a high social level of development. By doing this he was challenging a negative sociocentric European value.

In Chile, Sarmiento was commissioned by the government in the 1830's to study the different educational systems in U.S.A. and Europe during the second half of the XIX century. His major work, Popular Education (124) has many important insights in the area of education, sociology and politics.

Philosophically, Sarmiento was a liberal; he was able to recognize social change; he saw a democratic, massive, industrial state-oriented educational system. He was interested in comparing the methods of education finance, inspection of schools, discipline systems, and legal texts of different countries.

Sarmiento believed that education and social progress go hand in hand. Many of his ideas have become traditional paradigms in the educational systems of Chile in

the late XIX and XX centuries as we shall detail further on.

The radical governments of Chile (1938-1952) felt that after a long historic battle against the aristocratic educational systems, they were able somehow to implement this popular education (Duran 31; Labarca 84).

The use of European educational methods became important in Chile during the XIX century. The French school system was introduced as early as the 1830's, the German during the late 1880's, the British early in this century, and finally came the influence of the U.S.A., after the second war. Some of the Italian and Japanese methods were considered interesting but had little social effect in Chile.

Brickman (14) has indicated that there is a difference between a description of 'foreign educational' systems and a scientific comparative education. The former are limited descriptions, and do not follow the rigorous methods of the latter. Not only is this a serious shortcoming but also it has many preconcieved ideas not acceptable to our contemporary scientific concepts.

Schneider (130) and Vexliard (151) both agreed that in spite of the shortcomings of the initial stages, the descriptive method had the potential for developing into a comparative method.

Through description we may be able to become familiar with a particular social structure. As a result of this,

a sense of direction is established within the described social context. This sense of direction permits the formulation of questions that may generate a comparative investigation in education.

The descriptive stage is necessary in order to accumulate knowledge and understanding in the Weberian sense. We should not underestimate the contributions of our classical learned scholars. The scholars are in themselves a profound well of wisdom, that often refreshes our limited imagination.

In his various works Merton (100) implies that if social sciences are going to advance, a sense of continuity has to be achieved. Only in such a way can we extract information from our classical intellectual traditions.

We are unable to formulate a general theory that allows us to predict human conduct with an acceptable degree of accuracy. Many social scientist stress this, specifically King (81) who applies this statement to the field of comparative education.

Only then is it possible to construct an approximate model of comparison, and this model must be so dynamically conceived that unexpected change can be considered possible.

King believes that educational policies are made at the level of politics, therefore controlled by economics and technological change. The purpose of comparative

education is to give us a scientific orientation towards what is happening, in such a way that education may be projected into the structure of our societies. We shall see that this is the case in Chile especially in relation to the political aspect mentioned by King.

In Chile the comparative method has been used to reinforce the traditional value of democracy. History and political sciences have been used to compare Chile with the rest of the Latin American countries. The idea that Chile was able to sustain a relatively stable democratic system throughout its history is confirmed when it is compared to its neighbouring countries. There are abundant comparative studies in this respect, though this is not the case in the field of education, where the comparative method has not been so extensively applied.

The comparative method could be used to a great advantage in studying education as it contributes to a positive or negative social mobility in Latin America (Germani 53).

The comparative method is an advanced procedure of investigation that requires careful planning together with a substantial amount of relevant information. The descriptive approach, on the contrary is a relatively more simple method; in some instances it has been used in social sciences as a preceding investigation that has presented the conditions for a comparative study (Stenhouse 138). We shall apply the descriptive approach in our investigation of the Chilean educational process.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH

Bereday, (10) insists that the accumulation of information is the first step that will contribute to building a description of the educational system of a given society. He distinguishes three levels of sources of information.

On the primary level he places the raw data, gathered from such sources as legislation, books, newspapers, magazines, and reports. This raw material is full of vital information, a product of an immediate opinion formulation of the members of society. It is rich in possibilities but vulnerable in the sense of having many hidden implications that are not always possible to identify.

On the secondary level are books, reviews and other information that has been refined according to a political, religious, or philosophical ideology. The use of this information requires a good historical and sociological background, so that at least different currents and counter-currents of social thought can be identified.

The third level can be termed auxiliary by Bereday, because it is not directly related to education, but is concerned with very important factors; art, theatre, T.V. news, politics, economics and many other relevant social and physical



phenomena.

Hilker (69) insists that the comparative method must follow three fundamental steps: description, explanation and juxtaposition of the educational phenomena. But Bereday (10) goes one step further when he insists that the comparative stage must be developed, a very difficult stage, and one that is seldom possible in this field.

The descriptive method according to Scheffler (128) will attempt to clarify different terms and their meanings as they have been used and projected in different social and historical contexts. By doing this, we may be able to standardize our concepts in relation to the educational phenomena we may be studying. This task is labelled by Scheffler as specifying terminology. At this stage we may be able to use a univocal set of terms in comparative education.

Bunge (17) in his discussion of the descriptive method disagrees with Zetterber (160). He believes there are many scientific laws that may not always follow the relationship of cause-effect. They are statistical probabilities, or they are taxonomic in nature. Initially they are descriptive but they can become explanations. Many examples may be cited from sociology and history to illustrate Bunge's conclusions.

Different typologies that have been constructed begin as a classificatory system and later may become a

probabilistic system. We can see these complex ideas developed in the work of Barnes and Becker (8).

Zetterber (160) as we have mentioned, does not believe that description of social phenomena is more than giving names to what is happening. To explain is to be able, not only to project a diagnosis of the future, but also to be able to verify step by step our initial explanation.

The arguments about methodology continues. In the future a sociology of science may be able to identify many of the latent ideologies, religious, political or economic that have become woven into these numerous methodological discussions.

Laski, observes Fernandes (40), has established that the descriptive understanding of social tendencies permits the intelligence to concentrate on social problems, as a fundamental stepping stone in comparative education.

King (81) has made us aware of what he calls "dangerous fantasies". We may be only projecting those dimensions of our personal commitments, our peculiar circumstances and interests, and we do our best to transform them into a general norm valid for all types of circumstances. And yet the same author establishes that many of the examples given in comparative education using statistics are misleading because they are not able to consider all the possible factors simultaneously. Because of this, unexpected

factors appear that upset our initial predictions.

For example, the car was a technological development that produced an unimagined social impact. A variety of educational centres became accessible because of the massive use of the car by students and teachers. Another example that we can give is in the area of electronics as a theory and computers as a technique. Neither were imagined by the majority of people during the XIX and early XX century, but this new scientific change has had a very important impact in the manipulation of information directly related to our educational system.

The descriptive method can give us general information regarding the social context in which an educational phenomena are occurring. We may begin to understand the specific educational data in relation to the social context in which it operates.

Fening (39) expresses the idea that we have often described isolated aspects of educational phenomena, without being able to integrate them. This implies that we must assemble a vast knowledge of many important areas: politics, economics, history, sociology, philosophy, in order that we may organize our field of study for analysis. We are not even looking at the problem of a standardized criterion as we collect statistical data.

Descriptions of the educational phenomena may follow different procedures. We may build a statistical inventory, a historical description, or a sociological interpretation.

But Fening agrees with Kandel (77) that this general initial stage of investigation is not possible because we do not have a common "International philosophy of education". What he means is that there is not a consensus of opinion regarding what is relevant in international education. The economic infrastructure and the cultural system are different in every society that we are able to identify.

Very few politicians and educators are interested in generating an international consensus on basic issues in education. The majority are interested in fulfilling their immediate cultural needs, which are defined within the local or national society.

A majority of politicians and educators are uninterested when confronted with some of the urgent international problems of today. It is a mechanism of social defence related both to the image they have of themselves and the need for short term solutions to parochial problems.

The threat of losing their cultural identity is seen in Chile as a negative social force, and the possibility that international values and systems of education may be imposed is enough to create suspicion and in some instances hostility. Though this reaction is not unusual it varies from society to society. The cultural resistance of the Chilean society to international values and systems of education is for example different from the Bolivian and

Argentinian.

In this study we are specially interested in an historical description and a sociological interpretation of the education system in Chile. In order to accomplish this goal we shall explore the conservative and liberal traditions of the Chilean society and how they have been modified by the introduction of new scientific, technological and ideological changes.

The description of a value system in education is related to the cultural structure of a given society. We must attempt to describe explicit and implicit norms, folkways, customs, rules, procedures, laws, ideologies by means of historical and sociological perspectives.

Many educators, sociologists and anthropologists have come to the conclusion that in the area of comparative education, sociology and anthropology, the descriptive approach has not been fully realized. Comparative methods are relatively new in social investigation and require sustained effort for them to mature.

Kazamias (79) indicates that Kandel (77) considers that the educational process is not an autonomous happening. We must be able to relate it to a national background, to a social, economic, political and intellectual milieu typical of every country.

Kazamias (79) goes on to say, together with Sadler, that we shall not understand education if we are

not able to identify the "intangible, spiritual, and cultural forces in every educational system".

Anderson (5) agrees with Kazamias (79) that it is necessary to describe the different educational ideologies (value systems). The first step is to identify them in a social system. Then later it may be possible to go further and begin to compare different educational systems.

Anderson (6) is interested in models which describe equilibrium, deviation from the norm, change and transition. His approach is a typology construction. Kazamias follows an open type of functionalist approach; the impact of social change becomes important for him. Together with Anderson he has been influenced by Merton's structural - functionalist theories of society.

In conclusion the descriptive approach, fulfils the need of a basic understanding of Chilean society. If we are able to discern the peculiarities of Chilean geography and history, the extreme north to south longitude, its traditional democratic system, its homogeneous population, its legalistic view of society, then we can begin to construct a framework of reference. Parallel to this a theoretical skeleton should be developed in order to further establish a framework of reference.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK OF DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION

To limit our investigation to a descriptive approach only and not relate it to a general pattern of reference is wrong according to De-Landsheere (28). We must be able to relate our material to a specific theoretical framework. To reduce our area of investigation has practical and methodological advantages.

Inkeles (73) insists that a sense of direction, comparison and relevant accumulation of information is possible if we have constructed a working framework. This framework is tentative and must not inhibit further exploration especially if we are in a descriptive stage of investigation. And yet Zetterberg (160) says that "no science can occupy itself with possible aspects that our common sense considers important; our perspective has to become selective".

Scheffler (128) considers that this general framework of reference does not have the required specificity typical of scientific definitions, but that general definitions are more flexible, and serve the purpose of clearing the meaning of the non-specific problems that are analyzed by comparative education.

The value of a description that follows a theoretical framework is heuristic more than anything else (Kerlinger 80). Through this approach we can eventually build a taxonomy (Bloom 12) of the objectives of education as a national or international social phenomenon. This classification may eventually generate an explanation of differences and similarities in education.

When using the descriptive approach many social scientists (Cramer 24) prefer to use the term 'model' for the general framework that they will use. These social scientists believe that the concept of theory is too advanced when we are only using a description of social phenomena. Even if these models are only partially developed they can become useful (Selltiz 131).

Inkeles (73) uses the term model in relation to what is generic in those specific problems that we may be studying. A model may give way to theories that have greater validity.

Bereday (10) and Holmes (70) indicate that construction of such a rational 'model' facilitates educational information. It will become easier to understand a constellation of facts in a given context rather than in a vacuum as sometimes happens when we look only at statistical information.

Holmes (71) insists that a rational structure 'model' permits the establishment of an order and coherence in a



multiplicity of beliefs and values that different members of a given society may profess.

As mentioned previously in the Chilean development of democratic institutions, the opinion of the population is very important in relation to education and related factors. Holmes (70) goes on to say that our model is not attempting to represent all the possible opinions, norms, and debates of society. The important fact is to consider radical or innovative principles as opposed to traditional value systems. This is precisely what we shall attempt to develop in the following chapter.

In order to establish the degree of generality or specificity of our framework it is necessary not only to know the amount of information that is readily available, but at the same time to set our criteria within a macroscopic or microscopic perspective (Keller 82). It is a problem of degree, and it is not always possible to know the range of the questions beforehand, especially if the investigation is exploratory.

In Chile the macroscopic perspective of education that was conceived by the encyclopedic and liberal Mora in 1830's was opposed by the powerful conservative minister Portales who favoured a specialized and practical type of education.

Any method chosen is influenced by what is happening in society. We must be aware of the contemporary scene when we choose the degree of generality or specificity of

our framework.

In education, according to Halsey (61), it is possible to use simultaneously macroscopic and microscopic perspectives which can later be integrated into a different level of interpretation, particularly if we have become aware of how a specific social problem fits into the general social context of education.

Our first approach to the topic will use historical information. In many instances an historical approach to education is confused with a nationalistic perspective of education. It is true that there is a strong relationship between history, nationalism and education; but it is possible to identify non-nationalistic historical factors that influence education. The invention of the press for example is an historical event that had an important impact in education in many countries.

For Lauwerys (86) any description, deliberate or not, projects a form of interpretation. The interpretative hypothesis does not surface from our descriptions automatically or easily. This author explains that an interpretative hypothesis constitutes a specific framework, where some of the facts described previously, become meaningful.

The interpretative approach is in many ways intuitive and subjective. It requires an artistic imagination and an indepth understanding of the subject matter studied.

The value of interpretation is heuristic. From it we can generate and formulate new questions and insights in the field of education.

If we believe that social sciences can be developed only through a strict quantification and verification of all possible information, together with a multi-variable data analysis, then we can agree with Stenhouse (138) when he states that an interpretation can be useful but not scientific. Such an interpretation has been developed by Schneider (130) and Hans (63) in the past.

Writers such as Kandel and Hans may be biased by their particular values and many of their hypotheses have not been verified empirically. In this sense their critics may say they have not contributed to the enrichment of educational science. (Kazamias 79).

In many instances science has advanced because a well articulated set of propositions has been built as a framework that later has been proved correct. Creative change and discovery seem to be more important than routine verification of data (Rouquette 120).

Now that we have established the value of a framework, we must choose a specific theoretical perspective that will enable us to project our descriptions into a sociological interpretation. The structural-functionalist perspective has been used extensively in Chile for sociological interpretation.

The Chilean society has traditionally developed the idea of a balance of power in politics, family affairs, and unions relations. The structural-functionalist theory seems by analogy to follow this type of traditional social value of moderation. For this ideological reason the structural-functionalist theory remains popular in Chile, especially in political sciences and education.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

In every society we find that the educational system is a very important agent. As such it has many social functions. We shall look at five of them and later select those that we believe are interesting to develop further.

According to Merton (100), in all societies there are five universal interrelated social functions. They are recognized as being; (1) conformity, (2) innovation, (3) ritualism, (4) retreatism and (5) rebellion. This is how the members of the society respond to their culture and social structure. They will respond in the same way on the specific level of the educational phenomenon.

By using this model we may be able to enrich our historical description and sociological interpretation of the value systems of the educational system of the Chilean society.

At this stage we shall limit the description of our model only to those aspects which we believe to be relevant. We should also mention that the structural-functional theory from which we are taking our framework is complex and controversial.

Rubio in his book "What is man?.. A Structuralist Challenge" (121) mentions twenty one varieties of structural-functionalist theories without looking at the American expressions of this theory. The main objections to this theory lie in two different schools of thought, the Marxist and the traditional Christian.

The Marxists oppose the structural-functionalist theory because it is a static concept of society that has little room for a radical social change. The traditional Christians are opposed to the idea of an autonomous social system, where God's providentiality does not operate.

Merton's sociological theory is useful in that it generates a well balanced framework of opposite social functions. These functions are always present in any given time in society; they may individually change in strength but they are never totally independent one from the other.

1. The function of conformism has a double task. Its first function is to generate social order, and the second is to create an ideology of perfect maintenance of social structure. The medieval concept of Divine right, and even the European XIV century concept of natural law is an ideological expression of social maintenance.

Traditionally conservative societies develop this function as a world view, thus pointing the way to the concept of the best possible world. Some totalitarian societies wish to do the same and yet officially they do

not identify themselves with this concept; these societies wish to give the impression of an unreal social change. The twentieth century man in the new millennium in Nazi Germany is a modern example of utilitarianism.

In order to maintain a high degree of conformism the whole or important parts of that society close themselves off from disturbing outside influences. In this type of society the accepted ways of solving everyday problems of life are seen as best.

When we look at the long range goals that this society has set, they seem to the majority of its members the only possibility.

2. The function of innovation in society is to generate a certain degree of imagination and creativity. The change that may happen through innovation in society very soon becomes legitimized. There is a certain degree of latitude. The methods of solving any kind of problem, human or technological can be revised, but the social system cannot be changed unconditionally; on the contrary the innovation must be able to invigorate it. This concept has been labelled by Sartre (125) as a conservative innovation. A structure can change only if it follows a dialectic process. This becomes evident in the revolutionary process, a form of radical rebellion, using Merton's terminology.

In the process of innovation the members of the society believe that the procedures, rules, norms, methods and techniques are not adequate and must be changed; but they still believe in the universal values of the system.

Universal values are considered by some members of society as being transcendental, eternal and essentially good. The value system with which they operate is sacred. Those that have a secular attitude in life may still believe in the relative goodness of the society in which they live.

If innovation operates for a long time in any given society it can, through infiltration modify the original "universal value system" of that society. This can be applied to education in Chile.

Social change can be considered evolutionary. It has many political and philosophical supporters. Innovation is considered by many structural-functionalist sociologists as a positive function, maintaining the life of the social structure without major social conflicts.

Other sociologists (25) strongly disagree, and go to the extreme of proclaiming that this peculiar perspective is biased and is related to a latent ideology of the "status quo". It is considered a latent ideology because many conservative members of society do not realize that the function of innovation is not strong enough to generate significant social change. On the contrary changes that



seem to be important but are not really so, are contributing to the "status quo" according to many Marxist thinkers.

All our intellectual tools then seem to be limited by our explicit or implicit value systems, products of the structure within which we live. Our tools can become very sophisticated and complex in their conception and application to reality, but cannot avoid these limitations.

3. The function of ritualism in society is related to the repetition of certain pattern of behaviour that have lost total or practical value. The members of that type of society have lost faith in certain ultimate values, secular or sacred. Some of them become "myopic pragmatists" because they have lost a long range perspective of the values of society. They may also become "cynic activists" because these individuals have lost faith in the value of what they are doing. Toffler (145) indicates that cultural and future shock may generate this type of social phenomenon. There is a vacuum in the area of justification.

Ritualism has another function; it confirms and strengthens social customs and values through the repetition of certain types of behaviour. In Chile the "Huaso" is the archetypal equivalent of the North American cowboy. It is customary for him to represent many rural virtues that are considered important in the traditional Chilean society.

Social philosophers such as Madariaga, (92) and Fromm (45) believe that some cultures have become anti-intellectual and have a weak system of universal values, or references. This is for instance often said of the U.S.A. Toffler, (145) attributes this intellectual anomie to the process of future shock.

If the infrastructure of a given society has been well established through centuries of socio-economic development, then the material conditions of that society are able to generate many alternative methods to solve specific problems. A certain momentum has been gained in being able to solve such complex problems.

But the superstructure, the value system that generates a universal sense of direction and justification may deteriorate or collapse. In the latter case a society may be going through a massive anomic experience; society may lose its sense of direction (Merton 100). During the Vietnamese war the U.S.A. soldiers began to suffer the effects of purposelessness.

Many members of that society would use only the alternative methods to solve ritualistically specific problems, and would not be interested in projecting the consequences of their actions into the future. In conclusion, ritualistic behaviour in society can become a major negative function of that structure. The educational system could very well operate in such a way as to generate elements of ritualism. If many elements of ritualism

combine, then the consequences can be disastrous. The educational system begins to lose credibility. If ritualism becomes a major function of any given society, it indicates that the value system is under stress. The political, religious, and economic ideologies are decomposing. The ethical codes become weak or irrelevant.

The borrowing of new, attractive, forceful ideologies and ethical codes is then possible. Christianity took over the weak and increasingly decadent pagan Rome, under a powerful Christian Emperor. Mercantilist ideology and attitudes replaced a European medieval society; the concept of commerce, banks, money, and interest, became a new strong value system.

Socialist values may well replace liberal capitalism at some future date. Social diffusion is related to the structural-functionalist theory of society, because of and increasing communication between different societies. This borrowing and lending of values, technical and scientific information, and material goods has generated new levels of complex social change.

Borrowing and lending does not always promote an easy flow of values, information and goods. Imposition of ideologies may be forcibly transferred from one society to another. War, revolution, economic pressure, diplomatic relations, cultural relations, religious and political indoctrination are the most obvious examples of violent imposition.

Every society will have a different degree and way

of resisting the diffusion of foreign values, ideologies and material goods. Some societies emphasize their old traditions, develop an over-conformism, and become very nationalistic. Other societies may go to the extreme of denying that ideologies and strong value systems are important. Because they minimize ideologies those societies become permeable to all possible foreign ideologies. Those societies resisting the impact of foreign ideologies by practically ignoring their importance.

4. Retreatism, is another function of society. It is believed to be negative because the members of society who operate at this level, do not respond to change. The inaction of these individuals is related to their apparent incapacity to solve problems following the known methods developed by society. They do not follow the prescribed rules of social interaction, and are apparently unable to generate alternative innovative or revolutionary pattern of behaviour.

Apathy, anomie, cultural shock, future shock and mental illness are ways of describing this phenomenon. Hope and faith in many areas of life has been lost by these members of society.

Retreatism may be considered positive by some individuals or by a certain sector of society. The mystical experience cannot be communicated; it is unique (St. John 139). It does not follow the patterns of a natural state-society in the case of man - but of a super-natural relationship with God. The mystics who abandon society are not of this world.

There are some phenomenologists, psychologists and philosophers who believe that the development of the unique in man is possible only if man isolates himself drastically. So, only very few can be themselves, and become unique and authentic. In this case their retreatism is only an apparent incapacity to solve the problems prescribed by society (Kablinski 76).

Phenomenologists are interested in studying the uniqueness of human beings. They are not interested in finding social, and psychological regularities. They are interested in what they express as human asymmetry.

The purpose of education for a phenomenologist is to develop what is unique in every individual. A good method to do so may be isolation or retreatism. This approach is considered by some sociologists and politicians as an aristocratic and conservative perspective.

5. Rebellion emerges as an important social function when other methods fail to solve problems on the basis of low or non-existent faith in the value system of that society.

The rebellious members of society confront the social system and may add a certain degree of contradiction in order to create social tension. In Chile, according to Garces (47), in 1971 some political parties were creating social tension to accelerate rebellion in order to erode the democratic system.

If the revolution follows an anarchist value system

the institutionalized educational structure should disappear (Villegas 153). If it is a socialist education it must be 'in the hands of the people through the state'.

If the political values officially assert permanent change, as in China, then it is possible to expand the concept to permanent revolution or rebellion.

The educational system will be charged by diffusing and socializing these ideas, but the educational system must not become a reactionary element in itself in society. The revolution must educate the young and re-educate the old (Mao-Tse-Tung 95).

By means of a social theory or ideology some sectors of the structure oppose the accepted value system of a given society. To give an example in the area of education we have the ideas of Illich (72). He and his group believe in a society where institutionalized education would be eliminated altogether. To 'de-school' society would liberate human beings. It would enrich everybody, because all the members of society would be charged with educating all according to their needs.

The elimination of the highly institutionalized educational system as we know it could be an act of rebellion. Why is this in practice not possible in many societies? It is because the 'social conditions' are not

favourable to this type of change.

A rebellious movement or a revolutionary cause may sometimes find fertile ground and prosper, given favourable conditions. And yet a reaction from the 'old' social system may counter-attack.

Sometimes new strength and vigour may appear, and the original direction of change may be interrupted. It may become regressive - (overconformist) - and progressive - X (innovative) - at the same time. It will not permit rebellion or revolution to prosper in any way.

Chilean society is a sociological example of the change of direction above mentioned. It would be interesting to compare the differences between educational values and priorities during three periods in Chile: Frei's government (1964-70), Allende's government (1970-73), and General Pinochet's present government.

We shall only briefly explore these periods and concentrate on the traditional conservative and liberal educational values of the Chilean society.

We shall find that the five functions described are interrelated and operate simultaneously in the society. It becomes difficult to separate them and not lose valuable sociological information. However it often becomes necessary to separate them especially if we are dealing with very complex phenomena.

Inkeles (73) stated many years ago that the structural-functionalist theory in general is limited in its concept of time. It becomes, as we have mentioned before, a 'conservative theory of society'. And yet many anthropologists, psychologists and Marxist philosophers are currently using this theory, though introducing significant modifications (Sartre 125; Levi-Strauss 90; Watson 156).

In studying the Chilean educational structure it is necessary to be informed of some of the alternative perspectives and methods that are contrary to structural-functionalism.

Vasconi, (147) believes that the educational system is but a superstructure of economic material conditions. For him and many other social scientists it is not enough to study only the value systems of education, we must also study the economic infrastructure which has produced them.

Harnecker (64) a Chilean psychologist working with Althusser (4) in Paris, expresses the idea that the educational system is conditioned by the infrastructure. Harnecker and Garces (47; 48) give credit to the superstructure as an important factor in society. Their concept of superstructure is equivalent to our concept of value system.

Many Marxists believed they have recognized the dynamic function of change in a superstructure that had progressive elements (Pinto-114). However, such an



infrastructure may have to be changed from a capitalist to a socialist ideology.

Marxist politicians, such as Altamirano believe that the capitalist superstructure has little value in originating a socialist revolution. On the contrary, the capitalist superstructure in Chile generated a reformed type of educational system that has only become more sophisticated in pretending that radical changes are possible.

Rubio (121) arrived at the conclusion that Althusser has "completely structured the dialectic process". Many Marxist and structural-functionalists are dissatisfied with this suggested integration.

Philosophical, educational and sociological interpretations of society are themselves affected by the process of acculturation. Opposing concepts, methods, techniques and perspectives may begin to overlap and even become fully integrated. In Chile the traditional Christian value of 'common good' and the concept of socialism had an overlapping expression in the political and educational jargon; it was expressed as 'communism'. Numerous Marxist groups like the MIR, and VOP condemned this integration as a weakness.

According to Kazamias and Massialas (78) the structural-functionalist theory is an important framework of analysis in education, even if it has recognized limitations.

In general we shall guide our description and interpretation of the Chilean education following Merton's social theory.

At the same time in the opinion of Inkeles (73) we should be able to accept different models, theories, and frameworks as complementary. It is necessary to eliminate the idea that a given model is the only correct one. We must accept the world of many models in competition.

In the Chilean situation, we see that the structural-functionalist perspective provides a valuable source of sociological interpretation of the educational process in the light of the traditional value system.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

The historical approach of comparative education develops those national characteristics which explain why educational systems have emerged differently. 'National Character' is composed of those distinctive cultural and historical elements that are supposed to distinguish one society from another. Since the independence from Spain, different national cultures have become very distinct in Latin America. This method contributes to our understanding of the genesis of differences which occur many times; national history becomes sociocentric.

A weakness of the 'national character' approach is that it is not related to historical factors that are not nationalistic in nature. Some Catholic historians of 'the Universal Church', are conscious of the 'nationalistic distortions of history! (King 81).

The fragmentation of what was considered to be the Universal Church began with the schism of the Eastern Orthodox churches, the Bohemian rebellion, the Protestant Reformation, the Napoleonic Empire, the Italian national unity movement, and the Latin American conferences of bishops in Columbia.

Althusser (4) claims that Marxist thinkers believe

that fragmentations occur with respect to the

'International Revolution and Solidarity of Workers'.

Revolution will become successful only if it develops all over the world, so the workers must be able to develop an international solidarity. Nationalism fragments this international unity. Because progressive and socialist political parties become identified with the local interests of their particular society and are not able to understand 'the revolution as being universal'. Similar problems will emerge when we compare educational systems. We shall not be able to identify a continuum in educational process as a social phenomenon if we are not capable of denationalizing our perspective to a certain degree.

Herskovits (66) opposes the continuum theory; he believes that many comparisons produce a "negative of cultural reality", in a given society. Cultural and historical conditions are not as similar as to be interchangeable mechanically.

Religious, political or educational structures function as patterns of semi-closed interrelated elements. Thrupp (143) has an eclectic position.

We should not endanger the quality of the collection of information by introducing beforehand, a preconceived idea of what should be the differences and similarities. But our evidence should be clear and precise.

Hans (63) indicates the importance of the historical description of education, for finding the root of the educational process and how it has evolved. The result of a

complex combination ethnic groups, religious movements, geographical circumstances, economic development, generates the 'national character'. Kneller (82) believes that the 'national character' concept is too static. The rate of change has been so great in the last few decades that the educational systems of different societies are becoming increasingly similar.

Lauwerys (86) says that even historical analysis is conditioned by the philosophical and ideological background of the investigator. It is very difficult not to be biased and almost impossible to collect information impartially. The concept of 'national character' can explain everything and nothing at the same time.

Kazamias (79) mentions in his article that Fyfee rejects the idea of 'national character' because it does not exist. It is impossible to pin-point a typical English, French, American or German.

It is possible to identify national patterns of behaviour and value systems that are the product of historical process. But we must be able to discriminate between the level of generality or specificity of our concept.

A middle range theory will be used in conjunction with a structural-functionalist framework to describe and interpret some of the Chilean educational functions of value. Middle range theories (Heintz 65) have been extensively used by many sociologists, economists, anthropologists and educators.

"Middle Range Theories" are limited descriptions and explanations of social phenomena. They acknowledge

that the description-interpretation process is limited by:

- i) the different pattern and levels of complex social phenomena that are operating simultaneously;
- ii) the amount of information made available;
- iii) the weakness of a conceptual framework that is incapable of integrating complex information.

Galtung (46) distinguishes between an ideographic perspective and a ~~mnemonical~~ perspective of investigation. The first is limited to description and interpretation of particular areas of phenomena. The second is more universal in its application and develops explanations that may imply causality.

Our historical description and sociological interpretation of the traditional Chilean educational system will follow Merton's and Galtung's recommendations for this type of investigation. It will follow a middle range and ideographic perspective.

For Cramer and Browne (24) comparative education is more than a descriptive catalogue of national systems. We must investigate why some educational systems are progressive or regressive, why there are restrictive or liberatarian ideologies in any given society. We must examine the political forces, social and political philosophies, the sense of national unity, and basic traditional beliefs.

Social change is not uniform, some societies change slowly, others through revolution. Some are assimilated, conquered or destroyed by other societies.

Kazamias (79) does not believe that history can predict

in order to improve an educational system as Kandel does (77). The former insists that an historian should describe and explain certain phenomena but never prescribe solutions.

This epistemological controversy is relatively old in social sciences. Since the development of the positivist philosophy in the early XIX century, two extreme perspectives have developed, together with many 'intermediate moderate' points of view. The first is that social scientists must not consciously project their ideological values into their work. This means that the historian should not expressly use historical material to indoctrinate other members of society. He should not have to justify any particular historical phenomena as being something good or evil. If possible the historian must remain impartial and non committed. The scientist must be able to go where the truth takes him without being concerned with the ultimate consequences (Nicolai 107). If he has opinions, he must be able to identify them as being his own. Only then, when the investigator is detached from the possible consequences or the feasible changes is he free to discover truth.

Comte (Zorbas 161) changed his perspective from a non-committed attitude towards social and historical phenomena, to a committed perspective. His change in attitude followed the belief that a scientific positivist method could be fully applied in the creation of a new society. Sociology and history then becomes politics, and politics becomes history and sociology.

Following this Comtean concept all decision making in society is a projection of what sociology has determined scientifically to be true. There are two different varieties of this positivist approach the Marxist, and the North American psychological behaviorist perspective toward human conduct (Skinner 134). We do not hesitate to utilise our modern discoveries and inventions to further the concept of social engineering.

Two traditionalists, Von Baltaser (155) a Catholic theologian and Freyer (43) a secularly oriented social philosopher, reacted against the inhuman manipulation of human beings.

The risk of losing control of the industrial process and of generating a compound number of mistakes has increased. Historians and sociologists predict possible or even probable future events, and give some insights, but they are not by definition agents of social change (Blanche 11).

Medina-Echavarria (98) explained that in the Soviet Union, the only possibility of interpreting society officially was Marxism-Leninism. Sociology as it had been developed in Europe and North America was considered a dangerous bourgeois academic exercise. The only scientific interpretation of history, of society, and of economy was the Marxist-Leninist point of view. For example, it was



during Krushev's regime in the Soviet Union that empirical sociology was modestly introduced in the Universities. This change meant that a new interest in diagnosis and criticism was beginning to be developed. The pendulum was moving slowly from a closed, dogmatic, committed interpretation of society to a more open, flexible, free interpretation. In the Soviet Union the methods and techniques used to study agricultural production, industrial and bureaucratic efficiency became more empirical during Krushev's government.

The degree of personal commitment or detachment towards the direction that a society takes varies according to the value system generated by each society. The pendulum may swing, sometimes radically, from commitment to detachment; or it may hardly oscillate during a long period of time. At other times one type of 'social commitment' may be replaced in content by a different 'social commitment'; and yet remain equally strong in the degree of commitment made.

The degree and type of collective commitment has changed in Chile especially during the last fifteen years. The methods, techniques and perspectives in studying education in Chile have not remained the same during the governments of Frei, Allende and Pinochet.

Blanche (11) concludes that every investigator should be able to understand the limitations of his method,

perspective and technique of investigation. At the same time the investigator should be able to philosophize openly, and become aware of what is problematic in his field of studies.

Manheim (94) in his sociology of knowledge explains how history can become misleading if we do not understand latent functions or undercurrent factors that have somehow been overlooked.

Many historians, have a high degree of 'social commitment' to the traditional values of their society, sometimes openly, or sometimes covertly. A different type of commitment operates for progressive and revolutionary historians, sociologists, and educators.

Kazamias and Massialas (78) criticize the historical approach to education in general as 'traditional', in the sense that many of the investigations do not use the modern concepts and discoveries of the social sciences.

Some historians go to the extreme of indicating that history has become the justification of tradition. And often tradition has justified the exploitation of a majority by a minority (David 26).

During the government of Allende in Chile a new interpretation of history was attempted in order to correct what was considered to be an historical distortion. A new history of the country was being taught in the schools and universities.

We shall develop two examples of this socialist re-interpretation of history in order to illustrate how political value systems influence the educational systems.

In Chilean history, Manuel Rodriguez was considered as a famous patriot and daring warrior during the war of independence. He was killed by the O'Higginist faction in the village of Til-Til in 1818. This was interpreted by Edwards (33) as one of the first demonstration<sup>s</sup> of oligarchic violence in Chile. Manuel Rodriguez was martyred as being the first Chilean guerrilla to be killed by those representing "vested interests".

The second example is an indepth criticism of the oligarchic opposition to the advanced social, educational and economic policies of President Balmaceda (1891).

The industrial revolution has changed many of the traditional value systems in a number of developed countries, so that their traditional history has been practically eliminated (David 26). And yet for a political revolutionary concept of change, history operates as a form of social conscience, that can be used in schools to illustrate past social injustices. So the historical approach must be carefully scrutinized in order to identify a conformist, innovative, or rebellious interpretation in its implicit or explicit description of education and other related social factors.

Moehlman (101) went a step further and was able to establish a comparative cultural morphology, so that the educational phenomena could be examined as a cultural structure and as a historical event in evolution. He examined the work of Herskovits (66) and Hall (59).

Following their lines of thought Moehlman formulated a theory of comparative education by using a selection and description of 'long range factors' that determine the organization, operation and direction of education in a given culture or nation. Some of the universal aspects that should be examined are population, space, time, language, art, philosophy, religion, social structure, government, economy, technology, science, health and education.

Moehlman is concerned with developing the concept of 'national character', that may typify important cultural traits. He is also interested in exploring the effects of 'acculturation' in the educational phenomenon. His approach is holistic because it includes many cultural and social factors, in order to understand society as a totality.

The holistic approach that Moehlman puts forward, according to Halls (60) is influenced by the German philosopher Hegel. This is because he reverts to a universal historical view of society. Moehlman's approach is

also criticized by those authors who follow the empirical method, because they believe that it becomes very difficult to verify the validity of such a general theoretical construction (Holmes 70 ; Chonchol 19) .

Nelson (106) in his article about comparative historical sociology states "Needham and Weber are only two of the men of the present century whose work has revealed the need for, and promoted the possibility of a systematic study of the comparative historical sociology of civilizational relations".

When studying a comparative historical sociology of education we must investigate the different structures of the collective consciousness of those societies that have generated the educational systems. The level of individual and collective awareness of the value systems that operate in society are different in every society. And yet "all countries of the world in the west and the east, since the French Revolution have been - and are again today - the scenes of bitter struggles over relative values of rooted collective consciousness and schemes of rationalized intelligence" (Bereday 10 ; Nelson 106) .

The process of diffusion and acculturation has to be carefully looked at if we are interested in discriminating between the endogenic and the exogenic factors in the evolution of an educational system.

In Chile the process of acculturation, has followed the basic rule of superimposition and integration of old and new cultural elements. An example of this is the French and Spanish illustration together with the Counter Reform values of the Jesuits during the XVIII century. Republicanism, nationalism and liberalism during the first third of the XIX century are other examples of acculturation.

Secular positivism (scientific thinking), masonic philosophy and utopian socialism emerged as new value systems during the 1850's. At the turn of the century Marxist or scientific socialism began to develop, together with industrialization. The XX century accelerated the process of diffusion of exogenous factors.

New levels of social awareness were reached through this process. Chilean education integrated and re-inforced many new and old values. In order to promote the new idea of unionism in the labour force, special educational institutions were created. Such institutions followed a traditional paternalistic approach to education in spite of their modern democratic inspiration.

According to Hall (59) the 'laws of history' are the laws of the evolution of social awareness, because man alone is aware of his conscious world; it is only he who can evolve his fundamental nature both individually and collectively.

Sartre (125) distinguishes the dialectical differences between individual and collective consciousness. Hall believes that there is a relationship between the development of 'world views' through cyclical stages of intuition, integration and dynamism.

The different value systems that every society has, are the product of the stage in which it is located in the cycle. The cycle follows a similar pattern to the cognitive stages that children go through at different ages, when confronted with problems of increasing complexity.

Piaget (113) has been working in this field of cognitive growth in psychology. But Hall projects this process to history. Cognitive changes of levels of awareness occur in society, following known recurrent patterns.

In a 'traditional' society the value systems and praxis can be identified with 'intuitive, concrete and emotional' stages of development. In a 'progressive or revolutionary' society the value systems and praxis have become rational, abstract and instrumental'.

In reality it becomes very difficult to typify a concrete society, because it is a complex combination of traditional and modern elements. A progressive or revolutionary society may regress. This regressive change may be interpreted from two conflicting points of view. *The first type of interpretation would condemn as evil the*

the regression to traditional ways and values. The XVIII century European ideal of progress is the criterion that determines that any type of social regression may well be considered negative. To go back is to deny that all the difficult and painful political and social reforms and transformations are meaningful.

Liberals and Marxists alike would consider regression towards a traditional society as an historical aberration, only accidentally possible and conflicting with the ideal of progress that both share. And yet some forms of regression are considered desirable in socialist countries in some artistic expressions, especially in folklore.

Many more regressive traditional elements coexist latently in our modern societies than those<sup>e</sup> officially recognized. \*

*The second type of interpretation* does not admit a secular progress. It may admit spiritual progress, where it is possible to regress in the material world to progress in the way of God. A variation of the second interpretation is that progress and regression do not exist as such, but are the expressions of the same universal forces. 'What is up, is down, what is down is up' in the Taoist and Zen traditions (Watts 157). There is a third variation of this second interpretation as to why a traditional society has many positive values that have been carefully



developed in past centuries. The science of the traditional societies has to be developed and re-discovered. An example of this investigation of traditional science is the sub-title of McClain's (104).

"Music offers new ways to penetrate the complex subtleties of Plato's thought". From a variety of similar mathematical-musical analogues, Plato was able to integrate music, arithmetic, geometrical algebra, acoustical physics, astronomy, political science, psychology and dialectic philosophy into a poetic metaphor.

This integration was possible because Plato was capable of discriminating differences and similarities. The value of 'traditional thought' is being rediscovered by many investigators. Some of them go to the extreme of proclaiming that the scientific and technological revolutions of the last two centuries have not produced all the positive social change that we conventionally believe (Sorokim 135). The quality of life has not changed nearly as much as the quantity of energy that has been spent to transform society. What has to be done is to control the negative impact of social and technological change.

In exploring the history of the value systems in Chile, we must be aware that every particular value system generates its own historical interpretation. The conservative Chilean landlord of the XIX century considered that the source of wealth and social stability originated from the

agricultural land, and from his capacity to generate labour. On the contrary the liberal merchant and industrialist considered that the source of wealth and social progress was in money and the production of goods.

The conservative, liberal and socialist interpretation of history, economy and education do not follow the same social assumptions.

A concept of history is not accepted by all cultures and sub-cultures in the same way. Some of them never had the concept of history as the Europeans did. It was during the Renaissance in Europe that the concept of history as part of the value system of society was developed. The Italian of the Renaissance had more in common with the culture of the Greco-Roman civilization than with the people of the Middle Ages. This opinion is expressed by many artists and scholars of the time and is recorded in a rare book written by the Portuguese student of Michel Angelo, Fr. F'Ollanda (30).

During the late XIX century and early XX century British, German and French anthropologists were discovering that some exotic non European cultures were interpreting humanity. Animist interpretations of reality by some 'primitive cultures' ignore totally the concept of history (Frazer 42).

During the second decade of this century Spengler (136) went as far as to identify the development of civilizations which had completely different value system from one another. Each civilization was self-contained, and could not reduce its value systems in terms of the other. This meant that a significant lack of communication between civilizations had been created by man. He spoke about three basic types of civilizations; the 'Faustian', the 'Apollonian' and the 'Dionysiac'.

The differences between a 'Faustian' and an 'Apollonian' attitude is that the first is a static concept in comparison with the second, that prefers to see the world in a dynamic fashion. The 'Dionysiac' concept is that life has to be lived as it comes. The value of a puritan control over human activity is inconceivable for this type of civilization.

Later on, Watts (158) elaborates further the ideas of control and over-control in our Northwestern society in contrast to the easy flowing Taoist and Zen cultures.

The concept of history is related to the control of the value systems of our societies. In this case the educational system becomes an agent of social control through the use of history in its curriculum. We study history in order to trace the trajectory of change in society, so that we can develop, maintain, or eliminate those patterns of behaviour that we believe are positive or negative.

In some societies in which the predominant values are placed on 'political revolution' the educational system is interested in developing and maintaining 'revolutionary concepts', and eliminating 'reactionary concepts'. In other societies where the predominant values are placed in 'tradition', the educational system is interested in developing and maintaining 'traditional' concepts, and eliminating 'those demagogic revolutionary' concepts.

In Chile the relationship between education and politics is accepted as being strong. Every major political movement had a definitive educational philosophy that it wished to implement in society. Political competition and struggle for power was projected into the educational system. This link between politics and education was especially strong during 1930-1973.

In Chile today there is an official effort to remove education from politics. The influence of politics upon education is at present considered socially undesirable. The ideology that justifies this educational policy is in opposition to the political ideology practiced during the socialist government of Allende.

Officially in Chile today any type of political activity is in recess. The government believes that political activity in any form is a negative social function. The state and its administration should follow an

apolitical pattern. The educational process should also become apolitical.

Historical material will be used by both types of societies to illustrate these positive and negative perspectives of social reality.

Social innovation as we have already said, is placed between the static function of maintenance and the dynamic function of rebellion and revolution. It would seem that the changes that are produced in society through innovation are perceived as being less traumatic, even if they may not be so. Because of this low profile, the social change that innovation produces need not be fully justified. Historical justification is especially developed in societies that are predominantly traditional or that are predominantly revolutionary.

Technological change is considered a transformation in relation to material goods. It is more an 'outer-directed' type of human activity, where the attention is placed on the object and the function it can perform. In a traditional or a revolutionary society, value is placed on an 'innerdirected' search for universal truths.

In this sense the concepts of 'traditional and revolutionary' value systems have more in common than societies that are suffering from ritualism and retreatism together with anomie. (Merton 100).

The historical description and interpretation of value systems related to the educational structure of Chile has to be carefully criticized sociologically. We must be able to identify some of the relevant latent functions (Merton 100) of the value systems that are operating in Chile.

There is not one homogeneous system but many that operate simultaneously. Traditional values have evolved into a variety of alternative expressions. Liberal and conservative political ideologies have sometimes emerged. Compromises have been reached by opposing ideological perspectives. What we are saying is that the value system of a modern society has become a constellation of complex interrelationships.

During World War II in Chile, many conservative and communist politicians were 'generating ideology' that justified their 'unnatural' alliance.

Two approaching enemies seem to become closer in their values, as the common enemy approaches. Festinger has explained this type of social phenomenon (41).

Gebser (50) is interested in the history of how man became conscious. The problem is how to investigate the different structures of awareness. As we have mentioned before, there is a close link between value systems (the structure) and awareness (the function). Sometimes awareness can operate without a prescribed value system. An individual can become aware of something very

particular and concrete though an unique and original experience. The individual may or may not later intellectualize his awareness into a value system, or a mystical theology (St. John 139) or a philosophy of aesthetics postulated by Alighieri (3) and Llulle (91) the Catalanian mystic, said something quite similar to what Taoist masters have said: "If I know, I do not say, and if I say I do not know".

Value systems can sometimes limit our awareness by setting standards of what is and is not a legitimate experience. The interaction between value systems and awareness is a process of discrimination.

What is experienced legitimately in a society is valuable, and what is considered valuable is experienced legitimately.

Some types of experiences and value systems in society are well integrated; they have reached a high level of 'internal consistency' but at the expense of becoming a 'closed structure'. We can find some examples of 'closed structure' in totalitarian and in traditionally conservative oriented societies.

On the contrary if the relationship between the type of experiences and the value systems is weak in society, then the system has reached a low level of 'internal consistency' and it has become an 'open structure'. We can

find some examples of 'open structures' in a cultural 'mosaic type of integration', or in a pluralistically oriented society.

The openness and closedness fluctuates from society to society; a traditional static culture is not the same as a 'dynamic revolutionary' society.

The levels of 'internal consistency' between personal experiences and the legitimate value systems may change within a social structure. Some members of society become aware of how the levels of consistency fluctuate. They will express their awareness to others through informal conversations, and may use mass media.

The new forms of awareness may create the need for 'gurus', charismatic leaders, political and religious movements (Reich 117). The function of awareness is to try to find an 'external consistency' between the individual and reality. If the individual's type of awareness is shared with other members of society, a certain degree of consensus has been reached. A newly defined value system has been created. Awareness becomes the guardian between the newly defined value system and the experience of possible inconsistencies. Collective awareness then becomes in this particular instance 'the external inconsistency finder'.

A view of history and sociology is necessary for the self understanding of an individual, of a group, of a culture. We must be especially careful when we are studying the value systems of a given society because in the



works of Whitehead (159): "When you are criticizing the philosophy of an epoch, do not chiefly direct your attention to those intellectual positions which its exponents feel it necessary explicitly to defend. There will be some fundamental assumptions unconsciously presupposed which adhere to all the variant systems within the epoch.

Part of these values will be incorporated into the structure of ordinary language. Levi-Strauss (90) goes to extreme of saying that the linguistic structure is a natural phenomenon, that is projected into the infrastructure that man has created for himself.

Language has a linking function between humanity and nature. Language is both a physical and cultural phenomenon (Parin-Vial 111). Can we affirm then that the value systems that are generated by society through language, are a projections of natural phenomena? Are value systems in man conditioned by biological or physical phenomena and if so, how and to what degree? A traditional perspective seems to be implicit in some of these ideas.

In any case language is considered to be tradition by Gehlen (51). Language is the meta-institution of man (Radnitzky 115). Because language has strong elements of tradition, it loses its flexibility to represent a world that changes continuously. Language is an artificial representative of life (Radnitzky 116). It is a meta-institution because it precedes

historically the evolution of a complex society.

It has been asked if it is possible to liberate ourselves from the tyranny of the word. A book written by Stalin (137) insisted that a new revolutionary language has to be created in order to secure the communist revolution. If not, the infiltration of dangerous ideas would always be possible. The historical continuum of language had to be broken.

Is there any way to break through the limitations imposed by a given value system, language, or scientific perspective?

Gebser (50) explains how it is possible to transcend the problem of perspective building and demolition. A new level of social and individual consciousness has to be developed by humanity. Gebser uses the term aperspective to express the idea of an awareness that enable us to understand the wholeness of nature. It is important to investigate the history of how man became conscious, how awareness operated. We must go back to the roots of the human unfolding (Teilhard de Chardin 142).

A new level of awareness can be reached if we operate in a spatial perception as a fourth dimension. Change and time will be integrated, giving a vision of the whole.

"Between the three formations-non-perspective, perspective and aperspective - there exists the same meaning relationship as, for instance, between non-logical, logical

and alogical or between non-moral, moral and amoral" (Teilhard de Chardin 142).

We should be able to overcome the mere dualism of affirmation and negation; therefore we require a term which rises above the dialectic of the original word. It is not synthesis nor a reconciliation of opposites. An aperspective view becomes 'holistic'. A non-perspective world is one in which society has no history, only myths.

There are some cultures that have been considered by anthropologists as non-historical. Eliade, Levi-Strauss and other social scientists have studied several value systems that do not have a concept of history as the Europeans have had through countries.

In the voodoo religion, spirits-nature-and-man are integrated into a structure that follow patterns that would seem strange to us, accustomed to a logical-empirical approach to reality.

In Europe, we find that early Sienese painting followed a non-spatial-temporal pattern. This type of painting communicates only an internal state of awareness. Giotto breaks this cultural pattern, by exploring space and time in his paintings.

The perspective world often follows a rational pattern of space and time; it becomes analytical, logical, and critical. In philosophy Descartes, Spinoza, Kant are some

of the representatives of this value system, that later was exported by Europeans to the rest of the world - A kind of 'intellectual imperialism'.

The old Egyptian art made man a stereotyped, impersonal image. The Greeks developed individuality in their representation of man, but it is somebody like J. VanEyck who liberates man in terms of his self-awareness. Man is not only conscious of his own body, but his body becomes his consciousness. Pascal and later Kirkegard develop this idea fully.

During the XIX and XX centuries the "Western Societies" became involved in 'objectifying' these perspectives of the world. Through the development of scientific and technological methods man and nature could be 'objectified'.

Scheller believed that through the application of science, - he was especially thinking of psychology and sociology - the last realm of the sacred in the individual was disappearing (Toffler 145). The subjective interpretation of the world was going to be reduced to an objective perspective of reality; this extreme objectification of the values of man would alienate man from himself (Fromm 45).

The comparative method as well as any particular framework that has been set to investigate economics, cybernetics, or education follows the 'perspective' approach to reality. Holmes (71) indicates that in order to study education we must be able to identify the 'norms

and values' that influence the learning process.

These norms and values will generate the type of method that a particular society will use to investigate and understand its own educational process. Different societies will have a constellation of different methods and frameworks. If this is so, controversy and conflict will arise, especially if we wish to impose one perspective at the expense of another.

The aperspective world works in a different way. It does not attempt to unite the non-perspective and the perspective, nor does it represent an experiment in synthesis, nor is it an eclectic accommodation of what has become irreconcilable by becoming defective. It attempts to explain the new by concepts rooted in tradition. It generates a new 'integral structure' of consciousness.

Shah (133) devotes a whole chapter of one of his works to the topic of how man is misled in the formation of his opinions of the world. The Sufi tradition uses stories to illustrate how we are frequently misled by our particular interpretations of reality. Flexibility in all ways of life may help us to transcend a world of dualities. We must be able to move from the abstract to the concrete, in such a way that we can integrate knowledge experience. Perception becomes holistic when such perception of the world which is merely heard, displayed and seen, becomes the living presence of wholeness.

The aperspective integration of the world is an expression of the spirit. It uses materials that are traditional

to old religions, together with modern scientific information.

An aperspective study of education would use the comparative method, with the intention of integrating this material to the whole.

In Chile the aperspective method is being considered a possibility of integrating the new and the old educational perspectives. An aperspective value system of the state, religion and nationality has been developed. The state is considered to be apolitical, because its function is to maintain the 'common good' of society. Religion is considered to be an eternal value, and can only be submitted to a limited amount of temporal criticism. This aperspective interpretation becomes an ideological perspective in itself. Just because it represses the spontaneous possibility of generating perspectives does not mean that perspective building is eliminated from society.

McMullin (105) has criticized this view as a 'new form of scholasticism'. The same can be said for the aperspective world view; it is an 'idealist, conservative regression', afraid of the irreversible consequences of social change. And so the polemic goes on.

In conclusion an historical description of Chilean education has to identify the existence of traditional values, and how they have changed. At the same time the historical description has to investigate the multiple ideological perspectives of education and how they influence each other; and in many ways one value system can not be explained by the other.

## CHAPTER NINE

## THE SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

For Kneller (83) the investigation of the interactions between education and society should follow a national and supranational perspective.

The sociological approach has the advantage of transcending a national-historical-temporal approach. The sociological method is interested in finding regularities that could be applied to many societies at the same time.

In contrast to these ideas Bunge (17) warns us that all sciences are limited in finding a complete regularity in the phenomena that is being investigated.

Parallel to the increasing refinement of the instruments the irregularity becomes higher; when the observation becomes subtler, the probability of finding two things that are equal, will be less.

If educational phenomena were unique and non repetitive we could not build an educational science. And yet some of the historical descriptions and interpretations of the educational value in the Chilean system will be unique to that country.

The value placed on primary education in Chile in the 1930's produced a positive change in the proportion

of male teachers in relation to the female. This proportion became 'normalized' during the 1950's. This social phenomenon is not comparable to any other in Latin American countries.

The low frequency of observed 'regularities' constitute one of the principal obstacles in discovering laws in sociology. The preconceived idea that sociology is not able to find regularities and generate scientific laws of society is related to some powerful social interests. If regularities could be established, then predictions would be possible, but man's intention can not be ignored in social planning.

In a closed society be it traditional or not, the intellectual climate might not contribute to the discovery and social recognition of these regularities.

Inkeles (73) believes that sociologists have abandoned the use of historical perspectives since Spencer and Weber especially in the emerging countries. His commentary is not applicable to the older nations of Latin America, but it is true in respect to a sociology of history.

In the opinion of De Leon (29) history, in Latin America, was developed earlier, and more extensively than in North America. There are many reasons, two of them being that history confirmed the traditional values of those societies and also reinforced a national consensus of unity.



Social mobility, education and the generation of values are linked in society. The value system determines the rules that condition social mobility, but the rules have exceptions even in a very closed society. Through education, the rules of mobility are implicitly or explicitly transmitted to the students. By attending 'some particular type of school, academy or university' the chance of future mobility for the student may be increased or decreased, (within the limits of the social structure).

In a traditionally conservative society, social mobility is low due to strong social bonds among members.

In a society that is going through a revolutionary change, the traditional patterns of social mobility have been broken. Initially mobility may occur by accident, as well as through charismatic leadership, proven loyalty, and hard work.

In Chile social mobility was considered possible by means of the educational process especially during 1930's to 1960's. The development of a new middle class confirmed this ideology. During the Christian Democratic government of Frei (1964-70) this ideology was especially developed. (Education and Popular Promotion). Later on a 'revolutionary criteria of mobility' was established (Decoufle 27).

In a society where some members are operating

ritualistically, social mobility is affected by a double standard. For the 'ritualistic' members of the society, promotion is important because of immediate economic-political gain and psychological satisfaction. The conformist members of that same society will indicate that that type of mobility is 'not legitimate' because it did not follow the prescribed rules. Social mobility must transcend the immediate satisfaction of economic and political gain; it must be fully justified by a society as being in the interest of the common good.

In Chile this is the ideology sustained by the traditional conservatives. The function of education for them is to teach the members of society how to transcend the relative importance of social mobility.

In the Spanish tragedy-comedy 'La Celestina' (Rojas 118) we can follow the transition of a closed traditional medieval value system as opposed to a new mercantile renaissance mentality. In Chile many centuries later the difference between conservative and liberals followed a similar pattern. The conservative elite were the land owners, the liberals were involved in commerce.

A traditional conservative society can assimilate a certain degree of innovation if this change does not seriously threaten the rules of social mobility.

A certain degree of innovation, ritualism and even retreatism can be tolerated by the educational process in

a traditionally conservative society. Sometimes the degree of acceptance of this mode of adaptation by a traditional conservative society can become high because the society feels threatened by the possibility of an uncontrolled revolutionary change.

The conservative elite in Chile was flexible, because it was open to useful innovations from early in the republic. The French educational method of teaching literature was considered positive, but not so the content of many stories, novels and essays.

A traditionally progressive society is one in which innovation has become incorporated into the value system of that society. Even revolutionary concepts have become incorporated into a tradition. Thus losing their initial force. The impact of the agrarian reform has lost its meaning in Chile since it was initiated nearly twenty years ago. Even marxist intellectuals like Althusser are considered to become 'traditional' in the use of social structure in opposition to a more dynamic and revolutionary concept of pure dialectics (4).

Revolutionary political parties do not escape the possibility of becoming institutionalized. The same may happen with education. In the Soviet Union, Anderson (6) explains, the concept of inborn intelligence and its empirical verification through testing goes against the 'Marxist Theory'. Teachers may confuse laziness in their

students with limited intelligence.

Tradition is a complex social phenomenon that must be further studied in order to understand its social function. The concept and value of tradition has been extensively misused by politicians, economists, social planners, educators and many other people.

Social change needed to be historically justified as positive. By extension all that was traditional was considered primitive, ignorant, oppressive, contradictory expressions of humanity.

In the last few years in Chile a revival of traditions has occurred. The emphasis is in social and political stability. Social change must not disrupt law and order. The educational system follow the possibility of innovation in the context of social maintenance of traditional values.

Innovation is more easily accepted on the level of technology and methodology, than on the level of important value systems. In education; calculator machines, multiple choices tests, field trips are readily accepted; but the concept of the student paying for his or her own education goes against the established custom.

It is only in the last few decades that social scientists have become interested in the positive values of 'minor and major' traditions. Through the study of comparative art, history, religion, philosophy, education

and sociology we have found a 'well of wisdom', that contains the clear water of many traditions.

The concept of beauty in the European Renaissance is anthropocentric. The concept of beauty in the sacred tradition of Tibet is a subtle educational avenue to God (144). It reminds us of the emptiness of self, subject, object and achievement. Beauty is only that particular aspect of appearance that is readily accepted as a manifestation of the ultimate in our world.

The anthropocentric concept, instead, is based on the principle that 'man is the measure of all things'; beauty then becomes an essential human concept. In a society such as Chile, where Christianity is a strong tradition, the world as a creation of God is taught in many schools as having a sacred beauty.

Traditions should be studied comparatively in order to find their differences and common roots; how they have evolved and have been influenced by 'modernization'.

Traditions are established value systems. They have a certain degree of permanence in society. Ideologies, customs, norms, rules, laws, are shared by groups, communities, and are passed on from generation to generation as part of the socialization and social control process.

In order to reinforce traditions, society generates those material elements that are relevant to the traditions themselves, such as cathedrals, museums, cemeteries, jewellery, flags. Constitutions, etiquette, and heraldry

may also be considered among traditions. Traditions give to society an established sense of direction and purpose.

In those societies that are homogeneous, tradition often provides the only acceptable way of 'feeling and thinking'. In this type of society the way of doing different things is well set or prescribed.

A tradition does not need to be completely logical, consistent or even based on true empirical information. In other words, it can become an interpretation or justification of reality. In contrast, we often believe that our scientific statements are logical, consistent, and true. We believe that reality can be reduced to a positivist method.

Many XIX and XX century social scientists and philosophers have over-stressed the 'unreliable mythical' aspects of traditions. Russell's ideas on science and religion are an example of how religious tradition can be logically demolished by science (122). Nicolai (107) encountered great difficulty in the school of medicine of the University of Chile in 1940's because his views were considered in conflict with the traditional world view.

Free thinkers, liberals, positivists, marxists and behaviorists have been challenged by the re-discovery of many positive values found in the old traditions. In the field of cosmology and science we have Burckhardts (18)

work; in Christianity and Marxism we can find interesting data in the book of Gutierrez (57).

In the field of education, the integration of Christian values with Marxism was attempted in some private Catholic schools in Chile during 1970 to 1973.

In complex societies, traditions may become less important as various sectors perpetuate different traditions. If the different traditions compete with each other, it means that there are possibilities of questioning the validity of a tradition as a rule of living.

If the social climate has crystallized, a 'pluralistic' view of society is possible. When a certain degree of both manifest and latent integration has been reached in a 'pluralistic society', then that level of integration becomes a 'tradition' of the whole of that society.

Since the 1900's in Chile it has become traditional to consider the country as 'pluralistic', politically at first, and later in 1925, in the areas of religion and education.

In close traditional societies, such as XVI century Japan, XVII century Paraguay, XIX century Tibet, diffusion was considered as a threat, which must be avoided. The diffusion of products, tools, fashions, customs created in many societies the beginning of change.

In other traditional systems it was considered possible

to have a limited and selective diffusion of ideas and technologies. Some limited German and French influence was permitted by the kings of Spain in their colonies in the XVIII century. In the later case it becomes traditional to accept some contact with other cultures that are specifically considered positive in their influence.

French and English contacts with Chilean society follow this pattern of diffusion during the first four decades of the XIX century. On the contrary the Argentinian having a strong suspicion of the English after the invasion of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, during the late XVIII century, did not follow the same pattern.

The concept of tradition can vary; it can change from conservative to revolutionary. Families that had traditionally been of conservative elite, such as Allende, Altamirano, Almeida, Pascal, Letelier, became revolutionary. When we say that a family is traditionally innovative or revolutionary, we are thinking that many members of that family have been engaged in developments in the field of technology or politics.

When the concept of social change became more and more legitimate in our modern societies, we began to assume that our interpretation of society had to become increasingly dynamic and comparative. Our social interpretation of reality as well as the methods and techniques of investigation have to change as society changes.



This is why in many instances, we come to the conclusion that a traditional interpretation of society becomes outmoded, or irrelevant.

Letelier (88) a XIX century Chilean educator believed that the traditional conservative education was obscure and misleading.

It is possible nowadays to study traditional society in the light of social sciences. From a Chilean historical point of view it is possible to determine 'how traditional a society was and how it has changed'. It is possible to investigate the persistence of traditional ways and values, their modification, or their obsolescence. This is not an easy task in a society as Chile, where the public opinion is well established in regards to the positive or negative values of tradition.

This is a revolutionary way of studying traditions, by the assumption that tradition is not a universal and permanent set of truths that transcend time and space. Traditional values become non-sacred. Traditions are considered to be relative, changeable and applicable to a specific society; so through this new dynamic, the scientific method can create a better explanation of the human phenomenon. Some modern traditional thinkers do not agree with an unrestricted scientific approach; they deny it on the grounds that 'change', and cultural relativism' do not necessarily constitute progress (Satsvarupa 126).

Through a sociological interpretation of history and literature we may be able to identify what is traditional in Chilean society. Then we shall show how education operated as a traditional force or as an element of social change. We may be able to find the different types of traditions, their origins, their social importance and how they are interconnected. If we explore further we may find that some traditions have been modified, or even become obsolete, or in some cases may have been re-vitalized.

We shall find it is important to examine a non-traditional perspective and definition of the Chilean traditional society. Thus the revolutionary approach will look at other social elements in a different perspective.

Medina-Echavarria (98) is especially interested in the problem of social change, in the structure of power in government, in the conservative and liberal culture, and how social conflict emerged in Latin America.

Garcia (40) considers Rostow's economic and social propositions for Latin America as a 'new social contract' that is full of traditional contradictions. Rostow follows the concept of industrial development tied to a market economy.

Rostow constructed a new theory on a mistaken basis: that the European and North American values are applicable

to the Latin American reality. The ideological distortion is not only typical of the capitalist sector of the world but is also projected by the 'communist orthodoxy'.

Germani (53) develops six stages of social change that go from 'the traditional society' to the 'popular national revolution'. In his works he is able to establish the social and political influences between diverse countries in Latin America.

The educational phenomenon is related in a peculiar way to these stages; it does not flow so easily from one stage to the other as the political or economic phenomena way. The educational process may be considered as a more static social phenomenon.

A Chilean sociological interpretation of the educational process requires the understanding of the history of social thought of that country together with an analysis of the permanence or impermanence of those social conditions that have generated those value systems.

The methodology that we have developed previously can be summarized as follows:

1. The comparative method is an advanced procedure of investigation that requires careful planning together with a substantial amount of relevant description.
2. The descriptive approach is a relatively simple method, that prepares conditions for a future comparative method. This approach is more suitable at this stage for the Chilean educational reality.

3. In order to enrich the descriptive approach a theoretical skeleton must be formulated.
4. As a result of a descriptive approach and theoretical skeleton a framework is generated.
5. The specific theoretical skeleton that will be used is the structural-functionalist theory.
6. As a result of this procedure the framework will generate a possibility of an historical and sociological interpretation of the Chilean traditional value system as defined by Manheim (94) .

## CHAPTER TEN

### XVIII CENTURY IN CHILE

A new dynasty in Spain succeeded the Hapsburgs in this century. The French Bourbons imposed in Spain a style of government 'an enlightened despotism', a kind of benevolent paternalism product of a centralized benign monarchy.

Many important social and economic reforms were introduced during this century in Spain and in the American colonies. The material standard of living of the colonies was improved, as well as the availability of education. Many new universities and academies were created.

In Chile were created the university of San Felipe (1757), the Caroline Institute (1778), and the Industrial Academy of San Luis (1797). In the opinion of Letelier (89) a liberal XIX century educator and philosopher, the Spanish universities in the colonies, far from being progressive, were actually hostile. These universities did not even include elements of the new intellectual enlightenment that were being developed in Europe, which were full of Catholic dogmatism.

The XX century historians have modified their opinions; some of them believe that the XVIII century instruction was very positive (Eyzaguirre 37), that on the contrary it generated a

positive academic and artisan movement in Chile. These historians, including the 'liberal' Encina, considered that the 'black legend of Spain' of the XIX century was created by the British to undermine the loyalty of the Spanish colonies in America.

Many liberal politicians, historians and educators such as Santa-Maria, Lastarria, and Letelier, considered that many negative values were established in education during the time when Chile was a Spanish colony.

Numerous liberal thinkers and politicians of the XIX century 'believed that the conservatives' have inherited such attributes as intolerance, narrow mindness, inflexibility in accepting change from Spain.

In 1767 a royal decree came to Santiago-Chile from Madrid, expelling all the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies. There were two main reasons for this: first, the new Bourbon dynasty considered that anything that challenged the absolute power of the monarchy was impossible to tolerate; second, the expulsion of the Jesuits served the interests of the progressive ministers of the king because they lost power and prestige in Spain.

The count of Aranda, favourite minister of Charles the III, followed the rationalist ideas of the Illustration. The same happened in Portugal and Naples.

The traditionalist and progressive elite benefitted politically from the expulsion of the Jesuits from

those kingdoms. There are two important effects in Chile of the expulsion of the Jesuits: first it consolidated further power in the Castillian-Basque aristocracy through the acquisition of excellent agricultural lands which had been in the hands of the Jesuits. Second it generated a vacuum in the training of artisans, and in the educational system.

Some historians, such as Eyzaguirre have given details of how the exodus of the Jesuits (37) meant at least 50 years of educational stagnation in Chile. These Jesuits were prominent naturalists and educators, men such as Lacunza, Olivares, Vidaurre, Molina, who could have made significant contributions to education.

In 1767 the Jesuits had collected a library of 21,000 books that was later dispersed through Chile; some of the books were not used until the university in Chile was created in 1842.

The 'Castillian-Basque' aristocracy became a colonial elite of their own, and during the conflict of the independence from Spain (1810-1818) constituted a stabilizing force. This elite had a certain degree of experience in self-government and social order. It was able to generate the basis for a stable government, and a sense of political continuity that was maintained, with many liberal innovations, until the civil war of 1891.

In 1803 there were 9 private schools in Santiago attended by 400 primary students. Black children could not attend, but the schools were open to all white and 'mixed blood' children. The children whose families paid regular fees, had the first row seats in the class, and were referred to with the formal you "usted" in contrast with the familiar "tu" given to the children whose families were not able to pay the full fees.

The next step in education was considered a special privilege that few could reach. Less than 100 students, all male, and of well-to-do families studied grammar, latin, literature, religion and social graces. Punishment was severe, obedience was strict in the Colonial education in the Consistorio Carolino Institute.

Frias (44), has indicated that the educational methods used in the colonies of Spain were no different from the ones used in the rest of Europe at the time. It was not so much a problem of philosophy and methods of education but of the underdeveloped material conditions in which education was dispensed in as poor a colony as Chile. Because of limited financial resources it took ten years for the University of San Felipe to have its first students.

During the colonial period Chile was a closed society, the value system following the Spanish traditional pattern of those days, such as the concept of honour,



paternalism, obedience and religion.

Some members of the elite were suspicious of an 'excessive education' that would disturb the good judgment, integrity and will power of the individual. What we have learnt from our forefathers is good enough for us, as it was for them, was the opinion of many fathers of prominent families. A few decades after Chile became independent even the conservative fraction of the elite changed its views.

Medina (97), compiled and researched many documents that have not been interpreted yet by modern historians and sociologists. We can find letters, legal documents, inventories, that give use an indication of the very conservative attitudes that were expressed by many members of the elite during the second half of the XVIII century.

The conservative and liberal historians of the XIX and XX century have not explored those very conservative opinions in any great extent.

The very conservative values held by the XVIII century elite in Chile were no longer the conservative values held by the elite in Chile during the XIX and XX century. Some of the world views had changed, even in the sector of public opinion that labels itself as traditional.

We realize that a variety of traditional values in politics, religion, philosophy and education during the XIX and XX century originated in Europe centuries before,

but we must remember that new traditions are frequently being generated. It is possible for old and new traditions to integrate either totally or partially.

In Chile the concept of republic was new in 1818, but it soon became incorporated politically. A 'republican education' was considered to be necessary for every Chilean; it became very soon an accepted value.

The influence of the Castillian-Basque aristocracy in the rebellion, and the war of independence was fundamental. The Republic was created, and consolidated in the next twenty years. The constitution of 1833 was effective until 1924. The continuity of governments, formally elected by the voters became traditional. Many other countries in Latin America suffered a permanent anarchy.

Ostria-Gutierrez (109) Arguedas (7), and Palacio (110) go into the details of why in Bolivia and Argentina political instability has been common since their independence of Spain. In essence the military was the only power left in those countries to replace the vacuum left by the colonial government of Spain.

The Catholic church in Rome was officially against colonial independence. Very few members of the Argentinian and Bolivian clergy, therefore participated actively in the government of the new republics. The Chilean clergy took a different point of view. The influence of the Catholic Church was positive in the early Chilean republic.

Encina (36) explains that agricultural production decreased during the first twenty five years of the republic, because of the independence war. It was only in 1836 that agricultural production rose to the standards of 1800's. The educational process, on the contrary, flourished immediately after the independence from Spain. New educational establishments such as the Instituto Nacional, were created following the progressive ideas of the new republic.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### XIX CENTURY IN CHILE

Manuel de Salas created the academy of San Luis in 1797. Mathematics, topography and drawing, Spanish were some of the subjects taught in that school. During the war of independence, 1813, the Instituto Nacional was created by de Salas, Henriques and Egana.

The Instituto Nacional, a combination of high school and university, became the first educational establishment of the new republic. Later on other high schools were created following the model of the Instituto Nacional.

If we examine the Independence movement in Chile we shall find different tendencies. There was one rather small faction, loyal to the king so Spain; another sector was loyal to the Spanish Assembly of Cadiz, a metropolitan liberal parliament; and a distinct extreme group was formed by independent republicans.

In 1810 the majority of the Chilean notables, following closely the political ideas of the Spanish Assembly of Cadiz, voted for self-government.

With the defeat of Napoleon, absolute monarchy was more firmly established in Spain than in any country of Europe with the exception of Austria.

The Spanish monarchy challenged by force the self-government of its American colonies. Meanwhile strong new

ideologies imported from a liberal Spain, together with a republican influence of the U.S. which had affected the opinions of the Chilean elite.

Later on, some liberal thinkers and educators such as Mora, immigrated to Chile as a consequence of political persecution in Spain. Mora was able to establish a school in Santiago 'El Liceo de Chile' which followed a French approach to education. Soon the conservative government, through its minister, Portales, did all it could to eliminate a liberal type of education.

The concept of a republic in Chile was soon consolidated militarily, politically and ideologically. The battle of Maipu in April of 1818 was a decisive victory over the Spanish armies; the same year a republican constitution was drafted. For Chile to become independent from Spain meant the possibility of creating its own responsible government.

For many years the republic upheld traditional values and institutions typical of the Spanish monarchy: the president of the republic had the 'right of patronage' in lower and higher tribunals, in the affairs of the church, in the military organizations, in the important corporations such as the University of Chile, and even in the academies of art. These prerogatives changed with time. Some of them however are still applicable.

Feliu-Cruz (38) uses several examples to illustrate how customs and institutions that were typical of the colonial period, were operating well into the XIX century in Chile.

The right of primogeniture, of titles of nobility and the use of coats of arms were only abolished in the 1830's.

The class system, and the rural distribution of land followed very much the same pattern as in the second half of the XVIII century. The family unit was used to maintain the closed class system.

Feliu-Cruz refers to Castillian-Basque aristocracy as having many virtues and shortcomings. It is true that they were industrious but they were not interested in schooling. "May God give you fortune, because knowledge will not help you" was a customary expression.

The Castillian-Basque considered themselves frugal and persevering; this is because they had a positive and practical outlook in life. They were considered to be honest and scrupulous, with a well developed sense of honour, faithful to their word, and consistent in the formation of their ideas.

Feliu-Cruz considers that as a whole the Castillian-Basques were egoists, and were not concerned with the lower classes. Only when extreme cases or situations developed had they a feeling of solidarity with members of the

lower classes.

Encina (34) in his two volumes of the life of Diego Portales, describes the political and social values that were consolidated during the first two decades of the republic. These values became the guide lines for the new Chilean state. President Prieto and his ministers, Portales, Tocornal, Rengifo, contributed to the creation of the basic political and social philosophy that would influence Chile up to the present.

Authority should only serve the common good of the nation. The concept of common good was often implicitly related to the interests of the ruling class. Sometimes it was expressly stated by the incometax law of 1934 that every member of society had to pay taxes in proportion to his wealth.

The Chilean authorities were able to impose a regular income tax system through a well organized professional public institution. The state became a centralized and powerful agent of finance. Later on this trend became institutionalized; the government became a major agent in determining economic, industrial, agricultural and educational policies.

Individuals who held public office had to be able to eliminate or postpone their personal ambition for fame, wealth and power. A considerable number of Chilean presidents and ministers found themselves in that predicament. We can think of many instances in which they ended their

public office poorer than when they had started. Such were Presidents M. Montt and A. Pinto.

The latent function of this political custom is related originally to a conservative value system; those members of the elite who have to serve the republic in a public capacity do not need that office to become rich and famous. On the contrary the honour of fulfilling their public duty is their reward. The conservatives believed that 'newcomers' were the ones who abused public office for their own benefit. Political power was being used in some cases as a ladder of social mobility.

The members of the liberal parties in Chile followed basically the same idea. Frias explains how the Chilean presidents during the "parliamentary republic" of 1891-1924 were interested in serving the constitutional interests of the nation before their own (44).

The liberal ideologies in Chile, were political, economic, educational innovations that generated important social change, but that in many ways still maintained the old tradition established earlier in the republic. X

The patriotism that Portales developed was extremely nationalistic in comparison to the 'Chilean-American' patriotism of O'Higgins; the latter was operating in a different historical moment.

O'Higgins, had to confront the powerful Spanish presence in Peru. Argentina and Chile together had to liberate Peru from its colonial ties from Spain.



San Martin was an Argentinian general who participated actively in the independence of Argentina, Chile and Peru. San Martin's patriotism was continental. Together with Bolivar he worked for a united states of Hispano-America.

Chile in the late 1830's was confronted by an absorbing Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation, that also threatened the very weak and anarchic Argentine republic. A strong Chilean nationalism developed. The inhabitants of Chile became proud of having a stable republic; new liberties and self-determination became possible.

The concept of country was tied to the geographical and ethnical concept of nation. Chileans believe that they form a separate ethnic group. The latter was considered at the time as being the strongest factor; the geographical element had never been clearly established during the life of the Colony; it was a new challenge that had to be met.

The new nation, had to defend itself and even took the initiative of going to war against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation. This war was well organized; it developed political and military leadership, and generated the feeling of nationality not only in the upper class of society but also for the ordinary people, the common soldiers.

The battle of Yungay (Jan. 20th 1839) became a symbol of nationality for "el roto Chileno", or the poor peasant, who had the opportunity then to develop his skills, his dreams of adventure, and his feelings of self-importance. It has since become traditional for the Chilean workers to meet at the Yungay plaza, every 20th of January. Very few middle and upper class members of Chilean Society participate in these celebrations.

The ruling elite in the XIX century encouraged these popular celebrations as an expression of 'spontaneous popular democracy'. It was sometime in the early XX century that these celebrations began to have a political connotation of their own. The socialist workers would organize a public demonstration parallel to the traditional celebration.

Portales, considered himself a realist; he admired the 'practical spirit of the English' and believed the Chileans to be 'the English of America'. Portales was able however to identify a weakness of the 'Chilean mentality', and this was enough to generate the social conditions favourable to a positive change. He was convinced that laws and constitutions do not mould a country, but that a country creates those laws and constitutions that are necessary. Portales had limited faith in political ideologies. The conservative elite followed this pattern of thought. It rejected the liberal value system as too

theoretical, ideal, inconsistent and accommodating. Conservatives believed that ethical principles ought to be applied not because they were beautiful but because they were necessary (Encina 34).

The Chilean elite of that period (1830-1840) thought they had identified in Latin America two negative political developments that they wished to avoid. The first one was the attempt to create constitutional monarchies that indirectly would be influenced by the European powers of that time; and the second was the permanent stage of political anarchy in which many countries found themselves.

A well established republic with an efficient and strong executive power (i.e. the president and ministers) was considered the best political solution for Chile. A democratic system of government was considered by the conservatives of that period as not yet possible to implement in Chile.

The government traditionally became authoritarian. The president of the republic had the informal power to influence the election of the members of parliament. This influence diminished at the end of the XIX century, when new political forces opposed this practice particularly at the time of Balmaceda.

The authoritarian concept of government was based on the following concepts:

that God was the source of all power and that he delegated that power to the King. The King was therefore believed to be infalible in secular matters even if his subjects did not always agree.

Many orders given by the central authorities in the metropolis was considered locally as impractical. It was difficult for Spain to control the implementaiton of these dispositions. Orders given by the executive power in Chile could now be clearly established; they followed a consistent pattern and were carefully put into practice. Portales was a realist so he was careful to give orders that could be obeyed (Marin 96). Tyrants were considered to be unpredictable, inconsistent and unreal in giveing orders; as a consequence of this political repression, rebellion and anarchy were rampant, according to Portales.

The Chilean elite considered that a permanent chain of succeeding dictatorships reinforced the political frustration of society. In order to avoid this possibility, we have mentioned before, taking public office was considered a duty of the citizen and a way of serving his country with honour and dignity, rather than a method of attaining fame and riches. This was the traditional psychological framework from which a puritan value system was generated.

The puritan ethic applies not only to the Protestant countries. In the Catholic world there was a similar movement and in Chile a very peculiar and local variety that is worthwhile mentioning. The conservative educational system follows this trend with Egana, Tocornal, Sazie, Blest and many other educators and politicians.

In order to consolidate an 'objective and consistent' method of giving orders, the Chilean elite developed the concept of republican law.

The concept of law was already traditional, in the colony. The Spaniards had used it extensively as decrees, edicts, ordinances and canons. During the new republic, innovations were introduced. The concept of natural law that had been developed in Europe during the XVIII century was introduced implicitly to oppose the old divine right monarchical concept of law. Explicitly republican law was used to generate social order. This social order created an effective mechanism of social control.

Portales, according to Gil, (54) used the picturesque expression 'the weight of right', when he referred to the Chilean traditional obedience to the law, that had been established through centuries of Spanish domination. The Chilean elite realized that laws now had to be created within the local society.

Chile became a highly legalized society as the XIX century progressed. During the XX century the codification of laws, decrees and other legal documents became

very complex. The social function of the law in many instances according to Novoa-Monreal (108), was displaced and used as a mechanism to inhibit social change. Many examples could be given to illustrate the way in which the legal system in Chile acted as a mechanism of social control.

The growing middle class in Chile during the governments of Aguirre, Rios and Gonzalez (1938-1952) began to use the legal system in their favour. Upward mobility was open to some members of the middle class. The government was now able to place some of its middle class representatives in banks, companies and important industries (74). The middle class was able to consolidate its position by restraining the social mobility of the lower classes, by using the legal system.

Two other examples that follow similar patterns are the legal opposition of the governments of Balmaceda (1891) and Allende (1973). In spite of both governments being historically quite different both had acted against the established legal order, which has been traditionally very strong in Chile.

The government of the republic had to be strong according to the traditional conservative concept. This had been possible according to Edwards (33) because Chile had been one of the most traditional countries of Hispano America, the government had to be placed above any political party (Jöxe 75).

Edwards (33) indicates that for twenty years an oligarchy did not oppose the autocratic power of the President of Chile. The conflict began during the 1850's and ended with the civil war of 1891.

The Chilean oligarchy was made up of a feudal class, owners of the land, and a new emerging class of rich bourgeois.

The majority of the Conservatives in early days followed the concept of a strong executive, but the liberal ideology began slowly to elude their absolutist tendencies. And yet the liberal presidents of Chile Errazuriz, Santa Maria and Balmaceda followed an authoritarian line of government with increasing difficulties.

The authoritarian political system inaugurated by Portales in 1830's developed two concepts: the government had to be respected and be respectable at the sametime. The first concept meant that the government had to be honoured by all citizens of the republic. The second concept meant that the government had to be able to generate esteem from the citizens. The relationship between both concepts was considered reciprocal.

In an absolute, monarchy of divine right, in Europe the respect for the king is supposed to originate from the idea that it was God's will that must be unconditionally respected by the subjects of the king. In contrast the republican idea of respect for authority became more dynamic because it recognized an element of reciprocity between government and governed.

Portales, believed in a parliamentary opposition in political practice, but its discussion had to be circumscribed to the concrete and practical solution of problems.

It also became traditional that the army was essentially obedient to legally established authority. The army had the duty to preserve the laws and constitution of the republic; it also had to defend the country against its foreign enemies.

Joxe (75) indicates that in the XX century, in the majority of cases, even in critical situations, it was not necessary for the army to act illegally in order to fulfill the goals of an increasingly persistent middle class. It was sufficient for the armed forces to exert pressure in order to do this. The military periodically reminded the government of its presence, without even having to get out of its daily routines. It was very different from XVIII century Spanish armies.

The oligarchy liberated itself from the autocratic presidential system in 1891 with the aid of the navy; the



middle class liberated itself from the oligarchic parliamentary system in 1924 with the aid of the army.

The armed forces then have been, for Joxe, a progressive factor of social change in Chile. Chile, in spite of its historical tradition of order and progress, does not escape the common destiny of the Latin American countries of having to follow a capitalist system of production. It has always been a question whether or not the armed forces accept a socialist government in the future? Joxe answered in 1970 by saying it would depend on the policies of the popular forces in conjunction with the international politics of the superpowers (75). His perspective was political; he overlooked the traditional patterns of culture which are determined by history. Scientific prediction becomes increasingly difficult when we are dealing with complex social phenomena in any society.

Value systems tend to operate statically without being questioned once they have been established as a tradition. It has been possible to explore other conservative traditions in Chile that have influenced strongly the relationship between culture and social structure.

A benevolent paternalism was established by the Chilean aristocracy during the XVIII century. The basic social unit was the extended family, that operated in a

homogeneous and closed community of land owners. The fertile central valley of Chile gave origin to this rural aristocracy, which gradually emigrated to the urban centres in the XIX century.

Encina (36), following implicitly the geographical determination of Le Play (87) emphasizes the importance of the distribution and exploitation of land, with the creation of a paternalistic society. The concept of ownership in its patriarchal connotation which influenced the Chilean industrial bourgeois during the late XIX century, still had a very strong value according to Broderson (16) in 1968. The industrial concept of property is dynamic; it is related to the efficient and massive transformation of raw material into finished products. The concept of ownership in Chile followed a pre-capitalist function-maintenance and not innovation.

Veliz (149) adds to the conservative concept of property, the Chilean expression of liberalism. In spite of Chile not being able to generate an industrial revolution, as had occurred in Europe and U.S.A. it imported the concept of a free market. In 1855 the French economist Courcelle-Seneuil recommended a free market system for the Chilean economy.

Liberal thinkers like Letelier rejected very strongly the 'archaic educational ideas' of the old aristocracy (89). A profusion of liberal philosophers, economists and

politicians had an optimistic view of the future of mankind.

Encina (36) believed that Letelier's philosophy of education was misleading. Letelier counted on the 'simultaneous development of all the human faculties, the plasticity of all human aptitudes' in the student. It was a distorted liberal interpretation that had nothing to do with the sociological and historical reality of Chile.

Encina was able to recognize in the 1920's that the liberal interpretation of reality in relation to economic productivity and education lacked an historical, psychological and sociological perspective. When Chile imported the German concepts of education (1883-1889), discipline and hard work were imposed on the students by the germanic teachers; but students were not encouraged to develop flexibility, imagination and introspection. The German approach towards education was considered by the parents of students to be very rigid, many of them even complained through the newspapers.

The German imperial method of education was partially successful in Chile. It was able to modify in some students the traditional rejection towards manual work. A great proportion of technical and engineering students had originally studied in German schools.

Some historians (e.g. Zorbas 161) trace this negative attitude towards manual work in Chile from the colonial times, an attitude inherited from Spain. This tradition originated from the Spanish-Andalusian during the Arab domination of the Iberian peninsula, approximately 700 years.

Domeyko, a Polish liberal refugee from the Russian repression of 1830, influenced the policies of the university of Chile during 1867 to 1883. He wanted to avoid the stimuli that would develop economic activity in the students, at the expense of their spiritual growth. His ideas in this respect follow a conservative pattern. Domeyko considered that the development of the Chilean economy had to support the philosophical values of education. The opposite was the typical liberal perspective; the economy had to condition dynamically the values of education in order to produce the expected social change.

The liberal Amunategui and Barros Arana a generation later made Domeyko's ideas their own. So, in conclusion, the unconditional value of the economic activity of man was challenged both by conservatives and liberals in Chile.

The capitalist and Marxist ethics of work did not apply to Chile. The philosophies of education of the times encouraged the spiritual growth of the student and teachers.

In the last 15 years in Chile university and high schools students have organized massive volunteer works during

the summer months. It is becoming a new tradition for students to work in the rural areas of the country.

Students, teachers, peasants and members of the Corporation of Land Reform (CORA) organize work priorities together with extensive recreational programs: soccer, dances, theatre and excursions. This has been maintained in spite of the recent political fluctuations in Chile.

In order to eliminate the traditional dislike of manual work of the middle and lower middle class, new technical and vocational institutes of education were created. In 1849 the school of Artisans was created and later in the 1950's this became a Technical University (U.T.E.) that grew very quickly during the 1970's. This university had a strong technological and socialist orientation.

Another conservative value that has influenced Chilean society is the concept of centralized power in the government, in business, in education, and in industry. The centralization of the administration and modes of production have reinforced the value of a centralized system. It has become a vicious circle.

President Balmaceda (1886-1891) attempted to break the centralized system of government in Chile. He realized that there were important geographical disparities in the agricultural, industrial and educational growth of the country. His plans were frustrated by the political and

sociological conditions of the time.

The paradox was that in order to decentralize power he had to become authoritarian. The growing Chilean oligarchy opposed the concentration of political power in the hands of the president; even this may have meant an eventual economic and educational decentralization. The oligarchy was not in any case specially interested in decentralizing and diversifying the economic and educational structure. Later on, when the parliamentary oligarchy (1891-1924) was in power, it was careful to maintain a centralized political and social system, and was afraid of any excessive fragmentation of power. If we examine the works of Letelier (88) Mac-Iver (103) and Venegas (150) that were retrospectively written in 1896, 1900 and 1910, we can identify an increasing crisis in the structure of power in Chile.

The excessive urban growth of the population without a corresponding development of the economic infrastructure, created a new form of social conflict. The educational system of the time was not yet able to create enough artisans and technicians.

Mac-Iver singled out the deterioration of public morality as a central cause of the Chilean social crisis of the late 1890's. He believed that many of the Portalian virtues had been bypassed and public office was used to obtain power, wealth and prestige.

What Mac-Iver did not realize was that the liberal ideologies had eroded the old conservative values. Personal gain and the opening of further opportunities was the new rule in the game of success. The impact of social change was affecting both social structures and value systems.

Leselier and Venegas, in spite of their different political and social extraction, coincide implicitly in that the old concept of statism that was still very strong in Chile.

Statism is the idea that only government agencies can solve major social problems. It is related to a patriarchal and centralized concept of authority, very typical of the Spanish colony.

In Chile statism had to become stronger than in Brazil and Argentina because the traditional elite was economically weaker. In Brazil and Argentina the old traditional elite were able to establish a stronger ownership of land, commerce and industry in relation to -- foreign capital investments. As a consequence of this, the conservative Chilean elite had to become socially more flexible (114).

The conservative Chilean elite despised the new plutocracy of the 1860's; they resented foreign economic intervention during and after the war against Peru and Bolivia in (1879-1883) and during the government of Balmaceda.

It became customary for the traditional elite to use the state as a source of financial and economic guidance.

The state in Chile became an innovative factor in the process of social change. The best example of modern times is the State Corporation (CORFO) that was created in 1940's as a powerful technical and financing institution for many important private and public companies.

According to the Chamber of Commerce of Chile (13) the private sector is unable to initiate the solution of any important economic and social problem without assistance of the government.

Coombs (21) in 1964 was concerned with the development of individual initiative by means of an adequate education. The training of individuals capable of all types of leadership was essential. Such individuals should be able to interpret the complex problems of Latin America and project adequate solutions.

Vasconi and Reca (148) both agree with Coombs that change is necessary, but later oppose the neo-capitalist method proposed by Coombs.

Vasconi and Reca recognize the inability of the workman and even the middle class to generate their own actions without the initial impulse of the state.

Traditional religious values in Chile followed the typical pattern of the Catholic-counter reform. But this was very much modified because, during the Spanish domination Chile was a remote colony with not too great an indigenous



population to convert.

In Chile there were very few cases of heterodoxy examined by the Inquisition. Catholicism during the first half of the XIX century was 'practical and not financial' as it had become in Peru and Mexico (154).

Two incompatible conservative traditions were co-existing latently in the 1850's, the very old Medieval temporal prerogatives of the Church, and the XVIII century Spanish regalist attitude towards the Church.

The first one gave temporal autonomy to the Church within the state. The second tradition was established in Spain through the Bourbonic concept of monarchy, in which the Church had to submit to the civil law of the country.

In Chile the conservatives split up as a consequence of a power dispute between the Catholic Church and the Government. In the opinion of Edwards (33) this religious controversy contributed to the democratization of Chilean politics. Even liberals split their opinions in the heat of the religious questions.

Not until 1875 were many old and important ecclesiastical prerogatives such as the ecclesiastical tribunals of law, and the legal capacity to perform marriage eliminated.

It was not until 1925 that Church and State were separated by the new constitution, and the State became secular and neutral in religious matters.

The University of Chile (1842) and the Ministry of Public Instruction were becoming increasingly monopolistic. Education was centralized and expressly state oriented. The constitution of 1833 and 1925 gave the state the exclusive prerogative to organize education in Chile. Private education could exist only when supervised by the state.

As a result of the conservative split and the increasing liberalization of the Chilean society, the ultra-conservatives established a revitalized private Catholic educational system, as evidenced by the Jesuits and French Fathers in 1853, Don Bosco in 1887 and the Franciscans in 1889.

The Catholic University was created in 1888, by the Archbishop Casanova. Since the University of Chile had disowned the Faculty of Theology, then the Catholic University established such a Faculty, which became very important.

In spite of the Catholic effort to create new private schools, the proportion of public schools grew during the XX century (Table 5). The state had the economic power and the ideological justification that permitted the development of a secular education.

Paternalism was still strong during the first half of this century in Chile, in spite of the growth of urban

TABLE 5

Proportion of Public Schools as Compared with  
Private Schools

Year	Public Schools %	Private Schools %
1854	51.70	49.30
1865	68.80	31.20
1875	70.90	29.10
1895	80.10	19.90

centres. The relationship between management and the white and blue collar workmen followed the old rural traditional patterns.

Paternalism was an attitude of protection, superiority, compliance and leadership projected into the relationship with subordinate individuals. In reciprocity, the subordinate individuals related to their superior in a social pattern that reinforced their dependency, their relative incapacity to generate initiative, and in general their attitude of respect toward the superior.

A social interaction of this nature generates familiarity on a well established level of social expectation.

that is normally fulfilled with no major difficulties. Everybody is clearly placed in the social system. And yet the structure of society is not completely closed because there are other avenues that can solve potential conflicts or social checkmates. These traditional alternatives have an accepted value; they are the untranslatable expressions of "macuqueria" and "pilleria".

Both give some flexibility to the relationship between people and provide new alternative solutions to daily problems. They become creative functions in the traditional Chilean society and yet they are not supposed to surpass the basic structure of established order. They can operate at two levels of simultaneously, by being able at the same time to improvise and anticipate the solution of problems and generate new actions.

"Macuqueria" in general requires certain status, broad experience in life, higher education and power. It generates a strategy of action that permits the use of social and individual weaknesses; it must create confidence and secrecy and even build up enthusiasm. The fulfilment of the plan is done step by step, and requires a permanent revision.

"Pilleria" requires a sense of humour, of slyness, the capacity to feign ignorance, and to surprise the victim, enemy or friend. This interaction is short and intense. "Pilleria" produces two simultaneous effects

upon people and circumstances: it lowers the defence mechanism, and it by-passes some of the prescribed social steps necessary to solve a problem.

"Macuqueria" is a different social process which uses all possible loopholes of the prescribed social methods (customs, norms and laws) to give a convenient and favourable solution to a problem. During the late XVIII century both "macuqueria" and "pilleria" were incorporated into the Chilean culture.

In Spain "pilleria" had a somewhat different connotation than in Chile. In Spain it relates to the peasants. The Spanish "novela picaresca" is a good sociological source of information, on this point together with the paintings of Velazquez and Goya, as further examples.

In Spain "pilleria" had a negative value: it was practiced by the destitute and the semi-criminal. In Chile "pilleria" has a positive value; it is used by all social classes as a non violent means of outwitting authority; innovation instead of rebellion.

Children at school informally learn how to develop the art of "pilleria". Clumsiness, repetition and physical force must be avoided. The peer groups in schools are often organized following different types of "pilleria", especially in the lower grades.

We shall describe two examples of high school "pilleria": a history teacher states that he always has oral exams in order to avoid student copying. The teacher

insists that his method is the best, so some of his students decide they must prove him wrong; they go to the school during the weekend and construct a secret hiding place in the floor of the classroom, in which they can leave books open for the students who will be examined orally.

The "pilleria" normally finishes when the students have proved their point; then they will tell the teacher what has happened. A 'good teacher' reacts calmly and agrees that it was a good "pilleria" but that history is more important than occasional "pilleria".

For more than two years a German teacher had insisted on total punctuality for all the members of his classes. He would punish the whole class if one student was late. Many students got together in a party and planned a "pilleria". They were able to slow the clocks in school, 10 minutes, in such a way that their German teacher apparently arrived late. His students indicated he was late. When he left the classroom, he found all the clocks in the school to be ten minutes faster than his watch. Next day the same happened. After the third day he realized that the time factor was relative and conventional; he changed his attitude toward collective punctuality and punished only the student who arrived late to his classes. The value system of

collective responsibility of the German teacher did not apply to the Chilean context. The students had used "pilleria" as a cultural process to check excessive authoritarian conformism.

"Macuqueria and "pilleria" were used both by conservatives and liberals. The liberal expression of these concepts was considered by the conservatives as ruthless, oportunist and shameful. The conservative expression of "macuqueria" and "pilleria" was considered by the liberals as inflexible and old fashioned.

The influence of liberalism in Chile was early, and it continued through the XIX and XX century. Liberalism in Europe evolved as a value system that had confronted many old traditions religious, philosophical and economic. The history of liberalism is extensive and complex. There are many varieties of liberalism that have stemmed out of particular historical and sociological circumstances.

During the first period, (1818-1833) liberalism was a new political force in Europe. In Chile in spite of the geographical distance from Europe liberalism began to spread its ideals.

Mora and his wife created two schools in 1828 inspired by the liberal ideas of their times. Mora conducted a three year experiment in a conservative milieu,

introducing his own innovative ideas.

If we follow Stuardo's (140) description of the history of the Liceo de Chile we find a new philosophy of education stressed throughout the curriculum, the methods of education, and political doctrines that were explicitly or implicitly operating. The students and the teachers now had the possibility of exploring the cause and effect of the material presented.

The new educational values became rationalist and began to advance in the field of the 'natural sciences'. Ethics and religion were considered important, and in many ways followed the traditional Roman Catholic value system. And yet Edwards (33) identified a new expression of religion during the XIX century, a 'liberal form of religion', opposed in many ways to the conservative concept of God.

These liberal values were infiltrating the Chilean society; God became non providential, abstract, symbolic; the world was governed by invariable and eternal laws; there was a spiritual metaphysics but it operated non dogmatically; the king or president became a symbol of constitutionalism; the state became secularized, and the idea of country became associated with the concept of state; money became the standard of wealth, and marriage became a contract though still remaining indissoluble.



It was only in the second half of the XIX century that liberal values began to have a political and educational significance. In the 1840's Chile began to create a small but strong intellectual elite of artists, writers, philosophers, educators and scientists. They have become known as the 'generation of 1842'.

This elite had an important ideological influence upon educational policies of the government, and the expansion of democratic education. The conservative president Manuel Montt together with his educational advisor Sarmiento were determined to expand the educational facilities, methods and curriculum of Chilean education.

Labarca (84) a Chilean educator places great value on Sarmiento's work in democratizing Chilean education. Sarmiento did contribute significantly in the justification and creation of a popular educational system in Chile. But we must not forget the contribution of many other intellectuals such as Mora, Egana, Gay, who contributed to the new concepts of education.

The expansion of the educational system in Chile was possible during the period of 1840 to 1891 because of the combination of a variety of sociological factors. The government declared officially that education was predominantly a function of the state. That meant that the state had power to originate and determine educational

policies. This capacity was challenged by the conservatives when the governments became increasingly liberal in education and in politics at the end of the XIX century.

A factor that was important in the expansion of education was the infiltration of liberal and even socialist ideas into the conservative value system. If we study the content of laws, newspapers, books and parliamentary records of the time we can find indications of a change of attitudes towards the value of education. In 1836 a parliamentary committee stated that education must be restricted to those who could later use it to their advantage. In 1844 the attitude of the majority had changed in parliament; it was by means of education that individuals should be able to expand their opportunities of becoming good citizens.

(2).

Very early in the Chilean republic, the educational phenomena had become a recognized factor of social change. Parallel to the liberal concept of education we have a static structure of land ownership, that did not change substantially during the XIX and XX centuries, except during the last twenty years (1958-1978).

The contrast between an urban liberal educational system and a conservative rural structure generated social conflict.

According to Labarca (84) in the 1940's and to Chonchol (19) during the 1970's rural education in Chile had suffered a tremendous neglect if we compare it with that in the urban area. So we can in many ways affirm that in Chile, as well as in many other Latin American countries there is a co-existence of two different types of society, the urban and the rural. Although Chile is not an extreme example of this dichotomy, we cannot ignore this sociological fact.

Liberalism seems to be an urban political and economic phenomenon rather than a rural social expression. Historically this has been so, in Chile as in many other countries of the world.

Another factor that contributed to the expansion of education in Chile during the period that we are analyzing was the need to create 'a strong, permanent and acceptable level of education', in order to maintain the initial political and military superiority of the country in comparison with Peru, Bolivia and Argentina.

The expansion of education then meant social progress and it also meant that Chile had an intellectual and political hegemony in South America.

At the end of the last century Chile began to lose its international power in South America. Godoy (55)

explains that the 'parliamentary period' in Chile (1891-1924) is one of social fragmentation, in many ways of social regression. The conservative and liberal elites had to contend against the growing aspirations of the middle and lower classes. The expansion of the educational system of that period was practically nil.

Lastarria and a group of 'prominent citizens' formed the official Liberal party in 1849. From that historical moment liberalism began to expand. In the 1860's it gained political momentum and displaced the conservative party. In the field of economics Chilean liberalism, according to Veliz (149), did not follow the typical pattern. On the contrary, the economy, became very protectionist, and monopolistic.

We believe it is very difficult to typify European liberalism without entering into many sociological details that indicate the complexity of that social phenomenon. Imported liberalism in Chile operated following its own rules, set by particular historical and social circumstances. We shall develop two different aspects to illustrate the development of Chilean liberalism.

The shift of conservative values in a liberal value system flowed with less difficulties in Chile than in many European countries. Germany, Austria and Russia could not be considered politically liberal in the 1870's, but Chile could.

As we mentioned before, the Chilean conservative aristocracy had to become more flexible and adaptable to change, because of its relatively weaker economic position. The Chilean Castillian-Basque elite were not typically feudal; on the contrary they had been influenced by the XVIII century philosophy of the Illustration.

In Germany, Austria and Russia the traditional aristocracy were old enough to follow inflexible patterns of conduct.

Chile was not able to develop the industrial infrastructure that some of European countries did during the XIX century. The country was agricultural, however, three types of minerals nitrate, silver and copper were exploited. The economic system in Chile was pre-industrial in its infrastructure. It began to grow industrially in the late 1880's. The economic policies of president Balmaceda began to give way to an industrial expansion and diversification. This process was inhibited by civil war and the fragmentation of power during the next forty years.

Encina (35) and many other historian and sociologist who have studied that period have arrived at the same conclusion: the expansion of industry and education during Balmaceda's government was exceptionally high.

Because material condition in Chile were different from those in Europe, the liberal values imported were not truly applicable.

Diffusion of liberalism in all its sociological implications was difficult. To begin with the working ethics followed a traditional pattern. The traditional elite did not want to work with their hands. On the contrary they were only prepared to give orders to the lower classes to do the job.

The traditional elite in general did not have the experience of how a machine or an industrial process operated; and yet they did recognize the economic value of the products generated by industry. The variety, quality and novelty of goods that could be produced was phenomenal.

The demonstration effect produced many changes of expectations in the changing elite of Chile. Many Chileans old and young of the higher and middle classes were beginning to travel abroad with the express purpose of learning about the industrial process in Europe, and North America. Some even went as far as Japan, and were surprised to see the tremendous industrial and scientific growth of a country, which had been considered so traditional and closed.

Many liberal politicians and educators wanted to duplicate the European industrial revolution in Chile.

Historical and cultural conditions were not favourable; on the contrary the efforts of the Chilean liberals entrepreneur frequently became unsuccessful.

These difficulties were interpreted by many liberal thinkers of the time as the direct result of a low standard of education. Letelier is one of the later representatives of the liberal faith in education as a decisive tool to generate the social condition for industrial growth.

Basically, Sarmiento, Bello, Barros Arana, the two Amunategui brothers, Nunez and many other educators of the XIX century had the same conviction as Letelier.

A new element now entered Chilean education, a concept borrowed from Europe - the masonic concept.

The masonic concept of education influenced the last thirty years of the XIX century and the first fifty years of this century. This concept which was a controlled, gradual and progressive growth of the individual's potential influenced the setting of programs, curricula and discipline in government controlled schools and universities in Chile.

The masonic concept of education followed to a large extent an ethical value system; the liberal concept of education followed for the most part an economic and political value system. Neither masonic nor liberal value system always coincided in their interpretation of the function of education.

The paradox was that the masonic attitude in Chile had become increasingly speculaculative and philosophical in comparison with the more ritual and practical British expression. The French and the Spanish masonic influence had implicitly, a strong influence with which the Chilean mentality could easily identify.

The concepts of reason, inspiration, illustration, discussion, theory, and planning were common elements that were incorporated into the masonic value system. These values were projected into Chilean education.

North American, British and German free masons were considered to be more practical, and parsimonious in the formulation of their justification of social action. Because of these attitudes, there was an extensive coincidence with the liberal ideology of economic efficiency, flexibility and wealth.

Very few industrial and vocational schools were created in Chile, and it was not only after the second world war that new institutions emerged. Not too many high and middle class students were interested in following such programs. It has been only during the last ten years that it has become 'acceptable' for a middle class student to pursue this type of technical study.

The Chilean liberal concept of education then was more an ideological value system than a praxis. It responded to an intellectual and emotional interpretation of a social change that was affecting the world as a



whole, namely the Industrial Revolution.

This interpretation was not within the Industrial Revolution, but came from a marginal and a pre-industrial society such as Chile. Very few intellectuals of the time realized that local cultural and structural factors determined the function of social, political and educational phenomena.

Bilbao and Arcos according to Sanhueza (123) were some of the few who saw the pitfalls of a romantic and naive perspective of liberalism in Chile; and yet Bilbao was himself labelled later a 'naive utopian socialist' who followed the unreal ideals of some French philosophers. He, too, gave a central importance to the educational process as a means of developing a new society.

Later on, the 'scientific socialists' or those who follow a Marxist interpretation of society believed that education had to follow a praxis, together with the development of the understanding theory. Students and teachers had to be able to work in the factories or in the fields. Somehow this concept of education and work is a 'recovery' of the older protestant ethic of work and study. The concept is similar, but the social projection of the concept changed, and became secular and socialist.

A new tradition was being born in Chile at the very end of the XIX century: socialism. This political and

economic ideology had an important effect in the Chilean educational system. The conservative and liberal values in education were modified by some socialist ideas. There were thus great changes in the XIX century.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### XX CENTURY IN CHILE

During the first twenty years of the XX century, the educational system did not change substantially. The impact of the political and economic changes that had occurred after the first world war in Europe, were felt in Chile.

The old aristocracy had largely relinquished power, and a strong middle class was beginning to emerge. Old fashioned customs were broken by the new generation. New life styles were introduced, women became more liberated; they became increasingly incorporated to the working forces and to the educational system.

During the Popular Front (1938-1945) the government introduced changes in the content of the school curriculum. In history the concepts of social class, absentee land lord, plutocracy, formal democracy and many other concepts began to be incorporated.

The diffusion of Socialist values in Chile increased as a consequence of the Cuban Revolution. Mass media, television, books, magazines, news papers, texts, conferences, seminars, used intensively to promote the socialist image in Chilean society.

The educational system was affected by the political change that had occurred in Cuba. Many universities were engaged in the study of current left wing philosophies.

During the 1960-1970 decade a variety of new combinations of values began to develop. An overlapping of old and new, political, religious, and economic values were generated. The integration of liberal and conservative parties, and the creation of a Marxist-Christian philosophy are two important examples of change in the Chilean society of that time.

Social conflict and value antagonism were produced in Chilean society during the three years of government of president Allende. The educational system was affected by significant changes in the value system.

An attempt to eliminate private education in Chile produced a major political crisis in 1973. Social change produced in Chile important ideological and legal shifts. It is not within the scope of this work to investigate in detail the causes and effects of these new emerging value systems in Chilean society. We may, examine in the future, some of the important factors that are related to socialism as a social phenomenon. Instead we are at present concerned with the genesis of the conservative and liberal value systems and how they have influenced the educational structure in the past and still do so in the present.

In recent years the conservative traditions in education has strengthened, though innovation is not discouraged. The process of acculturation is operating in society; the new and the old combined, that is respect for learning, and for one's country, but with a strong interest in educational progress. In Chile, then, we can find a 'social hybrid' in the educational structure.

Some schools and universities are able to use modern methods and techniques in educational communication, but the content of the message may be reinforcing explicitly or implicitly a traditional value. Films and slides explaining some of the methods of birth control will at the same time indicate the importance of 'a well established' family structure. As for example the description of human sexuality is considered part of the high school program, and the discussion of sexual abstinence as a form of birth control is discussed as a positive value, especially for young adults. Virginity is considered to be an important social conduct contributing to the establishment of a stable future marriage.

Modern anthropological, historical and sociological material is used to explain the value of the family in society. The individual's emotional and intellectual growth and fulfilment is considered possible only if it is originally initiated in the family. The consolidation of 'civic virtues' is only possible if they have originated from the members of a 'well' structured family.

Further empirical research has to be conducted in this area in order to specify the operation of family values and education in Chile.

Chilean and European history were traditionally taught in schools, but the history of the rest of Latin America was excluded. New economic and political events changed the perspective of history instruction.

The Organization of the American States (O.A.S.), the Latin American Common Market, the Andes Common Market, the Latin American Universities Confederation and many multilateral military pacts have been created. A flow of cultural and artistic interchange has occurred in the last ten years.

History texts, (Villalobos 152) magazines (Mampato 93) and other material emphasize a continental view of history, but implicitly reinforce traditional nationalistic values. Chile is presented in the above mentioned sources as a model of social order and civic progress which is not always the case in some other Latin American countries.

Political and social philosophies may be studied in detail, specially at the university level, and to a lesser extent in the last year of high school. These

studies are considered to be of only academic interest and should not be used as a method of indoctrination or generation of social conflict in the students. The schools and universities are considered apolitical; they are considered to be places where students go to learn.

The fundamental laws and values of the republic are considered to be above any contingent political interpretation. This idea follows the Portalian concept of government and state, which we have already described.

A new body of fundamental laws is currently being created in Chile consisting of a new constitution, civil and penal codes, and many other 'organic' laws. The purpose of these laws is to combine modern and traditional concepts of government, administration, social defense, political security, education and health.

In Chile the traditional tendency to formalize legally any social change is still a very strong mechanism of social control. In this sense we see a continuance of a legalistic system whose roots date back to the colonial period.

This mechanism of social control sometimes becomes too formal and detailed creating a negative social process. The laws, decrees and rules become complex and inflexible, generating frustration and apathy. In order to avoid this type of inconvenience an informal method is created parallel to the official procedures. A double standard

of action and values is generated.

An effort has been made in the last ten years to decentralize and expand schooling facilities throughout the country (129). Industrial and commercial schools have been built, especially for young adults, in remote areas. But parallel to this effort there is an administrative concentration of power. But the government is centralizing even further the educational planning, administration and decision making. One superintendent now is responsible for industrial, vocational, commercial, primary, secondary and special education. The superintendent is linked with the National Council of Chilean Universities. The minister of education is responsible for all educational policies in the country.

Traditionally the Chilean governments had power in the educational system. Nevertheless, the universities were able to develop a degree of autonomy that was exceptional for Latin America. They had academic freedom, self-government; and police could not enter the grounds of the universities without permission of the academic authorities. The universities became in Chile a powerful agent of political and social change where fragmentation, tension and conflict were generated during at least ten years (1960-1973).

The government has also had a protectionist traditional attitude towards the economy. The state has always been historically, a powerful economical agent, both in a conservative and in a socialist context. Even during the



liberal governments of the XIX century, the economic system followed an atypical liberalism. The new government in the country in the last five years has emphasized the implementation of a free market economy but with carefree fiscal scrutiny.

At the moment it appears that very few economic activities such as use of energy, public transportation, forest reserves, and copper are planned to remain in the hands of the state. Even the process of land reform is being phased out. In some court cases land appropriated by peasants between 1970 and 1973 has been returned to the original owners. At the same time Corporation Reformed Agraria has been disbanded.

The government systematically reduced the number of civil servants. Three basic reasons are given for this reduction: first, the reduction of administrative costs; second, the upgrading of the level of efficiency of the civil servants, and third, the implementation of the liberal concept of minimal interference of the state in the economy of the country.

If we examine a very popular weekly children's magazine such as Mampato (93) we can find a combination of topics that are presented weekly to them. These topics range, from fauna and flora of Chile, art and crafts,

games, history of the country, national and international comic strips, inventions and discoveries, human and economic geography, short stories, children's club news, collectors' items.

There is a well balanced amount of fantasy and reality in the different topics developed in this magazine. We have found an integrative function of modern and traditional values in Manpato. Integration of the traditional and modern values into one world view are accomplished by contiguity and overlapping material.

Integration of values by contiguity can be accomplished when modern and traditional topics are presented in a smooth balanced sequence. The content of one topic will never even subtly contradict the other; a flow of perception then may be established from one topic to the other.

A modern value may contain elements of 'traditional' values. In this sense values retain a continuum and are integrated with the passage of time. Traditional values may in turn, include aspects of modern values which have been previously developed by the magazine. As for example: the first topic developed by the magazine developed a traditional historical event that stresses the national unity. It will promote the idea that one of the factors that contribute to the national unity is the fact that there are always many Chileans travelling across and along the country.

The next topic will be related to ENTEL, the national communication service, which is very modern, with its uptodate equipment, engineers and operators. Photographs, diagrams and maps of Chile are presented. At some point the concept of national unity is mentioned as being possible because of the development of this communication system.

Manpato magazine is extensively read by children and adolescent in Chile, and is only one example of how mass media operates. Sports magazines which are often read by men also reinforce traditional values. "Pilleria" and "Macuqueria" are present in many articles and reviews. In the other extreme of the espectrum there are magazines that are centred in what is happening in Europe and U.S.A. in the world of fashion, international social gossip, gourmet eating, home and garden styles.

These magazines produce a demonstration effect, that create new aspirations of material goods in some people. At the same time it reinforces the traditional idea that Chile is a remote country as in comparison with Europe and U.S.A.

Both conservative and socialist have condemned this type of cosmopolitan bias as an expression of excessive dependence on foreign influence.

The Chilean neo-liberal value of open interchange of information, services and goods is contrary to the

conservative concept of social communication. It conflicts ideologically but in practice it must coexist, and even overlap in many social functions.

The business world and the industrial sector are in general more identified with the neo-liberal perspective. This identification is in many cases implicit and operational, more than a formal explicit commitment to the neoliberal system. We can find variations and exceptions to this general statement that only indicate the complexity of this social phenomenon.

The conservative elements of government emphasize a more closed nationalistic attitude. Austerity, common good, stability, social order, individual integrity are some of the value judgments expressed through the mass media and educational system. Conservative and liberal value systems overlap and have infiltrated one another.

In conclusion, we can identify many conservative and liberal values still operating today in the Chilean society; but they have been modified by social change. The influence of new types of knowledge, mass communication, industrial and agricultural techniques, religious, political and economic ideologies have changed the structure and level of aspirations of the Chilean society.

It may be said that the Chilean educational system is being reinterpreted and redirected towards a conservative tradition; but the impact of social change

in the past has produced important irreversible structures.

Education is the result of a combination of complex phenomena, operating at different levels in society. Each level of social structure generates a sub-system of shared values. For example the German immigrants recreated their particular values in education when they came to Chile. Protestant order and the value of hard work was reflected in their schools.

In Chile traditional values such as love of country, respect for national heroes, the maintainance of social order, the positive value of education as an avenue of social mobility and the integrity of the patriarchal family have all been maintained. Yet important innovations such as the introduction of birth control methods, an increase in religious toleration, a new awareness of financial procedures which help to support economic growth, a positive attitude towards educational innovation have all contributed to a constantly changing social structure.

Education in Chile has contributed to change in social values. It has sometimes been able to reconcile and even integrate "traditional" values with "modern" values. There are some areas however in which it has failed. Historically education has generated conflict in the field of political values.

In conclusion we may say that while the educational system in Chile has changed and will change again, a marked sense of traditional continuity remains in evidence.

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