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... EDITORIAL

The University is facing a crisis of identity! Initially unilateral decisions involving the medical school and the Economics Degree course were countered by a series of student retaliatory protests. These culminated in two significant meetings with the Prime Minister. Implementation of impending radical reforms to the Maltese tertiary education system has, we assume, now taken the only correct path: that of consultation and co-operation.

The strongest bone of contention has been the idea that admission to the University be tied and equated to an already exsistant job opportunity. This has come under heavy fire as bad policy, or rather, as a side-stepping of the role of the University in a developing country, from the 'unholy alliance' of students and lecturers.

In a time when the University should be broadening its scope, how can one endorse such a retrograde measure?

'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. The Maltese Government faced with the 'date with destiny' and obsessed with the idea of doing away with luxury, has maintained that we could do away with the trimmings and merely retain what, it feels, is directly and absolutely vital to our economy.

The University is a major factor of the developing process, and the effects of measures such as these contemplated should be well gone into. For instance, having skilled man-power is itself one of the principal factors which lead to a particular locality being selected as the site where to set up an enterprise by investors, and the enterprises which have been most successful in Malta have been of the tertiary kind — precisely those which require staff with a general university — level training. Also, the probability of a brain-drain is a price no country can afford to pay. This institution has, and is, producing men of learning who have done us proud both in Malta and abroad. This country is not too small for such men. Let us be wary of an attitude moulded by economic measures that will not only frustrate those who have the highest potential to contribute to our Island's development and well-being, but be also counter-productive.

THE MEDICAL HISTORIAN AT WORK

by Dr. PAUL CASSAR

THE TASK OF THE MEDICAL HISTORIAN

Medical history is the record of how our present knowledge of medicine and surgery has been acquired through the ages and of how this knowledge has been applied to the prevention, control and treatment of disease.

The task of the medical historian, therefore, is: (a) to discover and record ideas and events in the march of medicine and place them in the context of the social, economic and religious currents of their time as the study of medical history cannot be pursued in isolation from the study of other fields of human behaviour;¹ (b) to show how the past is linked with the present in a continuous line of progression; how the present is built on the past and how the future is shaped by the present; and (c) to find out the reasons behind the failures of the past and thus help his contemporaries to move forwards into the future more efficiently and with the minimum of hazards.

To fulfil these tasks, the historian tries to find an answer to the following questions:

Why and how did this event happen?

Why at that particular point in time and not earlier or later?

What ideas or circumstances paved the way for that event?

Who wrote about it?

What kind of individual was the author?

What motivated him to write about it?

What is his proximity to the events he narrates in time and place?

How reliable is he with regard to the veracity of his statements?

MEANS OF ACHIEVING HIS OBJECTIVES

The medical historian endeavours to:

(a) find and establish facts or events by reference to original sources, not basing himself on mere rumours or opinions or impressions; (b) verify the truthfulness of facts and events, this being the most difficult exercise he has to carry out; (c) place them against the general background of the country or of other

¹ Cassar, P. (1965). *Medical History of Malta*, London.

countries at the same period in order to give a balanced picture; (d) link them with previous events that may have had a direct or indirect influence on them.

SOURCES

The types of sources of information tapped by the medical historian are:

(a) Literary. (i) Manuscripts or hand-written documents such as diaries, private papers, letters, official reports and records. (ii) Books. He must be familiar with what may have been already published especially with works that are contemporary with the events that he is investigating. (iii) Newspapers and journals. (iv) Microfilms of documents that are held in archives abroad.² (v) Correspondence with other research workers or institutions, libraries, museums, etc. interested or specialising in the same line of research that he is pursuing.

(b) Oral Information obtained verbally from witnesses or participants of events or from their immediate descendants.

(c) Pictorial. Portraits, paintings and engravings depicting scenes of a medical kind, such as episodes during epidemics; illustrations of diseased parts or deformities of the body; interiors of pharmacies, laboratories and operating theatres;³ apparatus and instruments that have gone out of use; pictures of ex-votos referring to cures from injuries or illnesses.⁴

(d) Material objects. (i) Architecture. This includes hospital buildings; slum areas reflecting the state of the public health; the presence of such internal features as the alcove where, in the past, expectant mothers gave birth to their offsprings;⁵ churches dedicated to saints, protectors against diseases (St. Roche, St. Sebastian, Saints Cosmas and Damian, etc.).⁶ (ii) Furniture such as the parturition chair⁷ and the wooden shelving and benches of old pharmacies. (iii) Archaeological artefacts in the shape of stat-

²Cassar, P. (1976). Early Relations between Malta and the U.S.A., Malta.

³Cassar, P. (1975). Professor P.P. Debono. The Man and His Times, *The St. Luke's Hospital Gazette*, Vol. 10, p. 127.

⁴Cassar, P. (1963). Medical Votive Offerings in the Maltese Islands, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 94, Part One.

⁵Cassar, P. (1975). Pregnancy and Birth in Maltese Tradition, *Chest-piece*, April, p. 25.

⁶Cassar, P. (1972). The Cult and Iconography of Saints Cosmas and Damian in the Maltese Islands, *Melita Historica*, Vol. 6, p. 25.

⁷Cassar, P. (1973). Vestiges of the Parturition Chair in Malta, *The St. Luke's Hospital Gazette*, Vol. 8, p. 58.

uettes of fat women, clay figures representing diseased organs from neolithic sites, stone slabs or mosaics showing scenes of medical interest or carvings of instruments.⁸ (iv) Human remains i.e. bones,⁹ teeth and mummies for evidence of pathological conditions in the past. (v) Medical bygones in the form of pharmacy jars, instruments or utensils used in the preparation of medicaments. (vi) Tombstones. Their inscriptions and designs afford biographical data; records of killing diseases (cholera, plague, accidents), evidence of longevity and life expectancy, state of medical knowledge as shown, for instance, by the anatomical representations of the human skeleton on the mosaic slabs in St. John Co-Cathedral at Valletta.¹⁰

PERSONALITY OF THE RESEARCH WORKER

To be competent and reliable the research worker must possess the following basic traits of character: (a) Truthful and unbiased. (b) Observant i.e. continuously on the look out for sources of information whether written, pictorial¹¹ or material objects.¹² (c) Humble, admitting his ignorance and acknowledging sources and the help he receives from others. (d) Patient, for he must be prepared to consume unlimited time in his search for material which is not always as productive as he desires it to be. (e) Critically disposed, in the sense that he must not accept statements at their face value, but must check them; he must beware of anonymous writings as the anonymity deprives him of the means of assessing the value of contributions by unknown authors; he must keep in mind, when dealing with secondary sources, the possibility of errors creeping in, regarding names and dates which may be transmitted from one document or book to another over a long period of time.¹³

⁸ Cassar, P. (1974). Surgical Instruments on a Tomb Slab in Roman Malta, *Medical History*, Vol. 18, p. 89.

⁹ Cassar, P. (1975). Relics of Phrenology in Malta, *The St. Luke's Hospital Gazette*, Vol. 10, p. 14.

¹⁰ Cassar, P. (1974). Anatomical Errors in the Lapidary of the Co-Cathedral of St. John at Valletta, *The St. Luke's Hospital Gazette*, Vol. 9, p. 13.

¹¹ Cassar, P. (1977). An Eighteenth Century Bill of Health of the Order of St. John from Malta, *Medical History*, Vol. 21, p. 182.

¹² Cassar, P. (1966). A Further Document of Wood Relating to the Plague of 1813-14, *Scientia*, Vol. 27, p. 4.

¹³ Cassar, P. (1958). The Foundation Year of the Chair of Anatomy and Surgery at the Holy Infirmary at Valletta, *Scientia*, Vol. 24, No. 3.

OBSTACLES AND AWARDS

The research worker is usually an individualist. As a lone worker, however, he can only make the first steps. As his search extends, it may go beyond his possibilities for further exploration and so he has to fall on other workers in his field and even in other areas for further information. Hence the need to keep abreast with the literature in his own field and related ones. Sometimes he finds enlightenment from the chance meeting with other workers who may point to sources unknown to him, suggest clues in his quest for information or else inspire research in other directions.

Notwithstanding his efforts to gather all the information about the subject under investigation, vast gaps may remain unfilled which ever way he turns. The most excruciating frustration he has to face is the discovery that the documents he is looking for have been lost or destroyed.¹⁴ He must, therefore, resign himself to the fact that no research project is ever complete.

In spite of these drawbacks, however, the research worker must persevere in his efforts comforted by the words of the Talmud which run thus: 'The day is short and the work is great ... It is not incumbent on thee to complete the work but thou must not therefore cease from it.' These words are ever in my mind as a historian and I will continue to abide by them to the end of my days.

¹⁴ Cassar, P. (1974). The Condition and Accessibility of Records on Maltese Medical History, in *Maltese History: What Future?* (Edit. A. Williams & R. Vella Bonavita), Malta, p. 147.

MEDICAL BOOKS IN THE MALTESE LANGUAGE

by ĠUZÉ GALEA

MEDICINE has been practiced in Malta since prehistoric times and the life of the inhabitants of this island has been alleviated by medical science throughout the course of history.

Studies and research have now established that originally our Megalithic temples not only served for religious worship but also for rituals of divination and for the practice of the art of healing. one of the best known finds in such a temple is a little statue representing a fat woman reclining in a trance indicating some system of hypnotic therapy.

It is also worthy of notice that one of the earliest descriptions of Malta, that written by St Luke the patron saint of doctors, in the year 60 AD mentions certain facts which have a bearing on treatment and cure of sickness and disease.

The Roman remains in these Islands bear witness to principles of Sanitation and Hygiene in domestic and social life. When the Arabs came to Malta they were at the zenith of their cultural attainments amongst which Medicine occupied a prominent place. The influence of their ability in the art of healing could not but have beneficial effect on our islands; in fact certain popular beliefs and practices as well as sayings, evince an oriental flavour inherited from the Arabs.

Medicine established itself as one of the foremost professions in our island with the advent of the Knights hospitalers of the Order of St John of Jerusalem later known as the Order of Malta. The Knights were reknowned for their courage in the face of the enemy and for their humanity towards the sick. They maintained hospitals which provided the best care and treatment available at the time, opened Medical schools under the direction of prominent masters and provided the best equipment and service obtainable.

The standard of Medical practice in our island was maintained high even after the departure of the Knights of St John. Teaching in our Medical School and Hospital keep abreast with clinical and therapeutic advanced made elsewhere and the Medical and Health services continued uninterruptedly and efficiently.

It is reasonable to expect that such a long tradition of Medical lore and practice did engender in the Maltese race and innate appreciation of the Art of Aesculapius and a sense of friendly disposition towards its disciples. Such feelings are expressed in popular manifestations of esteem and respect which are not lacking in our islands, but more effectively in writing and in the publication of books on Medicine and aligned subjects of which there are quite a few.

In Malta, considering our population and other limitations a number of books have been published dealing with various aspects of Medical science and Clinical practice. Maltese doctors have published works on their specialities or on their particular line of research. The earlier works were issued during the period of the Knights in Malta, but since then, other publications saw the light from time to time and up to the present there has been built up an appreciable collection of books on Medical subjects written by Maltese authors. Such books were written in foreign languages to reach a wide range of readers. Formerly texts were written in Latin: *De Postrema Melitensi Lue* by Laurenti Masciac in 1677, Italian: *Della Medicina Traumatica* by Michelangiolo Grima in 1773, German: *AnfnasgründeDer Muskellemre* by Joseph Barth in 1786 and French, but lately Maltese doctors have published their works in the English language which has assumed an international character, however there were also few who wrote in Maltese, the language of the people of Malta.

Those doctors who were the first to write their works in Maltese had to face a good deal of opposition; in publishing their books in Maltese they challenged a mistaken notion that our language was inadequate to express technical terms and abstract ideas. The Maltese Literature at that time consisted mostly of narrative prose and sentimental poetry, the rest was devotional matter.

Those pioneers, Prof. Pisani and Dr. Galizia, exposed and discredited the fallacy of unsuitability of our language and demonstrated that any work on Medical subjects can be written and published in Maltese.

Prof. S.L. Pisani published his book on Midwifery *Il-Qabla* in 1883; and Dr. J.S. Galizia's book *Ktieb ta' l-Infermieri* was issued in 1904. Since then, similar books continued to appear at first occasionally, later on more frequently although admittedly Medical Publications in Maltese remained scarce.

The cause of this scarcity is not to be attributed to any deficiency of the Maltese language as a vehicle of expression but rather it is the result of various factors and circumstances of a

social and economic nature prevailing in our island.

For centuries, the education of the masses was primitive if not neglected, with the result that ignorance was widespread and very few people could read or write even their own language. In such a situation books were hardly of any avail although as a matter of fact they were urgently needed to fight ignorance.

But also after the introduction of compulsory education in our island the publication of textbooks of Medicine in Maltese remained infrequent for reasons of an economic nature. The writing and compilation of a book on a Medical subject entail a long period of study, research and dedication, its actual publication is very expensive, and considering the restricted number of readers interested in it, serious doubt arises about the financial feasibility of the venture.

In spite of these obstacles however books on a wide range of Medical subjects have been issued in the Maltese language; there are books and brochures for adult readers and there are also text books for student nurses, midwives, health inspectors and health visitors.

The subjects dealt with are mostly related to clinical or preventive advice and treatment and include manifestations of diseases care of the sick, injuries and first aid, maternity, midwifery, pediatrics, personal and environmental hygiene, war casualties. It is interesting to note that certain factors of an epidemic or endemic nature which prevailed in our island from time to time have contributed to a spate of publications about those particular afflictions of maladies.

In the close of the 19th century and the early years of the present century the infant mortality was really deplorable in our island; it rated amongst the highest in Europe. The medical profession was much concerned about the pitiful loss of infant life and some Maltese doctors actuated by a sense of benevolence decided to publish instructions and advice on ways and means for the proper care and protection of babies and infants. They decided to do this in Maltese, the language of the common people so as to reach the lower classes amongst whom the neonatal and infantile mortalities were rampant. *It-trobbija tat-tfal jew Twissijiet għall-Ommijiet* (The care of the child and advice to mothers) by Dr. L. Manche and Dr. E.L. Vella in 1901; *Tagħlim għall-Ommijiet fuq it-Trobbija ta' Uliedhom* (Instructions to mothers on the care of their children) by Dr. E.L. Vella in 1906; *Is-saħħa tal-Ulied* (The health of the offspring) by Dr. F. Borg in 1911; *It-trobbija tat-tfal* (The care of children) by Dr. G. Bonnici in 1932; *It-trobbija bil-*

Halib tas-Sider (Mothers milk for infant feeding) by Dr. A. Critien in 1940.

Such books were of inestimable value in the campaign against infantile mortality, but concurrently with infantile mortality there was a distressing incidents of morbidity and permanent injuries amongst young mothers. To eliminate such baneful effects doctors and educationalists published books in Maltese for the guidance and advice of expectant mothers, and woman in general. Besides Dr. S. Pisani's work already referred to there was Dr. G.B. Schembri's *Ktieb għall-Idejn il-Qabla* (The Midwives handbook) published in 1896. *Tagħlim għall-Ommijiet* (instructions for Motherhood) by Dr. E.L. Vella in 1906; *Kura Indispensabbli Għan-Nisa Kollha* (Useful treatment for women's ailments) Anonymous published in 1920; *Twissijiet lill-Ommijiet Żgħażaġħ* (advice to young mothers) Anonymous published in 1936; *Obstetrica* (Obstetrics) by J. Mario in 1939.

Notwithstanding the rapid progress made with care and treatment of the Mother and Child, works in Maltese on Maternity and Child Welfare continued to appear such as *Pariri Għall-Ommijiet* (Advice to Mothers) by Dun Charles Vella in 1959; *Xi Grazzja ser ikollna Tarbija* (You are expecting a baby) by Dr. F. Bacioi also in 1959; *L-Omm u t-Tarbija* (The mother and Child) by Dr. M.A. Decesare in 1961; *L-Omm* (The Mother) by Dr. E. Licardi (no date).

In our country the idea that nursing is not just a menial occupation was spreading rapidly in the early decades of the current century and was exercising pressure for the adaption of a system of recruitment and training for the Nursing Service. Dr. J.S. Galizia felt the need of such a service and he published his book of lesson on General Nursing – *Ktieb ta' l-Infermieri* (The Nurse's Book) in 1904. He was followed by Dr. F. Borg who in 1906 published his book on the care of the sick in sudden illness *Għajnuna fil-Mard Għal Għarrieda*.

Later on when nursing was established as a profession and a school for nurses was opened at St. Luke's where courses of studies were organised leading to qualifications recognised for reciprocity purposes by competent authorities abroad texts were published for the student nurses and also for students following other courses for instruction in health and related subjects e.g.: Health Inspectors and Health Visitors. The following are some of the text books in Maltese. *Tagħlim fuq il-Mard Mentali Għall-Infermieri* (Instructions on Mental Diseases for Nurses) by Dr. P. Cassar in 1950; *Is-Sahħa Tiegħek* (Your Health) by Dr. E. Agius in 1953; *Lezzjonijiet għall-Infermieri* (lessons for nurses) by

Dr. J. Morava in 1956; *Manwal Għall-Infermieri* (Manual for Nurses) by Dr. J. Morava in 1957; *Iġjene Popolari* (Popular Hygiene) by E. Camilleri in 1963. *Manwal għall-Infermieri – Anatomija u Fisiologija* by Dr. J. Morava (no Publication date).

It is to be noted that certain epidemiological episodes in our country had given rise to the publication of a commentary of a descriptive nature of such occurrences. The earliest of such publications was issued in 1901 when the island was threatened by a sharp epidemic of plague in a neighbouring country: Dr. Caruana Scicluna published his brochure *Kelmtejn fuq il-Pesta u kif Teqridha* (Few words of advice on Plague). In 1936 an outbreak of the same disease occurred in Malta and a book *Malta u l-Gwaj tal-Pesta* (Malta and Scourge of Plague) by T. Borg made its appearance. *Taħdidiet fuq is-Saħħa* (talks on Health) by Dr. J. Morava was published in 1950 to allay apprehension against Poliomyelitis which was threatening the island.

About 1938-39 on the eve of the second Great War there was much tension in our island and people were anxious and alarmed about possible hostile attacks; there was much talk about the terrible effects of gas warfare and high calibre bombing. Under those circumstances it was considered advisable to issue instructions in Maltese about preventive methods and first aid measures in case of emergencies. The following pamphlets and brochures were issued by the Civil Defence Office. *Twissijiet Dwar Attakki mill-Ajru* (Warning and advice against Air Raids) in 1935; *Tagħlim kontra l-Gass* (Instructions for the prevention of gas contamination) 1935; *Twissijiet Dwar Attakki bil-Gass* (Warning and Advice Against Gas Attacks) 1938; *Noti Qosra – St. John's Ambulance* (Short Notes for the St. John's Ambulance Brigade) 1938; *L-Ewwel għajjnuna lil min ikorri fi Zmien ta' Gwerra* (First aid to the injured in war time) by Dr. P. Galea in 1939.

Health is a matter of national importance and every self respecting nation endeavours to cultivate and promote it. For this reason various means have been adapted to make the people conscious of the importance of good health and appreciative of the benefits resulting therefrom. The most effective method to stimulate public opinion is to educate the people by appropriate information in print. Such a course of action was feasible only after the first quarter of our century when popular instruction had spread noticeably and a good proportion of the people could read at least in their own language. However, attempts had already been made to instill in the minds of the people some knowledge of hygiene and medical care *Tagħlim Qasir u Hafif fuq Iġjene jew sanità* (Brief

instruction on Hygiene and sanitation) was published by Dr. T. Zammit in 1901. *Nibżgħu għal saħħitna* (let us take care of our health) by A. Preca was issued in 1902. *Kif għandha tinżamm id-Dar* (house management) by Dr. E. Vella in 1907.

Later other publications on personal and environmental hygiene were issued and still make their appearance from time to time. The following are a few of them. *Il-Iodin u l-Hajja* (Iodine and Life) by S.L. Bensusan in 1927; *Il-Gmiel ta' Gisimna* (The beauty of the Human Body) by Dr. G. Bonnici 1939; *Tagħrif ta' Htiega għall-Mara Maltija* (Useful hints for the Maltese woman) by C. Carbonaro in 1950.

Books and pamphlets explaining preventive or curative methods against particular infections of diseases were issued during periods of endemic prevalence. For instance *Il-Halib tal-Mogħża* (The goat's Milk) by Dr. A. Fava in 1931 was published to combat the speed of undulant fever which for ages had prevailed as a hazard to the health of the people of these islands. *Tagħlim* (Instructions) was issued by the society for prevention of Venereal Diseases in 1929 following a flare up on the incidences of that infection. *Xieħda tat-Tobba* (Doctor's Evidence) Anonymous 1970 was published with a view to encourage proper treatment against tuberculosis.

Maltese doctors and others never failed to spread their knowledge and educate the public in Medical Matters; they contributed in the Maltese press and published books on a variety of subjects even of a highly specialised character such as *Flora Maltija Mediċinali* (Maltese Medical Flora) by C. Penza in 1969. *Duwa u Semm Fil-Hxejjex* (Medicinal and Poisonous Elements in the Maltese Flora) by G. Lanfranco in 1975. *Mediċina Sportiva* (Medical notes for Sportsmen) by Dr. J. Muscat in 1977.

This list of books on Medicine and Allied subjects in Maltese is not complete, there are others which have been omitted but from the ones mentioned here it will be realised that the Maltese language could be adapted to express in print for the benefit of students and of readers in general any work on Medical Science.

Kontribuzzjoni tax-Xirka għall-Ġustizzja Soċjali fis-Seminar organizzat mix-X.G.S. dwar "Ir-Riformi fl-Edukazzjoni Terzjarja li nżamm fl-Universita nhar it-2, 3, u 4 ta' Diċembru 1977. Taħdita li għamilha Pawlu Gauci President Xirka Għall-Ġustizzja Soċjali.

L-EDUKAZZJONI U L-ĠUSTIZZJA SOĊJALI

INTRODUZZJONI

SABIEX wiehed ikun jista' jitkellem fuq l-Edukazzjoni Terzjarja wiehed irid jaraha fil-kuntest shiħ tagħha, kemm vis-à-vis il-preparazzjoni li ssir qabel (i.e. Edukazzjoni Primarja u Sekondarja) u kemm vis-à-vis l-ordni soċjali. Fil-fatt dawn huma inseparabbli. F'din it-taħdita se niddiskutu is-sehem tal-edukazzjoni f'soċjetà klassista, jiġifieri fejn teżisti klassi li tiddomina fuq oħra, kemm ekonomikament, permezz tal-pussess tal-mezzi tal-produzzjoni mill-klassi dominanti, kemm (jew) politikament permezz tal-kontroll fuq makkinarji bħal l-Istat u Istituzzjonijiet oħra, u kemm (jew) idejologikament permezz tat-tkattir ta' kultura li tippropaga s-sistema. Għalhekk qabel ma nitkellmu speċifikament fuq l-Edukazzjoni Terzjarja irridu neżaminaw ir-"role" li taqdi sistema edukattiva f'soċjetà klassista u wara naraw ir-"role" speċifiku tal-Istituzzjonijiet Terzjarji f'dan il-kuntest. Ser neżaminaw dawn iż-żewġ punti li ġejjin:

I. li s-sistema edukattiva f'soċjetà klassista isservi bħala mod ta' selezzjoni soċjali billi:

(i) tipproduċi rekluṭi godda u forsi aktar effiċjenti għall-ħtiġijiet tas-sistema dominanti jiġifieri tipproduċi "unskilled labourers", "skilled labourers", Inġinieri, "Managers", tobba, eċċ.

(ii) tiżviluppa dawk l-intellettuali li jiġġustifikaw is-sistema fir-"role" tagħhom bħala mexxejja idejoloġiċi, jiġifieri il-politikant, il-qassis, l-għalliemi, eċċ. u dawk l-intellettuali li jamministraw is-sistema, jiġifieri il-burokratiċi tal-Istat, Managers eċċ. Irridu nagħmluha ċara li dawn il-funzjonijiet mhux neċessarjament ikunu separati (eż. il-politikant-burokratiku).

II. li s-sistema edukattiva f'soċjetà klassista isservi sabiex direttament jew indirettament, tkun mezz ta' kontroll soċjali, billi:

(i) trawwem u tindottrina l-istudent fil-mod ta' hsieb u valuri

tal-klassi dominanti (li tista' issejjah "il-kultura dominanti") u b'hekk l-istudent jispiċċa bħala cittadin "eżemplari" u jaċċetta s-sistema b'għajnejh magħluqa.

(ii) tipproduċi dawk in-nies li jeżerċitaw kontroll intellettuali fuq il-massa.

Ikun tajjeb ukoll li qabel xejn ngħidu x'wiehed għandu jifhem b'Edukazzjoni. B'Edukazzjoni m'għandniex nifhem jekk wiehed attendiex jew kemm wiehed dam jattendi l-Iskola, iżda għandna nifhem li dan hu proċess dinamiku li fih il-bniedem għandu jilhaq l-għan bażiku ta' awtonomija. Difatti il-kelma "Edukazzjoni" tant hadet tifsira ta' Indottrinazzjoni u Kontroll Soċjali illi xi mexxejja progressivi, bħal Nyerere, issugerrew li sistema edukattiva li tas-sew għandha l-għan li teduka għall-awtonomija, għandha tiehu isem ġdid, bħal ngħidu ahna "Civiliżazzjoni". L-għan bażiku ta' awtonomija, għandu jkun kemm f'aspett *vokazzjonali*, (billi l-bniedem jipprepara ruhu għax-xogħol, u fl-istess hin jitgħallem jara lilu nnifsu bħala produttur, u mhux bħala bejjiegħ tal-kapaċità tax-xogħol tiegħu), u kemm *mill-att ta' relazzjonijiet soċjali*, (billi jiżviluppa l-abiltà li jmexxi lilu nnifsu mingħajr htieġa ta' politikant, qassis jew għalliem li jgħidulu fost affarijiet oħra x'inhu tajjeb u x'inhu ħażin.) Għalhekk nistgħu ngħidu li l-Edukazzjoni għandha tiddependi fuq l-iżvilupp tal-ħsieb fuq l-idejat.

L-idejat jiġu minn proċess ta' relazzjoni bejn l-ambjent rejali u l-individwu; l-idejat ma jeżistux bħala xi ħaġa separata mill-ambjent materjali. Biex wiehed jahseb irid jahseb fuq xi ħaġa ibbażata fuq esperjenzi materjali. L-ideja hi, kif qal Dewey, internaliżazzjoni tar-relazzjoni bejn il-bniedem u l-ambjent materjali. Biex l-Edukazzjoni tkun tabilhaqq għajn ta' stimulazzjoni krejattiva hemm bżonn li t-tagħlim jiġi integrat mar-rejalta' u l-istudent jingħata esperjenza ta' dak li jkun qed jiġi mgħallem. Naraw, bħala eżempju, li fis-sistema edukattiva preżenti l-iskola hi ġeneralment, akkumulazzjoni ta' fatti u mhux stimulazzjoni ta' ħsieb. Jekk għalliem jgħid lil student x'għandu jagħmel b'xi ħaġa, mingħajr ma l-istudent ikollu huwa stess l-esperjenza tal-ħaġa, l-għalliem ikun taħ fatt li mhux l-istess ħaġa bħal żvilupp ta' ideja.

F'sitwazzjoni bħal din, l-iskola, għal hafna studenti speċjalment dawk li, aktar tard ngħidu għaliex, ma jkunux laħqu livell tajjeb ta' ħsieb krejattiv, issir ħabs intellettuali, u l-għalliem il-gwardjan.

IS-SISTEMA EDUKATTIVA F'SOĊJETA KLASSISTA U L-PROPOGAZZJONI TAL-ININGWALJANZI SOĊJALI

Waħda mill-aktar ġlidiet importanti li l-istudent universitarju

malti għamel f'dawn l-aħħar snin, kienet favur għajnuna finanzjarja għal studenti li gejjin minn familji finanzjarjament baturi. L-għaqda li jien nirrapreżenta (Ix-X.G.S.) ħadet sehem ukoll f'din il-ġlieda, għalkemm għamlitha ċara li l-ġhotja tal-"grants" mhix ser issolvi l-problema ta' nuqqas ta' demokratiżżazzjoni fl-edukazzjoni, għalkemm ahna nħossu li hemm bosta elementi pożittivi f'sistema ta' għajnuna finanzjarja lill-istudenti foqra. Il-problema tad-demokratiżżazzjoni tal-Edukazzjoni trid tħares lejha aktar fil-fond, għaliex tfal li gejjin mill-klassi tal-ħaddiema, fil-biċċa l-kbira tagħhom, ikunu ddestinati minn ċkunithom, biex ma jaslux għall-edukazzjoni Terzjarja. Dan għaliex is-sistema ekonomika dominanti li teżisti bħalissa ma teħtieġx u ma tippemmettix demokratiżżazzjoni tal-edukazzjoni.

Għalhekk, l-ewwelnett, aħjar nidentifikaw u naraw fil-qosor x'inh i is-sistema ekonomika dominanti bħalissa, u r-"role" li jservu l-klassijiet soċjali fiha. Bħalissa s-sistema ekonomika dominanti f'Malta hi dik kapitalista, fejn il-meżzi tal-produzzjoni huma l-propjetà ta' ftit individwi, kemm Maltin, kif ukoll barranin, l-Istat, u xi korporazzjonijiet transazzjonali. Irridu noqgħodu attenti, imma, li ma naqgħux fin-nasba li nqabblu lil Malta ma' pajjiżi industrijalizzati bħall-Istati Uniti u l-Ġermanja tal-Punent, għar-raguni li dawn qegħdin fiċ-ċentru, u Malta fil-periferija tal-kapitaliżmu internazzjonali u xi ragunijiet oħra li mhux lok nid-diskutuhom f'din it-taħdita. Tliet karatteristiċi tal-kapitaliżmu huma l-kompetizzjoni, ix-xogħol għal paga (wage-labour) u l-profitt. Naraw li l-profitt, kif skoprew ħafna ekonomisti magħrufa, gejj mill-fatt li l-ħaddiem - (il-produttur dirett) - ibiegh il-kapaċità tax-xogħol tiegħu lil min iħaddem u li l-valur tal-prodott jiddependi mill-ammont ta' kapaċità tax-xogħol li jkun ikkristallizzat fil-prodott. Minn dak il-valur li l-ħaddiem ikun ikkontribwixxa għall-produzzjoni, huwa jiehu persentaġġ żgħir, fil-forma, generalment, tal-minimum wage. L-ammont tal-minimum wage, mhux neċessarjament li jkun eżattament subsistence wage, għax dan jiddependi wkoll mis-saħħa tal-muviment tal-ħaddiema bħal Trade Unions u Partiti Politici, f'ċirkostanzi u f'pajjiżi speċifiċi u bosta ragunijiet oħra. Il-persentaġġ tal-valur tal-produzzjoni li jifdal imur parti bħala ħlas għal kapital maħrug mis-sid jew sidien, parti jiġi approprjat mis-sid jew sidien għall-konsum personali tagħhom u biex jiġi akkumulat aktar kapital. Naraw għalhekk li l-ħaddiem - (il-produttur dirett) - huwa biex ngħidu hekk is-sinsla tal-kapitaliżmu, fis-sens li biex jinħolqu l-profitti irid ikun hemm dan it-tip ta' ħaddiem.

Sabiex il-pagi ta' dawn il-ħaddiema jinżammu fl-aktar livell

baxx li huwa possibli, u fl-istess hin is-sistema kapitalista tibqa' miexja minghajr ma tkun imxekkla, jinhass il-bżonn li jkun hemm numru ta' nies, aktar milli jkun mehtieg, dejjem lesti li jbieghu il-kapaçità tax-xogħol. Hemm bżonn ukoll riproduzzjoni kontinwa ta' din il-kapaçità tax-xogħol sabiex ikun hemm sostituti lesti jieħdu post daww il-ħaddiema li jirtiraw jew imutu. Barra minn hekk, dawn il-ħaddiema jkun hemm bżonn li jiġu kkontrollati, kemm politikament permezz tal-Istat, il-Pulizija eċċ. u kemm idejologikament permezz ta' tkattir tal-kultura burgiża.

Minn hawn nistgħu naraw kif eżattament is-sistema edukattiva taqdi d-dmir tagħha f'soċjetà klassista billi ssahħah l-eżistenza tal-klassijiet soċjali. Dan tagħmlu l-ewwelnett, billi fiha nnifisha tohloq is-separazzjoni eżistenti fl-ordni soċjali bejn ix-xogħol mentali u xogħol manwali, u l-"Istatus" li hu marbut magħhom. Ix-xogħol manwali nistgħu niddiskrivuh bħala nuqqas tax-xogħol mentali. Fis-sistema edukattiva, permezz ta' "streaming", eżamijiet u xi metodi oħra, it-tfal, sa minn ċkunithom, jiġu ddestinati biex meta jikbru jagħmlu jew xogħol manwali jew xogħol mentali, naturalment ikun hemm xi eċċezzjonijiet. B'dan il-mod, l-iskola sservi bħala mezz ta' selezzjoni soċjali u bħala mezz ta' riproduzzjoni tal-kapaçità tax-xogħol. Jekk wieħed juri li hu tajjeb, jibqa' tiela' fis-sellum tas-soċjetà, u jekk le, għal gol-fabbrika jew l-għalqa.

Izda minn hawn irridu mmorru pass ieħor, u naraw minn fejn jiġu ttimbrati bħala injoranti, u mgieghla jaċċettaw li huma injoranti. Hafna edukaturi indunaw li hafna minn daww ittimbrati bħala injoranti gejjin mill-aktar strata baxxa tal-klassi tal-ħaddiema u li l-magħġoranza ta' daww li jimexxu gejjin mill-klassijiet tan-nofs. Hafna tejoristi li jridu jiġġustifikaw is-sistema kompetittiva isostnu li din-nuqqas ta' intelligenza hi haġa ġenetika, jew saħansitra mibgħuta minn Alla. Għalhekk, skond dawn l-argumenti, il-klassi soċjali hija haġa soċjali wkoll, u b'hekk din is-sistema kompetittiva hija wahda ġusta għax kulhadd ikollu l-istess opportunitajiet. Minn naħa l-oħra, hafna edukaturi indunaw, u dan wara esperimenti xjentifiċi li għalkemm forsi jista' jkun hemm fatturi ereditarji u ġenetiki, l-intelligenza hi l-aktar ibbażata fuq l-istimulazzjoni tal-moħħ li jiltaqa' magħha l-individwu fl-esperjenzi tiegħu. Jidher ċar, għalhekk, li meta tifel mill-klassijiet tan-nofs 'il fuq imur l-iskola, ga jkollu vantaġġ minn dak li ġej mill-klassi tal-ħaddiema, għas-sempliċi raġuni li tal-ewwel ikun tiela' f'ambjent hafna aktar intellettwalment stimulant. It-tifel li jkun ġej mill-klassi tal-ħaddiem rari jista' jkollu dan it-tip ta' ambjent, kemm minhabba l-attitudni tal-ġenituri, kif ukoll minhabba nuqqasijiet oħra bħal

finanzi, gùgarelli, familji kbar, nuqqas ta' spazju, dieta hażina, u komunikazzjoni lingwistika ristretta mal-adulti. Minhabba f'hekk ikun diffiċli hażna li tifel li ġej minn familja fqira jilhaq l-istess I.Q. daqs tifel tal-klassi medja, għalkemm hemm dubji kbar hażna ta' kemm huma validi dawn it-testijiet tal-I.Q. Minn mindu jkollu 6 snin jew anqas, it-tifel li kellu l-isfortuna li jkun tela' f'ambjent intellettwalment fqir jiġi gġudikat u ttimbrat bħala injorant, u mit-fuġh mal-"injuranti shabu". Jekk jirreżisti u jirribella jista' jitt-qies bħala "remedial" jew mitfuġh "is-salvatur".

Tejoristi bħal Bernstein innutaw li go familji tal-klassi tal-haddiema il-fatt li l-missier ma jkollux responsabbiltà fuq ix-xogħol, nuqqas ta' riġpet lejh innifsu u anqas sigurtà, ikollu tendenza li jrawwem familja fejn l-awtorità tingħata aktar importanza mill-originalità. Billi f'ambjent bħal dan, ikun hemm nuqqas ta' stimulazzjoni kreative, it-tifel isibha anqas possibbli li jesponi ruħu għall-lingwaġġ tal-klassi medja li għandu livell intellettwali aktar għoli. Dan iwassal biex it-tifel mill-klassi tal-haddiema jara biss il-htigijiet strettament immedjati u ma jaxx il-bżonn li jagħmel saġrif iċċju biex jeduka ruħu sew. Ma' dan irridu nżidu wkoll li l-medja tal-komunikazzjoni fl-iskola tiffavorixxi l-klassi tan-nofs.

Forma oħra ta' inegwaljanza soċjali f'soċjetà klassista hija dik sesswali, fejn il-mara mistennija tiegħu r-"role" ta' mara tad-dar u omm, u sservi bħala seftura tar-raġel u mezz ta' riproduzzjoni, jew li tmur taħdem go fabbrika. Mhix haġa komuni li n-nisa jiehdu "roles" differenti minn hekk. In-nisa li jaħdmu bħala "teachers", "nurses", u dawk il-ftit hażna li għandhom karigi importanti huma f'minoranza. U barra minn hekk, hażna jaħdmu biex igemmgħu id-dota halli jizzewgħu u jaqdu l-għan ewlieni mistenni minnhom ta' mara tad-dar u omm. Is-sistema preżenti ma tantx toffri alternattivi oħra għan-nisa u għalhekk bħat-tfal tal-haddiema, in-nisa minn meta jkunu żgħar jitolgħu bi żvantagġ, meta tqabbilhom mas-subien. Dan l-ewwel nett minhabba l-kultura li jitravmu fiha, u t-tip ta' gùgarelli li jingħataw u d-distinzjonijiet sesswali li jsiru fl-iskejjel. Fl-iskejjel tal-bniet insibu aċċenn kbir fuq ix-xjenza domestika, il-ħjata, it-tisjir eċċ. Il-mizien tas-soċjetà ixaqleb hażna kontra l-mara li tkun trid tilhaq xi livell intellettwali għoli. Dan minhabba li r-"roles" prinċipali meħtieġa mill-mara ma jirrekjedux livell għoli ta' intellettwalità.

Barra minn hekk, is-sistema edukattiva għandha funzjoni ta' kontroll soċjali li tkompli x-xogħol li jkun ġa beda fil-familja, u tkompli tkattar il-kultura tal-klassi dominanti permezz ta' taġħlim li jippropaga ubbidjenza lejn l-awtorità. Fil-prattika dan ikun ifisser li l-istudent jiġi ikkundizzjonat li jobdi lil min iħaddmu għax dan

jagħmillu l-gid, jaċċetta l-kompetizzjoni bħala l-unika forma ta' relazzjoni soċjali (jigifieri jaċċetta l-ligi tal-gungla) u li min hu "inorant" għandu jiġi kkastigat u relegat għall-aktar postijiet baxxi fil-ġerarkija soċjali.

Kollox ma' kollox, l-iskola fis-sistema edukattiva preżenti, tlesti lil dak li jkun biex meta jidher jaċċetta l-hajja kif inhi, taħbilu r-realtà tal-hajja, u biex iservi ta' għodda tajba sabiex isahħa l-"Istatus Quo", kemm jekk l-istudent imur jaħdem fil-fabbrika jew fl-għalqa, kif ukoll jekk isir tabib, għalliem jew politikant.

IS-SEHEM TAL-ISTITUZZJONIJET TERZJARJI

Dak li ntqal qabel fuq is-sistema edukattiva f' soċjetà klassista jgħodd ukoll għall-istituzzjonijiet terzjarji, għalkemm irridu niċċaraw il-punt illi l-atmosfera intellettuali fl-Università, u sa ċertu punt anki fil-Politeknik, huwa ħafna aktar stimulanti minn dak tal-iskejjel sekondarji u primarji. Dan għaliex sa ċertu punt, f'dawn l-istituzzjonijiet hemm aktar libertà ta' għażla. Wkoll, kif ġeneralment huma immexxija il-"lectures", "seminars" eċċ. jagħti lok għal partipazzjoni akbar minn naħa tal-istudent, u b'hekk ikun hemm aktar lok ta' kritika krejattiva. Dan ma jfissirx li l-istudent dejjem qed jieħdu vantaġġ minn dan l-ambjent, u minnhom jikkritikaw is-sistema, kemm minhabba l-interessi li għalihom ikunu daħlu l-Università jew il-Politeknik, kif ukoll minhabba li s-sistema terzjarja tal-edukazzjoni għadha bbażata fuq il-kompetizzjoni, bħal ma hi s-soċjetà ġenerali.

Mill-edukazzjoni terzjarja, l-istudent ikun wasal fl-aħħar targiet għas-selezzjoni soċjali meħtieġa għal ġerarkija tas-soċjetà. Minn hawn se jidher dawk in-nies le se jservu bħala l-mexxejja ideoloġiċi jew l-amministraturi tas-sistema. Fl-Università ssib studenti li l-biċċa l-kbira minnhom ikunu ġejjin minn "dik is-sezzjoni tal-popolazzjoni li xi soċjoloġiċi kontemporanji jsejnhulha l-'piccola borghesia' l-għdida, jigifieri dik is-sezzjoni li għalkemm hi sfruttata wkoll mill-kapitali, għax jaħdmu wkoll għall-paga, fl-istess hin qegħdin jisfruttaw haddiema oħra permezz tas-sehem manipulattiv tagħhom fis-soċjetà, l-istatus għoli tagħhom. Barra minn hekk din is-sezzjoni kontrarju għal dawk il-haddiema li huma produttori diretti, qegħdin jiġu fdati bil-funzjoni li jharsu l-interessi tal-istat u tal-kapital. Sezzjoni bħal din tinkludi burokratiċi, skrivani, managers, għalliema. Barra minn din is-sezzjoni, ħafna studenti jiġu wkoll minn familji fejn il-missier huwa professjonist, jew minn familji għonja. Għalkemm issib xi studenti li jiġu minn familji ta' labourers u bdiewa, dawn huma f'minoranza. Dan minhabba li

r-“recruitment” fl-Università jkun determinat miċ-ċirkostanzi li semmejna qabel, u li kif ġa għidna, jaħdmu kontra ulied il-klassi tal-haddiema.

Barra mill-“problemi” marbuta mar-reklutaġġ, hemm ukoll dawk li għandhom x’jaqsmu mal-prodott ta’ din is-sistema. Hawn studenti li jidhru fl-Università u l-politeknik joħorgu minn hemm biex iservu ta’ għodda tajba f’idejn is-sistema preżenti, li kif ġa għidna hija waħda kapitalista, biex tiġi eżercitata egemonija fuq il-masses. Dan jista’ jiġri billi l-gradwati jservu bħala l-mexxejja *intelletwali* li jaħdmu fuq livell idejologiku, bħall-politikan, il-qassis, it-tabib tar-raħal, l-avukat eċċ. li s-sehem tagħhom ikun li jiġġustifikaw is-sistema kif inhi, skond in-natura tax-xogħol speċifiku tagħhom u permezz ta’ tattici differenti. Jistgħu iservu wkoll lis-sistema fil-*livell politiku* billi jilhqqu postijiet għolja fil-makkinarju tal-Istat jew xi istituzzjonijiet oħra, jew isiru politikanti. Dan is-servizz jista’ jingħata wkoll fuq il-*livell ekonomiku*, fejn gradwati jsiru managers, accountants, inginiera eċċ. li jkunu jistgħu jmanipulaw il-haddiema ta’ taħthom biex tiżdied il-produzzjoni.

Wiehed josserva li fis-sistema terzjarja preżenti hemm erbgħa fergħat ewlenin li huma, (i) il-fergħa tal-lingwi u l-kultura (ii) il-fergħa tal-ekonomija u management (iii) il-fergħa tax-Xjenza u Teknologija (iv) il-fergħa tal-professionisti (tobba, avukati u periti eċċ.) Xi wħud mill-gradwati minn dawn il-fergħat, jidher mill-ewwel li jiġu ttrenjati biex jaqdu lis-sistema biex tissaħħaħ, kif għidna hawn fuq. Hemm oħrajn, li s-sehem tagħhom jista’ jidher li hu apolitiku, bħal per eżempju, dawk il-gradwati fix-Xjenza u t-Teknologija. Fil-verità imma, dawn, bil-mod passiv li huma jieħdu sehem fl-industrija, xorta jkunu qegħdin isahħu s-sistema, avolja superficjalment ikunu jidhru li huma “detached” mill-proċess politiku.

Għalkemm il-potenzjal għal holqien ta’ ambjent kritiku u kreattiv potenzjalment jista’ jeżisti, dan mhux qed jiġi rejalizzat min-habba t-tip ta’ reklutaġġ u l-interessi li jiġu mposti fuq il-gradwati mis-sistema kapitalista. Għalhekk jidher li x’diehel u ħiereg fl-edukazzjoni oghla huwa determinat mill-istruttura soċjali u ekonomika.

Haga oħra importanti li għandna ninnotaw hi li kull bidla fl-istruttura ekonomika tikkreja relazzjonijiet soċjali godda, per eżempju klassijiet dominanti godda. Għal din ir-raġuni ikun meħtieġ tip ta’ intellettuali godda sabiex jamministraw u jikkontrollaw il-massa favur l-interessi tas-sistema li tkun qed tinholq. Kif qal Gramsci, “kull grupp soċjali li jitwieled biex jaqdi funzjoni għida fil-produzzjoni ekonomika, jikkreja miegħu organikament, strata

jew aktar ta' ntellettuali li jaghtuh sens ta' identità fil-funzjoni tiegħu u għaqda, u dan mhux biss fl-isfera ekonomika, imma wkoll fl-isfera soċjali u politika. Il-kapitalist il-ġdid joħloq miegħu it-tekniku industrijali, l-ispeċjalist fl-ekonomija politika, l-organizzaturi ta' kultura ġdida, u l-organizzaturi ta' sistema legali ġdida, eċċ.

Per eżempju, meta f'Malta bdew dehlin il-fabbriki, fl-aħħar tal-hamsinijiet u l-bidu tas-sittinijiet, u għalhekk is-sistema ekonomika Maltija bdiet tinbidel, bdiet tinħass il-htieġa li jkun hemm bidliet fis-sistema edukattiva, u fl-Università bdew dehlin korsijiet bħal ekonomija u management addattati għal dan it-tibdil. Ma' dan żviluppat kultura ġdida. L-istess ġara meta f'Malta beda jiż-żied it-turiżmu bħala aspett importanti tal-ekonomija, meta daħal il-Catering, Hotel Management, kultura ġdida li kissret ċerti taboos. Ukoll, kif qal Gramsci, "mexxejja idejoloġiċi jinholqu sabiex jippropagaw kultura ġdida li sservi biex issaħħaħ is-sistema ekonomika li kienet qed tiżviluppa".

Dawn l-intellettuali godda jsibu oppożizzjoni mill-intellettuali l-antiki, u jinħass il-bżonn li l-intellettuali l-qodma jinbelgħu fis-sistema l-ġdida, jew jiġu mfarrka b'xi mod jew iehor. Jittiehdu passi wkoll biex jissahħu u jitrawwmu oħrajn godda bħala mexxejja.

Billi hu mill-edukazzjoni terzjarja li dawn l-amministraturi u mexxejja intellettuali godda joħorġu, wiehed irid iħares lejn ir-riformi fl-edukazzjoni terzjarja li għandu f'moħħu l-gvern preżenti, f'dan id-dawl. Qed naraw li s-sistema ekonomika Maltija qieghda f'fazi ta' bidla, u għalhekk tkun mehtieġa bidla fis-soprastruttura sabiex dawn jikkorrispondu mal-bidliet fl-ekonomija. Dawn ir-riformi qed isiru biex jiġu akkomodati dawn il-bidliet, għaliex hija mill-edukazzjoni terzjarja li trid tipproduċi hafna minn dawn l-amministraturi u mexxejja godda.

Din il-htieġa ta' bidla fil-htigijiet intellettuali, se twassal għal sitwazzjoni fejn ċerti intellettuali, li kienet tipproduċi s-sistema ta' qabel, se jitilfu l-istatus u forsi anki l-impieg potenzjali tagħhom. Dawk l-istudenti li kellhom l-interessi tagħhom fis-sistema li issa qed tigi mwarrba, qed isibu rwieħhom f'sitwazzjoni ta' incertezza. B'hekk qed tikber il-possibiltà li jsiru kritiċi tas-sistema ekonomika l-ġdida, u jagħmlu użu mill-ambjent liberali li jista' jeżisti prinċipalment go Università sabiex jikkritikaw is-sistema. Huwa għalhekk forsi, li studenti tradizzjonalment konservattivi, qed jehduha kontra l-"Establishment".

L-ISTUDENT U X-XOGHOL

Wiehed jista' jgħid li hija haġa mixtieqa li l-edukazzjoni ter-

zjarja tkun marbuta max-xogħol, għax ix-xogħol ikattar l-esperjenzi ta' dak li jkun qed jistudja u, barra minn hekk, arrangament bħal dan jista' jagħti lok biex xi studenti minn familji foqra jkollhom iċ-ċans ikomplu jistudjaw. Wiehed irid iżomm quddiem għajnejh, imma, li arrangament bħal dan, f'sistema kapitalista, jservi, kif ga għidna qabel, biex isahħaħ is-sistema.

Meta wiehed jittellem fuq ix-xogħol m'għandux jinsa x-xogħol tal-id. Ix-xogħol manwali għandu jittqies, mhux biss bħala mezz biex student ikun jaf kif iħossu l-ħaddiem, għax l-għażla tal-istudent dejjem ha tibqa' aktar wiesgħa minn dik tal-ħaddiem, imma għandna nharsu lejn ix-xogħol manwali bħala mezz biex nersqu lejn sistema fejn tispicċa s-separazzjoni bejn ix-xogħol mentali u x-xogħol manwali. Hija f'sistema bħal din fejn ir-rabta bejn il-ħtiġijiet tal-pajjiż u l-edukazzjoni terzjarja tkun tassew waħda f'direzzjoni għusta.

KONKLUŻJONI

Hu veru li xi riformi li ga saru fl-edukazzjoni terzjarja taw ċans lil xi tfal tal-ħaddiema jidhlu l-università u l-politeknik, iżda dawn dejjem kienu relattivament f'tit għar-raġunijiet li semmejna. Ir-riformi li hemm f'moħħ il-gvem jistgħu jagħtu l-lok li f'tit aktar tfal minn familji batuti jidhlu, iżda mhux ser joffru tibdila radikali, għaliex is-soċjetà klassista xorta se tibqa' tigi propagata, kif ukoll is-separazzjoni tax-xogħol tal-id u x-xogħol mentali. Meta nitkellmu fuq demokrazija, ma nitkellmux fuq li xi f'tit tfal ta' labourers ikollhom iċ-ċans li jsiru avukati, iżda li kulhadd ikun kapaci jmessi lilu nnifsu, jiggifieri kulhadd ikollu d-dritt u d-dmir li jilhaq l-oġġla livell intellettuali possibli. Dan jiggifieri li *kulhadd* għandu d-dritt li jkollu edukazzjoni terzjarja.

Huwa veru li hemm bżonn ta' xi tibdiliet fil-curriculum ta' xi suġġetti, iżda x-X.G.S. thoss li tibdiliet fl-Edukazzjoni għandhom ikunu mmirati lejn il-gustizzja soċjali, u l-gustizzja soċjali ma tistax isseħħ f'soċjetà klassista. Għalhekk kull bidla fis-sistema edukattiva għandha timxi id f'id ma' proċess ieħor – dak ta' transformazzjoni soċjo-ekonomiku fejn il-klassijiet jinqerdu.

THEOLOGY AND SOCIAL RELEVANCE

by Rev. GEORGE GRIMA

If we define theology as 'talk about God', we are explaining its etymology but we are saying only part of what the word generally means. The field of theological investigation is the whole of human experience as known and lived in the light of faith. Like the philosopher, the theologian is concerned with the ultimate meaning of human existence. Philosophy and theology can be considered as *socially relevant* in the sense that they are interested in those conditions which are necessary for man to live an *authentically* human life. Theology, however, makes its critical reflection on human experience not with the help of reason alone but of reason enlightened by faith in the Word of God.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When society in general accepts the validity of the faith-perspective, as was the case in the Middle Ages, it is not difficult to show the usefulness of theology. Thomas Aquinas, the most prominent Medieval theologian, said that of all the sciences theology is the most useful because it deals with the highest wisdom open to man: the wisdom to see oneself, society and world in relation to their ultimate origin and final goal. Such wisdom enables man to keep everything in its proper perspective and to live in such a way that every action he performs is a step in the progressive realization of his goal and so an expression of a fuller human life. This argument, however, is convincing in the context of faith, i.e., assuming that this life is a prelude to another more perfect and definitive life and that personal communication with God is essential for man to reach the greatest possible happiness. But is theology a meaningful and relevant activity in a purely secular world?

Historically, the relevance of theology became doubtful as soon as society began to question the validity of the faith-perspective. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Enlightenment affirmed that human maturity is possible only if man has the courage to emancipate himself from every sort of external authority and to take upon himself the burden of seeking and the risk of following a personal decision. As a study which believes in the absolute authority of the Word of God and the necessary, though relative, authority of the Church, theology came into direct conflict with the claims of the Enlightenment. In the Middle Ages the lawful rights

of reason were not denied but these rights were exercised peacefully under the sovereignty of a higher authority, i.e. the revealed Word of God. It was precisely the subservience of reason to revelation and of the world to the Church that became unacceptable to the new mentality.

With Marx and Freud the criticism of religion became even more radical. They saw religion as the result of a lack of dealing critically with the socio-economic (Marx) and the psychic (Freud) reality. According to this view religion is not merely superfluous or neutral but a negative phenomenon which hinders rather than helps the development of man. Marx and Freud were not isolated thinkers; they generated a movement of thought which continued to pose a serious challenge to the believer and made the task of the theologian more difficult than it used to be in the past.

From the eighteenth century onwards we meet, broadly speaking, two forms of theological reaction to the views of the modern world. The official reaction, representing the stand taken by the majority in the Catholic World, though more in the South than in the North, was negative. It tried to meet the modern challenge by reasserting the traditional, mainly medieval, concept of man, society and the world. As long as theology continued basically to repeat instead of developing further the old concepts, it could not enter into an effective contact with the real world in which people with new convictions, doubts and questions were living. Theology began to retreat more and more into a world of its own making and tended to become less and less meaningful and relevant to the problems and needs of modern man.

Another reaction, originating in some theological centres in France and Germany, was positive toward the new philosophy. It recognized the validity of critical inquiry and the autonomy of secular life and thought. But this trend in theology exercised only a marginal influence in the Church and in some instances it met even with opposition from an official level. During the thirties in France, Germany, Belgium and Holland a young generation of theologians made a new effort to rethink traditional Catholic doctrine first in the light of an updated interpretation of Thomistic philosophy and then also in the light of contemporary developments in science and Philosophy. This creative trend in theology eventually gained wider acceptance and was even substantially adopted by the Church. We can say that, generally speaking, theology is now trying to enter into a constructive dialogue with people holding different views in an attempt to express the Christian faith in a more meaningful and hence in a more effective language.

THE LOCAL SITUATION

(a) *The Past*

A history of theology in Malta has not yet been written. However, we can safely assume that theology in Malta generally followed the official tradition. It is not difficult to understand why this actually happened.¹ The theologian in Malta was teaching and writing in the context of a society where the Church occupied a relatively powerful and, in various ways, a privileged position. Catholic doctrine was accepted without any serious questioning. Until very recent times whatever opposition arose against the Church and traditional Catholic doctrine and practice could be effectively checked by means of a direct intervention of ecclesiastical authority. This strategy could succeed as long as Maltese society did not openly question or outrightly reject traditional Catholic values. The apparent success of this strategy, based on the use of ecclesiastical authority, did not necessitate theology to re-formulate Catholic teaching in view of the new questions that were being occasionally raised. Besides, theological innovation was looked upon as an unnecessary disturbance of the people's faith. So, not radically challenged and not altogether free from the fear of some possible censure, theology in Malta followed, with perhaps some very few exceptions, a conservative course and encouraged conformity in thought and conduct.

In the context of a closed society² education normally serves to uphold rather than to criticize the beliefs and values that have traditionally kept society together. Theological education in Malta served precisely such a purpose; it directed its efforts to the defence and the reassertion of traditional Catholic beliefs and customs.

(b) *The Present*

The local situation has now changed. The response required by the believing community and by theological reflection in the present circumstances has to be different. When speaking about the present, we should be careful not to assume that certain directions in Maltese social life have already been firmly established when they are still in a process of formation. With this qualification in

¹The sociological explanation which is being proposed here needs to be elaborated much further than is possible here within the limitations of space and those of the author. Besides, other theories may bring out aspects of the question which are not easily seen from the sociological viewpoint.

²For a description of the rôle played by religion and morality in a closed society see: Henri Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*, trans. by R. Ashley Audra and Claudesley Brereton, London, 1935.

mind we can say that *freedom* is now a characteristic feature of Maltese socio-political life. Political independence from Britain reflected our national consciousness of the value of being free to frame our own economic and social policy on the foreign and local level. Yet such an event was more a challenge than an achievement. It has been constantly challenging us to deepen our understanding of freedom and to practice it rightly at all levels and in all spheres of life.

Before we discuss the part which theology can play in Malta at present, we have to study briefly two questions: religious freedom and the autonomy of politics from religion. These two questions have become urgent as a result of the strong emphasis they are receiving in Malta today.

(i) The right of every person in Malta to choose his own religion and to practise it publicly was legally recognized more than fifty years ago.³ But it seems that for quite a long time it was assumed that society should only *tolerate* the practice of a religion other than the Roman Catholic one, since the latter was the true religion and so it alone should enjoy the right to exist. Being false, other religions had, strictly speaking, no right to exist; they should, however, be tolerated in deference to the dignity of the human person.⁴ This view had been the source of a great deal of tension and sometimes even open conflict in Church-State relations in the past. Such a view is today on the way out, if it is not out already. Its place has been taken by the theory that the State should deal with the Catholic religion merely as *another* religion according to the principle that in society all religions should enjoy the same fundamental rights and be subject to the same limits.

The principle that all religions should be considered equal before the law has to be examined critically because it may give rise to certain misconceptions and create confusion in practice. First of all, the principle is a legal one and does not imply in any way that there are no objective criteria (of course, relatively speaking) to establish the validity or otherwise of a particular religion. This is indeed a crucial problem and a vital one too for every man. It is not the business of the law to say whether the religious consciousness is true or false, and if true, which particular religion is the true one. But it is certainly the responsibility of *each person* to decide one way or another about the question of religion after a careful and serious consideration of the matter.

The fact that the choice of a religion belongs exclusively to the person does not mean that religion is a purely private affair. Being

³ *The Malta Constitution*, 1921, 56(1), (2).

⁴ Cf. Arthur Bonnici, *Knisja u Stat*, Malta 1962.

an ultimate view on life, religion should influence all human activity whether it is being performed in private or in public. When we say that religion involves essentially a personal decision, we are not implying that religion belongs to the private sphere. We mean to say that no person can be forced to practise a particular religion. The person exists necessarily in society; so he is entitled to live his religion in the specifically religious community (i.e. the Church) as well as in society in general.

Finally, the principle that all religions are equal before the law says nothing about religion as a *social phenomenon*. The law of the country may make no distinction between one religion and another, but from a social point of view some religion or religions may be more important than others in view of the impact it has or they have upon the people. Hence, if we want to be realistic, we cannot jump to the conclusion that all religions play the same social rôle, because they all have basically the same juridical status. Politics is therefore expected to acknowledge the importance of the religion or religions which are actually forming the people's basic attitudes on the world, self and society. The well being of society as a whole and of each person and group requires respect for the actual religious feelings and opinions of the people.

Rightly understood, the principle that all religions are juridically equal is an affirmation of the right of each person to choose his own religion and to practise it without hindrance. But the person has the responsibility both of choosing his religion (he may, of course, decide not to choose any religion) and of living it in every sphere of life.

(ii) The separation between Church and State is another clearly emerging characteristic of Maltese society today. The State acquired a sense of autonomy vis-à-vis the Church; it does no longer understand itself as an institution which is at the service of the Church. The State is managing society in accordance with a policy that has been approved by the majority of the people. It is becoming increasingly clearer that the Church can no longer expect the State to support by means of relevant laws matters required either by ecclesiastical law or by Catholic morality *qua* Catholic.

But by the same principle of separation between Church and State, the Church should not be made subservient to any political system. As Church and State are two very important institutions in society they need to maintain a certain independence from each other to be really free in the management of their own specific affairs. Yet the separation between the two must not be overemphasized to such an extent that one loses sight of their common interest in the *quality* of human life. As a matter of fact, the Cath-

olic Church wants to collaborate with all men of good will, independently of their religious and political convictions, in the creation of a world that is more worthy for man to live in.

THE ROLE OF THEOLOGY IN MALTESE SOCIETY TODAY

As I have tried to show, the principles of the equality of all religions before the law and of the separation between Church and State do not imply that the State should refuse to deal with a particular religion in a special way, if such a religion happens to be that of the people in general. When the State gives special treatment to such a religion, it is simply showing that it does care for the actual religious feelings and ideas of the people. Our constitution does precisely this when it declares that the Roman Catholic religion is the religion of Malta and when it lays down that the State should provide the corresponding religious instruction in public schools. With this provision the State is recognizing that the religion of the people is important and deserves a place in the educational system of the country.

The problem, however, is the way in which the teaching of religion fits into the educational policy of the country. The Development Plan, 1973-80, speaks of the aims of education in these terms:

'The primary objective of education is to develop to the full the human personality. This will enable people to develop their abilities to the fullest extent, to make a constructive contribution to society and to lead a richer and fuller life. Education must also respond to the manpower requirements of society. But no less important is the need for the system to generate in its pupils an inquiring mind and a searching intellect.'⁵

It is interesting to note that without diminishing the importance of education, as training in the acquisition of skills needed for economic expansion, the present Development Plan recognizes that the primary objective of education is the *total* development of the person. The person matures insofar as he is not guided by his passions or by custom but by reason. Personal development requires increasing awareness of the *reason* for the beliefs one holds and for the actions one performs. When education is creating in the people the ability to reach enlightened judgements and adopt responsible decisions, it is actually forming a *really* independent nation.

Religious education, as it is given in Malta today, on all levels of education no longer aims at merely transmitting a specific set of truths. It is education in the real sense of the word, because it

⁵Outline of Development Plan for Malta, 1973-1980, p. 31.

tries to lead the students to discover the ground and implication of their religion. Without such critical reflection religion (and morality to the extent that is dependent on religion) would easily become simplistic or, worse still, a source of personal frustration and perhaps also a cause of social conflict instead of a call for personal fulfilment and social unity.

When we speak of theology, we generally have in mind the kind of religious education which is given at the tertiary level. The value of theology does not consist only in the fact that it provides the religious and moral educators of the people (priests and laity) with the necessary intellectual training; the value of theological reflection lies also in that it is a critical and comprehensive analysis of religion. A continuous radical examination of religion in the light of developments in science and philosophy is necessary in order to avoid the separation of religion from other spheres of human activity and to help the person integrate in a consistent manner his rationally reflected experience of the world with his religion.

When theology is helping the believer *to understand* his religion, it is actually preparing him *to communicate* more effectively with people who hold the same or a different religious belief (or no belief at all). Speaking of Christian theology, I can say that there has been a clear shift of emphasis from apologetics to hermeneutics. The purpose of theology today is not so much the defence of Christianity against its opponents as the discovery of the common ground between it and other religions and between God's self disclosure in Christ and human experience.

In communication or dialogue the primary objective is to clarify different positions and to see in a spirit of freedom and openness which position corresponds more to the truth and so leads to a greater and fuller *human* development. When judging what is more and what is less human, the theologian is, of course, guided by reason enlightened by faith. If he takes seriously the tendency towards individual and collective egoism, he is not relying only on his personal experience as lived and seen in the light of a particular psychological and sociological theory. He is also and primarily making his judgement according to his belief in the radical and pervading presence of sin in the world. Believing that man is called to live in peace with others, he would support those changes in society which are likely to lead to more participative forms of living. His faith in the divine promise of salvation would impel him to project ideals that are humanly desirable and possible to be realized in the present circumstances but it would dis-

pose him to review his plans continuously, since for him every revolution however just it may be, is only a prelude to the radical revolution, which is going to take place at the end of time as a result of a gratuitous act of God. If the Christian is asked to justify his belief, he would find theology helpful, because it would show him in a systematic manner the different ways in which christians in the past and at present are trying to explain the reasonableness of their faith. Today, theology has become aware of the limits that it has when it tries to prove the truth of Christianity. Yet the present emphasis on the dynamic character of Christianity has shown that, as is the case with every revolutionary movement, the truth of Christianity would appear fully at the end when the revolution has actually reached its final phase. But until then, the task of the theologian is to help the believing community to discover ways of collaborating with all men, including non-believers, in the promotion of truth and justice. Such collaboration is the best way to prepare for the light and power of the Gospel to illuminate and renew the world.

During the past fifteen years the Faculty of Theology at our University has been trying to restructure its course, making it more unified, and to re-direct its teaching, stressing more and more the importance of confronting Christianity with other religions and philosophies. This is being done in order to prepare theology students — among whom not only candidates for the priesthood but also a considerable number of lay people are included — to live (and help others live) the Christian faith in the context of an open and developing country. This is being done also to help in the creation of that sort of society which is vividly described in the present Development Plan in these terms:

'The vision is one of a community, self-reliant and independent, willing and capable of making its own choices, receptive to new ideas and to modern science and technology; open to new friendships and willing to maintain old ones if they serve the cause of peace, it is the vision of an island population ready to embark with zest on new ventures which freedom has brought within the grasp of the younger generation.'⁶

In brief, the specific rôle of theology in the context of the present educational policy and of an open Maltese society is to help the people understand that their religion (which is our Constitution says is the Roman Catholic Religion) is a call for *total liberation* from anything that enslaves man and darkens his mind and for a life of *real communion* with all men in the kingdom of God.

⁶*Ibid.*, 24.

THE BROAD HUMAN VALUES IN EDUCATION FOR INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT – HOW ARE THEY TO BE DERIVED?

by TONY MACELLI

This discussion-paper examines in Part I three common approaches, each based on a different image of the nature of man, which are used as sources of the values to be used in educational and in human development work. A fourth approach, considered to be more satisfactory, is then developed in Part II.

A. *Three Approaches to Deriving Values*

First Approach: Essentialist

Second Approach: Gnostic Existentialist

Third Approach: Pure Existentialist

Ontological Freedom in the Third Approach

Summary and Comment

B. *A Fourth Approach Synthesised: Freedom + Precedents*

Elements of the Nature of Man: A-D

Freedom a Major Part of the Nature of Man

Proof that Man changes his Nature

Teilhard on Self-Evolution

Using the Freedom + Precedents Approach

A. THREE APPROACHES TO DERIVING VALUES FOR EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

There are, in responsible education and social change, some key issues to be considered. For example, 'what is the total man?' and, 'how do we promote the total man in development?' From these, the question arises: how do we derive the necessary values? How do we choose, create, criticise those values ('ideas of what is desirable') in the field of human development in its broadest sense?

For the educational philosopher, for the educator, for the agent of social change, there are many issues which on specific occasions clamour for responsible value-decisions, the outcome of which would then be included in the educator's and change agent's

ideology and strategies. How are these decisions to be made? The method used must not be completely arbitrary. We are attempting in this study to appreciate a 'mankind approach' focused on mankind and the whole man, and it seems that this orientation to development leads us to some guidance on how to make these value-decisions, conceptual framework for human development, rather than a full theory of development. Instead of covering more of these specific values, then, we shall need to concentrate here on the broad general guidelines that one may use in formulating values and making value-decisions. In trying to develop these guides, we shall consider first three common alternative approaches to this task.

First Approach: Essentialist

Economist and thinker Walter Weisskopf¹ tells us that man happens to be a kind of creature who experiences everything in terms of a dialectical trinity, as he calls it, consisting of:

- (i) A basic split or *antimony* between self and world caused by consciousness and the power of symbolising;
- (ii) A *polarity*, or polarisation, of the two antinomic poles;
- (iii) An *ultimate unity* of the two.

The antinomy reveals two aspects of something which is ontologically one, i.e. the two components have one and the same nature or being. Self and world or subject and object do not exist in isolation from one another; also, the polarity is merely an intermediate link between the antinomy and the ultimate unity. The whole dialectical trinity is symbolised by the yin-yang sign of the Tao in Chinese philosophy, which has two intertwined halves included in the union of the circle.

Paul Tillich² believes that in the Christian tradition there are the fundamental concepts:

First, esse qua esse bonum est. This Latin phrase is a basic dogma in Christianity. It means 'Being as Being is good,' or in

¹'Existence and Values,' in *New Knowledge in Human Values*, ed. A. Maslow, Gateway, 1960.

²*Theology of Culture*, edited by R.C. Kimball, OUP, London, p. 118. On page 123 we find the following:

'It (depth psychology) was the discovery of the meaning of the word "sin" ... Sin is ... universal, tragic estrangement, based on freedom and destiny in all beings ... it is separation, estrangement from one's essential being. That is what it means; and if this is the result of depth-psychological work then this of course is a great gift that (it) has offered to theology.'

the biblical mythological form: God saw everything that he created and behold, it was good.

The *second* statement is the universal fall – fall meaning the transition from essential goodness to existential estrangement from oneself, which happens in every living being and in every time.

The *third* statement refers to the possibility of salvation. We should remember that salvation is derived from *salvus* or *salus* in Latin, which means 'healed' or 'whole', as opposed to disruptiveness.³

These three considerations of human nature are present in all genuine theological thinking: essential goodness, existential estrangement, and the possibility of something, a 'third', beyond essence and existence, through which the cleavage is overcome and healed. ... man's essential and existential nature points to his teleological nature (... *telos*, aim, that towards which life drives). *If you do not distinguish these three elements, which are always present in man, you will fall into innumerable confusions.* (e.a.)

In other words, we have again, essential goodness, existential estrangement, and a healing and making-whole of the cleavage.

In the above attitudes towards human values in the context of human being and becoming, the important thing about man is his 'essence', an Idea à la Plato within which is defined the ideal and the true nature of man. Approaches to human values naturally follow.

According to this type of approach, which we may call the essentialist ontological approach, the nature of man is ahead of his actual existence, in just the same sense as the idea of a perfect circle is ahead of any actual circle drawn on paper. Man as he actually exists is seen to be necessarily less perfect than his description in the Idea of his essence.

From this inadequacy, and from the desirability of approaching this essence, the essentialists derive our values: these values, or ideas as to what is desirable, are those which can be intuitively or otherwise comprehended as being rooted in the essential nature of man, of World, of Being. The implication for development values is that we must first find the ways in which man is estranged from his real self (including his estrangement from society and from

³ 'wholeness' and 'holiness' have the same etymological meaning. This is an interesting perspective on our concept of 'integralisation' or making-whole in development, through education and social change.

nature) and then incorporate these findings into our development theory and practice. 'Development' of man would thus mean making man approach his 'true and essential nature'. This is the guideline that this type of approach would indicate for formulating developmental values.

Second Approach: Gnostic Existentialist

There are, however, different approaches to deriving values for life and development. What we shall call the 'gnostic existentialists' derive in one way or another the values that are to guide us from actual existence. This is different from looking towards the 'essence'.

This approach includes the naturalists, for example, who tend to use such things as the following for clues as to what is desirable: physical laws, empirically-determined biological drives such as survival, the elements of successful scientific method (experimenting, being pragmatic, etc.), the anthropological observation of actual behaviour, etc.

Going a bit beyond the naturalists are the humanist approaches, which we also include among the gnostic existentialists because they do hold that values can be confirmed by known reality, by actual existence. The humanists have found a unifying principle in the human self, the human person – as, for example, in Maslow's self-realisation or self-actualisation. The humanists include more in their view of reality than do the naturalists. Erich Fromm tells us about the observed existential needs of man:

... he needs ties with his fellow man; he is aware of his aloneness and his separateness ... he has the urge to transcend the role of the creature ... by becoming a 'creator'. Man needs ... a sense of identity ... (and to orient) himself in the world intellectually.⁴

Those aspects of the humanists' approaches where the view of human reality includes transcendental concepts of some kind may be sought of, insofar as they do this, as essentialist approaches as well.

Existential signposts are thus used as guides in these types of approach to discover what man should be and what man should want. 'Development' would mean ironing out unnatural situations and working towards fulfillment, an image of the latter being obtained mainly from scientific observation and inferences. This is the guideline which, according to these types of approach, we should use to make the value-decisions of development.

⁴ see Weisskopf's Comment in *New Knowledge in Human Values*, p. 210.

Third Approach: Pure Existentialist

Apart from the (a) essentialist ontologists' and the (b) gnostic existentialists' approaches there is still a major orientation towards finding out what is desirable for man's life and development. This is what we can call the (c) *gnostic existentialist approach*. For the pure existentialist the only 'essence' that there is in man is his actual existence.

To put it another way: for every creature that we can imagine or perceive, its essence precedes its existence, e.g. the idea of a perfect circle is the normative idea (or Idea) to which we compare an actual imperfect circle drawn on paper; to this, there is only one exception – namely, man.

Now in the case of the human being, the situation is reversed: for man and man alone, his existence precedes his essence. First a man *is*; and *what* he is is settled in the course of his existence, and is not predetermined, nor an antecedent condition of his existence.⁵

Thus, we cannot look up the answers when we are trying to discover what man is, what is expected of him, and what he can hope for.

The humanity of man, therefore, does not consist in the virtue of his choices. But in their genuineness, in the fact that he has made choices. It is decision, Jaspers says, that makes existence real.⁶

Ontological Freedom in the Third Approach

Man is not only free – man *is* freedom. Human development then is invited to create its own directions, and anything about man which he is not truly free to control and 'decide away' is really not part of his nature as man, his human-ness. What guide is given by the agnostic existentialist to the group of citizens, to the change agent, the designer of development programmes? In another extract from Kaplan's description of existentialism we find the attitude in which such questions are to be answered.

As the existentialist sees it, we are responsible for more than what becomes of us; we are also responsible for what becomes of others. When we make a choice we are choosing not merely for ourselves, but for all men. In this act of choice, we are

⁵Werner Kaplan, *New Worlds of Philosophy*, Random House, N.Y., 1961, p. 103-104.

⁶Geoffrey Vickers, *Freedom in a Rocking Boat*, Penguin, Middlesex, 1970.

saying not merely 'This is what I choose', but also 'This is what is *to be* chosen.' By my experience, I am determining what all mankind everywhere is forever to become. My act defines not just my essence but the essence of mankind.

It is my choice that makes me human, and thereby makes something of humanity. In this choice, I am acting as a representative of mankind, as though any man, existing as I am and so circumstanced, would make the same choice ... Thus existentialists universalize individual choice after the manner of the Kantian categorical imperative: you must never will what you cannot consistently will to be willed by all other rational beings. (p. 108)

An awesome responsibility indeed.

Summary and Comment

We have considered three approaches: (i) that based on a knowable and known essence of man from which man is actually estranged – ontological essentialist; (ii) that based on a knowable criterion for (development) values which is derived from the actually observed forces of existence, including psychological, biological, physical, laws and also including statistical anthropological and sociological measurements – the gnostic existentialist approach, including naturalists and humanists; and (iii) the agnostic or pure existentialist approach which holds that man does, and must, make his nature up with every act of his in life and development, a total emphasis on truly free choice.

Today, those development programmes that limit themselves to perfecting technological and economic services are falling short of their responsibility. There are urgent and important value issues ('what should we want?') to be resolved. For the desires that man expresses, in the form of social protests and consumer behaviour, are not merely the desires to make use of modern machines and devices. There is, perhaps more fundamentally, the need to *re-visualise*, redefine, redescribe man within the modern milieu. And the modern milieu is characterised by high densities of interaction, considerable machine-generated power (even in the not-so-rich countries), and an increased level of awareness (through education and the media).

Against this new backdrop, man is trying, in all parts of the world, both to rediscover and to reinvent what it means to be human. Hence the importance of value questions. And whatever he perceives that to be – probably (even for a poor villager) some synthesis of the glimpses of love, truth and beauty, and lack of

suffering, which filter through from surrounding science and technology, from religion and art – whatever these images of the new-human are, man will incorporate them into his values.

But which, if any, of these broad approaches to the derivation of new human values are we to adopt as a guide for answering Vickers' question 'what should we want?'⁷ We shall not attempt to vigorously deny or justify any of them here. We must note that each of them has a certain intuitive appeal, having a foundation in one's own experiences and inclinations. All have elements which are important for individuals and for mankind today.

None of these however seems to be able to command an exclusive acceptance from our point of view. The idea of 'development' and the fact of the current critical 'Threshold' times both turn our eyes to the idea of a radical freedom which man has to exercise in changing himself. This fits in with the magnitude of the cosmos in space and time: intuition suggests that as great things were possible in a universe before Man, so great things are to be allowed for, *a fortiori*, in a universe where there is a conscious centre for reflective evolution. This would seem to exclude the 1st, or essentialist approaches, if these are interpreted as not taking into account such a radical freedom.

Conversely, man – what we normally call man – hardly starts from scratch, ontologically, every day. He does have a 'nature'; he 'is' something, beyond simply an entity with the power to change itself. This nature is valuable and worth respecting and 'developing'. These considerations seem to exclude the 3rd, or pure existentialist, approach.

The 2nd, or gnostic existentialist, approach respects the 'nature' of man as it can be deduced from known, hard existential evidence. Our objections to this approach are that there are other kinds of evidence and that more explicit emphasis must be given to the possibility of changing whatever 'nature' there is, through 'development', by means of education and social change.

I thus feel it necessary to synthesise a fourth approach, the freedom-plus-precedents or semi-existentialist approach.

⁷ Some understanding (although certainly not a complete one) of these will be gained from a description of the Highest Common Factor among spiritual convictions of every major theology. Some of these elements (not all) are even in the traditional lore of primitive people. Such a description may be found in Aldous Huxley's *The Perennial Philosophy*, Collins, London and Glasgow, 1958. At present this book seems to be out of stock in North America.

B. A FOURTH APPROACH SYNTHESISED: FREEDOM + PRECEDENTS

In this section we outline the basics of the fourth approach to the formulation of development values.

(i) we list the various elements that make up what we normally conceive of as the essence or nature of man, stating that *only part* of his essence is so determined or described.

(ii) we emphasise that a radical ontological freedom constitutes a large part of what makes man man.

(iii) we prove that although the elements mentioned above are valuable, they are *subject to change* through man's freedom, which is also part of man's essence or nature.

Elements of the Nature of Man: A-D

It seems quite reasonable and defensible to say that there are elements in reality which determine and influence *parts of* the essence of man (i.e. of that which makes him what he is.) For these elements, we would suggest the following:

(a) *spiritual*, transcendental-immanent factors.⁸

(b) *broad universal forces of nature* that Teilhard de Chardin⁹ describes as being involved in the phenomenon of evolution, of life, and lately the phenomenon of man on his planet. The characteristics of these forces include a tendency for life, (indeed, for matter) to intensify certain aspects of itself by turning in on itself in an involution (*enroulement*) that creates higher manifestations of consciousness or interiority. They include the increase of consciousness accompanying the increase in complexity,¹⁰ and other broad, large-scale forces. These forces are qualities of matter, and their normally imperceptible influence is manifested over long periods of time as the effect of the environment and the organismic subsystem on the social actions in the sociopolitical system. They also to some extent affect the personality and the culture system, and when they are recognised by the culture of mankind they will become even more of an important force within man as man.

(c) man's *hereditary legacy* is another element which is not (yet?) separate from man as man. The hereditary make-up includes

⁸ see *The Phenomenon of Man*, *The Future of Man*, etc.

⁹ *The Phenomenon of Man*, Fontana, (p.66), and elsewhere.

¹⁰ see Calvin S. Hall, and Vernon J. Norby, *A Primer of Jungian Psychology*, New American Library, N.Y. 1973; also *From the Life and Work of C.J. Jung*, by Jung's private secretary Aniela Jaffé, (transl. by F.F.C. Hull, Harper and Row, N.Y.) for a simple account.

the archetypes isolated by Jung, notably the self-archetype (not to be confused with 'oneself', in the sense of the conscious ego.)¹¹ This Self archetype is apparently something common to all human beings, and since it influences the way that they make themselves, grow, and make decisions in their respective lifetimes, it is difficult to see how it can be regarded as anything but part of human nature. As the ego is the centre of conscious personality, the Self is the unifying and ordering centre of the total conscious and unconscious psyche, which unifies other archetypes and which is a link with the biological past. We need not go so far as to agree with Jung's conclusion that:

The Self (-archetype) is our life's goal, for it is the completest expression of that fateful combination we call individuality.¹²

We should nevertheless recognise that self-knowledge is an important step towards self-fulfillment. All the more importantly when we find that the person who is out of touch with his unconscious self has discordant relations with other people, on whom he tends to project the repressed part of his unconscious. Similar facts should be borne in mind when considering the weight to be given to the individual in comparison to the collectivity as targets of developmental approaches. That is, the individual (and his 'internal', hereditary, 'nature') is important, not only as such, but also as a member of a collectivity.

(d) the structures and processes which make up man's present and historical life, including the *events of history*,¹³ also help to make up the nature of man. The events, as well as the *habitual symbolisations* (comparisons, modes of thought, analogies used in communicating, etc.) of one's own lifetime, too, must be included, as Gautama Buddha used to emphasise. 'All that we are is the result of what we have thought', states the opening of the well-loved Buddhist text, the *Dhammapada*. It is true that man makes

¹¹ *Collected Works of C. J. Jung*, vol. 7, p. 238.

¹² even when influenced greatly by geographical resource distribution, geological disasters, biological diseases, etc.

¹³ of course, if we consider the individual person as the system, its (or his) environment is not only the ecological/spiritual environment but also the sociopolitical and the cultural.

In any open system, (i) the boundary between the system and its environment is always more or less arbitrarily drawn; and (ii) the considerable interaction with the environment (from the definition of open system) means that what the system (in this case a single person) actually *is* [in really clarify] a function of both what's within and what's beyond this boundary.

culture, but it is also true that culture makes man, especially the symbolic heritage from the past, distant and recent. For any individual person, much of the environment is a mass of symbols and images. Like all environments¹⁴ this must be considered an essential factor making up the open system that we call 'a person'. *Social structures and social processes*, including the ones from the point of view of any particular individual's lifetime, thus help to make man what he is and thus have a bearing on any derivation of values from the nature of man.

Having listed all these factors which make up human nature, one can see that the 'ontological antinomy' arises in connection with each. Thus, respectively, we are familiar with (a) the 'death of God'; (b) the fears for the stagnation or self-destruction of the human race in spite of the progress of evolution so far; (c) 'back to nature' cults; (d) alienation from society and culture. We cannot now stop here, however.

Freedom a Major Part of the Nature of Man

For *alongside with* the elements a-d, the *other* major factor which influences the nature or essence of man is his freedom. For one thing, it is largely responsible for any estrangement between man as he is and his good, 'true' being. The freedom to act responsibly and irresponsibly, to sow good or to sow evil seeds. Even other factors like ignorance, pride, poverty, and insecurity (factors which may appear to lie at the root of the 'estrangement') can be overridden by man's freedom to choose, and, above all, to create.

Even though elements a-d are valuable and not to be excluded, probably the major weight is to be given to *human freedom* as the main component of what makes man man. None of the four types of factor mentioned in a-d, neither separately nor together, define man or determine his essence or nature completely. Human nature is not immutable.

It is true that – as Marx might say – man must place himself in line with the directional movement of history, and first find out what that direction is. But it is perhaps even more important to make conscious decisions and make a creative use of the future. Whether or not any predetermined essence of man a-d dictates fully or (more probably) only partly and sketchily the 'proper' future of man, man to be true to his 'nature' must use his freedom to determine which path in fact to follow. This is because man's ontological freedom – the freedom to intervene and alter his very being –

¹⁴ see Huxley's *Perennial Philosophy*, p. 10.

is an important, even if not the only, component of man's essence and nature.

Proof that Man changes his Nature

Man can operate in those areas not completely defined (or not touched on at all) by the factors mentioned that make up his essence. Man can also, however, *change* the factors himself, and he can also go against some of them, or contradict them. In this light, let us take the factors a-d again in turn.

(a) man can, for example, change spiritual/transcendental factors (certainly insofar as they relate to him). Our knowledge of, and thus our participation in such realities can be changed – certain religious traditions forcefully tell us – by habitual social action. Others emphasise personal meditative disciplines; some approaches emphasise both, in synergy.

William James writes: 'practice (of certain behaviour) may change our theoretical horizon and this in a twofold way: it may lead us into new world and secure new powers. Knowledge we could never attain, remaining what we are, may be attainable in consequence of higher powers and higher life, which we may morally achieve.'

Jesus Christ declares: 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'

Sufi poet¹⁵ Jalal-uddin Rumi uses the metaphor 'the astrolabe'¹⁶ of the mysteries of God is love.'

Practically all of spiritual traditions hold that by performing certain acts, or by having a certain frame of mind – or both at once – it is possible for man to *participate*¹⁷ more in a transcendental/immanent cosmic reality, and thus become something different in that sense. For example,

As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son, so let there be goodwill without measure between all beings. Let goodwill without measure prevail in the whole world – above, below, around: unstinted, unmixed with any feeling of differing or opposing interests. If a man remain steadfastly in this state of mind all the time he is awake, then is come to pass the saying 'even in this world holiness has been found'. (Metta Sutta)

¹⁵ Greek *aster*, a star; and root *lab* as in *lambano*, to take. An orienting instrument formerly used for taking the altitude of the sun or stars at sea, now superseded by the quadrant and the sextant.

¹⁶ *becoming-in-participation* certainly qualifies as an *education* paradigm!

¹⁷ *The Future of Man*, p. 240 ff.

Many schools of thought hold that with love and faith man is capable of intervening in the very ontological constitution of the universe, including himself.

(b) as to the broad universal forces of nature described by Teilhard de Chardin, even Pere Teilhard himself warns us that we have not only the freedom to go along in their direction and fulfill the universe's tendencies in a creative and truly human way, but we also have the power to stop the fruition of these forces through us. For example, he believes that a hope in the future is necessary, and also a will to progress and advance — for in the face of a total (cultural) lack of such hope and will, the universe will be powerless to bring a good future about. He also mentions other possible self-assertions against the universe, such as through unlimited multiplication and unlimited pollution of the genetic pool.¹⁸

Another, the most important, aspect of man's ontological responsibilities is that of Agape:

Cosmically speaking, as I have said, man is collectively immersed in a 'vortex' of organisation which, operating above the level of the individual, gathers and lifts individuals as a whole towards the heightening of their power of reflection by means of a surplus of technical complexity. But even the nature of the *reflexive*¹⁹ phenomenon, what rule must this evolutionary process observe if it is to fulfill its purpose? Essentially, the following: that within the compressive arrangement which gathers them into a single complex centre of vision, the human elements (individual persons) must group and tighten not merely without becoming distorted in the process, but with an enhancement of

¹⁸ reflection = thought; reflexion = involution, or enroulement: 'the noosphere turning in upon itself' in analogy to the ascent to a new form of life which happened during the 'reflexion' occurring when the first primitive megamolecular life-forms spread to make a complete biospheric envelope around the planet.

¹⁹ Teilhard de Chardin uses 'centricity' to denote a centredness or self-hood of some particle or element, i.e. its interior life, its consciousness, which accompanies material synthesis and complexity (see *Phenomenon of Man*, p. 70). Radial energy is a progressive universal force drawing the the holon towards even greater complexity and centricity or self-hood. This is distinguished from the other force, that of 'tangential energy', which links the holon or element with all others of the same order of complexity and centricity. This recalls Koestler's S.A./INT tendencies applied to dynamic evolutionary processes. Note: Teilhard does not use the concept of holon, which is Koestler's (*The Ghost in the Machine*, Arthur Koestler Hutchinson, London, 1967).

their 'centric'²⁰ qualities, i.e. their personality.

A delicate operation and one which, biologically, it would seem impossible to carry out except in an atmosphere (or temperature)²¹ of unanimity or mutual attraction. Recent totalitarian experiments seem to (corroborate) this last point: the individual, outwardly bound to his fellows by coercion and solely in terms of function, deteriorates and retrogresses: he becomes mechanised.

... only union *through* love and *in* love (using the word love in its widest and most real sense of mutual internal affinity) because it brings individuals together, not superficially and tangentially but centre to centre – can physically possess the property of not merely differentiating but also personalising the elements which comprise it.

This amounts to saying that *even under the irresistible compulsion of the pressures causing it to unite, Mankind will only find and shape itself if man can learn to love one another in the very act of drawing closer.* (e.a.) *The Future of Man*, p. 244-5.

(c) the genetic structure of man is already (conceptually, at least) susceptible to modification by scientists.²² Selective treatment of ovum or sperm chromosomes and genes with chemical tools, with special viruses, or with short-wavelength radiation is still some way off, and when available it will first be used to forestall genetic deficiencies. However, it will undoubtedly be used later for designing a new human being, free from disease and with increased physical and mental powers. Selective modification of unconscious archetypes and other traits²³ by gene-changing is probably a more complicated but similar task.

In any case, we already practice control over our bodily structure through incest prohibitions, discouraging defective persons from having other than adopted children,²⁴ other forms of genetic counselling, etc. And we already practise control over at least the

²⁰ Here, of course, Teilhard is reminding us by analogy that the first megamolecular life-forms on earth could only arise when the molten earth cooled so that the temperature (which is to say the degree of agitation of the atoms of matter) was low enough for the biochemical bonds to start forming without being torn apart. The above extract is from the *Future of Man*, p. 244-5, (e.a.).

²¹ Genetics: *The Futurist*, Vol. II, April, 1968; and June 1968, pp. 31 and 45-6.

²² Personality control through genetics: *The Futurist* Vol. I, April, 1968, p. 20, p. 35.

²³ Genetic counselling, *The Futurist*, December 1968, Vol. II, p. 116.

²⁴ *La Vie Cosmique*, p. 131; *Ecrits du Temps de la Erre*, p. 23.

content (if not the form) of our archetypal forms by psychotherapeutic means.

(d) Historical structures and processes can be changed by man, notwithstanding the fact that to some extent they do determine what man *is*. Individuals and institutions have made radical changes in man. But man's culture, man's habitual patterns of thought, man's symbolic universe in general, and man's social structures and processes – all these man can modify through planned change. We have in the past (and through cumulative learning and increased potential sensitivity we may do better in the future) used symbolic forms like emotional symbols, ideologies, scientific world-views, etc., to change all these parts of man, and so to change man's nature.

Needless to say, man has also changed Nature, and thereby converted himself from a hunter and herb-gatherer to a plastic-steel-and-concrete-dwelling sophisticate who often eats synthetic foods of which the very molecular composition is controlled. So much for an unchangeable 'essence' of man!

In short, while the pure existentialists say that the human being (having no essence except his existence) in every action defines and determines his own essence or nature, we, instead, should say that the human being in every considered action *adds to* his own nature or essence (and, indeed, even to the nature of the universe.)

Teilhard on Self-Evolution

Teilhard de Chardin strongly emphasises that we understand what man is by considering his power to 'know that he knows', and the associated freedom that accompanies the emergence of man. This is the freedom to design his own evolution – a self-evolution, for the first time in the history of the (presently-known) universe. No longer an evolution merely 'undergone'. Man is actively at the helm of a universe that has become sentient through him. In Teilhard's words,

The true summons of the Cosmos is a call consciously to share in the great work that goes on within it: it is not by drifting down the current of things that we shall be united with their one, single soul, but by fighting our way with them ...²⁵

Revolution, by the very mechanism of its syntheses, charges itself with an ever-growing measure of freedom.²⁶

²⁵ From *The Future of Man*.

²⁶ *The Phenomenon of Man*; p. 310 (e.a.).

... it would be more convenient, and we would be inclined to think it safe, to leave the contours of that great body made up of all our bodies to take shape on their own, influenced only by the automatic play of individual urges and whims: 'better not interfere with the forces of the world!' *Once more we are up against the mirage of instinct, the so-called infallibility of nature.* But is it not precisely the world itself which, culminating in thought, expects us to think out again the instinctive impulses of nature so as to perfect them?

Reflective (conscious) substance requires reflective treatment. If there is a future for mankind it can only be imagined in terms of a harmonious conciliation of what is free with what is planned and totalised. Points involved are: the distribution of the resources of the globe; the optimum use of the powers set free by mechanisation; the physiology of nations and races; geo-economy; geo-politics; geo-demography; the organisation of research developing into reasoned organisation of the earth.²⁷

'The mirage of instinct: the so-called infallibility of nature' ... what a succinct, decisive stroke Teilhard makes with these words to clear the path for man's ontological freedom!

Thus, the attempts in various societies to preserve and respect past human culture is not to be denigrated, but alone it is a pitiful expression of human sensibilities to the past, present, and future. These efforts must be accompanied by courageous joint attempts to design a culture (in the broad sense of the word) for today and tomorrow. Human values and other symbols, human interests, human activities – in fact, as we have said, all parts of the insight/behaviour system – are the objects of man's creative responsibility. These are the guidance vis-à-vis development values given to us by our fourth approach. Development is now seen to be a process of purposefully and respectfully enhancing the 'whole man' and yet – equally purposefully – continuing a radical self-evolutionary shaping and changing of man's nature.

It is also important, for the educator and the agent of social change, to appreciate the level of *collective* responsibility. The pure existentialist formulation described by Kaplan a few pages back, as well as the writing of several of the popular existentialists, seem to be concerned almost exclusively with the individual – in view of which it is little wonder that they felt despairingly that man was not able to rise up to this great and overpowering responsibility. On this theme, we find more inspiration from an-

²⁷ *Phenomenon of Man*, p. 21.

other passage by Teilhard:

We have said that progress is designed to enable considered action to proceed from the will-power of mankind, a wholly human exercise of choice. But this natural conclusion of the vital effort, as we can now see, is not to be regarded as something to be consummated separately in the secret heart of each ... (individual). If we are to perceive and measure the extent of Progress we must look resolutely beyond the individual viewpoint. It is Mankind as a whole, collective humanity, which is called upon to perform the definitive act whereby the total force of terrestrial evolution will be released and flourish; an act in which the full consciousness of each individual man will be sustained by that of every other man, not only the living but the dead. And so it follows that the *opus umanum* laboriously and gradually achieved within us by the growth of knowledge and in the face of evil, is something quite other than an act of higher morality: it is a living organism.

Using the Freedom + Precedents Approach

Using the above freedom+precedents paradigm for the derivation of human values for education and development, one comes across any number of domains or situations for which values may be derived, for example values relating to the social bond, to the economics of distribution and sharing, to the time-scale used in planning, etc. The semi-existentialist or freedom-plus-precedents approach cannot of course be relied on to give a very specific and unique solution every time. But it does provide an inspiration, and one that is qualitatively different from those of the other approaches. Using also his experience and judgement, the educator and the agent of social change might allow themselves to be influenced by this paradigm and image of man in deciding what values are truly human.

THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

by TONY MACELLI

This article is designed to contribute to a conceptual framework about the balanced development of the human individual and of human collectivities. Such a framework is necessary for the responsible educator and for the agent of social collective change. The teacher, the counsellor, the journalist, the community developer, the statesman...

THE word 'integral' has two connotations: firstly that of 'wholeness' in the sense of nothing being left out. The second one is the sense of 'balanced', or even 'healthy'. When dealing with human development, that is with human psyche (or mental space or whatever) human social organisation, culture, and ecological patterns, the first or *holistic* connotation of the word *integral* forces us to think to some extent in terms of the theory of complex systems. At the very least, one has to be aware of all the reality that one is trying to 'develop', not only by looking at all the relevant parts and their interactions but also at the whole itself. The second of the connotations, namely that of balance, is often a matter of one's values – what one judges to be 'sound', 'vigorous', or 'good' or 'healthy'. There is thus only a limited place here for the abortive attempt by social scientists to emulate the natural scientists and become value-free. Whatever the values are, however, they must be explicit so that they may be both criticised and used in evaluation of programmes.

In wanting to 'integralise' human development the development theorist or the educator finds that he is not alone: that is also what they are trying to do in medicine and religion. It is interesting to look at the etymology of the following five words, which normally belong in different mental compartments.

healing

wholeness

holiness (has the same origin as wholeness)

salvation (fr. *salvus*, *salus*: Lat. = healed or whole)

religion (fr. *relegare*, to bind together or integrate)

The work development usually evokes the transitive sense (to develop something) and, in a kind of subsidiary position, the intransitive sense (to develop, oneself). In other words, even when we speak of an agent A developing some reality B we often assume that the inherent traits, if any, whereby B 'develops' are not opposed but rather encouraged selectively, in the deliberate process. Development in its mainly transitive sense therefore means some process of selectively suppressing or removing certain constraints and other undesired traits, processes, etc. — together with a selection, reinforcement and acceleration of certain desirable, existing processes, and the incorporation of new ones. Clearly, the values used in development work are therefore quite central to the whole issue.

Two other reflections about the use of the word development are in order. Firstly, we have been so hypnotised with economic growth that our language has been impoverished by the use of the word 'development' to describe all kinds of new industrial installations, even the least inspiring. The other point is that in certain circles it is also slightly gauche to talk about development because of its value-implications, and to substitute 'social change'. The latter phrase has its uses, but it is only embarrassment or cynicism that allows it to be used as a euphemism for development.

Finally, in the phrase 'integral human development' we come to the word 'human'. When we say 'man' we think immediately of both the individual and collectively, particularly the whole human race. If we decide that both the individual and the collectively are to be dual emphasis of our development efforts (say in terms of investment of funds) then one of the things we ought to do is to think carefully about the relation between the individual and the collectivity. We need to have clearly in mind the various possible forms this relationship can take, and how each of these forms relates to certain schemes of values. It is only in this way that one is then empowered to decide about what courses of action to adopt whenever there are, for example, trade-offs between the importance (in terms of investment of resources) to be given to the individual and that to the collectivity. Individualistic capitalism is close to one extreme, while totalitarian communism is close to the other, when it comes to making such trade-offs. It is instructive to see what happens in a small loving group to this relationship between the individual and the collectivity; but we shall not discuss this here.

Integral human development, therefore, is an attempt to combine and operationalise the three concepts involved. 'Integral' applies to both of the other two concepts. Thus, the reality of man to be developed must be integral: the 'whole man' is meant, with all his

richness and potentiality (and not merely homo economicus, if such a monster exists). On the other hand, the development approach itself must be integral: it must avoid overspecialisation or other forms of narrowness and imbalance. In both cases we have to remember that the human race is not all here at present, and that future generations must not therefore be callously ignored in the same way as one may leave a dirty bathroom for subsequent users.

But why talk about integral human development at all? The sad truth of the matter is that all over the planet such an approach is very uncommon at individual, community, regional, and wider levels of development. According to Francis Blanchard, director of the International Labour Organisation,¹

'It is now an accepted fact that the very pace and pattern of world development over the past quarter of a century have generated social, economic, and ecological imbalances. The relatively high rates of economic growth achieved by the developing countries taken as a whole have not been accompanied by corresponding improvements in the living standards of the great masses of the population ... Unemployment has reached crisis proportions in a large number of countries ... In quantitative terms, the problems of underemployment and inadequate incomes are even more serious ... It is urgent that policy-makers should look at the International Development Strategy more particularly from these points of view.

We may speculate that the main culprits are: the inadequate personal education of individual agents of change; the difficulties of evaluating holistic programmes; unimaginative schooling; the poverty of the basic image of man entertained by planning institutions at municipal, national, and international level (excepting perhaps UNESCO). In short, we lack a collective human maturity when it comes to organised development programmes and the attempt to make what Neilroner calls 'man's first act of history', the changing of the course of history and the start of a creative use of the future.

Roughly speaking, we may say that of the last three decades the first two were devoted to a narrow vision of development, dominated by economic growth, while the last decade has been tempered somewhat by an attempt to include the so-called 'human factor in development'. This is a phrase which I find particularly offensive (as if there were ever any other 'factor' in human develop-

¹ I.L.O., 'Time for transition - A mid-term review of the Second United Nations Development Decade', reported in Survey of International Development, Society for Int. Dev., XII, 3, May-June 1975.

ment!): it appears to arise out of the misbehaviour of certain ultra-simplistic and highly-aggregate economic models of economic growth. In these, the desired goal of high income or high national or other production is seen to depend, not only on capital and labour and returns to scale but also (not surprisingly) on other factors. These came to be considered as an aggregate and one began to talk about the human factor in development models. Tuqan² tells us that

'In recent years, the added human factor has been almost equated with investment in the education of man. This emphasis on education could be said to have been due to two main reasons. Firstly, the West traditionally assigned a major role to publicly-supported education, which not only promoted social peace, harmony, and self-improvement but constituted a force in the process of wealth-creation. In other words, the development of learning and skills was apparent to everyone as a very considerable external economy of an educational system which, from the viewpoint of national output, provided its chief justification as a free public service.'

Recently we are finding that the human reality which is to be developed consists of more than three or four 'factors' and the single-factor approach is losing credibility. Even if some factors are likely to be strategic, the selection of such a factor cannot be a priori but must be the fruit of either experiment or the analysis of complex systems. The development goals, too have been explicitly diversified, so that one is now no longer talking about increasing the aggregate income but about many other goals, economic and non-economic, and about different goals as affecting the different groups of people involved. Quite recently, and not without some painful prodding from world events like famines and other scarcities, there has started a worldwide groping for wider concepts and programmes of development that attempt to do more justice to the wholeness and to the complexity that is man and his world.

It is very timely, therefore, for us to be talking about integral human development. It is also a fitting framework into which we shall be able to fit the subsequent talks in this series of seminars. We are attempting to make this orientation central to the work of our university especially with regard to the regional development of the Mediterranean.

²Tuqan, M.I., *Education, Society and Development in Underdeveloped countries*, Centre for the Study of Education in Changing Societies (CESO), Den Haag, 1977.

It is not easy to develop a whole conceptual framework about integral human development in this short space, so we must perhaps lower our sights and try to hit the more important considerations. One way in which this could be done is to ask the basic questions. Since development involves the changing of some reality we must ask: development *of what?* Here we must look at the facts: what man is in his various aspects or parts. In addition, noting that development is not merely change but planned and guided, directional, change, we must also ask: development *towards what?* This question about directionality will involve us not only in facts but also in values. Finally, about this progression of what is towards what is desired, we must ask: development *how?* In other words, what are the tools and techniques, (mechanical or otherwise) and what are the strategies encompassing these tools and technologies, which can be used to force or coax this progression along? And in answering these questions we must, as already stated, be guided by the challenging word: 'integral'. Here I can do no more, in this short space, than suggest skeletal guidelines and frameworks for replying to these questions. The deeper insights which will enable some flesh to be built around the skeleton.

A. *Development of what?* When sociologists talk about social systems they refer mainly to man's institutionalised behaviour (actions) and role-expectations (images). The same can be said of psychologists. Similarly, in the field of culture, we have a complex and long-lasting system of symbols and *images*, and, as in processions and festivals, we have certain *behaviour* which *relates intimately* to these symbols and images. Also, at the level of man as a biological organism, man's reality consists both of sense-messages and images and of behaviour such as food-gathering, shelter-building, body-functions, etc. We may thus visualise not only the traditional division into the four compartments: *culture*, *sociopolitical* (networks of relationships of power and influence), *psychological*, and *organismic*, but also the further subdivision of each of these into what we may briefly call (a) *images* and (b) *actions*. (See Fig. 3.1a, 3.1b, 3.2).

Such a descriptive model is certainly not complete without an explicit emphasis on the interpenetration of each of the four compartments: there is no sharp dividing line between, for example, psychologically-motivated behaviour and sociopolitically-motivated behaviour, neither is there between, say, sociopolitical images. In Fig. 5.2 we have added the *environment*, standing for anything outside the system. We have also elaborated 'cultural

images' to make explicit reference to those cultural images which portray the human system itself, or part of it; these may be called reflexive cultural images since the rest of the system, and the environment, is reflected in them. For this reason the *reflexive cultural symbolism* may be regarded as a major structural *feedback* device which, on the basis of the system's current characteristics, influences those characteristics themselves. As soon as man gains knowledge about himself, he becomes a guided or cybematic system. If this guiding or control is planned and deliberate, this is what is called development. Another method of picturing the system is given in Fig. 3.3, which also includes communications networks. The environment and the system's links with it are inserted, and we get Fig. 5.4. The message is this: *all* of the human system (depicted in fig. 5.2 or 6.2) is to be considered as a domain for development, not forgetting the *ecological links* and the *spiritual links* with the environment of the system. It is worth noting that concern with ecology is only recently becoming fundamental to development theory; and that spiritual links have rarely been considered as anything but an obstacle by development planners – a fundamentally mistaken attitude.

The interrelationship between all parts of the human system (not forgetting, as we have said, the links with its environment) is so great that bringing about any improvement in one compartment involves changes in most of the others. This does not represent merely a headache (too many things to consider) but can be a blessing since a change in one compartment can be made so that it can then influence several other compartments; provided that we understand the inter-connections and processes well enough to use such strategies effectively. It might be easier, for example, to change people's perception (images) of certain roles than to change the role-behaviours themselves directly. Images have a considerable if not primary role in social change and development: they may produce or impede change. In fact, social change can be defined in terms of the image-system rather than the behaviour-system:

We ... define social change as modifications in the meanings and values held by society or by important groups in society.³

Since all parts of the human system are to be considered as domain for development, all *geographic* levels are ultimately indicated by the term 'integral' human development. The national

³ A.M. Rose, 'The Use of Law to Induce Social Change', Trans. Third World Congress of Sociology, Vol. VI, p. 54.

level is often quite arbitrary and has many disadvantages. The level of the local community is more real. For many countries one must focus on subnational regions because of an ecological, cultural or other coherence. In certain cases, including the Mediterranean, supranational regions must be considered as domains for integrated development efforts. (In the case of the Mediterranean this is mainly because of similar climate and lifestyles, and because of the dynamics of the closed sea.) We have already mentioned that spatial holism should be also complemented by *temporal* holism and a concern for future generations.

B. Development towards what? We know intuitively that although one may set achievable targets in development programmes, and in fact achieve them, there is no future state at which we shall all be content to say 'now, here, we have arrived at our destination'. Thus, the question is not to be really one about destinations but of directions: In what direction are we to develop? Two types of answers come to mind: (a) directions agreed either by 'authority' or by some participative or representative democratic consensus, and (b) directions imposed by the nature of things, things that are currently unchangeable. Let us consider the latter type. Nature may impose certain constraints: this is straightforward enough. However there is another and unexpected source of constraint: General System Theory. We have already stated that the commitment to 'integrality' implies that we must think in terms of the theory of complex systems. We have also already seen that human systems are guided or controlled and so cybernetic. However, they fall within a certain very special class of cybernetic systems, for which special forms of analysis apply. This is the class of 'Learning Systems', systems which learn. These are systems which are able to change their patterns of internal interconnection as well as their states in response to information about the external environment and also to reflexive information about the system's own states. Cybernetics alone is inadequate to describe this class, and we move into the field of General Systems Theory. One of the broad conclusions of this discipline has been that

un système devient plus complexe s'il parvient à développer son aptitude à s'organiser en fonction du changement, non seulement pour s'y adapter et survivre, mais pour s'enrichir et se développer.⁴

(A system becomes more complex if it manages to somehow

⁴ ROBIN, Jacques, *De La Croissance Economique Au Développement Humain*, Seuil, Paris, 1975, p. 84.

evolve an aptitude for reorganising itself whenever changes occur, not only in such a way as to adapt itself and survive, but so as to enrich itself and develop.) For such an eventuality, general systems theory demonstrates the necessity, Robin continues, for the system to disengage itself from rigid mechanisms: hence the need for the system to behave as a structure that is weakly hierarchical and avoids *hyperspecialisation* and *centralisation*. If we wish life on earth to become a matter of more complex systems (this has been the thrust of evolution so far) we must then avoid hyperspecialisation and excessive hierarchy in complex systems like the ecology (as influenced by man), the individual's cognitive structures, the sociopolitical or institutional networks, and the cultural interactions. Because if we do not heed these warnings we will be damaging the capacity of these systems to become more sophisticated and possibly even to survive as changes occur with the passage of time. These are very sobering conclusions when we note such facts as the agricultural policy whereby we are limiting the number and diversity of plant and animal species on the planet; the hyperspecialisation in our universities (these seminars are an attempt to counteract this in our own situation); the rigid hierarchical ordering of many sociopolitical realities. These constraints must be taken account of; as an example, here is the suggestion of Robin for a super-goal for human development:

maintenir les conditions d'évolution des systemes vivants et des systemes ecologiques, afin de permettre à la structure la plus complexe, l'espace humain, d'exercer toutes ses potentialités, et afin de favoriser l'émergence de structures encore complexifiées.

(To maintain the conditions of evolution for living organisms and ecological systems, with the aim of allowing the most complex structure, man, to exercise all his potentialities, and with the aim also of favouring the development of structures of even greater complexity.)

Having this particular super-goal enables us to do several things. Firstly, other goals for more specific situations can be derived from this and other super-goals. Secondly, we learn to beware of hyperspecialisation and centralisation. Thirdly we see that the cybernetic and structural-functionalist analyses illuminate the way that complex systems, in our case the human system, are stability-seeking (since they are guided or controlled by multiple internal feedback links); but not the way in which *development* takes place. Normal methods of interaction (orientated towards stability) may inhibit development unless developmental goals and

values are constantly brought to the force as persuasive cultural images. I have chosen to reply in this way to the question of directions for development not because it is complex but because it is fundamental.

We have spoken of a class of constraints on development that are more or less determined by the nature of things. One is tempted to identify these constraints with the structure of a system; yet this is incorrect because it is the structure of the system itself which may change with 'development.' Structural constraints, and the time-scales for normal changes in the former may be of a different order. Possibly also structural changes carry many more causal implications. In any case, part of the development process is the explicit recognition of constraints and their bypassing or replacement; similarly unexpected changes, errors, or 'noise' may be converted into a potentially useful situation.

Development ... how? This question concerns not only the techniques or tools but also the strategies and policies that employ these tools, in order to bring about the desired directional process of structural and situational change in the human system, according to certain human values and within certain constraints. Of the techniques themselves we must beware: this is the lesson of Jacques Ellul's *The Technological Society*, which depicts one after another of man's activities and institutions becoming merely technique — a process which involves their impoverishment and their disengagement from meaning human values. Techniques must be seen, not in a perspective of incrementalism, but within deliberate strategies; failure to observe this dictum will result in either the maintenance of the status quo (in the same way as the stability-oriented normality described), or else in a kind of mindless social change which, more likely than not will lead in quite undesirable directions (since technique, or merely *doing* things, has its own momentum.)

The strategies at the economic level today generally have to give greater weight to the more visible and urgent problems of the world system, particularly the re-emergence of scarcities and the interrelated problems of unemployment, underemployment, income *inequality*. Of scarcities it is sufficient here to mention that in the two years ending in 1972, the world prices of wheat, rice, and crude oil have risen between 3- and 5-fold. As regards inequalities in income, within a region of economic organisation such as a nation-state, strategies based on GNP figures as targets mask and even aggravate the problem. As pointed out in the 1975 I.L.O. report, if (as in many developing economies) 20% of the population

obtain 75% of G.N.P., then the growth-rate of H.N.P. measures mostly the growth-rate of the incomes of the richest 20% of the population. (The word 'mostly' in this statement corresponds to a weighting of 75%.) This means that the wealthiest 20% of the population is automatically given the most importance. The reduction of inequality and the improvement of the well-being of the people clearly demands that just the reverse be done: the *poorer* 20% of the population should be given the most weight. As the I.L.O. report suggests, one should use socially-adjusted overall G.N.P. figures and also separate target growth-rates for different groups or classes of people.

There are, indubitably, trade-offs to be made. The existence of trade-offs and compromises in one of the major arguments for deliberate strategies and planning. Ritchie Calder tells a story about two men he heard commenting on a mechanised road-building project. 'If they used people with wheelbarrows, they could employ a thousand men!' declared one. 'Or,' retorted his companion, 'a million men with teaspoons.' Such trade-offs between production and distribution are paralleled by innumerable others in a complex plan. Thus, for example, income inequality itself tends⁵ to rise (unless deliberate and effective policy changes are adopted) as the economy of a developing country proceeds to a higher and higher production. The peak of inequality is attained usually where there is an average per-capita income between \$200 and \$500 per year. Traditional taxation and growth policies have, in recent years, failed to do more about the levels of income inequality than maintain the status quo. New strategies including structural changes are urgently called for.

In Africa, some countries are directly intervening in their economies and are bringing about structural changes for achieving the ultimate purposes of development. The Tanzanian development plan strongly emphasises the structural change in its society – which is most clearly expressed in the Ujamaa village approach based on the two principles of unified groups of citizens with their own leadership, and the grouping of scattered farm families. The Zambian plan proposes the establishment of 'intensive development zones', and Kenya has an integrated rural development program ... In Latin America, the most commonly proposed policies are tax incentives and the redistribution of economic activities to regions where poverty and unem-

⁵I.L.O. report: This general pattern has been confirmed by a number of studies.'

ployment are acute. ... In several countries important institutional changes have been brought about, for example changes in the system of ownership and the structure of enterprises; links with foreign investment; machinery for the protection of primary products; the systems of land tenure; the administrative machinery, and economic policy instruments.

In the complex human systems, especially of the developing countries, employment and income distribution are affected in a key way by technology (intensity, relevance), population (growth, distribution, female employment), external assistance (labour-intensiveness of funded projects), trade (rich foreign markets, tariffs), and education (relevance, elitism).⁶

It is however particularly important to remember that purely economic policies, those that alter the behaviour of persons, must be complemented by explicit attention to the 'images' or symbolic part of man's reality. Remembering that economic growth is a *means*, not an end – that is, a means towards a fuller and newer human reality we are forced to make certain conclusions. Firstly:

(a) it is important to evaluate continuously the effect that current economic policies and their eventual expected outcome will have on the organismic, psychological, socio-political, and cultural actions and images of people. The non-supremacy of economics is often lost sight of, leading to unnecessary human suffering and, as the momentum of consumption proceeds, to 'economic over-development' (with symptoms of obesity, cancer, narrowed culture, consumption addiction, etc.). Secondly,

(b) one can use the areas of the people's symbolic universe both as a tool and as a domain for development. However if development is conceived in terms of some economic programme which, as we have said, is a means of improving the human reality, then one must beware of image changing (e.g. value-changing) strategies that are coercive and are subservient to the economic programme rather than to a noble vision of man. One can easily end up destroying the very thing that one is trying to improve. The way to minimize the trade-offs between freedom and development that are implied in this dilemma is to encourage citizen *participation* in the setting of objectives, in planning, and in implementation and evaluation of development programmes. In this way the trade-offs are made by the people most directly affected; personal and so-

⁶ – these factors and the previous quotation have been condensed from the 1975 I.L.O. report and the Survey of International Development, May-June 1975.

cial values will also change in the desired direction whenever the individual is given the information and the facilitation necessary for him to become involved in decision-making about development.

In Sicily, for example, 'From the point of view of the social factors necessary for economic growth, the traditional Sicilian value-system is obsolete. It was a means by which the Sicilian had historically adapted himself to an exploiting environment, but that environment has been changing rapidly since World War —, 'according to J.A.Raffawle,⁷ who then suggests' investment in human capital', that is, spending on:

general education; training, acquiring knowledge of politico-social environments; training in health and sanitation; democratic planning, including the preparation of goals and involvement (of citizens) in the subsequent processes; morale studies and follow-through. The basic strategy of such investment should be to structure a social system that encourages participation in such activities and rewards such activities. ... a principal objective is to redistribute power and knowledge (for this purpose).

It is clear that whether or not a diagnosis such as Raffaele's about obsolete values is considered to be too drastic, the type of *participative* strategy he prescribes (unlike an authoritarian and coercive value-changing strategy) is not likely to become distorted and inhuman.

Bearing these warnings about coercion we must, then, consider parts of the symbolic universe as domains for development. Most of the problems of the human race at present arise out of, or can be explained in terms of:

(a) inequalities in the distribution of social power, food, energy, and wealth;

(b) parochiality of the mental images of decision-makers and also citizens over space and over time;

(c) limitidness and exclusivity of the sphere-of-concern and sphere-of-trust in the minds of the individual and also for the group, rarely extending to 'mankind';

(d) runaway (although potentially controllable with modern technology) social and economic processes.

In considering problems and the strategies for solution, it is clear that the realm of images and that of actions is clealely linked. For example, global structures for influencing equitable

⁷The Economic Development of Nations. Random House, N.Y., 1971, p. 298.

distribution will also influence the scope of images and values. But a strategy of consciousness-raising that widens the scope of these images and values will help strengthen the global structure. In the context of *integral* human development, the 'image-strategy' chosen must satisfy certain criteria of integrality. The current disintegration of culture, social systems and 'mental spaces', and the current disequilibrium in our relations with the ecology of the planet – all these will require a coherent programme of *integralisation*, where each of these systems is made to approach wholeness and balance in development. If a system of symbolic tools are to be used in this programme, these must become broad cultural entity of some kind which can be woven into human perceptions and aspirations. What models do we have to guide us? Three historical cases are mentioned in the following passage:

In some periods of history, for example the early Christians era and the Renaissance, many good symbols were born – *good in the sense that they fulfilled many sides of man's nature*. ... the symbolism of alchemy attracted Junh because he saw in it an effort to encompass all sides of man's nature and to forge opposing forces into a unity.⁸

The functions of mythology according to Joseph Campbell in his *Creative Mythology* (the fourth volume of his work, 'The Masks of God') are

to reconcile waking consciousness

1. with awe and gratitude to the ... universe as it is,
2. to interpret the universe, to explain it.
3. the promotion and enforcement of the moral order,
4. (the most vital, the most critical)

to foster the CENTERING and the UNFOLDING of the individual in integrity, in accord with

(d) himself (microcosm)

(e) his culture (mesocosm)

(b) the universe (macrocosm)

(a) that awesome ultimate mystery which is both beyond and within himself and all things,

'wherefrom all words turn back

together with the mind,

not having attained.'

⁸ A Primer of Jungian Psychology, Calvin S. Hall and Vernon J. Nordby, Mentor, New Amer. Libr., N.Y., 1973, p. 116-7.

The criterion of holism and integrality is explicitly mentioned and used in the last two quoted passages respectively. As a measure of the worth of the symbolism this criterion is well rooted in psychology, and we should try and retain it. In searching for a unifying nucleus that can take much 'symbolification' and that is at the same time integral, we look for something that can also do justice to the great human Threshold — the crucial crossroads of the present two or three generations which are of fundamental importance for the future of mankind.⁹

What better candidate for this than the idea of *integral human development itself*? The idea of integral human development, of mankind and the whole man, can be made the nucleus of a coherent modern mythology, ideology, theory, belief system, or whatever. The central theme can be enriched with the aid of special symbols, adventurous theoretical constructs, ideologies, experimental actions, directions of individual development, mythic visions and, sustaining all these, appropriate works of art. Publicly-held high¹⁰ aspirations will be encouraged by various means, centred on human growth and the future of mankind. These will give the stimulus and the rationale for channeling men's disintegrated psychic energies into a new energy towards new directions of endeavour: integralisation of the mankind system, integralisation of culture including art/science/technology/education/religion/morality, fulfilment of individual personalities through participation in collective life, adjustment of institutions so that they nurture rather than stunt the individual, etc.

Some will be sceptical about the rate of return from investment in these directions. But others, who recognize the often immediate powerful social force of an appropriate and timely image or ideology, may well be afraid of the other radical implications of such an encouragement of energy released at the grass roots. Neither scepticism nor fear are in order. Such energies would sooner or later spread, generally reorienting social priorities and perceptions; they would probably become focussed onto defined and specific issues, such as the search for new economic and non-economic structures for reducing global inequities, institutionalised underdevelopment, and other restraints on the holistic growth of the new man and of the new mankind.

⁹ Most of these elements will have to be adapted and made to cohere.

¹⁰ not only G.N.P.

THE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

by B.S. ROBERSON*

AMONG the many writings of Professor W.O. Lester Smith is a book called 'To Whom do Schools belong?' (Blackwell, 1945). This seminal work reviews the development of schools in England in relation to their foundation. It examines the individuals, groups and movements which influenced the growth of establishments, and offers some material to consider the fundamental question of who controls education.

This major topic has been discussed often enough, and it is not proposed to re-examine it here. It is an educational truism that schools are a function of the society they serve. It is almost axiomatic that in a dictatorship the schools are planned by the dictator, and in a democracy they are organised on democratic lines. The young eskimo learnt in the school of experience and bitter cold: the Australian aboriginal in that of the tribe and tropical heat.

In all but the simplest communities, the major pattern of education is set by the state. The size of school, the breakdown between different age-groups, the varying proportions of elementary, secondary and technical education are broadly on a national scheme, which is altered by national decisions. In England there is a certain dualism, whereby both central and local government can shape the institutions where the young can learn. Outside this dualism private enterprise is also permitted. Within the limits of decency and sanitation, almost anyone may establish a school. This has resulted in a few scandals, famous experiments such as that of A.S. Neill at Summerhill, and some recently founded public schools such as Stowe.

There is within this major pattern a secondary aspect of education, and it is the purpose of this article to examine its control in English education. Such examination may have interest for those teaching in areas which derive their educational system partly or

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wholly from this. To those accustomed to the continental system, it is a surprise to find that the content of education, the detail of subject matter, even the specific subjects taught, are not laid down by the state, with the exception of certain provisions for religious education. The head teacher, and in turn his assistants, is responsible for what is taught in his school. This apparent, and very real, freedom is hedged about by a variety of influences, some subtle, some crude, and all interplaying.

The situation in the primary schools, which children leave at about age 11, is perhaps simpler than in the secondary schools. With the abolition of the 11 plus selection system, which allotted children to the then various types of secondary school, examination influences, with their considerable stress on literacy and numeracy, have disappeared. There has resulted a certain polarisation between the traditional and the progressive, between those who would place ample stress on reading, writing and arithmetic and those who would have little formal definition of content, with much timetable space allotted to projects and interdisciplinary activities. Perhaps the latter predominate, and it is significant that the comparatively few small fee-paying private schools which are emerging teach reading and writing firmly, in response to parental demand.

This is a very controversial issue, which teachers, colleges of education and parents debate vigorously. This may be a good thing, but it can only exist in circumstances where no specific ruling exists. There is an uneasy balance of opinion between the teachers, 'experts', and parents, but only in extreme conditions is any final decision taken. The rare case of the William Tyndale school exemplifies this. This ultra-progressive school, with virtually no formal organisation or subject matter, was closed after parental outcry, and only after prolonged inquiry and appeal procedures were the teachers finally dismissed by the local authority, in this case the final arbiter.

There are several specifically identifiable factors which affect the content of secondary education, and a major one is the public examination system. Technical and vocational education, which mainly begins after age 16, has its own system. Its content is self-defining, and is not considered here. For the so-called liberal or general education, the awards of the eight senior examining boards are paramount. These are accepted by the professions and universities as entrance requirements, and are recognised by most

employers as a valuable criterion of achievement and ability. The syllabuses for A level, therefore, have substantial control of the content of education for most pupils who remain at school until 18, particularly during their last two or three years of school life.

The boards are independent, and subject content is decided by specialist sub-committees. Nowadays these consist of a majority of practising school teachers of the subject, with the active assistance of university teachers. The influence of the latter varies, but the committees must give considerable weight to such members, who are at the forefront of the subject knowledge concerned. Although there are other consultative procedures, these committees are something of an oligarchy. The teacher members are mainly nominated by the professional associations, and a considerable variation of personnel results. Individuals or groups can dominate, so that new ideas can be implemented against the wish of the many, or contrariwise diehards can resist change which many urgently desire.

Against this somewhat sinister picture must be set many checks and balances. Several boards adopt a very active consultative policy, and drafts of proposed new syllabuses are circulated to all concerned for comment. All teachers submitting candidates may give each year their opinions on the papers set, and this steady stream, often of vituperation, has considerable effect. None the less, the ordinary teacher who is not active in these matters can often feel he is in the grip of a mechanism he is unable to influence. He is at least free, if he can persuade his headmaster, to change to a board more in sympathy with his own views.

In the case of A level only, the Schools Council, of which more later, is empowered to give ultimate approval of syllabuses. This power is used rarely and gently, and in any case is exercised virtually by its own subject committee, which may well be composed of individuals who have already taken part in the previous discussions. In the event of a head-on collision, the more prestigious boards are likely to get their own way, and differences are adjusted by private consultation between administrators.

The syllabuses for O level, taken at age 16, are shaped in much the same way, but the Schools Council has no veto. The university influence is less, teacher influence greater, and a less formal academic flavour is apparent in some cases. There is current a proposal to merge the O level examination with the lower grade Certificate of Secondary Education, so to this we now turn.

From its inception in 1964 the CSE examination was to be teacher-controlled, to cater for the average pupil, who was not intelligent enough to attempt O level. There are some fourteen areally based boards, the great majority of whose members are local teachers, elected by their colleagues. Subject content, as before, is decided by subject committees. Any teacher, or group of teachers, who does not like the main syllabus may submit his own, upon which his pupils may be examined, and these are seldom severely altered by the boards.

The very existence of the O level syllabus is a certain restraint on the CSE work, lest pupils making unexpected progress be handicapped upon transfer to O level classes. Other than this, which only applies at the margin, the system has accepted much new content, and even new subjects, of which not all approve. Academic matter, and content requiring deep thought, are naturally omitted. There is as much practical bias as possible: handwork, pictures and the pupils' own folders of work may be submitted for assessment. Some new matter is controversial, and barely recognisable as an established subject discipline. Under the titles of social studies, environmental studies, and science studies, and by choice of set material in English, almost any subject matter, be it the merit of 'comics', the structure of the internal combustion engine, or the local sewage system may be included by the determined teacher.

The Schools Council is an important part of the English educational system. It is financed by central and local authority funds, and is virtually independent. Any recommendations it makes on major issues, such as examination structure, are open to rejection by the Minister. The Council itself contains representatives of all branches of education, and employers, but the National Union of Teachers, the largest professional association, has about half the voting power, and its policies, which may not be those of all its members, can carry the day. The present Minister has proposed changes which will remedy this. The day to day work of the Council is done by sub-committees, which keep a constant review of subject development, and also supervise the work of the Council's projects.

These projects have played a considerable part in influencing subject matter in most schools in recent years. Much experimental work was done in the primary schools, in the field already discussed. Each project has a paid director, often a don and nearly

always a person who has already made his mark in education. He is supported by a small staff and lightly guided by his supervising committee. No specific pattern of operation is laid down, but a common one is to pursue a developmental programme in the subject area concerned, carried out in detail in a few schools, or more broadly in many. Most last three or four years. Many have been completed. Some twenty or so are in current operation. Both orthodox subject matter, and the newer interdisciplinary group subjects are handled.

It is not easy to assess this influence, and no long independent book reviewing the work of the Schools Council has yet appeared, though its activities are widely reported. Clearly many teachers, in schools where a project is operating, come into close contact with the staff and with new ideas. Many others follow the work, by means of distributed circulars, publicity lectures and conferences. The results of a project are sometimes published in book form, or by various suggested schemes of work and material. Other teachers remain splendidly aloof, sometimes knowing little of the Council's activities, but more often regarding them as a waste of money.

The precise location of power at this middle, operational level is almost undiscoverable. There has been bargaining between groups on the Council for nominations to the many committees. Names may be suggested by the committees themselves, by interested parties, or the Inspectorate. The mechanism for proposal of a project is nominally open to all who know of it: its successful establishment would seem to depend upon knowing, or being known by, the right people. One committee at least had occasion to rebuke its permanent staff for taking an initiative without authorisation.

The work of Her Majesty's Inspectors has also been fully considered elsewhere, that of local inspectors perhaps less so. HMI are a cautious, benevolent and impartial body which influences content only by the most general suggestions. Their selection of the subjects and staffing of teachers' vacation courses play a more direct part in shaping content, and their ubiquitous presence makes their knowledge vast and their advice not to be lightly disregarded. Many local authorities maintain a staff of inspectors, often subject or age-group specialists, who are better named advisors. Their influence is direct and practical. They can guide young teachers, run courses, and make suggestions on content. They do not, in spirit or practice, interfere with the teacher's

classroom independence.

Public opinion, that elusive quantity, has little direct effect. Parents may express themselves, with others, through the ballot box, on the wider issues. Parent-teacher organisations are usually firmly told not to concern themselves with the internal organisation of the school. Employers are well represented in the control of the vocational field. Pressure groups can and do exist, acting by publicity meetings and membership of committees. There is, for example, a strong environmental lobby, which has managed to establish a few examination options. Commonwealth studies are similarly advocated by its supporters.

What are the lessons of this for the young teacher? In England he has inherited a tradition of freedom in his professional life probably unmatched in the world, limited only by his status within the school of hierarchy. As this article has tried to show, he also has considerable opportunity at higher levels to influence the content of what is taught. To a very small, but undeniable extent, this classroom liberty is today very near licence. Teachers can, and some do, present distorted pictures of society intended to influence the young. The impartiality of history teaching has always been difficult, and now some teachers are more impartial than others. Rather strangely, some English teaching is among the most tendentious. By selection of essay topics, poems and literature a false picture of a place or period is conveyed.

Freedom of growth for the pupil thus depends on the integrity of the teacher. Fortunately among most this is high. They ensure their subject matter carries true information, which is also balanced fodder for the young mind to digest and consider. Long may this continue.

ECONOMIC RELATIVITIES AND A UNIVERSITY IN MALTA

by MARIO VASSALLO

THE rise of a new ethos of political self-reliance and the continuing quest among Maltese leaders and nationals to bring about a full measure of independence within the shortest period of time, has made it mandatory that the Maltese, despite the smallness of their size and the meagre resources available on the island, should establish institutions that could carry this national ethos through the wake of international bureaucracy and structures. Although Maltese culture is in many ways not atypical of its Mediterranean counterparts, Maltese life in general is significantly different from that of other, even larger, islands in the Mediterranean such as Cyprus, Crete or nearby Sicily. Malta is not only an island; it is a nation, and, despite its smallness and a long history of colonization, it has finally come to be accepted as such. As a result, some structural features of the Maltese community, though they could easily be considered a luxury by superficial observers of the local scene, play an essential role in Malta's existence. As such, Malta has to be served by a national airline, it sustains fully fledged banking and financial institutions, it maintains a quite intricate network of foreign representations and diplomatic corps, it issues its own currency, and, not least from the cultural point of view, it nurtures an indigenous language.

For Malta, the existence of a University, is an equally essential requisite for the maintenance of an indigenous cultural and political identity. Historically, the local University, which developed from a theological college established by the Church for the training of academically qualified clergymen, served as an agency for the consolidation of the at times spurious demands for a measure of self-reliance through the provision of trained leadership. Its courses made it possible for the locals to by-pass the restrictions of power and wealth that characterised their successive rulers, and through the traditional professions especially, to act as a career-route for capable Maltese to attain a standing that enabled

¹I.L. Evans, *Report on Higher Education in Malta* (Malta, Govt. Printing Press, 1946), par. 17.

them to deal with their colonizers from a non-inferior position.

The viability of a University within such a limited context was frequently and forcefully discussed during the University's history and its rapporteurs repeatedly recognized the limitations imposed on the University by its limited size, and also by the scale of the community which it served. In 1947, for example, Ivor L. Evans, heavily criticized the 'very meagre financial provision made to an institution which is undertaking instruction in six faculties',¹ and said that provision for the University should be expanded and that it should be

something more than a training ground for the chosen professionally-minded few: its ultimate raison d'être is the enlightenment of the many ...²

Similarly in 1957, the Commissioners affirmed the need that a place like Malta should have a university of its own:

That Malta has some need of the service of a University is certain. Like every other community, it must have competently staffed professions: and professional education is part of the function of a University ...³

They subsequently rejected idea that such a demand could best be met by the use of the services of a foreign University. The Dahrendorf Commission assumed that Malta needs a University of its own, and its report discussed primarily the role of the University in Maltese society.⁴

Like most of the other structures necessary for the maintenance of a nation-state, the University has always been a liability, and a non-revenue earner for the Maltese community. From its earliest origins financial independence was excluded: on January 25, 1576 the first set of benefices were set aside for the provision of theological training;⁵ on November 12, 1592 the foundation deed for a proper College of Theology made further provisions for financial endowments;⁶ on May 29, 1773 Grand Master Pinto realised that the moneys accruing from the Jesuit properties (30416 scudi, 10

²*Ibid.*, par. 45.

³H. Heatherington et al., *The Royal University of Malta – Report of the Commission* (Malta, Dep. of Infor., 1957), par. 1.

⁴R. Dahrendorf et al., *Proposals with Legislative Implications: The XV Report – Part I* (cyclostyled, 1973), par. 5-7.

⁵See V. Borg, *The Seminary of Malta and the ecclesiastical Benefices of the Maltese Islands* (Malta, 1965), pp. 2-4.

⁶Royal Malta Library, *Università* (Notabile), Vol. XV, ff. 267r-269v., and A.P. Vella, *The University of Malta* (Malta, 1969), p. 9, footnote 1.

tari and 15 grani), though considerable by contemporary standards, were not enough to bear the cost of educational provision at the tertiary level, and made arrangements for that money to be further increased by any financial deficiencies to be supplied from the *Venerabile Tesoro* out of the rent of the warehouses which he had built at the Marina, which left a net capital of 19,000 scudi.⁷

With the enactment of the Royal University of Malta Ordinance (No. XXXII) in 1947, the burden of financial provision was passed directly to Government, thus 'freeing' the University from the burden of itself administering its endowments.⁸ Table I gives an indication of the extent of the finances provided by the Government to the University over the past twenty-five years.

Table 1

YEAR	NO. OF STUDENTS	GOVT. PROVIDED FINANCES £	TOTAL EXPENDITURE £	COST PER STUDENT £	V.I.*
1952	311	25,000	39,106	125.74,2	25.9
1955	339	29,900	42,944	126.67,8	23.7
1958	208	74,450	67,509	324.56,3	57.4
1960	234	86,000	106,224	453.94,8	69.7
1963	433	112,000	141,473	326.72,7	50.2
1965	574	167,000	203,414	354.38,0	50.5
1968	989	384,000	383,275	387.53,7	50.9
1970	1,103	608,218	632,458	573.39,6	65.6
1973	831	628,600	647,900	779.66,3	74.3
1976	904	806,391	831,379	919.66,7	52.7

*V.I. = λ/σ where λ = the relative figure in column five, *mean cost per student*, irrespective of faculty, and σ = the mean (X) of the weekly wage range payable to skilled labourers in Government employment. V.I. standardizes the figures in column five by relating them to a basic wage trend.

The figures in Table 1 indicate that the *relative* cost per student for the community has gone up considerably, although this might not be true of every *type* of student pursuing University training. Table 2 gives details of cost (in absolute figures) per

⁷ Archives of the Order of St. John 575, ff. 550r-550v.

See also Appendix 'F' in A.P. Vella, *The University of Malta* (Malta 1969), pp. 127-148 where details of the Jesuit possessions are given.

⁸ Better known as *The Royal University of Malta (Constitution) Ordinance* 1947.

student during the academic years 1952-53 and 1976-77 in the various Faculties. It can be noticed from the figures that the real cost (expressed in terms of V.I.) for Theology, Laws, Engineering & Architecture has *gone down* considerably. The real cost per student in other faculties has doubled (except Dentistry), but some courses cost much more than others (in 1976-77 a course in Science, e.g., costs more than eight times more than a course in Laws).

Table 2

NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY FACULTY AND COST PER STUDENT
1952-53, 1976-77*

FACULTY	1952-53			1976-77		
	NO. OF STUDENTS	COST PER STUDENT	V.I.	NO. OF STUDENTS	COST PER STUDENT	V.I.
		£			£	
Theology	19	88	18.1	77	252.18,1	14.5
Laws	16	144	29.7	146	108.01,4	6.2
Medicine & Surgery	40	87	17.9	214	578.52,3	33.2
Engineering & Architecture	19	73	15.1	111	120.27,0	6.9
Dental Surgery	5	118	24.3	11	1295.81,8	74.3
Arts	77	25	5.2	602	180.66,8	10.4
Science	145	13	29.9	97	905.25,8	51.8

*Costs given cover only expenses for teaching. If the costs for maintaining the library, University premises, student facilities, miscellaneous expenditure and the general administration of the University, were to be averaged, an additional £82 and £382 per student have to be added for 1952-53 and 1976-77 respectively. It can be very easily established that *de facto* such costs are not equally shared by all the faculties.

The foregoing data clearly indicates that the University would be betraying itself if it were to consider itself immune from the pressures and the problems of the society that nurtures it. As one of the essential structures maintaining the indigenous culture of a developing nation-state, a University in Malta has, on the one hand, to be a clear response to the dire needs for highly qualified skills needed by the professions and the semi-professions, and, on the other hand, it should itself be pointing the way for the eventual

development of the nation in its economic, social and political sphere. This dual role is in fact the only basis for any successful University in Malta.

In practice, this dual role, to be played in a situation of continuing flux, is bound to offer a number of intricate problems to any organisation, the more so to a University where traditionally the power bases take so long to shift. But the most difficult aspects of such a fusion is the fact that it has to be based on a system of detailed planning. Planning as such bases itself on specific knowledge of problems, on the clear delineation of objectives, goals and targets, and on the adoption of one (or a mixture) of the various planning techniques so that known problems could be solved; and the objectives, goals and targets could be achieved. Planning therefore is based on the rationalistic ethic *par excellence*, and is best suited to an organisation that allows itself to be tailored to meet the needs of a particular situation such that the ends, the resources, and the means could be co-ordinated. Clearly, the University, considered primarily as an institution concerned with the transmission of knowledge and skills with very little dependency on a programmed technology that would allow the application of time-and-motion studies, cannot be fully planned. Both the people 'managing' the University and its 'products' (the teaching staff and its graduates, that is) cannot be processed like materials, nor can their activity be stimulated by incentive schemes and productivity bonuses. Nor is there a clearly measurable 'output' to be controlled. All that can be relied upon is the effectiveness of 'national socialisation' of the teaching staff, a state of mind that should be assessed on the selection of candidates, and a process that should result in an urge to produce the best graduates in the shortest possible period of time, and in accordance with present needs and estimated future demands. If, on the other hand, the activity of academics is too closely scrutinized, and much time and manpower is wasted in attempts to wade through unnecessary administrative and bureaucratic labyrinth, in a University, especially one operating on a scale as small as any University in Malta will ever have to, neither the product nor the approach could ever be satisfactory. For University life, in contrast to that in polytechnics and trade schools, where standard skills can be produced on a large scale to the tune of a set of consumers, necessarily has to be allowed at least the possibility for discovery and progress. In other Universities, even doctoral students are expected, through their work, to make 'a substantial contribution to knowledge' in their particular field. If this is not allowed to, and indeed expec-

ted of, the teachers in our University, clearly no University in Malta could keep claiming for itself the right to citizenship in the international community. It is only on the basis of a clear appreciation of these facts that an understanding of 'academic freedom' on the one hand, and on the other, the development of 'a University of the community' offering 'functional degrees', can best be reached.

What, in conclusion, are the essential features that should characterise a University in Malta? Basically, I should like to name four characteristics that clearly have to be interwoven with the specificity of each discipline, programme or degree structure:

(a) *a University in Malta must be a 'political' University*: as one of the institutions catering for change in a small society, the University must have a significant personality of its own. Academics and bureaucrats should constantly seek to engage in dialogue for the interest of the community they both serve. This dialogue should not be a conflict-prone dialogue, but one that clearly transcends the interests of partisan politics, and one that is based on a minute dissection of concrete data and not on mere impressionism. Conformity for fear of possible reprisals should be anathema at any University. As the Heatherington Commission put in 1957 when it reported on the University of Malta, the University's objective should be the pursuance of

fundamental knowledge and fundamental criticism in a fashion which sets it somehow apart from and may even at times set it, or some of its members, in opposition to the prevailing disposition of the community to which it belongs.⁹

(b) *University structure should be fully participative*: power bases are an anachronism in a change-procuring institution such as the University should be. The flexibility and efficiency of the decision-making and decision-taking process should be the hallmark of University life; everybody should be given an equal chance of expressing his opinion; the University should offer the widest fora for discussion and debate. Under no circumstances should decisions affecting one's life or work be taken on unclear data, and behind one's back. The University should set the pace for the proper exercise of full democracy on the island.

(c) *The University must seek to be asset earning itself* through the publication of journals and books of an outstanding calibre,

⁹H. Heatherington et al., *The Royal University of Malta - Report of the Commission* (Malta, Dep. of Infor., 1957), par. 6c.

and especially through the holding of conferences and courses in its various, clearly defined, areas of excellence, the University could with relative ease transform itself into a revenue earner. With the increased demand for extension courses, the University's precincts have been opened to more members of the wider community, and the University has slowly and painfully started to attract money from Industry (through Management Development Seminars, for example). The gradual transformation of the University into 'an important intellectual centre of the Southern Mediterranean' as had been suggested by the Heatherington Commission itself,¹⁰ has already started, but it could easily be expanded with a relatively little increase in the present teaching burden.

(d) *A University in Malta must be a typically Maltese University*, not only as a result of its sincere search for qualified Maltese staff in preference for foreign, possibly less qualified, staff. Its whole structure has to be organised around the needs of the local community, and it has to produce men capable to transform national dreams into concrete realities. Most important of all, through clearly delineated areas of excellence a University in Malta should lead and not simply be led.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 6b.

RELIGIOUS VALUES AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS – A PERSPECTIVE

by MARIO VASSALLO

CLEAR tendencies away from full adherence to the formal model of religiosity proposed by the Catholic Church have been noticed among Maltese University students for a number of years. These tendencies were again confirmed by the results of a small-scale survey conducted during November 1977.

In 1968, the *Religious Attitudes and Behaviour of University Students in Malta* were surveyed by an ad hoc survey conducted by the Pastoral Research Services. At that time students from most faculties had expressed belief in God, and as many as 24% had indicated that they pray 'Always'. Most of the remaining students expressed a more 'utilitarian' view of the God-man relationship, and, contrary to official Catholic teaching, they sought to intensify their relationship with God primarily in times of duress, (66%); only 20% then felt they ought to pray in times of joy and gratitude.¹

A similar survey held among students of the *Junior College* (now *Upper Secondary School*, but then still run by the University) during 1973 showed that the general tendencies noticed in 1968 persisted among Malta's youngest generation of university students. Junior College students were now found to be quite critical of the 'average' priest (27.3% of respondents considered him 'antiquated'), and of the ecclesiastical authorities (37% considering them 'good pastoral guides'; 48.1% describing them 'old fashioned'; 29.1% 'too money-minded'; and 44.2% describing them with other appellatives not arising from the questionnaire). It then emerged too that though Church functions, and the sacraments, were still generally being made use of, they were not always considered as helpful as expected. The combination of negative attitudes to the Church and the institutions it patronizes with a positive attitude to the need for God in the students' life, undoubtedly gave some intimation of the possibly new attitudes towards religion in general, and the Church in particular, which were being generated among Malta's up-and-coming intelligentsia.²

¹B. Tonna, *Religious Attitudes and Behaviour of University Students in Malta* (Malta, PRS, 1968) especially pp. 10-17.

²See report in *Sunday Times of Malta*, 27 May, 1973, p. 8.

No extensive study of students' religiosity has been carried out since 1973. But superficial observation indicates that in general students tend to be dissatisfied with structured religion, and seek to draw from it only those aspects which satisfy their deeply felt needs for meaning. The student of the mid-seventies did not suffer much from the hot debates of the politico-religious disputes of the mid-sixties, and as such feels no particular 'pull' or 'push' towards religious structures. The generally secularising forces present in Maltese life generally, and particularly within the University where free debate is encouraged rather than stifled, have made the average student more selective and less emotionally involved even with values that his parents, or even his older brothers and sisters, so clearly and so dearly esteemed. The new liberating forces were facilitated by the media, by the new values imported by tourists, and by the loss, extremely significant for the inhabitants of the small villages, of the ascendancy enjoyed by the Church in previous generations.

Such general observation were confirmed by a pilot study of the value system of University students relative to family life conducted during November 1977. A small sample of twenty-five students following courses in a variety of Faculties (Law, Medicine, English Literature, Philosophy, Economics, Architecture and Mediterranean Studies) were interviewed by a small group of non-Maltese students.³ The following summary of the results is being presented as an indication of emerging trends; a quantitative and more extensive study of religiosity still waits to be done. The changing mood – to the extent that it is correctly detected by the limited area covered by this study – suggests that very important structural shifts are taking place in Maltese society in general, and in the effectiveness of the traditional religious values in particular.

(i) All the students surveyed emphasised the enormous difference that existed between the religiosity of their grandparents, that of their parents and their own. Grandparents entertained an overtly ritualized version of religion, with a direct linkage be-

³ The choice of foreign students as interviewers was purposely made: it was felt that in an area like this local students would be more prepared to express their real feelings, and not develop inhibitions, if they were approached by people they did not know well. There was of course the possibility that local students would try to project a too liberated umage of themselves, but it transpired from the reports of the interviewers that interviewees adopted a dialogic attitude and wanted to check their arguments with those of people coming from a different social and religious background. The objectivity of the replies is therefore assumed.

tween officially sanctioned ritual (both liturgical and para-liturgical) and day to day life. There was little questioning, and the beliefs held by the Church were blindfoldedly accepted as given.

Parental views on religion were differently assessed: a significant relaxation of ritual observation was noticed, with Sunday now being given much more prominence. Attention is now focused more on the family rather than on the Church and church-related activities.

The students' own religiosity was a further development on that of their parents: ritual is important but only in so far as it was 'functional'. What matters is what I think God wants of me, and not what the Church suggests. Attendance to Mass on Sundays, although not necessarily every Sunday, seems to be still observed, but the Catholic Church as such is conceived as being too rigid and 'must change to be better adapt to modern times'. Religion is conceived more of an individual union with God, and the Church's function is generally considered to be the setting up of *basic* standards of right and wrong morals. 'As long as this is so, I would not mind bringing up my children as Catholics too', some said.

(ii) Students do not consider religious homogeneity as the most important aspect of a happy marriage. 76% of respondents said they would readily marry someone who is not a Catholic. For marriage 'love' was a value superior to 'faith'.

(iii) Sex in films need not be outrightly condemned. Films that exploit sex were thought of as 'morally wrong for society, especially since there has been a shift from one extreme to another as far as film censorship in Malta is concerned'. Some students condemned the 'capitalistic exploitation of sex in films'; others said that age requirements should be more tight.

(iv) Eighty-four per cent said they endorsed pre-marital sex; sixteen per cent expressed themselves against it. The following were the reasons brought forward to justify its endorsement; (a) it should be a prelude for marriage; (b) it is a natural expression of love; (c) it should not however be a necessary priority for marriage; (d) it fosters seriousness in a relationship.

It was made clear to respondents that full coital intercourse was being implied in the question. A small number of males who approved pre-marital sex insisted they would still like their wife to be a virgin.

(v) Seventy-two per cent expressed themselves in favour of birth control; twenty-eight per cent disapproved of it.

(vi) Seventy-two per cent were against abortion, twenty-eight per cent in favour of its introduction. The traditional arguments in

favour of the sanctity of life, of the uniqueness of life were used to back its rejection; those in favour suggested that the mother's health could be a factor that militates in its favour. Others said that females should be fully able 'to make a choice themselves'.

(vii) Sixty-four per cent believed that divorce should be introduced; thirty-six per cent said they were against it. The reasons brought in its favour suggested that a mistaken choice of partner should be open to correction.

(viii) Eighty-two per cent suggested that the custom of 'living together' should not be frowned upon, and there is nothing wrong that a boy and a girl set up house without getting married. Nine per cent were forcefully against such an idea. The majority agreed that it is really premature for anybody in Malta to put such an idea in practice because of the social stigma attached to it.

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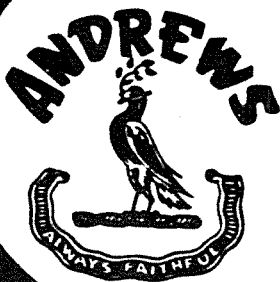


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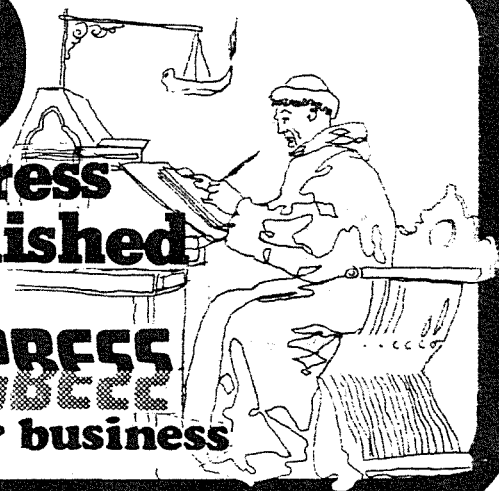
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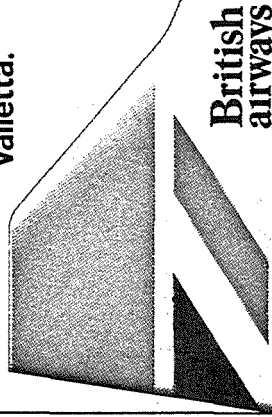
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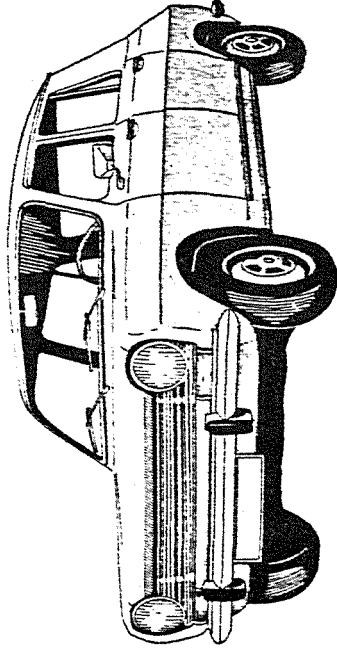
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