

Memorando para: Darcy Ribeiro

Assunto: Funções da programação e da pesquisa

I. CONSIDERAÇÕES GERAIS

A relação entre as funções da pesquisa social e da programação de uma agência administrativa ainda não está suficientemente bem definida como um processo de trabalho, de modo a possibilitar a prescrição de regras definitivas que controlem a relação ou a contribuição da pesquisa ao programa de desenvolvimento, à administração, aos processos ou à experimentação. De um modo geral, as decisões administrativas continuam a ser tomadas à base de práticas aproximadas, e as diretrizes são estabelecidas por contingências, que podem, ou não, ter relação com os problemas fundamentais. A função da pesquisa e o pesquisador são, geralmente, conservados à parte dos grupos que formulam o plano de ação; das decisões que afetam a organização e a mudança administrativa; das atividades associadas à introdução de novos ou modificados processos de funcionamento, e do processo de avaliação.

A ampla aceitação e a incorporação da função da pesquisa social à organização e aos processos administrativos será um processo lento. Na verdade, há pouco tempo apenas mostraram-se os pesquisadores sociais dispostos a preocuparem-se com os tipos de problemas para os quais os administradores procuram resposta, e que tinham consequências práticas e imediatas sobre o plano e a ação. Os problemas com os quais os cientistas sociais, por tradição, têm se preocupado são de um tipo diverso. Em consequência disso, os administradores têm encontrado muito pouco que os auxilie, especificamente, nos trabalhos da ciência social, que os ajude nas decisões que são obrigados a tomar dia-a-dia, embora se tenham beneficiado com as informações e o ponto de vista geral. Existiam, também, outros obstáculos de ordem prática, teórica e ética que impediam o estabelecimento de relações de trabalho eficientes. Essas dificuldades, entretanto, não são intransponíveis e, já há algum tempo, vem sendo acumulado um conjunto de experiências e conhecimentos, a partir do qual será possível especificarmos o tipo de contribuição que a pesquisa pode fazer ao desenvolvimento de programas, bem como às relações entre administradores e pesquisadores.

Por enquanto, não vamos tratar de saber até que ponto o programa deve ser uma função da pesquisa. A realidade é que, na maioria dos casos,

os programas são o resultado de decisões baseadas em considerações econômicas, políticas, sociais ou doutrinárias. Essas decisões são provenientes, em primeiro lugar, do que podemos classificar como "julgamentos coletivos". Isto é, elas representam, em síntese, a contribuição de várias pessoas que ocupam posições de liderança e de responsabilidade. Se existem, disponíveis, informações fornecidas pela pesquisa, elas podem, ou não, ser levadas em consideração. Mas, de qualquer modo, a decisão final e a responsabilidade fica a cargo do administrador. A pesquisa pode, ou não, ser incluída posteriormente e, caso participe da atividade, seus resultados podem, ou não, ser incorporados ao plano de ação e ao processo de funcionamento.

De um modo geral, as pessoas que trabalham sob a orientação de programas estão tão habituadas a tomar decisões dia-a-dia e a depender de métodos de ação tradicionais, que raramente podem apreciar o valor que tem a pesquisa ao proporcionar uma base para serem tomadas decisões. Essas pessoas raramente, ou talvez jamais, tenham procurado nos métodos experimentais da ciência, a resposta para as perguntas que fazem. Estão mais habituadas a examinar os resultados das pesquisas e tirar, daí, conclusões determinadas. Existem, porém, certas áreas do comportamento que se tornaram tão rotineiras e tão naturais que é pouco provável concordarem elas, voluntariamente, em examinar a proposta de que essas áreas se prestam a métodos de pesquisa.

Sempre que os administradores e organizadores de programas apresentarem problemas ou fizerem perguntas, o pesquisador deve procurar ver se eles podem ser transformados em propostas de pesquisa. O pesquisador, entretanto, não deve deixar a iniciativa de fazer perguntas somente para o administrador. O administrador não está bem a par de certos problemas básicos para poder fazer perguntas em tais áreas. Assim, o pesquisador tem a responsabilidade de procurar percepções além daquelas que parecem imediatamente importantes.

Se, por acaso, a pesquisa tiver sido acrescentada após o desenvolvimento do programa, a primeira preocupação do pesquisador deve ser o programa propriamente dito. Ele deve ser examinado em termos de objetivos, organização, processos, estágios ou medidas de realização e desenvolvimento, justificção, e conceitualização. Isso constitui uma parte dos "dados". Embora os acontecimentos subsequentes possam modificá-los, é a partir des-

sa formulação que os problemas de pesquisa devem ser separados. A outra parte dos "dados" é a situação dentro da qual a pesquisa será realizada.

Os parágrafos precedentes incluem certas generalizações baseadas na experiência. Sua aplicabilidade específica depende de vários fatores. Por exemplo, se uma pesquisa fôr incluída como parte de um programa a partir do início dêste, o problema será ligeiramente diferente do que no caso da pesquisa ter sido acrescentada após o programa estar em andamento. Ou, se um problema já foi extensivamente submetido a pesquisa antes do desenvolvimento de um programa, o tipo de pesquisa subsequente será de uma espécie diferente. Qualquer que seja a situação específica, continuarão a existir os problemas gerais da relação entre a pesquisa e o programa. A atividade dentro de uma instituição em franco progresso é tal, que nunca há escassês de problemas a serem investigados à medida que se modificam a organização ou as condições do ambiente dentro da qual ela funciona. Pode sempre haver desacôrdo com relação à prioridade de projetos específicos de pesquisa.

A exemplificação da relação entre pesquisa e programa será apresentada numa declaração das necessidades de pesquisa da Campanha Nacional de Erradicação do Analfabetismo, sob a supervisão do Professor Roberto Moreira, que estabeleceu uma relação contratual, para a direção da pesquisa, com o Professor Darcy Ribeiro, do Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. A CNEA é um programa semi-experimental, dentro do Ministério da Educação, que tem como objetivo o desenvolvimento de um plano para alfabetizar, rapidamente, os adultos e proporcionar escolar para tôdas as crianças.

Nesta fase do programa, a maior ênfase dos aspectos de pesquisa da CNEA recai sôbre os processos e resultados da inovação. Os principais itens no seu programa são: alfabetizar os "adultos analfabetos", proporcionar salas de aula e professores para tôdas as crianças em idade escolar, modificar o currículo, métodos de ensino e administração, formar professores, e estimular os habitantes a participarem dos problemas da escola. O programa já foi iniciado em três comunidades-pilôto e será ampliado a outras comunidades durante os próximos meses.

A lógica que, de um modo geral, se aplica à pesquisa nos processos de inovação é muito simples. Os métodos e processos são mais difíceis. Existen, em ^{princípio} primeiro lugar, a suposição básica de que o pesquisador está lidando com sistemas em desenvolvimento e que, em primeiro lugar, será necessá-

rio conhecer as características, dinâmicas e condições do sistema para o qual se traz a mudança. A seguir, precisamos saber quais as mudanças propostas e por que, como e são serão introduzidas. Finalmente, é preciso observar os efeitos das mudanças sobre as condições dentro das quais o sistema funciona e os resultados sobre os que dele participam.

Existem, também, ob objetivo de extrair-se princípios que generalizem a experiência e que, além disso, descrevam os processos e os detalhes apropriados de comportamento. Deve sempre ser lembrado que a pesquisa funciona, também, dentro de uma relação ou estrutura administrativa e de programa e que, por essa razão, a relação entre pesquisa, administração e programa deve ser submetida a exame constante. Em outras palavras, o pesquisador está examinando não apenas o efeito da ação sobre o sistema, mas ele está também examinando, ao mesmo tempo, o funcionamento do programa.

Dentro da organização e do programa da CNEA a função da pesquisa é muito importante, não apenas porque permite uma avaliação sistemática dos resultados, mas também porque proporciona uma oportunidade para aplicação dos métodos da ciência social à educação.

II. RELAÇÕES ENTRE FUNÇÕES DE PESQUISA E DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO.

Afim de examinar esse aspecto do problema, gostaria de colocar-me na posição de diretor da Campanha Nacional de Erradicação do Analfabetismo. Não suponho que minha apresentação registre, nos menores detalhes, o ponto de vista do verdadeiro diretor mas, esta apresentação pelo menos deve servir como base para esclarecimento das relações entre administração e pesquisa. Como diretor, eu sei que o grupo de pesquisa é o principal responsável pelo esboço, a execução e a análise dos projetos de pesquisa. Entretanto, os tipos de problemas que são pesquisados devem enquadrar-se numa definição geral de responsabilidade de pesquisa. Do grupo de pesquisa esperaria o seguinte: a) certos estudos básicos de estrutura de comunidade e das condições e problemas de educação; b) estudos especiais sobre os efeitos e os processos de inovação e problemas relacionados; c) auxílio à atividade de avaliação; e d) consultas sobre a formulação do plano de ação e desenvolvimento do programa. Essas funções serão apresentadas abaixo em maior detalhe.

I. Estudos básicos.

Embora a situação nem sempre permita a sua realização, é aconselhável fazer-se um relatório de reconhecimento da comunidade antes de iniciar-se a campanha. Este relatório deve incluir o inventário "básico" dos recursos, problemas e características, com o propósito específico de adaptar o programa à localidade, e com o propósito de proporcionar a base a partir da qual possa ser determinada a mudança. Os itens mais importantes, tanto para o relatório de reconhecimento como para o posterior, mais detalhado, vão numa lista abaixo:

1. História, demografia e características econômicas.
2. Agrupamentos sociais: instituições, associações e classes sociais.
3. Nível de vida - consumo e renda.
4. Inventário educacional:
 - a. Meios físicos - prédios e equipamento
 - b. Pessoal de ensino - número e qualificações.
 - c. População em idade escolar - alfabetização, distribuição.
 - d. Reprovações, evasões.
 - e. Problemas educacionais e soluções segundo a opinião de professores, estudantes, pais e líderes.
5. Levantamento da opinião pública para determinar os problemas mais importantes e as soluções adequadas.
6. Identificação dos líderes nos campos da política, religião, economia e educação. Se houve algum programa cívico recentemente, descrever os personagens, as atividades.

II. Estudos Especiais:

1. Sistemas de comunicação.

O sucesso da campanha depende, em parte, da facilidade com que vários grupos na comunidade podem ser informados sobre os objetivos e atividades do programa. Esses grupos incluem professores, alunos, pais, adultos anal-fabetos, e agrupamentos sociais em outras instituições. Assim, é necessário conhecermos a mecânica através da qual pode ser estabelecida a comunicação, e os tipos de dispositivos e símbolos de comunicação que funcionarão mais eficazmente em cada grupo. Onde tiverem sido estabelecidos grupos consultivos de cidadãos, devem eles ser cuidadosamente observados para que se determine sua eficácia.

Pode-se obter algum conhecimento do sistema de comunicação através da experiência, mas um conhecimento maior dependerá da observação das linhas tradicionais de comunicação, quem as usa e para que fins, e qual é a mecânica de seu funcionamento. Deve-se ter o cuidado de evitar confundir os meios de comunicação em massa como jornais, rádio, alto-falantes, faixas, etc., com o tipo cara-a-cara.

Uma vez determinados os centros de difusão e intercâmbio de conhecimento, devemos usá-los como "postos de escuta", isto é, como pontos onde as notícias da comunidade e a reação às fases da Campanha podem ser recebidas. Além disso, deve ser feito, a intervalos regulares, um levantamento mais sistemático, afim de determinar-se o grau de disseminação, compreensão e reação aos programas.

2. Participação dos cidadãos.

Sendo um dos objetivos da campanha levar a participação a um grupo mais amplo do que é comum em empreendimentos educacionais tradicionais, e sendo necessário, para isso, estimular a formação de comitês consultivos, grupos de pais e, talvez, de outros grupos, é importante observar o funcionamento e os resultados dessa fase do programa.

Deve-se, especialmente, orientar a observação em direção ao processo de formação de grupos, de sua relação com o pessoal da administração da Campanha, dos tipos de atividades em que estão empenhados, de suas relações com outros segmentos da comunidade, e das mudanças que ocorrem em seu funcionamento. O pesquisador, nesse caso, deve desempenhar o papel de observador-participante, com iniciativa para sugerir mudanças onde estas possam resultar numa melhoria do funcionamento. Devem ser cuidadosamente observados os resultados de todas as modificações.

O objetivo, a longo prazo, desta pesquisa será proporcionar o material empírico com o qual possa ser preparado um manual. Esse manual incluiria sugestões para organização, atividade e relações de trabalho com a Campanha, assim como exemplos específicos tirados da experiência.

3. O ensino de adultos analfabetos.

O recrutamento e ensino de adultos analfabetos apresenta muitos problemas a respeito dos quais, até agora, possuímos informações inadequadas. Entre outros itens, precisamos saber quais os fatores motivacionais sele-

tivos que influenciavam os que procuram uma oportunidade de se alfabetizar. Quais são os fatores diferenciais de idade, sexo, ocupação ou residência? Precisamos saber quais são os tipos de materiais educacionais mais eficientes, qual o melhor tipo de ensino, qual o tipo de professor que tem sucesso. Nos casos em que a instrução é ministrada através do rádio ou de outros dispositivos mecânicos, devemos ter resultados para comparar com os obtidos nas aulas tradicionais.

Há a questão ^{de relação} ~~da~~ relação da instrução ao treinamento em outras habilidades de ocupação. Há a questão da influência dos associados alfabetizados ou analfabetos, da melhoria antecipada e realizada nos emprêgos, da utilização de materiais de leitura. Que espécie de estímulo é necessário por parte da família, empregador ou vizinho.

Existem muitos problemas mecânicos ligados à época do dia, semana ou mês em que devem ser realizadas as aulas, sua duração, disposição de lugares, etc.

Se os resultados da Campanha devem ser disseminados com sucesso, em escala massiva, então precisamos conhecer a base empírica antes de prosseguirmos os trabalhos.

4. Frequência Escolar.

A princípio, a frequência escolar parece ser um dos problemas mais simples, mas considerando-se toda a extensão da regularidade da frequência, o número de anos escolares completados, e o uso diferencial (classe social) dos meios de instrução, quando eles são inadequados para a população inteira, o problema apresenta uma imensa complexidade. Entretanto, precisamos começar logo a abordar esse problema e, se conseguirmos apenas respostas parciais, ou apenas para uma parte do todo, mesmo isso já constituirá algum progresso.

Começemos com a suposição de que o comportamento diferencial é uma função do meio. Existem fatores físicos de acessibilidade, fatores sociais de valores de classe, fatores psicológicos de motivação, e fatores econômicos de despesas. Trata-se de fatores gerais sobre os quais já obtivemos alguma informação com os estudos básicos de classe social e valores sobre a educação.

Existem alguns fatores adicionais que devem ser levados em considera-

ção. Em particular, existe a questão básica de diferenças de classe no aproveitamento escolar, na medida em que elas estão relacionadas ao ambiente da sala de aula ou por êle são influenciadas. Estudos realizados nos Estados Unidos sugerem que a sala de aula pode ser um ambiente punitivo para a criança de classe mais baixa. As diferenças no sistema de classe e no ambiente escolar, no Brasil, oferecem oportunidades fora do comum para estudos comparativos. Esse problema tem importância decisiva para o sucesso da Campanha, pois muitos dos alunos adicionais, que serão atingidos pela expansão dos meios educacionais, virão da classe trabalhadora e serão filhos de pais que não tiveram experiência direta com educação. Talvez fosse possível organizar algumas turmas experimentais, num esforço de cooperação entre professores e o grupo de pesquisa, nas quais seriam observadas várias práticas afim de verificar-se sua eficácia com crianças da classe trabalhadora.

5. Inovações no currículo, métodos de ensino e exames.

O programa da campanha inclui o retreinamento de professores em métodos de aula, revisão do sistema de exames e promoção, introdução ou modificação de materiais de aula, e outros.

Afim de avaliar-se o efeito dessas mudanças, precisamos realizar vários estudos que demonstrem o grau de aceitação e aplicação, a compreensão dos objetivos de tais mudanças, e uma medida de seus efeitos expressa em termos de frequência, aproveitamento e, se possível, ~~motivação~~ *estado de espirito*.

O primeiro passo a ser dado nessa pesquisa é a descrição das práticas existentes e uma análise racional das mesmas. O segundo passo é a observação e a análise do processo de retreinamento e as decisões para a mudança. O terceiro passo será a observação da utilização dessas inovações, a reação de professores e alunos, e os resultados.

É essencial, para o sucesso de mudanças desse tipo, que aqueles que as vão realizar compreendam não apenas a técnica, mas também o objetivo e os resultados esperados, e a pesquisa pode ajudar a determinar a eficácia desse aspecto do programa.

6. Estudo experimental das relações entre o aproveitamento escolar e a participação dos pais.

Foi observado empiricamente que as crianças de famílias da classe média têm mais sucesso no meio escolar do que as da classe trabalhadora. Foi

aceito, de modo geral, que êsse sucesso relativamente maior do grupo da classe média é devido a vários fatores, entre os quais a superioridade econômica, do uso de meios de instrução especiais e, em geral, o maior interesse e pressão, por parte dos pais, para que a criança tenha sucesso nos estudos. A posição de classe, e seus valores, é, sem dúvida, um fator poderoso, mas não constitui a única influência que determina o aproveitamento escolar. Nem tôdas as crianças da classe média são bem sucedidas, e nem tôdas as da classe trabalhadora fracassam.

O problema é descobrir se será possível melhorar o aproveitamento das crianças da classe trabalhadora, interessando os pais em programas relacionados com a escola. Com um certo contrôle, propomos que se procure fazer com que os pais compreendam melhor os objetivos educacionais, que se dê aos pais indicações de como poderão ajudar os filhos a progredir na escola e, se possível, que se atribua aos pais responsabilidades simples com relação à escola.

Embora a modificação do desempenho escolar seja o objetivo principal da pesquisa, deve ser feita uma observação cuidadosa da relação entre os processos usados e a reação dos pais, professores, e crianças a tôdas as partes da atividade.

7. Cooperação entre agências.

Dentro de cada comunidade existem muitas agências, oficiais ou particulares, engajadas em atividades e programas relacionados com o bem-estar dos habitantes. Algumas delas possuem programas relacionados com a educação, e as atividades da Campanha podem, também, afetar o sucesso delas. Sendo êsses grupos e suas atividades parte do ambiente em que funcionará a Campanha, seria importante termos informações específicas relacionadas com sua organização, atividades e resultados.

Propomos seja feito um inventário dêsses grupos junto com uma descrição de sua organização, programas, pessoal, atividades e de sua relação atual e prévia com as atividades educacionais. Baseado nêsses levantamentos, deve-se fazer uma análise especificando a parte das atividades das agências que duplicam, complementam, e aquelas em que seria interessante haver ação conjunta com a Campanha.

A partir desta análise, devem ser preparados planos propondo áreas de atividade nas quais seja possível haver planejamento e operação em conjunto. A parte importante da pesquisa é a seguinte, que consiste na observação dos resultados dos esforços dos empreendimentos mixtos. O objetivo dessa pesquisa seria desenvolver o padrão, pelo qual se pudesse instituir, rapidamente, o esforço cooperativo e os processos necessários.

III. Organização de um Plano de Ação e Desenvolvimento do Programa.

O objetivo a longo prazo da Campanha é o desenvolvimento de um programa que possa ser aplicado em base nacional. Dos resultados das várias comunidades-pilôto, da experimentação na organização e processos educacionais, das modificações no currículo e treinamento, da introdução de mudanças nos métodos de ensino e nos processos de aprendizagem, da experiência de trabalho com cidadãos e pais, de tôdas essas fontes virá o conhecimento, a prática, os planos e os processos com os quais será possível melhorar a educação brasileira.

Resta, porém, um problema sério. Por meio de qual processo poderá esse conhecimento ser levado a outras pessoas e por elas utilizado? Qual é a dinâmica da difusão cultural e mudança na cultura e sociedade brasileiras? Não obstante o sucesso que possamos ter tido na preparação de um plano empírico para melhorar os processos educacionais, não há certeza absoluta de que êle será adotado em todo Brasil, a menos que compreendamos os métodos tradicionais pelos quais são assimilados novos itens culturais.

É por essa razão que a atividade da pesquisa deve estender-se além dos problemas puramente locais e imediatos de experimentação educacional e de comunidade, e deve, também, examinar as instituições através das quais podem ser introduzidas (ou impedidas) as mudanças no nível estatal e nacional. A educação no passado esteve e, no futuro, certamente estará intimamente ligada à política, família, religião e economia. Qualquer plano realista para o desenvolvimento educacional deve levar em consideração e ter conhecimento preciso do meio ambiente total, dentro do qual êle deve ser desenvolver.

Deve ser desenvolvido um plano de ação para aplicar o programa a um estado ou a uma região. A partir dessa experiência das comunidades-pilôto, veremos como isso pode ser realizado, tecnicamente, no nível do município. Precisamos, porém, saber mais do que isso. Este plano de ação deve

basear-se no seguinte: como podem ser utilizados os padrões governamentais, comunais e culturais do país para introduzir as modificações nas práticas existentes.

Este documento deve ser o resultado do esforço coletivo de educadores, administradores e pesquisadores.

(ass) Solon Kimball

26 de fevereiro de 1959

May 11, 1959

Dear Darcy:

At your request I shall make some brief observations on the recent conference on urbanization and industrialization. It is possible for me to say only complimentary things, but these you already know and the greatest value to you will be some analytical comments. In general, your plan to utilize the existing skills and knowledge of social scientists is a good one. You will ~~SENSE~~ secure a number of monographs at a minimum cost. If a plan can be worked out to integrate their findings into normal school education or to make the results available to teachers, you will have contributed a great deal to broadening the intellectual horizons of teachers. It is likely, however, that the subject matter of the separate monographs will be of greater interest to and benefit to others than teachers. This will be desirable but there is also the problem of how to orient the findings for the benefit of education.

In general, the monographs will be descriptive. They are giving information about the various aspects of Brasil and to some extent of the changes which have occurred. In this sense they add to knowledge, but it is uncertain to what extent they also add to the knowledge of the processes of change and development. For example, from some of the preliminary descriptions of monograph content, it is quite clear that the development of Brasil has always occurred within the context of a distinctive social system, transplanted and somewhat transformed in the New World, and under the control of a central government, first the Portuguese, later the Empire, and finally the Republic. But it is also clear that change in Brazil has always been related to the policy which those who controlled the government thought wise for--and here I would ask--the good of the country? for the benefit of the ruling oligarchs? for whom and for what? This question is crucial because present policy does not permit a free development of industrialization, the various restrictions and subsidies direct changes in population, in education, in production, etc., in quite distinct directions. If this

is so then change in Brazil ought to be studied in terms of the culture and the policies which those who control the government have instituted from time to time. It seems to me that the monographs are concentrating on the results, the manifestations of these changes, rather than examining the sources of change. The statement was made that there is a spirit of populism current today. I think this is a dangerous basis on which to interpret what is happening. First, because populism here is vastly different than the people's movements in the United States, and parallels and even the content of the term will distort what is happening.

The question which I would ask is, what is the relation between the Brazilian social system and the government and what are the factors which influence the decisions which are made in inhibiting or encouraging industrial society? Brazil is and has been much more of a planned society than the United States and the planning has been the function of a very small group--perhaps not organized-- but nonetheless making the decisions which affect the future.

I think this brings us to the next point which is that of understanding the dynamics of the industrial metropolis. There was one project which had this goal in mind, but I question if it can be achieved. The best delineation of urban society I know was made a half century ago in the studies of the University of Chicago. Since then we have not really perfected the techniques to do the study which now needs to be done. But we can visualize what is required. And I believe that when it is done it will be through the study of institutions and of their interrelationships. The list of projects was particularly weak in emphasis upon institutional analysis. For example, the description of labor legislation does not tell us the form of labor organization, its relation to government, to industry, to workers, or the public. The same comments can apply to the areas of education, religion, family, industry, etc. If you can solve this problem of institutional interdependence you will have made an original methodological contribution,

I do think it possible, however, to encourage attention to institutional aspects to prepare the way for some later research of a different type.

Finally, I wonder if you have made explicit the basic assumptions and theory under which you operate. Perhaps this was done in your communications with the participants or in ~~the~~ introductory remarks which I did not understand. However, it seems to me that your basic theoretical problem is that of change. From what has Brazilian society evolved, why, and in what direction is it going? And what are the processes which determine adoption, modification, and rejection of cultural items? I think you might confuse your collaborators if you attempted to bring discussion to this ~~point~~ problem, but at some point someone is going to write an interpretative monograph of the results, their ~~use~~ uses, and their theoretical implications.

Solon Kimball

Darcy Ribeiro

C O P I A

October 21, 1958

Dear Anísio:

The enclosed memorandum is written against the background of several changes in American life, some of which I shall enumerate here.

The appearance of the great superstructures of business, government, etc., has coincided with the increasing loss of local autonomy and self-sufficiency. In addition, the individual in his progression toward adulthood, and in later life is increasingly isolated from the whole world. The results are obvious. He must interpret experience against a limited and possibly distorted experiential base. Educators have not yet understood this problem, if they did I am not certain what they would suggest. I believe that education must supply the deficiency in the socialization of the child, and can do so only with a theory of change which it does not now have.

The normal schools have increasingly become state colleges, and have expanded their curricula to include arts and sciences. Unfortunately, there is no real leadership in this movement and the result is rather weak copies of liberal arts colleges.

The Colleges and universities are increasingly becoming the center of intellectual and cultural life for the adult population of a given territory. The philosophy of extension has taken hold. However, I do not believe that the educators see either the possibilities or the significance of this trend. I know of no one who has, as yet, described either the phenomena or its consequences. In any event, I see this movement as a counterbalance to the overpowering industrial and governmental bureaucrasies, and perhaps, the beginning of the emergence of another emphasis in American culture.

I think you will see now some of the observations which lie behind and remain unstated in the attached memorandum.

Sincerely,

a) Solon Kimbäll

Tradução

Memorando para Anísio Teixeira

Um dos motivos que me levaram a aceitar o convite para visitar o Brasil foi a expectativa e a esperança de que, por vários meios, eu seria capaz de dar alguma contribuição aos problemas educacionais e à pesquisa educacional e de que, dessa experiência, resultaria o estabelecimento de um intercâmbio de trabalho com V.S. e outros, intercâmbio êsse destinado a extender-se por um período de vários anos. Tenho plena noção de que minha contribuição só poderá ser eficiente depois que eu me tiver familiarizado com os tipos de problemas inerentes à educação, com as pessoas que procuram, ativamente, soluções para êsses problemas, com as instituições que orientam êsse trabalho, e com aquêles que, no futuro, assumirão a responsabilidade pela liderança educacional.

Logo após minha chegada tivemos uma discussão muito viva sôbre a relação entre as necessidades de uma sociedade urbana, industrial e científica e o processo educacional. V.S. disse ser imprescindível a modificação da abordagem intelectual e filosófica na educação primária e indicou que o ponto crítico da mudança seria encontrado entre os que formam os professôres para a educação primária. (Fica subentendido que a mesma necessidade existe, com menor prioridade, entre os professores de nível secundário e de nível superior.) Se compreendi bem sua formulação, tratava-se de institucionalizar as relações com as escolas normais, afim de proporcionarem-se canais através dos quais pudessem ser difundidas novas abordagens e um novo entendimento da educação. Naturalmente, o estabelecimento de tais canais constitue, apenas um dos aspectos do problema. Existex, ainda, a necessidade de preparar-se um conjunto de materiais que possam ser adaptados e utilizados por aquêles que formam professores. Êsse programa teria vários objetivos, mas suas conseqüências intelectuais importantes seriam o desenvolvimento de uma compreensão da natureza do mundo contemporâneo; da relação entre o processo educacional e a preparação de jovens afim de participarem plenamente da vida industrial urbana; proporcionar as bases para uma interpretação racional dos acontecimentos na vida das pessoas como indivíduos e como mem-

bro de grupos; e, se possível, desenvolver uma compreensão da necessidade e dos processos pelos quais o homem pode ampliar o controle das forças técnicas e sociais com as quais terá de competir.

Não é necessário, agora, apresentarmos um resumo dos pontos característicos da sociedade industrial e de seus problemas, ou dos métodos da ciência e sua relação com o mundo contemporâneo, ou das várias filosofias educacionais que se preocuparam com os problemas da sociedade moderna e da orientação educacional. Segundo creio, ambos concordamos em que uma era científica exige um sistema educacional que dê expressão às formas e aos modos de pensamento desse período da história. Infelizmente, a compreensão da ciência tem sido frequentemente considerada equivalente às conceitualizações um pouco estreitas que caracterizam a ciência física experimental. O aumento do estudo da ciência nas escolas (pelo menos nos Estados Unidos) caracterizou-se pela importância dada aos métodos de execução das experiências físicas em detrimento do desenvolvimento de uma compreensão do espírito, filosofia ou mesmo do método da ciência.

Em minha opinião, o método e a filosofia da história natural dar-nos-á o instrumento intelectual/^{de} que os educadores e a educação precisam. Essa abordagem inclui não apenas o método da ciência, mas proporciona, também, uma filosofia para a vida e para a compreensão da natureza do mundo. Seus princípios básicos são bastante simples e podem ser aprendidos com pouca idade. Não há matéria do ensino acadêmico que não possa ser apreendida mais depressa quando a ela são aplicados os princípios da história natural.

Se aceitamos a premissa de que dentro do método da história natural temos a base para uma abordagem educacional, nosso problema passa, então, a ser a incorporação desse método aos processos e ao conteúdo da educação. Neste ponto estaremos explorando terreno novo, pois não possuímos, agora, um conjunto de experiências sobre o qual possamos nos apoiar. Sendo o nosso objetivo imediato a liberalização e o ampliam^{to} da conceitualização dos professores de escola normal, creio que a melhor solução se-

ria preparar material retirado de fontes com as quais o grupo já esteja familiarizado, porém, dando-lhe forma e interpretação de modo a que se possa ter uma nova percepção da dinâmica da vida social. Os materiais básicos serão encontrados na literatura já existente sobre a história do Brasil, os tipos de agrupamentos sociais, adaptação ao meio ambiente, crenças e valores, tecnologia, e as relações entre tudo isso. Embora até o momento não tenha lido bastante, já encontrei muito material que poderá ser usado. Como, mais tarde, desejo discutir mais demoradamente esse problema da preparação de materiais, passo a tratar, agora, de um problema relacionado: o do desenvolvimento de um padrão de liderança para as escolas normais.

O Problema da Liderança Educacional

A liderança surge, geralmente, de um tipo de relação no qual existe uma interação contínua e sistemática entre grupos ou indivíduos. O reconhecimento e a satisfação das necessidades daqueles que recebem ajuda e orientação é o principal papel da liderança. No caso de uma relação de liderança entre o Centro e as escolas normais, o Centro prestaria assistência em determinados problemas e estaria atento aos problemas que aparecessem no funcionamento da escola normal. Depois de algum tempo, a liderança começaria a esclarecer problemas adicionais, dos quais os diretores e professores de escolas normais não têm conhecimento ou possuem somente uma vaga idéia. De imediato, devemos pensar no melhor meio de atingir-se os funcionários das escolas normais, com o objetivo de, durante largo período, incorporar novos métodos e conteúdo à instrução.

De um modo geral, devemos fazer uma distinção entre a liderança em programas de ação e na pesquisa. Não procurarei dar, aqui, uma lista extensa de propostas específicas para cada uma dessas categorias. A preparação de um plano completo, e de longa duração, deve ficar sob a responsabilidade de pessoas que estão mais familiarizadas do que eu com os problemas específicos e os tipos de assistência que podem ser prestados. Entretanto, há um ponto sobre o qual desejo insistir - a pesquisa e a ação devem ser coordenadas e ambas devem ser o resultado de uma cooperação com aqueles que dirigem a formação de professores. Em outras palavras, a pesquisa e a ação devem ser planejadas em conjunto com os funcio-

nários das escolas normais e deve-se procurar a participação dêles quando se tiver de recolher e analisar os resultados. Não tenho conhecimento do que já foi feito ou do que está sendo feito nêsse sentido, mas gostaria de oferecer algumas sugestões que poderão ser úteis.

Sugestões para Pesquisas

1. Numa pesquisa tipo "levantamento" solicitar-se-ia aos diretores e professores de escolas normais, obedecendo-se a uma certa prioridade, que indicassem os tipos de problemas que prejudicam a realização de seus objetivos. Pode-se, também, pedir-lhes que indiquem soluções para ajudar a resolver êsses problemas. A partir dêsses dados, pode-se formular um sem número de planos de pesquisas adicionais.

2. Um "levantamento" complementar pode ser feito entre os alunos diplomados mais recentemente, no qual êles seriam solicitados a enumerar os pontos fortes e fracos do seu treinamento para professor. Os dados podem ser usados para ~~xx~~ modificar-se os programas de treinamento. Um estudo semelhante pode ser feito entre aquêles que estudaram no exterior, afim de aperfeiçoar-se o processo de seleção de pessoas para estudo no exterior e dar nova feição a êsse estudo.

3. Uma pesquisa sôbre o processo de "inovação" examinaria a origem e a influência de idéias e materiais que modificam a compreensão e o comportamento. Os resultados dariam uma idéia do alcance, magnitude e origem da transformação cultural.

Um Programa de Ação

Segundo me parece, as escolas normais recebem pouca orientação ou assistência de qualquer lado. Entretanto, inicialmente deve ser realizado um levantamento para determinar a origem e o tipo de programas de ação que afetam o funcionamento da escola normal. Os resultados dêste levantamento devem fornecer a base sôbre a qual se assentará o programa de desenvolvimento. Antes de elaborada essa lista e estabelecida uma certa prioridade, será impossível determinar-se a magnitude ou os tipos de necessidades, mas, como exemplo, gostaria de sugerir dois tipos de atividades:

1. Fui informado, e minha observação, conquanto restrita, confirma o fato, de que é limitada a qualidade e a quantidade de livros nas biblio-

tecas das escolas normais. Trata-se de uma deficiência que pode ser sanada (num nível mínimo) bem rapidamente e sem grande despesa.

O Centro pode preparar uma lista dos melhores livros sobre os aspectos políticos, históricos, culturais e educacionais do Brasil, com a inclusão de alguns itens especiais de origem estrangeira, e fornecer às bibliotecas das escolas normais esses livros, ou alguns deles, mediante o pagamento de uma taxa nominal ou, simplesmente, doá-los. Seria interessante, também, que houvesse uma série de livros escolhidos à disposição dos alunos e professores, os quais poderiam adquiri-los, a preços reduzidos, para suas bibliotecas particulares.

2. Existe, ainda, a possibilidade de um segundo tipo de "serviço" na forma de um boletim regular (mensal) onde seriam apresentados resumos dos resultados de pesquisas recentes, descritas novas abordagens a diferentes problemas. Esse boletim, de um modo geral, serviria para disseminar informação sobre métodos, etc. Tal plano teria objetivos vários mas, em especial, proporcionaria uma fonte contínua de estímulo para novas idéias.

Embora eu esteja disposto a ajudar qualquer programa relacionado com pesquisas ou assistências às escolas normais, não é esse o meu interesse principal nem o objetivo deste memorando. No começo deste memorando ~~ix~~ mencionei a necessidade de aplicarem-se os métodos da história natural a objetivos educacionais. Isso só se conseguiria com longo esforço, mas já se pode fazer alguma coisa, a começar com a preparação dos materiais, com base na história e cultura brasileiras, os quais serviriam como alicerce para um curso ~~de~~ que demonstraria o emprego da história natural na educação.

O objetivo imediato seria o preparo de um livro de leitura com comentários e análise adequados. Esse livro focalizaria os diferentes tipos de comunidades e instituições associadas no Brasil, e os aspectos modificadores da história, tecnologia, ecologia, etc. Sua base conceitual seria uma teoria de transformação que mostraria as interdependências entre indivíduo, cultura, e sociedade. Vários objetivos seriam alcançados por meio dessa organização. Ela serviria como um exemplo concreto de um método de organização e interpretação da experiência; iria sugerir, por afinidade, como poderiam ser reorientados os outros assuntos; servi-

ria como base para problemas de pesquisa; ampliaria os horizontes intelectual e conceitual dos alunos.

A realização de um projeto dêsse tipo exigiria os esforços combinados de várias pessoas qualificadas. Seu diretor deve ser uma pessoa com amplo conhecimento da história, cultura e educação brasileiras. Creio não ser presunção de minha parte sugerir que V.S. tem tôdas essas qualidades. O assistente deve ser uma pessoa viva e que tenha experiência ^{em} ~~de~~ ciências sociais, especialmente em antropologia. Depois, deve ser recrutado um grupo de jovens, mais ou menos ao nível do gráu de mestre, representando várias disciplinas, tais como antropologia, sociologia, economia, ecologia, história, geografia, ciências política, psicologia, etc. Essas pessoas devem ter capacidade para desenvolver um interesse comum em educação, e devem dar mostras de que virão/á ocupar posição de liderança em educação. (Minha esperança é que alguns dêes, senão todos, dêste último grupo, venham, eventualmente, a estudar em Teachers College onde receberão treinamento avançado, ^{durante o} ~~xxxx~~ qual usarão o trabalho feito aquí como base para suas teses.)

A preparação do livro de leitura servirá como laboratório de treinamento; deve produzir materiais para serem usados e estimular pesquisas que servirão de ponto de partida para uma série de monografias.

Solon' Kimball

21 de outubro de 1958

Rio de Janeiro

Translation

Memorando para Darcy Ribeiro

O propósito dêste memorando é discorrer sôbre quatro importantes áreas de pesquisa, cada uma delas relacionada com algum aspecto do problema educacional. Trata-se de: (a) o desenvolvimento de uma tipologia de comunidade; (b) a cultura da criança; (c) análise das instituições educacionais, e (d) pesquisa experimental e aplicada. O material apresentado sob cada um dêsses cabeçalhos, à medida que êstes forem sendo desenvolvidos, indicará o grau de interêsse.

Êste relatório não pretende ser uma apresentação ampla de tôda a série de problemas de pesquisa. Além do mais, como êle focaliza a relação entre (a) os processos educacionais e (b) os sistemas social e cultural dentro dos quais funcionam êsses processos, será dada maior importância a alguns aspectos da comunidade, das instituições, das características individuais e da dinâmica, do que a outros.

Em primeiro lugar, parece ser aconselhável tornar explícitas pelo menos algumas suposições básicas, sôbre as quais foi construído o meu pensamento. Delas, a principal é a de que as instituições educacionais, assim como outras formas de vida social, refletem o sistema socio-cultural e os valores de uma sociedade, podendo, também, estar presentes algumas manifestações de discontinuidade e não-conformismo as quais, de certo modo, constituem manifestações de transformações ou de mal-funcionamento de uma parte do sistema. Devemos reconhecer, entretanto, que, numa sociedade onde se verificam mudanças rápidas, existirá um desequilíbrio na taxa de transformação social entre as várias instituições. Assim, no caso do Brasil, as instituições e os métodos educacionais, mais do que outros aspectos da sociedade, parecem ser mais conservadores e resistirem mais à mudança, provavelmente por estarem mais ligados ao status e às tradições de religião e de família trazidas da Europa.

Agora, entretanto, o Brasil está sofrendo transformações as quais, em virtude de sua grandeza e rapidez, têm consequências quase explosivas. Em grande parte, deve atribuir-se a rapidez da transformação ao

fato do sistema social e os valores permitirem e estimularem, livremente, a introdução e incorporação de novos sistemas de organização humana e de novas técnicas, principalmente na esfera industrial, e do clima cultural aprovar e receber de braços abertos as transformações. Em ritmo mais lento, ocorrem as mudanças internas nas instituições tradicionais da família, religião, educação e nos sistemas técnicos e na organização social ligada à agricultura. Na verdade, a resistência à transformação, em alguns segmentos da sociedade, pode contribuir para uma estabilidade temporária. O fato das instituições educacionais reagirem menos rapidamente do que outros segmentos representa um problema que, por si só, merece um exame cuidadoso. Eventualmente, entretanto, o desenvolvimento desigual dos conceitos de organização, valores, tecnologia, etc., entre os vários segmentos, pode vir a ser tão grande de modo a tornar patológico, dentro do novo ambiente, o antigo modo de vida. Pode servir de exemplo, com suas atuais manifestações de deslocamento de populações, de miséria humana e de falta de recursos, o ~~seu~~ primitivo sistema agrícola do sertão. Embora êsse caso represente um exemplo extremo e se limite a uma pequena parte do país, ilustra bastante bem o que pode acontecer a qualquer grupo e a suas instituições se êles deixam de manter um certo equilíbrio entre a realidade interna e o resto da sociedade. É óbvio que o desequilíbrio e sua ~~correção~~ ~~de~~ ~~correção~~ podem resultar em severas e desnecessárias privações.

Um dos problemas da pesquisa social é procurar compreender a dinâmica da transformação social, afim de que se possa dar alguma assistência e, quem sabe?, orientação ao desenvolvimento e evolução sociais. Entretanto, o mundo ainda não parece ter se desenvolvido ao ponto de saber qual o tipo de sistema educacional necessário a uma sociedade industrial. É óbvio, entretanto, que o sistema que servia a uma cultura agrária-comercial, com ênfase sobre a classe social e a família, não satisfaz as necessidades de uma sociedade industrial-urbana. Na verdade, uma das características de um sistema educacional moderno parece ser a capacidade de flexibilidade e mudança rápida. Dêsse modo,

talvez não deveríamos pensar em um único tipo, mas em vários tipos de processos e instituições educacionais.

Nos parágrafos precedentes eu apresentei pelo menos algumas das suposições que serviram de base e influenciaram a seleção das áreas de pesquisa. Em poucas palavras, elas são: a organização institucional reflete outros aspectos do sistema socio-cultural de que faz parte; segmentos diferentes da sociedade brasileira estão sofrendo transformações em ritmo diferente; as instituições educacionais tendem a resistir às transformações; e a transformação educacional planejada pode ser efetuada através de pesquisas.

I. Desenvolvimento de uma Tipologia de Comunidade

Acredita-se, de um modo geral, que as variações de ambiente tiveram influência preponderante sobre as diferenças regionais nos padrões agrários do Brasil. Além disso, a industrialização desenvolveu-se em ritmo desigual dentro e entre as regiões. Fui informado de que se acha em vias de publicação uma monografia sobre as áreas regionais. A delimitação de regiões é, naturalmente, o primeiro passo necessário para o desenvolvimento de um esquema classificatório. Embora a comparação numa base regional seja válida e útil, não nos devemos esquecer de que os fatores ambientais são apenas um dos vários fatores que contribuem para a forma e o funcionamento da vida da comunidade. A teoria antropológica, por exemplo, há muito reconhece que, com as tecnologias complexas, as influências ambientais são reduzidas ao mínimo, e que uma cultura industrial chega a reformar o ambiente afim de atender às suas necessidades.

Os problemas do demógrafo não são muito diferentes dos do geógrafo. Quando ele usa o número de habitantes de uma determinada localidade como base ~~para~~ classificatória (com outros requintes tais como densidade, mobilidade, etc.), ele depende de uma variável que pode ser tanto uma manifestação como uma determinante. A classificação é melhorada quando é levado em consideração o tipo de atividade preponderante, tal como comércio, mineração, fabricação, etc. Quaisquer que sejam as ~~at-~~
~~vidas~~ dificuldades, ainda há algum mérito em dividirem-se as unidades de comparação em cidades grandes e pequenas, vilas, aldeias e áreas rurais.

É importante criar-se, em primeiro lugar, uma tipologia de comunidade, pois assim guardamos energia para pesquisas mais intensas e temos em mãos uma base para comparação. Nosso principal objetivo, entretanto, é descrever os aspectos sociais e culturais da vida da comunidade afim de compreendermos o cenário dentro do qual a criança chega à maturidade. Vamos, então, conhecer as necessidades de aprendizagem de cada geração e as instituições e processos através dos quais se processa a transmissão da cultura. A tipologia de comunidade proporciona, também, o conhecimento indispensável para que se proponham transformações nos processos educacionais.

Em seus moldes tradicionais, o estudo de comunidade concentrava-se numa procura de respostas a perguntas sobre o prestígio e o status (classe social) e sua dinâmica (mobilidade social), nas características físicas da cidade e na distribuição de sua população (ecologia urbana), e em algumas das atividades expressas por meio do comportamento institucional em associações, educação, religião e família. Com raras exceções, a atenção dada à dinâmica da vida da comunidade tem sido limitada. Essa dinâmica pode ser observada nas atividades correntes e sempre repetidas através das quais os indivíduos se reúnem em vários grupos afim de atender às necessidades da vida individual e do grupo.

Êsses grupos, sua organização, função e atividades têm grande significação para nós, pois é dentro deles que funciona o processo de socialização. Assim, precisamos dedicar nossa atenção aos processos e funções educacionais da família, escola, igreja, grupo de iguais, e agência econômica, e suas manifestações dentro do contêxto de idade, sexo e estrutura de classe. Devemos, também, procurar examinar os processos de transformação social, a incorporação de novas técnicas, e a modificação de valores através dos quais aparecem novas atividades, grupos e valores ou modificam-se os velhos.

II. A Cultura da Criança

Os processos de aculturação e socialização nas sociedades tradicionais dão importância à transmissão e aquisição dos valores, conhe-

cimento e habilidades existentes. Isso é ~~de~~ fácil de compreender, pois numa sociedade estável os papéis e atividades que o jovem assume ao chegar à maturidade são quase idênticos aos das gerações anteriores.

Em culturas agrárias, tais como a que predominava nos Estados Unidos durante o século XVIII, a função educacional estava distribuída pela comunidade inteira. A criança aprendia os valores básicos, os padrões de discriminação e as habilidades dentro da família. A escola e a igreja eram, na realidade, extensões do sistema familiar e, como tais, não entravam em conflito com essas instituições, e sim suplementavam a aprendizagem dentro da família, por meio da transmissão sistemática das habilidades de escrever, ler e de aritmética nas escolas, e dos valores morais e normas de comportamento nas igrejas. As primeiras escolas superiores de New England eram a princípio seminários para a formação de um clero educado. Mais tarde, êles dedicaram-se ao ensino das humanidades que preparavam jovens para as profissões mais ~~importantes~~ elevadas ou, simplesmente, exprimiam funções de status. O rápido desenvolvimento das escolas técnicas superiores só começou na segunda metade do século XVIII, e sua origem e desenvolvimento foi, inicialmente, um movimento do povo. A contribuição dessas escolas para o progresso científico e técnico dos Estados Unidos foi enorme.

A história brasileira é um pouco diferente. No primeiro período, os jesuitas controlavam a educação e usavam as escolas ~~como~~ como um meio de conseguir a transformação social e fixar uma filosofia de vida. As outras diferenças foram descritas por estudiosos brasileiros. Em ambos os casos, entretanto, uma sociedade industrial ~~tem~~ tem necessidade de introduzir novas funções em seus processos educacionais.

O mundo ocidental está desenvolvendo, atualmente, um sistema educacional racionalizado que, em sua abordagem, utiliza os métodos das ciências experimentais e naturais e adapta ~~e adapta~~ suas técnicas (pedagogia) às características psicológicas, culturais e sociais da vida da criança. Como essas características são variáveis, isto é, como elas são expressões do meio cultural onde a criança se desenvolve, os métodos de ensino terão de variar de cultura a cultura, de grupo de idade a grupo de idade, afim de refletir a variação cultural. A escola

do futuro, porém, deve ir além da simples transmissão de habilidades de leitura, etc.; ela deve servir como ligação entre os padrões de pensamento (científico) desenvolvidos nas ciências naturais, físicas e sociais - padrões de pensamento que conceitualizam o mundo exterior como sistemas de interdependências. Nem a família, nem a comunidade, como as conhecemos, possuem o conhecimento ou a capacidade para transmitir essa nova concepção do mundo.

O acréscimo dessa nova função, a de transmitir o conhecimento e compreensão dos sistemas físico e social, não implica num abandono, pela escola, de suas funções anteriores. Deve ela continuar a desenvolver habilidades nos instrumentos de comunicação e compreensão e continuar a dar expressão aos valores de família e de comunidade. Os aspectos emocional e social do comportamento desenvolvem-se melhor dentro da estrutura dos grupos estáveis, mas a criança precisa também aprender os cânones da discriminação (valorizar) que lhes permitam avaliar o mundo além de seu grupo imediato, assim como as habilidades técnicas para que possa ganhar a vida.

Assim, o problema para os educadores é duplo. Devem adaptar tanto os conceitos quanto as técnicas da ciência ao conteúdo e operação do processo de ensino. Além disso, devem compreender a dinâmica do processo de aprendizagem, através do qual a criança compreende e integra a experiência. Embora a psicologia tenha contribuído grandemente para a educação no que se refere à aprendizagem individual (nas culturas ocidentais), os aspectos social e cultural têm sido, até agora, negligenciados. Por esse motivo, essas duas tarefas pertencem, em grande parte, ao futuro e dependerão tanto da experimentação quanto da pesquisa.

Como nesta parte estamos focalizando a criança, preocupamo-nos mais com o problema do processo de aprendizagem. De um modo geral, a dinâmica do desenvolvimento da criança está contida dentro dos processos de socialização e aculturação, ambos os quais são a resultante e a manifestação da participação em grupos sociais. Nossa atenção, então, deve concentrar-se no ambiente externo da criança e, especialmente,

na sua participação num sistema de relações sociais. Além disso, precisamos determinar os efeitos desse ambiente sobre o desenvolvimento, por parte da criança, de uma compreensão de si mesma e de seu lugar no mundo. É necessário, também, compreendermos os processos pelos quais a criança estabelece um sistema de avaliação para interpretar os acontecimentos e os objetos do mundo ao redor dela. Em outras palavras, precisamos desenvolver uma teoria de aprendizagem, mas, ao contrário dos psicólogos, não precisamos procurar nossas respostas no sistema nervoso. Ao invés disso, procuraremos respostas na relação entre o comportamento da criança e o mundo exterior. Estamos interessados especificamente em: (a) a base de avaliação da criança; (b) a relação entre esse sistema de avaliação e o lugar e participação da criança em grupos, e (c) a relação desses dois com os tipos de atividades das quais a criança participa, e a relação de todos esses fatores com os resultados da aprendizagem na escola.

No momento em que a criança entra na escola pela primeira vez, ela já desenvolveu conceitos do mundo, já conhece seu lugar nele e possui um sistema de integração de novas experiências. Ainda não sabemos até que ponto persiste esse sistema, e desconhecemos as condições ou processos sob os quais ocorrem modificações.

A criança que penetra na sala de aula pela primeira vez, enfrenta o educador com um já desenvolvido sistema de comportamento, conceitos, e processos de avaliação e integração de novas experiências. Assim, através da pesquisa precisamos aumentar nosso conhecimento desses pontos e transmitir nossa compreensão aos educadores. Além disso, precisamos realizar pesquisas adicionais em níveis de desenvolvimento subsequente.

III. A Análise das Instituições Educacionais:

As duas instituições educacionais mais importantes para nós, agora, são a escola primária e a escola normal. Existe um largo campo para possíveis projetos de pesquisa em cada uma delas. Alguns desses projetos podem ser considerados "levantamentos" para coleta de dados relativos a números e distribuição. Essa forma é essencial para o planejamento educacional e para determinar as tendências dentro de um país. Essa função pertence a uma unidade estatística.

Outros tipos de pesquisa enquadram-se na categoria de "testes" padronizados para medir o desempenho, a inteligência, a percepção, a per-

sonalidade, etc. Esse tipo de pesquisa é também útil e tem sido muito usado para fins de colocação, orientação, etc. Outros problemas de pesquisa podem ser formulados nas áreas dos métodos de ensino, dos materiais de sala de aula, do conteúdo de livros didáticos e do ~~currículo~~ currículo. A lista pode ser ampliada.

Se, porém, o nosso objetivo é introduzir transformações nos métodos de treinamento de professores e no método e conteúdo da instrução primária, devemos primeiro compreender a organização e o funcionamento dessas instituições em termos sociais e culturais. Além disso, precisamos determinar a relação entre as atividades e os funcionários dessas instituições e as estruturas sociais das comunidades em que se encontram localizadas. O emprego de observadores-participantes combinado com entrevistas estruturadas, tem sido o método mais bem sucedido no estudo institucional. Pode-se, também, empregar uma forma modificada de auto-levantamento, com a participação dos estudados, que seriam empregados para reunir certos tipos de informação.

Uma pesquisa desse tipo teria mais valor se fosse realizada dentro da estrutura dos objetivos e das diretrizes educacionais atuais ou planejadas. Por exemplo, seria possível ampliar o raio de ação da escola normal a fim de que incluía o patrocínio de atividades educacionais e culturais dentro da comunidade? Que tipo de estágio ou de treinamento pós-graduado pode ser oferecido? Até que ponto pode o corpo docente das escolas normais ser usado como orientadores no funcionamento das escolas primárias? Qual sua relação com a educação de adultos? Quais são os processos pelos quais os novos métodos e idéias são introduzidos no ensino das escolas normais?, etc.

IV. Pesquisa Experimental e Aplicada.

Muitos projetos interessantes podem ser organizados nesta área. Dou a seguir algumas sugestões:

1. Curso de extensão para professores primários rurais.

O curso constaria de uma série de projetos, durante os quais a professora, com o auxílio de alunos e de outros, reuniria informações relativas à história, demografia, economia e práticas sociais da comunidade na qual ela ensina.

2. Cooperativa de pais em escolas maternais ou jardins de infância. Esse tipo de atividade e de prática parece ser estranho ao costume brasileiro, mas seria interessante tentar ver quais os fatores que contribuem para suas dificuldades.

3. Orientação pre-primária para os filhos de trabalhadores.

Essa sugestão surgiu dos resultados do estudo sobre a favela, o qual mostrou, entre outras coisas, que as crianças faveladas levam desvantagem quando entram na escola por desconhecerem o comportamento escolar adequado. Proponho que algumas crianças recebam, sob controle, instrução preliminar nas práticas "culturais" de uma escola, com o objetivo de compará-lo seu comportamento e desempenho subsequentes com ^o das ~~as~~ crianças que não receberam esse tratamento.

4. Educação dos pais sobre as funções da escola.

Se possível, realizar uma experiência, sob controle, na qual os possíveis efeitos de um programa de educação para os pais sobre as funções da escola e a responsabilidade dos pais, reflitam-se no desempenho das crianças cujos pais participaram ou não do programa.

5. Decentralização educacional e responsabilidade local. Como uma fase do programa de pesquisa do CNEA relaciona-se diretamente com esse problema, tornam-se desnecessários outros comentários.

6. Classe social, inteligência, aprendizagem.

Estudos realizados no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos mostraram haver uma relação entre o desempenho escolar e a classe social. Desconheço, entretanto, qualquer programa experimental que aplique alguns dos princípios resultantes de pesquisas nas indústrias, onde houve um grande desenvolvimento no ritmo da aprendizagem. Se esses princípios forem válidos deveria, então, ser reduzida, ou, talvez, eliminada, a desigualdade de desempenho das crianças de níveis sociais diferentes.

Solon Kimball

26 de novembro de 1958

Rio de Janeiro

MEMORANDUM FOR: Darcy Ribeiro

SUBJECT: Program and research Functions.

I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS:

The relationship between social research and program functions of an administrative agency have not, as yet, been sufficiently well established as a working procedure that it is possible to prescribe hard and fast rules which govern either the relationship or the contribution of research to program development, administration, procedures, or experimentation. In general, administrative decisions continue to be made on the basis of rule of thumb practices and for policy to be set by contingencies which may or may not have relation to fundamental problems. The research function and the researcher usually remains pretty much outside the councils of policy formulation; decisions affecting administrative organization and change; activities associated with the introduction of new or modified changes in operating procedures; and the evaluative process.

The full acceptance and incorporation of the social research function into administrative organization and processes is going to be a slow process. In fact, only recently have social researchers themselves been willing to be concerned with the type of questions which administrators need answered and which had practical and immediate consequences upon policy and action. The types of questions with which social scientists have traditionally concerned themselves have been of another order. As a consequence, administrators have found little of specific help in social science writings that would contribute to their day-to-day decisions although they have benefitted from the general information and point-of-view. There have also been other obstacles of a practical, theoretical, and ethical nature that hampered effective working relationships. These difficulties, however, are not insurmountable and over a period of time there has been accumulating a body of experience and knowledge from which it is possible to specify the type of contribution which research can make to program development as well as to the relationship between administrators and researchers.

For the moment we will not face the issue of the extent to which program should be a function of research. The reality is that in most cases programs are the result of decisions based upon economic, political, social, or doctrinaire considerations. These decisions come primarily from what may be termed "pooled judgements". That is, they represent the synthesized contribution of several persons who occupy positions of leadership and responsibility. If research findings are available they may or may not be taken into account. But, in any event, the final decision and the responsibility rests upon the administrator. The research function may or may not be included at a later date, and if it does become a part of the activity, its results may or may not find incorporation into policy and procedure.

In general, program oriented personnel are so habituated to making day-to-day decisions and to depend upon traditional methods of action that they are seldom able to appreciate the value of research activity as providing a basis upon which decisions can be made. They seldom, if ever, seek answers to the types of questions which they ask by recourse to the experimental methods of science. They are more adept at examining the results of surveys and drawing certain conclusions from these. But there are whole areas of behavior which are so routinized and have become so natural that it is unlikely that they will even voluntarily consider the proposition that these areas lend themselves to research methods.

If and when administrative or program personnel present problems or ask questions the researcher must be alert to see if these can be translated into research proposals. But the researcher should not leave the initiative of question asking to the administrator alone. The administrator is not sufficiently aware of many of the basic problems that he is able to ask questions in such areas. Thus, the responsibility rests upon the researcher to seek understandings beyond those which seem immediately important.

Under the conditions that the research functions has been added after the program has been developed the researchers first concern should be the program itself. It should be examined in terms of objectives, organization, procedures, stages or steps of implementation and development, justification, and conceptualization. These constitute one portion of the

"givens". Although subsequent events may cause their modification it is from this formulation that the research problems must be abstracted. The other portion of the "given" is the situation within which the research is to be conducted.

The preceding paragraphs state certain generalizations which are based upon experience. Their specific applicability depends upon a number of factors. For example, if a research function has been included as part of the program from the time of its inception, the problem will be somewhat different than in a situation where research has been added after the program has gotten under way. Or if a problem has been researched extensively previous to the development of a program, the type of subsequent research will be of a different kind than in other circumstances. Whatever the specific situation, the general problems of the relation between the research function and program will remain. Activity within an ongoing institution is such that there is never a dearth of problems to be investigated as the organization or the conditions of the environment within which it operates, changes. There can always be disagreements about the priorities of specific research projects.

The exemplification of the relation between research and program will ~~utilize~~ be presented in ~~the~~ a statement of research needs of the Campanha Nacional de Erradicaçao do Analfabetismo under the supervision of Professor Roberta Moreira who has established a contractual relation for research direction with Professor Darcy Ribeiro of the Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. The CNEA is a semi-experimental program withⁱⁿ the Ministry of Education which has as its objective the development of a plan for the rapid extension of literacy to adults and the provision of schooling for all children.

At this phase of its program the main emphasis of the research aspects of the CNEA is upon the processes and results of innovation. The main items in its program include the extension of literacy to "adultos analfabet~~os~~^{os}", provision of classrooms and teachers for all children of school age, modification of curriculum, teaching methods, and administration, teacher training, and encouragement of citizen participation in school affairs. The program has already been initiated in three pilot communities and will be extended to others during the coming months.

The general logics which apply to research in the processes of innovation are quite simple. The methods and procedures are more difficult. There is, first of all, the basic assumption that the researcher is dealing with ongoing systems and that as a first step it is necessary to know the characteristics, dynamics, and conditions of the system into which change is brought. Next, one needs to know what changes are proposed and by whom, how, and when are the changes introduced. Finally, there is need to observe the effects of the changes upon the conditions within which the system works and the results upon those who are participants within it.

There is the further goal of abstracting principles which generalize experience and which, in addition, describe procedures and appropriate details of behavior. It should always be remembered that the research also operates within an administrative and program relationship or framework and that for this reason the relation between research, administration, and program should be subject to continuous examination. In other words, the researcher is examining not only the effects of the action upon the system, but he is also examining at the same time the operation of the program.

Within the organization and program of the CNEA the research function is an extremely important one, not only because it permits the systematic assessment of results, but also because it provides an opportunity to apply the methods of social science to education.

II. RELATIONS BETWEEN RESEARCH AND ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS:

For the purpose of examining this aspect of the problem I should like to place myself in the position of the director of the Campanha Nacional de Erradicação Analfabetismo. I do not presume that my presentation will record in accurate detail the point of view of the actual director but, at least, this presentation should serve as the basis for clarification of relationships between administration and research. As director, I am fully aware that the design, execution, and analysis of research projects is the primary responsibility of the research group. However, the types of problems which are researched should fall within a general definition of research responsibilities.

I would expect that the research group would make a) certain basic studies of community structure and of the conditions and problems of education; b) conduct special studies on the effects and processes of innovation and related problems; c) assist in the activity of assessment; and d) advise on policy formulation and program development. These functions will be presented in greater detail below.

I. Basic Studies.

Although the situation will not always permit its realization it is desirable to make a reconnaissance report of the community previous to the initiation of the campanha. It is this report which should include the "base line" inventory of resources, problems and characteristics, for the purpose of specific adaptation of the program to the locality, and for the purpose of providing the base from which change could be determined. The major items for both the reconnaissance and a later more detailed report are listed below.

1. History, demography and economic characteristics.
2. Social groupings: institutions, associations, social classes.
3. Level of livelihood - consumption and income
4. Educational inventory.
 - a. Physical facilities-buildings and equipment
 - b. Teaching personnel-numbers and qualifications.
 - c. School age population--literacy, distribution
 - d. Reprovações, evasões.
5. Educational problems and solutions as seen by teachers, students, and parents, and leaders.
5. Public opinion survey to determine major problems and suggested solutions.
6. Identification of leaders in political, religious, economic and educational fields. If there has been any recent civic program, describe personages, activities.

II. Special Studies:

1. Communication Systems:

The successful operation of the Campanha depends, in part, upon the ease with which various groups in the community can be advised of the objectives and activities of the program. These groups include teachers, students, parents, adult illiterates, and social groupings in other institutions. Thus it is necessary to know the mechanics through which communication can be established and the types of communication devices and symbols which work

most effectively with each group. Where citizen advisory groups have been established these should be carefully observed to see how effective they are.

Some knowledge of the communication system can be gained through experience but most will depend upon observing the traditional lines of communication, who uses them and for what purposes, and what are the mechanics of their operation. Care should be taken to avoid confusing the mass communication devices of newspapers, radio, loud speakers, banners, etc., with the face-to-face type.

Once the centers for diffusion and exchange of knowledge have been determined we should then use these as "listening posts," that is as points where news of the community and reaction to phases of the Campanha may be received. In addition, from time to time a more systematic survey should be made to determine the degree of dissemination, understanding and response to the program.

2. Citizen Participation:

Since one of the policy objectives of the Campanha is the extension of participation to a wider group than has been customary in the traditional educational enterprise, and since to accomplish this end the formation of advisory committees, ~~of~~ parent groups, and perhaps ~~of~~ other groups will be encouraged, it is important to observe the procedures and results of this phase of the program.

In particular, observation should be directed toward the process of ^{group} information, of their relationship with the administrative personnel of the Campanha, of the types of activities in which they engage, of their relationships with other segments of the community, and of changes which occur in their functioning. The researcher should assume a participant-observer role in this instance with the initiative to suggest changes where these would seem to lead to improvement of operation. The results of all modifications should be carefully observed.

The long-term objective of this research will be to provide the empirical evidence from which a handbook can be prepared. This would contain suggestions for organization, activity, and working relationships with the Campanha, and would include specific examples from experience.

3. The teaching of illiterate adults:

The recruitment and teaching of illiterate adults presents many problems for which we have, as yet, inadequate information. Among other items we need to know what selective motivational factors influence those who seek out opportunity for acquiring literacy. What are the differential factors of age, sex, occupation, or residence? We need to know what types of educational materials are most effective, what type of teaching works best, what kind of teacher is successful. Where instruction is through radio or other mechanical devices we should have results to compare with those obtained in the traditional class room.

There is the question of relating instruction to training in other skills of occupation or house. There are questions of the influence of literate or illiterate associates, of anticipated and realized improvement in employment, of utilization of reading materials. What sort of encouragement is desirable from family, employer, or neighbor.

There are many mechanical problems connected with time of day, week, or month when classes should be held, their length, seating arrangements, etc.

If the results of the Campaign are to be extended on a mass scale successfully, then we need to know the empirical base upon which to proceed.

4. School Attendance:

On the surface school attendance would appear to be one of the simpler problems, but in its full range of regularity of attendance, number of school years completed, and the differential ^(social class) use of facilities when these are inadequate for the entire population ^{here is} presents a problem of immense complexity. Nevertheless, it is a problem with which we must begin to work and if it is possible to get only partial answers, or for only a portion of the whole ^{even} then that will be some progress.

Let us start with the assumption that differential behavior is a function of the environment. There are physical factors of accessibility, social factors of class values, psychological factors of motivation, and economic factors of expense. These are general factors about which we should already have some information from the base line studies of social class and values about education.

There are some additional factors which should be taken into account. In particular, there is the basic question of class differences in school achievement as these relate to or are influenced by the environment of the classroom. Studies made in the United States suggest that the classroom can be a punishing environment for the ~~middleclass~~ lower class child. The differences in the class system and in the school environment in Brazil offers unusual opportunities for comparative studies. This problem seems particularly crucial to the success of the Campanha since so many of the additional students that will be reached through expansion of school facilities will come from the working class and from a background in which the parents have had no direct experience with education. Perhaps it would be possible to establish some experimental classes as a cooperative endeavor between teachers and the research group in which a variety of practices would be observed in terms of their effectiveness with working class children.

5. Innovations in curriculum, teaching methods, and examinations.

The program of the Campanha includes the retraining of teachers in class room methods, revision of the system of examinations and promotion, introduction or modification of classroom materials, and others.

In order to evaluate the effects of these changes we need a variety of studies which will show the degree of acceptance and application, understandings of the purposes of such changes, and a measure of their effects expressed in terms of attendance, achievement, and if possible, morale.

The first step in this research is the description of existing practices and their accompanying rationale. The second step is observation and analysis of the process of retraining and decisions for change. The third step will be to observe the utilization of these innovations, the response from teachers and students, and the results.

One of the essential requirements for success of changes of this type is that those who carry them into effect understand not only the techniques, but also the purposes and expected results, and research can help to determine the effectiveness of this aspect of the program.

6. Experimental study of the relations between school achievement and parent participation.

It has been empirically observed that the children of middle class families are more successful in the school environment than those of the working class. It has been generally accepted that this relatively greater success of the middle class group is due to a variety of factors which include economic advantage, the use of special facilities and, in general, the greater interest in and pressure by the parents upon the child for educational success. Class position, and its values, are undoubtedly a powerful factor but it is not the only influence which determines school achievement. Not all middle class children are successful nor are all working class children failures.

The problem is to discover if it is possible to improve the achievement record of working class children by involving the parents in programs connected with the school. Under controlled conditions it is proposed that systematic efforts be made to increase parental understanding of educational goals, to indicate how parents can assist their children in school progress and, if possible, to assign to the parents some simple responsibilities in connection with the school.

Although modification in school performance is the principal research objective, careful observation should be made of the relation between the procedures used and the responses of parents, teachers, and children to all parts of the activity.

7. Inter-agency cooperation.

Within each community there are many agencies, official and private, which engage in activities and programs which relate to the well-being of the residents. Some of these have programs with educational implications, and the activities of the Campanha can also affect their success. Since these groups and their activities constitute a portion of the environment within which the Campanha will operate it is desirable that we have specific information concerning their organization, activities, and results.

It is proposed that an inventory be made of these groups together with a descriptive statement of their organization, programs, personnel, activities, and of their previous and

present relation to educational activities. Based upon this survey it is then desirable to make an analysis which would specify those portions of their activities which duplicate, those which complement, and those where cooperative action with the Campanha would be beneficial.

From this analysis plans should be prepared which propose areas of activity in which joint planning and operation are feasible. The important part of the research effort is in the next step which consists of the observation of the results of efforts ~~at~~ in joint enterprises. From such research the objective would be to develop the pattern by which cooperative effort can be quickly established and the procedures which are desirable.

III. Policy Formation and Program Development;~~is~~

The long~~e~~ term goal of the Campanha is to develop a program which can be applied on a nation-wide basis. From the results of the several pilot-communities, from experimentation in educational organization and procedures, from modifications in curriculum and ~~training~~, from the introduction of changes in class room methods and learning processes, from the experiences of working with citizens and parents, from all these sources will come the knowledge, the know-how, the plans and procedures by which progress in Brazilian education can be furthered.

But there still remains a serious problem. What is the process by which this knowledge can be extended to and utilized by others? What are the dynamics of culture diffusion and change in Brazilian culture and society. However successful we may have been in preparing an empirical plan for improvement of educational processes there is no absolute assurance that its adoption throughout Brazil will be realized unless we understand the traditional methods by which new cultural items are assimilated.

It is for this reason that the research activity must extend itself beyond the purely local and immediate problems of educational and community experimentation but should also examine the institutions through which changes are introduced (or impeded) on the state and national level. Education in the past and undoubtedly in the future will be intimately linked to politics, to family, to religion, and to economics. Any realistic plan for educational development must take into account and must have precise knowledge of the total social

environment within which it can be accomplished.

There needs to be developed a plan of action for applying the program to a state or a region. From the experience of the pilot communities we will know how this can be accomplished, technically, at the level of the municipio. But we need to know more than this. This plan of action should be based upon how existing governmental, community, and cultural patterns of the country can be utilized for ~~gaining acceptance~~ introducing modifications in existing practices.

This document should represent the collaborative efforts of educators, administrators, and researchers.

Solon Kimball
February 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR ANISIO TEIXEIRA:

One of the considerations which led me to accept the invitation to come to Brasil was the expectation and hope that I would be able to contribute in several ways to problems of education and educational research and that as a result of this experience it would be possible to establish a working relationship with you and others that would extend over a period of several years. I fully recognize that before I can make any effective contribution I need to become acquainted to the types of problems facing education, with those who are actively seeking solutions of these problems, with the institutions through which such efforts are directed, and with those who in future years will assume the mantle of educational leadership. It was also my hope that some of the younger scholars and educators with whom I might work could have the opportunity and desire to continue educational study and research in the United States and, in particular, at Teachers College, Columbia where I could work with them in developing their capacities for future leadership in Brasil.

Soon after my arrival we had a stimulating discussion about the relationship between the requirements of an urban, industrial, and scientific society, and the educational process. You stated that there was an imperative need to modify the intellectual and philosophical approach in primary education and that the crucial point of change was to be found among those who train the teachers in primary school education. (By implication the same need exists but with a lesser priority among these teachers at the secondary and higher education levels.) The problem as I understood your formulation was that of institutionalizing relationships with normal schools for the purpose of providing channels through which new approaches and understanding to education might be diffused. The establishment of such channels is, of course, only one aspect of the problem. There is the further need to prepare a body of materials which can be adapted and utilized by those who train teachers. This program would have several objectives but its important intellectual consequences could be to develop and understanding of the nature of the contemporary world; of the relation between the educational process and the preparation of young people for their full participation in urban industrial life; to provide the basis for rational interpretation of events in the lives of individuals and as members of groups; and, if possible, to develop an understanding of the need and processes by

which man can extend his control over the technical and social forces with which he must contend.

It is not now necessary to attempt a summarization of the characteristics of industrial society and its problems, or of the methods of science and its relation to the contemporary world, or of the various educational philosophies which have been concerned with problems of modern society and educational procedures. I think we both agree that a scientific age demands an educational system which gives expression to the forms and modes of thought of this period of history. Unfortunately, an understanding of science has all too often been equated with the rather narrow conceptualizations which characterize experimental physical science. The extension of science into the schools (at least in the United States) has been characterized by an emphasis upon the procedures of physical experiment to the exclusion of developing an understanding of the spirit, philosophy, or even the method of science.

I should like to propose that in the method and philosophy of natural history we possess the intellectual instrument which educators and education need. This approach includes not only the method of science but it also provides a working philosophy for living and for understanding the nature of the world. Its basic principles are sufficiently simple, and yet inclusive, that they can be learned at an early age, and there is no academic subject which cannot be grasped more readily if its principles are applied to it.

If we accept the position that within the method of natural history we have the basis for an educational approach then our next problem is to incorporate this method into the procedures and content of education. At this point we will be breaking new ground for we do not now possess a body of experience upon which we could build. Since our immediate objective is to liberalize and broaden the conceptualization of normal school teachers, the solution would seem to be to prepare materials from sources which are already familiar to this group, but to arrange and interpret them in a way which gives new insight into the dynamics of social life. The basic materials will be found in the already existing literature upon Brazilian history, types of social groupings, adaptation to environment, beliefs and values, technology, and the relations between these. Although my reading thus far is quite limited I have come across considerable material that would be useful. Since I wish to discuss this problem of the prepara-

tion of materials somewhat more extensively later on, for the moment I would like to turn to a related problem, that of developing a pattern of leadership for the normal schools.

The Problem of Educacional Leadership

Leadership usually emerges out of a type of relationship in which there is a continuous and systematic interaction between groups or individuals. The leadership role is one in which there is recognition of and provision for the needs of those who receive aid and direction. In the case of a leadership relationship between the Centro and normal schools, the Centro would lend assistance on particular problems and be sensitive to problems as seen in normal school functioning. Over a period of time the leadership would begin to clarify additional problems of which directors or teachers of normal schools are either unaware or only vaguely conscious. The immediate problem is how best to reach the personnel of normal schools with the long range objective of incorporating new methods and content into instruction.

In general, we should distinguish between leadership in action programs and that of research. It is not my purpose to attempt an exhaustive listing of specific proposals under each of these categories. The preparation of a complete and long-range plan should be the responsibility of those who are much better acquainted with specific problems and types of assistance that can be rendered than I am. The principle upon which I wish to insist, however, is that research and action should be coordinated and that both should be cooperative efforts with those who direct teacher training. In other words, research and action should be planned in conjunction with personnel of normal schools and that their participation should be sought in collectioning and analyzing results. I lack specific knowledge of what has been attempted or what is currently under way, but, for whatever value they may have, I would like to offer some possibilities.

Research Suggestions

1. A "survey" type of research would be one in which normal wchool directors and teachers would be asked to indicate, in some kind of priority, the types of problems which hinder the accomplishment of their objectives. They could also be asked to indicate what solutions they think might kelp to solve these problems. From such data a variety of additional research plans

could be formulated.

2. A complementary "survey" could be made among recent graduates in which they would be asked to enumerate the strengths and weaknesses of their teacher training experience. The data could be used for modification of training programs. A similar study might be conducted among those who have studied abroad for the purpose of improving the process of selecting persons for foreign study as well as shaping their programs there abroad.

3. Research in the process of "innovation" would examine the source and influence of ideas and materials which modify understanding and behavior. The results would give some idea of the rate, magnitude and origin of culture change.

An Action Program

It is my understanding that normal schools receive little direction or assistance from any source. Initially, there should be, however, a survey to determine the source and type of action programs which affect normal school operation. The results of this survey should provide the basis upon which a development program should be based. Until such a list is available and some kind of priority established it is impossible to determine the magnitude or type of needs, but as an example, I would like to suggest two types of activities.

1. I have been informed, and my own limited observation confirms the statement, that the quality and quantity of books in the libraries of normal schools, is limited. This is a deficiency that can be remedied (at a minimum level) rather quickly and without too great an expense.

The center could prepare a list of the best books on political, historical, political, cultural, and educational aspects of Brazil, with the inclusion of some special items of foreign origin, and make these or a minimum number of them available to normal school libraries either as a free gift, or with the payment of a nominal charge. Possibly, a selection of books might also be made available to teachers and students for their personal libraries, at a reduced price.

2. A second type of "service" could be a regular (monthly) bulletin which summarized results of recent research, described new approaches to different problems, and in general served to disseminate information on methods, etc. This plan would have several purposes but in particular it would provide a continuing source of stimulation for new ideas.

Although I would be quite willing to assist in any program which is concerned with research or assistance to normal schools, this is not my main interest nor the purpose of this memorandum. In the beginning of this memorandum I mentioned the need to translate the methods of natural history to educational purposes. The accomplishment of this goal is a long-range effort, but a beginning can be made by the preparation of materials, based upon Brazilian history and culture, which would serve as the basis of a course which demonstrated the use of natural history in education.

The immediate goal would be the preparation of a book of reading with appropriate commentary and analysis. Its focus would be on the differing types of Brazilian communities and associated institutions, and the modifying aspects of history, technology, ecology, etc. Its conceptual base would be a theory of change which would show the interdependencies between individual, culture, and society. Several purposes would be served through this organization. It would serve as a concrete example of a method of organizing and interpreting experience; it would, by implication, suggest how other subjects might be reoriented; it would serve as the basis for research problems; it would broaden the intellectual and conceptual horizons of students.

The realization of a project of this type would require the cooperative efforts of a number of qualified persons. Its director should be a person with a comprehensive knowledge of Brazilian history, culture, and education. I hope I am not presumptuous in suggesting that you have all these qualities. An assistant should have sophistication and experience in social science, particularly anthropology. Then there should be recruited a group of younger persons, at about the level of the master's degree, representing a variety of disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, economics, ecology, history, geography, political science, psychology, etc. These should have, or have the capacity to develop a common interest in education, and should show promise of developing leadership in education in the future. (It would be my hope that some of this latter group could eventually come to Teachers College for advanced academic training in which they would use their work here as the basis for their dissertations.)

The preparation of the book of readings would serve as a training laboratory; it should result in usable materials, and it ought to stimulate research that would lead to a series of monographs.

a) Solon Kimball

October 21, 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR ANISIO TEIXEIRA:

One of the considerations which led me to accept the invitation to come to Brasil was the expectation and hope that I would be able to contribute in several ways to problems of education and educational research and that as a result of this experience it would be possible to establish a working relationship with you and others that would extend over a period of several years.

I fully recognize that before I can make any effective contribution I need to become acquainted to the types of problems facing education, with those who are actively seeking solutions to these problems, with the institutions through which such efforts are directed, and with those who in future years will assume the mantle of educational leadership. It was also my hope that some of the younger scholars and educators with whom I might work could have the opportunity and desire to continue educational study and research in the United States and, in particular, at Teachers College, Columbia where I could work with them in developing their capacities for future leadership in Brasil.

Soon after my arrival we had a stimulating discussion about the relationship between the requirements of an urban, industrial, and scientific society, and the educational process. You stated that there was an imperative need to modify the intellectual and philosophical approach in primary education and that the crucial point of change was to be found among those who train the teachers in primary school education. (By implication the same need exists but with a lesser priority among these teachers at the secondary and higher education levels.) The problem as I understood your formulation was that of institutionalizing relationships with normal schools for the purpose of providing channels through which new approaches and understanding to education might be difused. The establishment of such channels is, of course, only one aspect of the problem. There is the further need to prepare a body of materials which can be adapted and utilized by those who train teachers. This program would have several objectives but its important intellectual consequences could be to develop and understanding of the nature of the contemporary world; of the relation between the educational process and the prepatation

of young people for their full participation in urban industrial life; to provide the basis for rational interpretation of events in the lives of individuals and as members of groups; and, if possible, to develop an understanding of the need and processes by which man can extend his control over the technical and social forces with which he must contend.

It is not now necessary to attempt a summarization of the characteristics of industrial society and its problems, or of the methods of science and its relation to the contemporary world, or of the various educational philosophies which have been concerned with problems of modern society and educational procedures. I think we both agree that a scientific age demands an educational system which gives expression to the forms^{and modes} of thought of this period of history. Unfortunately, an understanding of science has all too often been equated with the rather narrow conceptualizations which characterize experimental physical science. The extension of science into the schools (at least in the United States) has been characterized by an emphasis upon the procedures of physical experiment to the exclusion of developing an understanding of the spirit, philosophy, or even the method of science.

I should like to propose that in the method and philosophy of natural history we possess the intellectual instrument which educators and education need. This approach includes not only the method of science but it also provides a working philosophy for living and for understanding the nature of the world. Its basic principles are sufficiently simple, and yet inclusive, that they can be learned at an early age, and there is no academic subject which cannot be grasped more readily if its principles are applied to it.

If we accept the position that within the method of natural history we have the basis for an educational approach then our next problem is to incorporate this method into the procedures and content of education. At this point we will be breaking new ground for we do not now possess a body of experience upon which we could build. Since our immediate objective is to liberalize and broaden the conceptualization of normal school teachers, the solution would seem to be to prepare materials from sources which are already familiar to this group, but to arrange and inter-

pret them in a way which gives new insight into the dynamics of social life. The basic materials will be found in the already existing literature upon Brazilian history, types of social groupings, adaptation to environment, beliefs and values, technology, and the relations between these. Although my reading thus far is quite limited I have come across considerable material that would be useful. Since I wish to discuss this problem of the preparation of materials somewhat more extensively later on, for the moment I would like to turn to a related problem, that of developing a pattern of leadership for the normal schools.

The Problem of Educational Leadership

Leadership usually emerges out of a type of relationship in which there is a continuous and systematic interaction between groups or individuals. The leadership role is one in which there is recognition of and provision for the needs of those who receive aid and direction. In the case of a leadership relationship between the Centro and normal schools, the Centro would lend assistance on particular problems and be sensitive to problems as seen in normal school functioning. Over a period of time the leadership would begin to clarify additional problems of which directors or teachers of normal schools are either unaware or only vaguely conscious. The immediate problem is how best to reach the personnel of normal schools with the long range objective of incorporating new methods and content into instruction.

In general, we should distinguish between leadership in action programs and that of research. It is not my purpose to attempt an exhaustive listing of specific proposals under each of these categories. The preparation of a complete and long-range plan should be the responsibility of those who are much better acquainted with specific problems and types of assistance that can be rendered than I am. The principle upon which I wish to insist, however, is that research and action should be coordinated and that both should be cooperative efforts with those who direct teacher training. In other words, research and action should be planned in conjunction with personnel of normal schools and that their participation should be sought in collecting and analyzing results. I lack specific knowledge of what has been attempted or what is currently under way, but, for whatever value they may have, I would like to offer some possibilities.

Research Suggestions

1. A "survey" type of research would be one in which normal school directors and teachers would be asked to indicate, in some kind of priority, the types of problems which hinder the accomplishment of their objectives. They could also be asked to indicate what solutions they think might help to solve these problems. From such data a variety of additional research plans could be formulated.

2. A complementary "survey" could be made among recent graduates in which they would be asked to enumerate the strengths and weaknesses of their teacher training experience. The data could be used for modification of training programs. A similar study might be conducted among those who have studied abroad for the purpose of improving the process of selecting persons for foreign study as well as shaping their programs when abroad.

3. Research in the process of "innovation" would examine the source and influence of ideas and materials which modify understanding and behavior. The results would give some idea of the rate, magnitude and origin of culture change.

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aspects of Brazil, with the inclusion of some special items of foreign origin, and make these or a minimum number of them available to normal school libraries either as a free gift, or with the payment of a nominal charge. Possibly, a selection of books might also be made available to teachers and students for their personal libraries, at a reduced price.

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a) Solon Kimball

October 21, 1958

For Darcy Ribeiro

It is the purpose of this memorandum to discuss four major areas of research, each one of which is related to some aspect of the educational problem. These are a) the development of a community typology b) the culture of the child c) analysis of educational institutions and d) experimental and applied research. The material presented under each of these headings will indicate the scope of interest as they are described in turn.

It is not intended that this report be considered as a comprehensive presentation of the full range of research problems. Moreover, since its focus is upon the relation between a) the educational processes and b) the social and cultural systems within which these processes operate, greater emphasis will be given to some aspects of community, institutions, and individual characteristics and dynamics, than to others.

As a first step it seems advisable to make explicit at least some of the basic assumptions which underlie my thinking. Foremost among these is the one that educational institutions, as well as other forms of social life, reflect the socio-cultural system and values of a society, but that discontinuities and non-conformities may also be present which are, in one sense, ^{manifestations} of changes or malfunctioning of a part of the system. We must recognize, however, that in a society undergoing rapid change that there will be an unevenness in the rate of social change among the various institutions. Thus, in the case of Brasil, educational institutions and methods seem to be more conservative and more resistant to change, probably because of their association with status, religious, and familial traditions brought from Europe, than are certain other aspects of the society.

Today, however, Brazil is experiencing changes which, in their magnitude and rapidity, are almost explosive in their consequences. The speed of change must, in large measure, be attributed to the fact that the social system and values freely permits and encourages the introduction and incorporation of new systems of human organization and techniques, primarily in the industrial sphere, and that the cultural climate approves and welcomes the changes. Internal changes in the traditional institutions of family, religion, and education and of the technical systems and social organization associated with agriculture are occurring at a less rapid pace. In fact, the resistance to change in some segments of the society may contribute to a temporary stability. The fact that educational institutions respond less rapidly than other segments represents a problem which, in itself, is worthy of careful examination. Eventually, however, the differential development of concepts of organization, values, technology, etc., may become so great as between the various segments that what was once an accepted way of life becomes pathological in the new setting. The primitive agricultural system of the sertão could serve as an example with its contemporary manifestations of population dislocation, human misery and resource depletion. Although this case represents an extreme example and is limited to a small segment of the country, it is illustrative of what may happen to any group and its institutions if these fail to maintain some sort of balance between its internal reality and the remainder of the society. Obviously, the disequilibrium and its correction can result in unnecessary and severe stress.

One of the problems of social research is to seek for an understanding of the dynamics of social change so that some assistance, and hopefully direction, can be given to social development and evolution. However, the wisdom of the world does not yet seem sufficient to prescribe the type of educational system which an industrial society requires. It is apparent, however, that the system which once served a commercial-agrarian culture, with its emphasis upon social class and family, does not meet the needs of an industrial-urban society. In fact, one of the characteristics of a modern educational system would seem to be the capacity for flexibility and rapid change. Thus, we probably should not think in terms of one type, but of various types of educational processes and institutions.

In the preceding paragraphs I have presented at least some of the assumptions which underlie and have influenced the selection of research areas. In brief they are: that institutional organization reflects ~~the~~ other aspects of the socio-cultural system of which it is a part; that different segments of Brazilian society are experiencing changes at differential rates; that educational institutions have tended to be resistant to the changes; and that planned educational change can come through research.

I. The Development of a Community Typology

It is generally accepted that environmental variations have had a major influence on the regional differences in agrarian patterns in Brazil. Furthermore, industrialization has developed at a differential rate within ^{and among} the regions. It is my understanding that a monograph on regional areas is in process of publication. The delineation of regions is, of course, a necessary first step for developing a classificatory scheme. And although comparison

on a regional basis is both valid and useful we should also keep in mind that environmental factors are only one of several factors which contribute to the shape and functioning of community life. Anthropological theory has long recognized, for example, that environmental influences become minimized with complex technologies and that an industrial culture actually reshapes its environment to fit its needs.

The problems of the demographer are not much different than those of the geographer. When he uses the number of inhabitants in a given locality as his classificatory base (with other refinements such as density, mobility, etc.,) he is depending upon a variable which may be as much a manifestation as a determinant. The classification is improved when type of major activity, such as commerce, mining, manufacturing, etc., is taken into account. Whatever the difficulties there is still some merit in dividing the units of comparisons into large and small cities, towns, hamlets, and rural areas.

The creation of a typology of community is a useful first step in order to conserve energy in more intensive research and to provide a basis for comparison. Our principal objective, ^{however,} is to describe the social and cultural aspects of community life in order to understand the setting within which the child grows to maturity. We can then deduce the learning requirements of each generation and the institutions and processes through which transmission of culture proceeds. It also provides the knowledge to propose changes in educational processes.

Traditionally, the pattern of community study has been one which concentrated upon seeking answers to questions about

prestige and status (social class) and its dynamics (social mobility), upon the physical characteristics of the town and distribution of its population (urban ecology) and upon some of the activities expressed through institutional behavior in associations, education, religion and family. With rare exceptions the attention given to the dynamics of community life has been limited. These dynamics may be observed in the ongoing and repetitive activities ~~by~~ ^{through} which individuals join together in a variety of groups to meet the needs of individual and group life.

These groups, their organization and function and activities are of great significance to us for it is within them that the socialization process operates. Thus, we need to concentrate upon the educational functions and processes of family, school, church, ~~and~~ peer group, and economic agency, as they are given expression within the context of age, sex, and class structure. And we should also seek to examine the processes of social change, the incorporation of new techniques, ^{and} the modification of values through which new activities, groups, and values appear or old ones modified.

II. The Culture of the Child:

The processes of enculturation and socialization in traditional societies emphasize the transmission and acquisition of existing values, knowledge and skills. This is understandable since in a stable society the roles and activities which the youth assumes upon reaching maturity are almost identical with those of previous generations.

In agrarian cultures, such as the one which predominated in the United States during the XVIII century, the educational function was distributed throughout the entire community. The child learned his basic values, patterns of discrimination, and skills within the family. The school and the church were, in reality, extensions of the family system and as such were not in conflict with these institutions but supplemented the learning within the family through the systematic transmission of the skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the schools, and of moral values and standards of behavior in the churches. The first colleges of New England were primarily seminaries for the training of an educated clergy. Later they became part of the liberal arts tradition which trained for the higher professions or expressed status functions. The rapid growth of technical colleges did not begin until the latter half of the 18th century and in its origin and development was primarily a people's movement. The contribution of these schools to the scientific and technical progress of the United States has been enormous.

The Brazilian history is rather different. In the earliest period the Jesuits controlled education and used the schools as a device for social change and to imprint a philosophy of life. The other differences have been described by Brazilian scholars. In both cases, however, an industrial society requires new functions of its educational processes.

The western world now stands at the threshold of developing a rationalized educational system which, in its approach, utilizes the methods of experimental ~~sciences~~ and natural sciences and which adapts its techniques (pedagogy) to the psychological,

cultural, and social characteristics of child life. Since these latter are variables, that is, since they are expressions of the cultural milieu within which the child develops, this means that teaching methods will vary from culture to culture, and for that matter from age group to age group, in order to reflect the cultural variation. But, the school of the future must do more than transmit the skills of reading, etc., it must now serve as a link between the patterns of thought (scientific) developed in the natural, physical, and social sciences--patterns of thought which conceptualize the external world as systems of interdependencies. Neither the family nor the community, as we have known them, contain either the knowledge or the capacity to transmit this new world view. 7

The addition of this new function, that of transmitting knowledge and understanding of physical and social systems, does not mean that the school abandons its previous functions. It must continue to develop skills in the tools of communication and comprehension and continue to give expression to the values of family and community. The emotional and social aspects of behavior are best developed within the framework of stable groups, but the child also needs to learn the canons of discrimination (valuang) which permit him to evaluate the world beyond his immediate group as well as the technical skills to gain a livelihood.

Thus, there is a double problem for educators. They must adapt both the concepts and techniques of science to the content and procedure of the teaching process. In addition, they must understand the dynamics of the learning process through which the child comprehends and integrates experience. Although psychology has made great contributions to education on the level of individual learning (in Western cultures) the social and cultural aspects

have been, up to now, largely neglected. Thus, in large measure, both of these tasks lie in the future and will depend upon both experimentation and research.

Since our focus in this section is upon the child we are more concerned with the problem of the ~~maxx~~ learning process. In general, the dynamics of child development are contained within the processes of socialization and enculturation both of which are the resultant and manifestation of participation in social groups. Our attention then, needs to be focussed upon the environment external to the child and, in particular, to his participation in a system of social relationships. In addition, we need to determine the effects of this environment upon the development by the child of comprehension of himself and of his place in the world around him. It is also necessary to understand the processes by which the child establishes an evaluational system ^{for interpreting} of events and objects in the world around him. In other words, we need to develop a learning theory, but unlike the psychologists we do not need to look to the neural system for our answers. Instead, we will seek out answers in the relationship between the behavior of the child and the world external to him. Specifically, we are interested in a) the basis upon which the child evaluates and b) the relation between this system of evaluation and his place and participation in groups and c) the relation of both of these to the types of activities in which he engages, and the relation of all of these factors to the results of learning in the school.

By the time the child first enters the classroom he has already developed concepts of the world, his place in it, and a system of integrating new experiences. We still do not know the extent to which this system persists or the conditions or

processes under which modification occurs.

The child who enters the classroom for the first time confronts the educator with an already developed system of ~~xxxx~~ behavior, concepts, and processes of evaluating and intergrating new experiences. Thus, through research we need to add to our knowledge about these, and to convey this understanding to educators. And, in addition, we need to do additional research at subsequent levels of development.

III. The Analysis of Educational Institutions:

For our purposes the two most important educational institutions are the primary school and the normal school. There is a vast range of possible research projects for each of them. Some of these are at the level of "surveys" which gather data to answer questions about numbers and distribution. Such information is essential for educational planning and for assessing trends within a country. This function belongs to a statistical unit.

Other types of research fall within the category of "testing" in which standardized tests measure performance, intelligence, perception, personality, etc., This type of research is also useful and has been greatly used for purposes of placement, counseling, etc. Additional research problems could be formulated in the aress of teaching methods, classroom materials, textbook content, and curriculum. The list could be expanded.

But it would seem that if our objective is to introduce changes into the methods of training teachers and the method and content of primary instruction then the first step should be to understand the organization and functioning of these institutions in social and cultural terms. In addition, we need to determine the relation of their activities and personnel to the social

structures of the communities in which they are located. The use of participant-observers combined with structured interviews has been the method most successfully used in institutional study. But use could also be made of a modified form of the self-survey in which the participation of those studied would be solicited for the gathering of certain types of information.

Research of this type would prove more valuable if it were made within the framework of present or proposed educational objectives and policies. For example, would it be possible to extend the scope of the normal school to include the sponsorship of educational and cultural activities within the community? What type of in-service or post graduate training might be offered? To what extent could normal school faculty be used as advisors in primary school operation? What is its relation to adult education? What are the processes by which new methods and ideas are introduced into normal school teaching? etc.

IV. Experimental and applied research:

There are a great number of very interesting projects that might be organized in this area. Some suggestions follow:

1. Extension course for rural primary teachers.

The course would consist of a series of projects in which the teacher, with the aid of students and others, would gather pertinent information on the history, demography, economic and social practices of the community in which she taught.

2. Parents' cooperative in nursery or kindergartan school. This type of activity and practice seems alien to Brazilian custom but it might be interesting to try to see what factors contribute to its difficulties.

3. ~~Pre-primary orientation for worker's children.~~

3. Pre-primary orientation for worker's children.

This suggestion arose from the results of the favella study which showed, among other things, that the favella children are at a disadvantage when they enter school because they do not know the proper classroom behavior. It is proposed that, under controlled conditions, preliminary instruction in the "cultural" practices of a school be given to some ~~xxx~~ children for the purpose of comparing their subsequent behavior and record with children not thus treated.

4. Parent education on school functions.

Possible to set up a controlled experiment in which the effects, if any, of a program of education for parents on functions of the school and parent responsibility, is reflected in the performance of children whose parents were or were not in the program.

5. Educational decentralization and local responsibility.

Since one phase of the research program for the CNEA is directly concerned with this problem it is unnecessary to make further comment.

6. Social class, intelligence, and learning.

Studies in Brasil and the United States have shown relationship between school performance and social class. I am unaware, however, of any experimental program which applies some principles derived from research in inddstry in which great changes were made in learning speed. If these principles are valid ~~then~~ then the spread in performance of children from differing social levels should be reduced, or perhaps even eliminated, ^{these principles} if they were applied.

November 26, 1958
Rio de Janeiro

Solon Kimball

SOCIAL CLASS AND COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES

By *John T. KIMBALL*

During the past quarter century the pace of social and cultural transformation in the United States has quickened. The boom and depression of the late twenties and early thirties can now be viewed, in perspective, as the agonized death throes of an earlier form of society. From this period of low tide in the national spirit and well-being there has emerged a culture-type, a civilization, which is as much different in its social forms, its symbols, its values, and its spirit from that of the "town-community" which it supplanted as the latter is different from its predecessor—the small farmer frontier agrarianism of Jefferson and Jackson.

The demographic expression of this new civilization is metropolis. Today, almost all America lives either within the physical limits or under the shadow of the influences of the great urban concentrations. Their social structure is epitomized in the great bureaucracies of government, industry, finance, and commerce, in the isolated conjugal family of parents and children, the family of "togetherness", and in the ephemeral but repetitive gatherings of the "lonely crowd". These groupings include the extremes of cohesion and atomization.

This new society demands of the individual an enormous capacity for mobility, in the frequent changes of residence from one locality to another, in the shifts from one job or position to another, and even in changes in occupation or profession. It values in the individual his capacity for "adjustment" which is stressed in the "new" psychology, and his ability to work with others in a "team" which may be learned in "group process". It is a civilization which, through organization and technology, provides a theoretical and potential freedom and autonomy to the individual which in past epochs has been the privilege of a tiny minority only. It is a civilization in which change is viewed as inevitable and desirable and, as a consequence, the past is understood less as the source of the present than as a concern of academicians. It is a civilization which, if it does not founder on the rocks of material prosperity and destructive leisure or of the senseless exhaustion of resources through competitive armaments, can achieve the stars. *the figurative stars are far more important, not a utopia but* The literal search for the star is an objective which demands much energy, resources, and intelligence. But as the restoration of the sense of wonder in the perfection of the universe.

Our task, however, is neither to attempt a detailed characterization of contemporary American culture nor to produce a fanciful projection of the future. Our objective is far more modest

and of quite a different sort. We are primarily interested in discovering the relationships between the types of sub-cultural systems we call social class and the social environment in which they are manifest. Before we attempt this, however, it is first desirable to summarize briefly those aspects of the metropolitan culture which are relevant to our analysis and then to examine and compare the meaning of social class in the cultural setting of the town-community and metropolis. Finally, through observation of the social setting within which individual socialization takes place we hope to identify some of the problems which are inherent in metropolitan civilization.

Characteristics of Metropolis

The speed and scope of the changes which the United States has been experiencing during the past quarter a century are of such magnitude that one is tempted to apply the term "social revolution" to their manifestations. There is no aspect which is not experiencing modifications. But the transformations in cultural behavior, social arrangements, and personality formation have been less well publicized or understood than the more dramatic "break-throughs" in technology and physical science.

(No) example, application of automation to the productive process and of the discoveries in nuclear physics to atomic energy and inter-stellar flight, to mention only two of the multiple fields of science and technology, has captured the public imagination and interest. In contrast, although there has been some concern with certain types of social problems such as juvenile delinquency or civil rights, there has been no comparable understanding of the basic social reconstruction which the society is undergoing. Instead, the prevailing imagery of the American "way of life" continues to be formed from a montage of the past. How then should this new America be characterized?

Metropolis, with its massed population and complex institutional forms, now dominates the spirit and sets the style of American life. The town-community which achieved pre-eminence immediately after the War of Secession (1860) and constituted the prevailing social pattern for well over half a century, had begun to lose its unquestioned supremacy even before the first world war. Today, this older culture is being rapidly absorbed in the wake of the spread of the metropolitan system. And only in isolated areas are the vestiges of the even earlier agrarian civilization of Jackson and Jefferson to be found. These remnants are in the final phase of extinction as the triumph of industrialized agriculture completes the expulsion of small farmers and share croppers and hurries their mi-

gration to the cities. Only in the South is the spirit of the town-community sufficiently strong that it can offer a last ditch stand against the new civilization. Even here the basic capitulation has already occurred and the struggle over civil rights is, in reality, a diversionary and minor aspect of the fundamental changes which are underway.

The demographic pattern of metropolis includes the central city, suburban residential settlements and satellite towns. These areas of massed population are continuing to grow in relative and absolute numbers. But they are not stable groupings of populations for within and between them there is a continuous flux and rearrangement of people. The statistical measure of the movement is contained within the fact that each year one family in five changes its place of residence. This continuous horizontal mobility expresses the constant readjustment within a fluid social system. A considerable part of this demographic phenomenon may be attributed to the outward explosion of people from the central city due to extensive rearrangements within it. But it may also be interpreted as the shattering of the centripetally organized stratified class system of the town-community type, and its regrouping of people to express the reality of social changes.

These extensive rearrangements in the grouping of people would have been impossible if there did not also exist complex systems of communication, technology, and organization. These latter continue to operate effectively as a series of organizationally autonomous but functionally interrelated systems of production, distribution, and administration. Increasingly, however, there is a concentration of control vested in fewer and fewer centers. In particular, great social superstructures have been created to accomplish civil, military, and industrial functions. The trend toward ever larger combinations under centralized direction has even invaded educational and religious endeavors.

The internal complexity of these great corporate structures is equalled only by the breadth of their horizontal spread. One of the largest, General Motors, has over 500,000 employees. The American Oil Companies with nine billion dollars invested abroad operate throughout the free world. The largest operation of all is, of course, the Federal government with its annual 75 to 80 billion dollar budget. The State of New York and the City of New York each with budgets of over two billion dollars, appear as small enterprises in the area of organizational gigantism.

Within this complex and rapidly changing situation there is a vast array of problems to delight the commentators, ana-

lysts, and critics of the American scene. Only women's rights and prohibition, bitterly contested issues of the early part of the century, seem to be outside the pale of serious public discussion. In addition to the usual concern over social problems of health, employment, etc., the higher critics have concerned themselves with such topics as standardization, cultural mediocrity, anti-intellectualism, conformity, and submersion of the individual in the societal mass. These subjects, however entertaining they may be for essayists, public lecturers, or graduation day speakers, really have no answers. But it is understandable that they should be discussed since they do seem to be crucial. Later on we shall have occasion to examine one of them.

The types of problems to which the social scientist should address himself are of another kind. His legitimate interest includes the characterization of metropolitan culture as a whole, the analysis of the interrelationships of its components, and comparison with other cultural forms. In addition, he should examine social change for the purpose of deriving principles of processes. For these and other researches he has at hand a body of theoretical knowledge, not the least important of which is the relation between personality and environment, and of the interdependence between social groupings and cultural behavior. There is also the basic problem of the formation, manifestation, and change in social relations and values within the primary group of friends and family and in participation in institutional and group life of the community. The answer to this problem may be discovered in the development of discriminatory capacities, commitment, and in the ability to comprehend and participate in the world. These may be observed through interaction, activities, and value expression. These may be summarized through the description of social class behavior as a method of scientific abstraction. The full realization of all these objectives is beyond the scope of the present paper, but an initial contribution can be made by establishing the relation social class and the social environment. Our first step is the examination of social class in the town-community.

Social Class and the Town-Community

The cultural system which predominated during the latter half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Century was contained within semi-autonomous town-communities. The territorial unity included a central town and its rural hinterland between which there existed a symbiotic relationship which found immediate expression at the economic level in the division of labor for production

and distribution of goods but which extended to and included other aspects of social grouping and cultural behavior. Within the framework of education, religious, political, economic, and associational institutions and activities, the social differences which appeared formed the basis for social class discriminations. Even those cities whose growth was stimulated by industrialization retained much of the flavor of town life outside the zones of immigrant settlement. The flood of European immigrants who jammed themselves into ethnic ghettos within the larger cities or flocked to settle the mill and mining towns at first preserved the cultural systems which they brought with them. Their children were to find themselves in the main stream of American cultural evolution, not because they or their parents had become assimilated to "town" life, but because metropolitanism had triumphed as the prevailing cultural type.

The town pattern was a basically simple one however more complex it might be than the earlier New England village, the southern plantation county-town system, or that of the dispersed open country settlement. Rail and water transportation facilitated the exchange of surplus products from one locality to another. Although the fluctuations of the market brought economic prosperity or depression, direct institutional controls by government, industry, or commerce were almost absent. But it was also an environment in which great business combinations in steel, oil, milling, railroad, and packing could grow with almost no restraint. When the threat of these trusts to the American system became apparent the attempt to curb them through legislation was too late. For under the banner of "progress" the enthusiasm for growth and change swept all resistance before it. The victory of metropolitanism was now certain.

The internal organizational structure of the town-community was one in which no one institution such as church, economic enterprise, or government could exercise an autocratic control over other aspects of life. Instead, the institutional arrangements, irrespective of how interwoven and interdependent their activities might be, retained a theoretical freedom of action and initiative. It was through this type of system in which controls were locally held that the towns could maintain their semi-autonomy. The later centralization of these controls hastened the erosion of the vitality within the community.

It is a curious anomaly that the prevailing beliefs of this period denied the existence of social classes although social differences were clearly perceived and accepted. The popular belief in a classless society can be partially explained because the system as a whole, the community, in which social differentiation^{was} a characteristic worked so well. The work-a-day world, the activities of

commerce, politics, religion, recreation, and household duties, brought diverse persons together in ^{the} habituated relationships in which the situation, and not an abstraction of social class, determined the part each should play. These daily face-to-face relationships were given symbolic confirmation in the annually repetitive observance of Independence Day, Decoration Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, elections, graduations, athletic events, county fairs, and religious revivals. In each type of event there was expressed both differences and similarities. The differences were those of prestige and status, the commonalty was that of locality and adherence to similar values and symbols.

Through these daily, seasonal or annual occurrences there was the opportunity for each individual to comprehend the system as a whole, and, on occasion, to participate with others as an equal. From such participation one learned and reinforced the behavior that was expected of him and others. In this sense the community of group and activity was a reciprocal expression of the cultural differences which we label social class.

The differential allocation of prestige to types of activities, characteristics, and behavior, provided a vast and inclusive background of discrimination against which it was possible to evaluate each person's place within the whole. Furthermore, there was a basic agreement between one's participation in the institutional structure and the possession of characteristics which placed one high or low in the scale of prestige reckoning. For example, those persons whose activities required special skills such as in the practice of medicine or law, or those who were associated with the control of economic life the bankers and merchants, or those who gave expression to community values in religion or politics, were accorded and occupied positions of prominence in both daily and ceremonial life.

There is nothing particularly unique in this agreement between position in institutional hierarchy and status ranking. What is important, however, is the self-regulating autonomy, the localization, the realized face-to-face participation which virtually all members of the community, irrespective of their position achieved in activities with one another. Thus, although each person viewed his place in the community from his own position there was, at least, a correspondence between his perceptions and reality, for the very act of participating with those of other social groups in the day-by-day activities of community life ensured, if it did not enforce, correspondence between perception and reality.

The system of social classes then, should be understood as an expression of the cultural and group differences which

characterized the population of each locality. There were subtle variations in speech, dress, and manners and in the repetitive allotment or denial of positions of prestige in the fields of education, religion, law, politics, and commerce. There was, thus, a concordance between prestige as expressed through status and one's position within the institutional life of the community. But there was also a flexibility within the system which permitted shifts of persons in their relative ranking and an ~~individual~~ ^{individual} could aspire to and on occasion receive recognition of his advancement in the social scale.

Actually, it was not until the early 1930's that Warner and other social scientists began to make explicit the sociological characteristics of the system. Their almost exclusive concentration upon producing a series of community studies minimized, if it did not exclude, attention to the relation of social class to the sweeping changes that were then altering American society. It is not apparent from the writings of this period that the social class system was in process of dissolution and replacement by another type of cultural differentiation which had its sources in metropolitan civilization. Such modifications, however, are never abrupt and perhaps we were too close to the events to appreciate the significance of the changes.

But it is when we examine the writings of the socially oriented novelists that the flavor, sweep, and crisis of American culture at the turn of the century and later is revealed to us. Booth Tarkington in Alice Adams, The Magnificent Ambersons and in some of his lesser known works portrays some of the displacements and tragedies which industrialism brought to Mid-Western towns. Sinclair Lewis in Main Street and Babbitt is also concerned with the problem of change. In the latter novel Lewis indicates the early effects of the impact of a standardized industrial civilization upon the town-community. The cultural invasion of industrial values and behavior finds a favorable response in the spirit of Rotary, of "hustle", and of bigger and better things now and to come. Change is equated with progress.

But it is in Point of No Return by John Marquand and in the deeper and more spiritual expression by Thomas Wolfe in his You Can't Go Home Again that the irrevocable transformation of American culture is made explicit. Marquand contrasts the town setting of an earlier period with institutional and suburban life in metropolis. He shows that the routines of day-to-day living in suburbia center around the family and children and the week-end communal gatherings at the Country Club. In general, there is a massed uniformity in the style of life but the minute differences in occupational prestige of the commuting male heads of families is

accentuated in social behavior through groupings in semi-exclusive cliques. By comparison, town life is filled with a rich diversity of personalities and activities. Citizens from all social levels join with one another in annual community observances. But they also separate from those smaller groups whose activities give expression to the cultural differences among them. But the contrast also shows the decay within the ^{town} ~~town~~ and the ^{vitality} ~~vitality~~ is within metropolis.

Independently and without intention community studies and the novels about community found common ground in the examination of social differentiation. We can generalize this agreement by observing that social distinctions are based upon the reality of differential participation in the affairs of the community as well as upon the manifestations of values associated with one's activities. However, when change appear in the setting within which social distinctions are given expression we would also expect that the distinctions would also change. Social differences do not disappear in the environment of metropolis, it is only that the basis upon which these distinctions are made has been altered.

Social classes as a manifestation of community organization no longer has the same meaning that it had in the setting of town-community. We now turn to the examination of metropolitan environment for purposes of contrast and to examine the meaning ^{of} social class in a different setting.

Social Class and Metropolitan Culture

If we agree that social class is a manifestation of the social system, rather than the system itself, it then becomes apparent that in order to understand the pattern of social class, or cultural sub-divisions, within an hierarchized society, it is necessary to relate these to the pattern of social groupings. Fortunately, it is not necessary to describe the structure and interrelationships of institutional arrangements in metropolis in detail in order to provide the basis for understanding the relationship between social class and social grouping. This would be a task of immense scope and requires research which we do not, as yet, possess. But it is possible to sketch the broad outlines of the social system of metropolis and to draw comparisons between it and the town-community of the preceding epoch.

The principle of the relationship between spatial representation and social and cultural differences and functions has already been well established. Metropolis in its transition from an older urban pattern described by Park and Burgess, with its central

business district surrounded by concentric zones of residence, zones which exhibit a rough correspondence with cultural homogeneities, is being gradually reshaped by a slow process of rearrangement. The physical manifestation of these changes may be seen in the reconstruction and renewal of the business district, by the gradual disappearance of industry, and by the replacement of slums by public housing. The less dramatic aspects of the process are found in the slow infiltration and conquest of older middle class neighborhoods by incoming migrants. In the industrial cities of the north-east these newcomers are primarily Negro and Puerto Rican. But everywhere cities are receiving a flow of population from towns and rural areas. Cultural and oftentimes racial differences between the older and newer residents create tensions which hasten the departure of the former. Their children, when they marry almost always establish their homes elsewhere. The old urban middle class has not been able to protect itself against this migrant influx and has either moved to the suburbs or, in favorable circumstances, has encysted itself as cultural enclaves.

Although the outward movement of the middle class is an old phenomenon in the growth of American cities it has been intensified since the end of the second world war. In the newer cities of the West the incoming population seeks its original settlement on the expanding perimeters. The magnitude of this population readjustment is revealed through census estimates which now place 40,000,000 persons, or nearly one-fourth of the total population, as resident in suburbia. For it is within suburbia that middle class values may be maintained with a minimum of external threat.

Thus the physical rearrangement of the city not only reflects the social changes but also provides the environment within which the class system operates. For example, the visible displays of elegance which once set the upper class apart in city as well as in smaller provincial town have all but disappeared. The role of the social arbiter prevalent in the early 1900's has long since become history, not because these persons aged and died, but because the social class system of which they were a part has passed from the American scene. Also gone are the massed areas of marked poverty and privation. There has been an outward extension, both up and down, of middle class manners and morals which, through education on the one hand and the increased availability of goods on the other, has worked its magic in an upward levelling. Presumably, the new proletariat of rural origin will experience the same pattern of cultural conversion and assimilation which characterized the European migrants who preceded them.

On the surface the new American of Metropolitan background seems equalitarian and conformist, a perception which, paradoxically, is both true and illusory. The insistence upon democracy in public is supported by a mythology which denies fundamental differences among men and is oftentimes accompanied by the fiction that each man's opinion counts as much as that of any other. The insistence upon equality is being written into legislation which prohibits discrimination based upon race, color, religion, or national origin and with a strong tendency to include sex and age as additional elements. In contradiction to those who in the 1930's feared that see social classes were crystalizing with a diminution of social mobility there exists today a wider range of opportunity and an approximation to the condition that each man can advance as far as his abilities and the wheels of fortune permit. The illusion of conformity receives additional support from the general upward levelling in the access to consumption goods and the consequent democratization of the "pursuit of happiness". In its extreme form there is the insistence that all persons are ^equal to all others and especially equal if there is a suspicion of social superiority.

The conditions of life reinforce the illusion. Within the city the pattern of interaction reduces contacts with others. And the majority of existing relationships ~~that do exist~~ are casual, that is they have no essential meanings in terms of problems of the locality or of the larger community. Social separatism is accentuated through the limitation of movement and activity to those who are similar. The situation in the suburb is only slightly different and although there may be opportunity for greater spatial movement it occurs within social boundaries which enclose a more rigorously homogenized and restricted environment than is the case in the city. Within each suburb there is the tendency to create and preserve a style of life which shows little variation from that of one's neighbors although differences between suburbs may be very great indeed. Thus, the experiences of day-to-day living reduce to a minimum the new, the novel, the variant and serve to reinforce the familiar and the known.

Let us recall that in the town-community the basis for defining social class was based upon a configuration of cultural elements which, aligned to social grouping, represented organic sub-cultural systems. One aspect of the system was the spatially compact residential area for each class. In addition, there were also types of community assemblages in which all or a representative part of the citizenry came together for communal purposes. Under these conditions the child, as he moved toward maturity, could have direct experience through participation and observation with those of his own and other social groups. Each individual, from time to time, expressed and

reaffirmed his position and that of others in group life and class structure and thus acquired a sense of community as a whole. By contrast, the cultural limitations, within the homogeneous one-level suburbs or the culturally isolated fragment within the city mass inhibits the opportunity to experience or conceptualize the community as a whole. Where the effective experiences of the child represent only a fragment of the whole he must, by necessity, interpret and conceptualize behavior and values different than his own in the only frame of reference which he possesses, that of his own isolated experience. Thus, the conditions of metropolitan life encourage the progressive individualization of culture and the fragmentation of the larger social classes into more explicitly defined and narrow social layers.

It may well be that this narrow limitation of individual experience has contributed to ideas of conformity and mass society. When one encounters only those who are like himself in his daily activities, when movements in time and space are channeled in comparable environmental grooves, it is easy to understand why concepts of equality, or conformity become accepted. There are few experiences which deny or threaten likeness. And the cult of "togetherness" throws one further inward and away from even the minute variation of the immediately external world. The intentionally isolated family resembles those religious and ethnic groups which have attempted to resist the centrifugal pull of the larger society by encysting themselves as nearly autonomous cult-communities. The Amish and other pietistic sects attempted to preserve the purity of an earlier agrarian culture by dropping an isolating cultural curtain around their settlements. Such anthropological curiosities. But the hard fact remains that contemporary American society encourages if it does not enforce, isolation^{ob} the individual in ever smaller cultural groups. Now, one may ask, can such a conclusion be accepted in the face of the extensive mobility of the American people, and of their daily comings and goings and of the extensive development of the mass media. It is to this aspect of the problem that we next direct our analysis.

Earlier, attention was direct^{ed} to the great bureaucratic superstructures in commerce, industry, and government, each one possessing internal divisions corresponding to specialized functions. It is not our purpose to describe the intricacies of these systems but to emphasize that within and between them may be found graded hierarchies of positions carrying greater or lesser prestige and responsibility. Parallel with these structure are the professions with their own systems of prestige and oftentimes accompanied by internal divisions which simulate in structure although not in size, those of

Survival has little importance kept

industry and commerce.

The significant point for us ^{is} that each corporation, each branch of government, each education institution, each hospital, is not only an organization performing some specialized function in the complicated workings of an industrial society, but that each one is organized on the basis of a system of graded positions which carry differential responsibilities, rewards, and prestige. The system of positions usually preserves considerable stability; ~~The~~ movement within organization occurs among the personnel as they are hired, promoted, retired, or resign. The strivings, intrigues, manouvres, and struggles which determines one's position within the organization also becomes a significant factor in the social position which one occupies in the place of residence. These factors are not mutually exclusive ^{although} position within the institutional structure reflects mobility achievement more precisely than does social climbing within the locality.

The type of training which middle class parents insist their children receive in preparation for adult life provides clear evidence that the goals are institutional rather than community oriented. The least of the expectations is that the new generation will remain in the same locality as their parents. But in order to compete successfully it is an almost essential requirement that one receive a college education. Hence the compulsive pressure of the parents upon the children for success in college preparation and in the subsequent ^{choice} of a college whose name carries prestige. To a considerable extent the class of industrial workers has been outside the middle class system of individual competitiveness. Labor's improved status has come from cooperative action through labor organization. But the new industrialism requires fewer and fewer laborers, a fact expressed in the statistics which showed that in 1957 the proportion of industrial workers declined below fifty per cent of the whole and continues to decline slowly. Increasingly, their children must seek advanced educational training if they are to find a place for themselves. This conversion to middle class behavior has already begun through the growth of suburbs ^{for} workers.

The careful research that is need to establish the degree of conformity and the internal dynamics which explain the relationship between homogeneous suburbs or urban enclave and institutional position is still lacking. But empirical observation combined with census data on income and occupation clearly establishes the correlation. The fit is not perfect, of course, since human society has not yet become an ant hill. But those of comparable occupation and status seek out residential localities where they can

find others who are similar. Religion, ethnic background, and place of origin are factors which sometimes influence behavior, but these seem less important than institutional status.

Thus, the regrouping of the internal population of the city ^{and} its outward spread with the correlative growth of suburbs constitutes a cultural reformation in which the growth of institutional complexity is a major factor. The settlement pattern, which reflects the social distinctions, is much more an expression of institutional hierarchy than it is of the basis upon which social class in town-community was formed. The concomitants of family lineage, hereditary occupation and wealth, or participation in community ceremonialism, no longer has cultural meaning. And the institutional linkages which ~~used~~ ^{spatial} class to class have ^{no} base ^{within} which to operate. The differences within metropolis are not the sum of spatially discrete residential localities but the projection of the remote superstructures.

Community, in its sense of face-to-face interaction, is no longer the containment within one locality of the cultural divisions of social class or of the variety of local groupings,—religious, economic, educational,—which meet the manifold needs of human life. In fact, community disappears as there emerges the linkage between status based on corporate position and one's participation in the affairs of place of residence. Under such circumstances there can no longer be the autonomy nor the wholeness. Metropolis may contain within its boundaries all that constitutes the concept of community but the parts have become separated and isolated. The demand for mobility constricts the sense of time in depth and the fragmentation of functions alters the relation between contained space and the environment. Since the system does not encourage, nor perhaps even permit, continuity in the generational sense, history in its functional sense disappears. Instead, the institutional needs of the present take precedence over those of the individual who must remain constantly poised for social or spatial mobility. Under such circumstances deep ties to community can only prove to be restrictive. To remain settled is to be left behind in the race of life.

Within metropolis what replaces the sense of time in continuity that is found in the generational linkage of flesh and blood, of the tradition of locality and event, and of the communication from generations of the past to those of the present? In reality, the great superstructures bridge both time and space, but in this function they cannot remain community bound. Historical pageantry may entertain but the organic linkages from which the symbols derived their meaning have disappeared. The new organic linkages are those of the superstructures and these must operate ^{within} the fluidity of the present.

With the loss of history and continuity there ^{does} ~~must also~~ disappear the sense of tragedy and sacrifice. ^{also}

These qualities the sense of history, the meaning of tragedy, generational continuity, and community, have been characteristic of every civilization thus far knowⁿ. In one sense metropolis is a type of community. Its institutional structure provides continuity beyond that of family lineage. And there may be no real reason why tragedy or history are essential elements of personal ^{or group} life. But there does seem to be a real danger in the individualization of culture since the bases of societal cohesion are the communal categories of discrimination which arise from comparable experiences.

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