CULTURE, EDUCATION AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

A report prepared on behalf of the United Nations
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
for the secretariat of Habitat**

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developed regions are designated LDR (Less Developed Regions).

Part one

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND CULTURE

I.   INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL LIFE AND CULTURAL PHENOMENA

1.   In our attempt to define briefly the relations between human settlements and culture as they stand during this last third of our century, we will begin by extending the meaning of the word "culture" to include the sense in which it is used by ministries and departments of culture and those newspapers which publish regular accounts of "cultural life" or "cultural events", and will thus take in both the subjects dealt with in art and literature and the artistic and literary activities themselves. We will then go on to use the term in the sense commonly adopted by historians and anthropologists, and even by politicians - who readily use it as another word for "cultural values" - and take it to mean the sum of the ideas, customs, knowledge and beliefs of a population. To these must be added assertion of "identity" and the claim to dignity (whence one hears of the Japanese, Islamic, Zairian or Quechua culture, and so on).

2.   In the case of the former of these two acceptations of the term it is most often a question of making the works of writers and artists, ancient and modern, of whatever discipline, available to the greatest possible number; it may also be a question of encouraging the creation of such works by professionals or amateurs, whose activities the authorities are in a position to support or even call into being. It is to this sum of production made available and activities encouraged that, at least in its narrowest interpretation, reference is made in the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man (article 27): "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts ..."

3.   This process of production and consumption also corresponds, in part, to the "leisure" function which town-planners once assigned to human settlements as something distinct from habitat, work and traffic thoroughfares.

II.   CULTURAL LIFE IN HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

4.   No statistics can enable us to say whether creators of artistic and literary works are at any given moment more numerous in the big towns than on the farms, in the fishing ports or in country towns in the mountains. But it is generally agreed that for innovation to be possible there must be those periodic meetings, those exchanges of ideas and that emulation which only town life can offer.

A.   Producers and publishers

5.   It is, above all, obvious that at the final stage it is almost compulsory for any artistic production to find its way to the big town if it is to be accepted and made known. This is not to say that the size of a town, its population figure or its political and commercial importance are sufficient in themselves to facilitate the creation of cultural objects or their physical production. As regards books, we know that publishing activity is very unevenly divided throughout

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the world: of the 500,000 or so titles published annually, nearly half appear in European countries other than the USSR. If we add the USSR, the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Japan, we find that the countries in this whole group produce 81 per cent of the books published, whereas they represent less than 30 per cent of the population of the globe. It must further be pointed out that, with a few exceptions, the big publishing firms in each country are concentrated within a single town. The same is true of the production of records, tapes etc., and naturally even more so of video-cassettes and photographs of works of art.

B. Art galleries

6.   As for art galleries - which, in an international perspective, are needed as a means of revealing contemporary visual creation and probably also of ensuring its development - the most influential of these are located in a few given towns and within a few very definite districts. As compulsory poles of attraction for creative artists, who cannot long escape the obligation to make their pilgramages there, such exhibition and sales premises still play a distinctive part in urban life, preferably concentrating themselves in a few old streets and giving these added attraction while at the same time profiting from their prestige.

C. Cultural centralization

7.   Similarly, towns with a population of ten to a hundred thousand do not readily offer favourable surroundings for the work of composers, dramatists or authors of films, who primarily need to mix with their fellow artists and their critics. But over and above this, their art is coming to require increasingly complicated technical and economic structures, resembling in more than one respect those required by scientific research. Hence no one is surprised to find the innovators, their disciples and their imitators concentrated within twenty or so capitals where the arts can thrive. It will be observed, however, that if this trend is to continue and possibly grow stronger, it will only accelerate the wholesale exodus of talent with the accompanying cultural impoverishment, not merely from outlying provinces or cantons but even from entire countries where the social and economic structures necessary to artistic and literary production are developing with difficulty and too slowly. From this point of view the power and prestige of the big centres may well lead to the creation of a void in the areas outside a few places of world-wide or regional importance.

8.   At a first glance this phenomenon - obviously damaging to the vitality of the so-called "outlying" areas - would appear to have no bearing on the problem of regional planning. Numerically it is negligible when compared with those annual migrations thousands of millions strong which are swelling the size of certain towns. Yet, among the causes of the mass exodus from the countryside, most of which are of course economic, many observers cite the cultural stagnation of the little-built-on areas, where there is nothing to rescue the young people from boredom. In reality such poverty and boredom are not always thought to be worse among the fields than in commuter suburbs or industrial areas. Here it is not the difficulties of creation which are cited; what the critics prefer to stress is the inadequate circulation of culture. It is, in any case, usual to contrast the austere silence of the country with the artistic attractions of the town, with its multifarious cultural facilities.

D. The universities

9. However, an assessment of cultural facilities, as they affect the intellectual and artistic life of human settlements, cannot be made purely in quantitative terms. The most influential of such facilities - the universities and the big engineering colleges - have almost never been designed with a view to the part they can play in the area surrounding them. Whether or not they go in for adult education and whether or not they make themselves accessible to the population as a whole, they are capable of profoundly altering the attitudes and habits of the townspeople with regard to culture through their influence on the book and record trade and the theatre, cinema and concert programmes. For this to be possible they must of course be located within the town and not on a campus a long way out.

E. Traditional facilities

10. Other institutions which appear on a conventional list dating back two centuries - in Europe at least - still possess an appreciable importance in the context of urban development or renovation: in most towns of any size the theatres, concert halls, museums and public libraries are individual and imposing buildings, sometimes the dominant feature in the layout of the district containing the parliament and the administrations. Obviously their influence on the consumption of the cultural output of which they are the centres is a decisive one, and where they have been in existence for some considerable time the majority of the townsfolk would appear to consider them indispensable. It should be observed, however, that in relative figures their clientèle is extremely small. The opera houses, which in the nineteenth century were the pride of certain capitals of as yet modest size, now stand in the centre of big modern metropolises whose populations of 5 to 10 million they could scarcely accommodate for more than one visit per lifetime, even if each took his turn. In most countries in Europe and America, any town with a population of over 20,000 has its own theatre, standing in a prominent position in a square or on an avenue. But this is a fact which nowadays does not definitely prove anything as regards the theatrical activities of a town. In France, for example, not counting Paris, there exist over 400 buildings specially designed to house theatrical performances; yet the professional companies receiving State aid number only 21. In practice the amateur companies and those ephemeral professional ones which are rarely allowed for in statistics use other buildings. Certain countries keep figures for such groups: in the USSR there are estimated to be over 13 million amateurs practising choral singing, the drama or music and 140,000 clubs, cultural centres and "rural reading-rooms" where their performances are given.

F. Adapting traditional facilities

11. Such clubs or centres are, in fact, the cultural institutions today held to be the most useful. The schedules for cultural facilities adopted by the builders of new districts or satellite towns do not today generally provide for luxurious premises specially designed to cater for the drama, music or the fine arts. It is

true that those in charge of the planning of certain new towns in Africa and Asia
and of a smaller number in Eastern Europe are still feeling themselves under the
obligation to put up grand-looking buildings of the type; but in everyday practice
provision for cultural activities, whether in town or country, is tending more and
more to involve the creation or encouragement of multipurpose premises, or
alterations to existent premises to enable them to house other widely varying
activities in addition to those for which they were designed. The first
institutions to have voluntarily accepted such radical alterations are, in the
countries where they are the most highly developed, the public libraries: this is
the case, in particular, in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, the
Scandinavian countries and the USSR. With their strategic location within each
district and their presence even in the smaller towns, libraries form a coherent
network covering the whole country. Their success lies in the fact that they
attract a population of most widely varying ages and interests and that, instead
of confining themselves to lending out books, records, tapes, engravings and
pictures, they arrange exhibitions, lectures, theatrical performances, programmes
of slides and concerts. To a lesser extent, but with striking success in some
cases, the museums likewise organize theatrical, film and musical events, sometimes
a long way from any town. It is, indeed, an established fact that the number of
young visitors (between 10 and 25) to almost all the world's museums has
enormously increased since 1950 and that it is continuing regularly to grow with
the spreading of more accessible and lively museological practice. The majority
of those joining conducted tours abroad do not miss a single museum in the country
they are visiting, whereas at home they are oblivious of the existence of museums
and archaeological sites alike.

G.   Central multi-purpose facilities

12.   The most popular cultural buildings, however, whether in ancient towns of
whatever size or in new urban complexes, are those housing the multipurpose
centres, adaptable enough in design to suit a variety of events liable to occupy
differing amounts of space and to last differing lengths of time. The vast
cultural centres opened in the more prosperous of the chief towns of provinces
or regions possess several auditoriums, a large exhibition area, a library, a
record library, meeting halls and a cafeteria. Certain of the "community centres"
("houses for all") in such countries as the Federal Republic of Germany also
contain craft shops, games rooms, old people's clubs, sports premises including
a swimming bath and an out-patients' clinic and a crèche. Such buildings are
expensive and may in the long run place a heavy burden on the community and
frequently involve difficult management problems. Experience shows that it is
essential to go carefully into the problem of their exact location, so that they
may be accessible to all potential users, especially users from those sectors of
society generally thought to have the greatest need of them; these are the sectors
within which consumption of the products of an élitist culture is felt to be
neither necessary nor attractive and in which no provision is made for spontaneous
cultural activity.

H. Local cultural facilities

13. There are no such difficulties in the case of more modest establishments which claim to serve only a single district, industrial firm or village or even a street or group of blocks of flats. The builder is not always given the responsibility of providing the appropriate premises; in fact, such omissions are frequently reported in the case of new residential areas planned on too rigid lines. Several countries nevertheless have an impressive number of youth clubs, cultural centres, clubs, activity centres, etc. In Finland, for example, there are over 10,000 trade-union cultural groups, in Poland 23,000 youth centres and clubs, in Czechoslovakia 8,000 "rural cultural institutions" and in Japan 14,000 "cultural centres".

I. Inequalities in facilities and activites

14. In actual fact, figures of this sort are no more than a reflection - though an important one - of the assistance provided in different countries by the national or local authorities or bodies (whether municipal, trade-union or political) for cultural initiatives on the part of certain strata of the population - the young people, in particular - who would not have easy access to the regular centralized facilities. The phenomenon is most striking of all in rural areas which were long neglected. But the figures give us little information as to the nature and value of the activities proposed or the facilities offered. It is true that statistics on music and the drama provide data which may be compared from one place to another (and it is, for example, significant that in Hungary, for a population of 10 million, there should be as many concerts per year attended by as many people as in France where the population figure is 50 million); but it would not be of much use to discover, for example, that a given country in North Africa had set up three times as many cultural clubs as some country or other in Latin America. It only too often happens that, after providing more or less adequate premises for cultural activities, a local community is unable to provide the hoped-for equipment or, more serious still, the qualified staff to run the place.

J. The impact of cultural facilities

15. As for the influence of the multipurpose institutions, the very few studies made in the matter - most of them in Europe - indicate that such establishments serve between 5 and 10 per cent of their local population, except for certain big "community centres" which are used to a greater or lesser extent by as many as 50 per cent of the local households. No inquiry made so far gives us any authority to estimate the effect on the ideology, aesthetic sense or even general knowledge of the households concerned. At the most we may quote statistics from Japan tending to confirm the opinion of the sociologists, for whom an abundance of institutions does not necessarily mean highly intensive cultural life for the population. According to these, men over 20 devote 51 hours 14 minutes to their work every week, 4 hours 38 minutes to the reading of newspapers, over 20 hours to television, and 15 minutes to "cultural activities", including shows and concerts. Women spend only an average of 26 hours working outside their homes, and spend another 26 hours watching television, but apparently "culture" takes up 23 minutes of their week.

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K.   Radio and television

16. It is clear in any case that those cultural facilities which are generally recognized to be a necessity and which public opinion demands of the planners and developers, do not suffice, at the present day, to fill the needs of society as a whole. In addition, for the majority of the population of a town or village the influence of the theatres, concert halls, libraries, museums, clubs, cultural centres and even cinemas is far less strong than that of radio and television. Now these media play an immense part in cultural integration, since they simultaneously offer all strata of the population, irrespective of their origins, incomes, occupations or level of education, exactly the same performances, educational material and emotions. Meanwhile, they scarcely serve to increase the creativity of the listener-viewer. Further, while they obviously in no way affect town planning, they may have a totally negative effect on the organization of cultural activity in towns and villages.

L.   Organized activities, celebrations and festivals

17. Now such activity, where it exists, may be the actual product of an authentic community cultural life or the immediate occasion for it. Indeed, if actively participated in, a national or local culture will afford a large number of very ancient customs capable of attracting a larger portion of the population and attracting it more spontaneously than public events organized with the aid of specific facilities. There are, to begin with, the religious buildings: it is probable that the Japanese referred to earlier did not include in their "cultural activities" the time spent at the public ceremonies which are organized by all the sanctuaries in the country. No cultural institution could artificially compete with the great pilgrimages, whether Buddhist, Hindu, Christian,or Moslem, which have given their shape to monuments, towns and landscapes and continue to leave their stamp on them. In Africa, Asia and Mexico, religious rites and feast days still provide, in their displays of dances, costumes and craftwork and in the decorations put up in their honour on the houses and along the streets, a testimony to a culture which is not mere repetition and ritual but also continuous creation resting on traditional foundations, at once social and religious. These ceremonies, whether solemn or joyous, take possession of their town or village surroundings, reveal their underlying structure, and restore to them a meaning which goes beyond appearances and the daily round of existence.

18. Even when they have grown, or appear to have grown, entirely profane, they may still continue to serve this purpose. There are several towns, notably in Europe and South America, some of them owing their reputation almost entirely to their processions, fairs or carnivals, which are seen by their inhabitants in their true guise only on the occasion of these popular gatherings which for several days give them an entirely different aspect. Other towns which lack such traditions themselves enjoy the festivals of their immigrant minorities. To cite only one example, Chinese ceremonies serve periodically to liven up a number of ports in the United States and Canada.

19. A similar attraction is exerted by musical, theatrical, dance and film festivals, a late nineteenth century invention which has proliferated everywhere during the last 20 years. These are a source of enormous profits for the towns which organize them. Their cultural influence is particularly visible in the case of small towns which were poorly off in this respect until their institution. In practice the most traditional celebrations are frequently taken over by the authorities to be turned into major tourist attractions and care is not always taken to preserve their authentic character. Where they truly interest the population as a whole they defy systematic planning.

M.   **Art in the public thoroughfares**

20. Other innovations are to be observed in an as yet limited number of large towns where artists are making their influence felt. Those local authorities which encourage painting or sculpture along public thoroughfares show, in so doing, that their aesthetic preoccupations take precedence over administrative routine (as also over their desire for memorials commemorating the past). In some cases, opinions differ as to the attractiveness of the statues gracing the pavements or piazzas. But no one seems to question the general desirability of making sculpture or cheerfully painted walls a familiar feature.

21. It may also happen that very straightforward measures on the part of the town planners lead to immediate and unexpected revelations of cultural aspirations and potentialities. Where the city council closes squares and streets to motor traffic and hands them over to the pedestrians, the space thus made available is often taken over by painters and young musicians. At no expense and with no complications involved, the townspeople, while rediscovering their town, rediscover the ways and means of an art of living.

III.   HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AS SYMBOLS OF A CULTURE

22. Human settlements are not merely a background which favours cultural activities to a greater or lesser extent; they are also, or they can be, cultural entities or symbols. They are held to express the culture of the people that fashioned them; in other words, to express that vaguely defined but immediately recognizable whole made up of that people's habits and customs, beliefs, ancient and modern institutions and social and political practices. Such, until our day, has been the opinion of geographers and historians, for whom it has been an obvious fact that, for example, Rome symbolized and fully expressed Roman culture, Peking Chinese culture, and Bruges Flemish culture and that the same was true of Moscow, Benares Isfahan, Kano and so on.

A.   **A criticism of contemporary town planning**

23. This judgement should be set side by side with the accusations of insignificance levelled today at the settlements built during the last century or so, particularly the districts and suburbs built after the Second World War

and the new or satellite towns. These are said to reflect no more than the state of technical progress achieved, the urban population's rate of increase and the financial efforts of the State or the developers. Here, it is claimed, is the explanation for the curiously dull character of modern town building, uniform from continent to continent, and of a character which leads it to be supposed that the builders, whether famous or anonymous, have absolutely no need of that cultural individuality which is admired in their distant forebears. It is frequently remarked that, while so coherent a culture as that of Islam has expressed itself in a Muslim style of town planning, easily recognized in Tunis or Fez, for example, that same style is completely absent from the renovation work done in Cairo, Baghdad or Tripoli, which is identical with similar work done in Manchester or Bucharest. And even if it may be imagined that in 1975 there exists a German style of town planning different from the Turkish or Brazilian, its characteristic features are certainly less obvious than those which, 50 years ago, distinguished Stuttgart from Salvador de Bahia or Istanbul.

24. The masses of concrete or glass, used to form towers, beams and cubes repeating themselves indefinitely, appear to obey a universal law of inevitability, even in countries which are underindustrialized and underpopulated. The builders are the first to admit that such residential units are not on the whole built in response to preoccupations of an aesthetic nature, and still less in order to express spiritual values; it would seem, in fact, that such housing always has an emergency character, even where it is claimed to have been planned.

25. The architects at whom these criticisms are levelled defend themselves by stressing that the large scale planning they are obliged to do (since physical planning must obey economic planning) is essentially intended to provide the greatest possible amount of shelter at the greatest possible speed. Hence it has nothing to do with a planning inspired by a search for transcendency or prestige on the part of the population as a whole, or at least on the part of a ruling class; and there is no resemblance, either, between present-day town building and the building of towns in the days when society believed itself to be obeying a cosmic order of things. Nevertheless, they add, deliberate orientations, references to the heavenly bodies and to the "centre of the world", and symbolic significances in hills, waters and the great public buildings are not to be found only in the sacred cities archaeology has revealed to us in Indo-China, Egypt, Mesopotamia or Central and South America; they also determine the structure of Chinese or Chinese-inspired towns (such as Kyoto or Nara) and of most of those ancient towns in India and Europe which have preserved their original plan. *

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* The tradition that any town worthy of the name had been at its origin bound up with unifying cosmological or mystical conceptions has only fairly recently died out. Several well-known Utopian thinkers continued to subscribe to it even after the industrial revolution. Further - even setting aside Salt Lake City, built in 1847 in accordance with the plans of the New Jerusalem referred to in Chapter 48 of the Book of Ezekiel - this same tradition exerted a decisive influence as late as 1857, when Mandalay was laid out in accordance with the canons of Buddhism.

B.   Functionalism and priority for housing

26.   In the present context such remarks appear anachronistic. However, they enable us to draw attention to a characteristic phenomenon of the present day which goes a long way towards explaining that insignificance for which present day human settlements are criticized. This is the precedence given to housing over the other functions of the town, particularly its political and religious functions, which are not even mentioned in the average theoretical work on town planning. Yet since the very beginning of urban civilization towns have had numerous different ultimate reasons for existing; these may or may not have obeyed a stricter or less strict order of precedence and may have possessed varying degrees of permanency, but they have always been essentially public in character. It is still generally recognized that these ultimate ends go far beyond housing requirements, even though these are no longer considered as nothing to do with political activity. Where a town's or district's reasons for existing involve a mixture of commerce, skilled trades, industry and entertainment, living there means, first and foremost, taking part in these activities; at the same time, these activities call for human intercourse and determine its nature, and may lead to the creation of those original urban institutions which characterize a community. The very simplest rural settlements, if they are inhabitable, are subject to this same complexity. The reason why villages were founded in all countries in the world was not primarily that there was need for collective shelter but that it was necessary to organize farming, fishing or markets, provide armed protection for the labour force and livestock and, above all, gather human beings together around a sanctuary.

27.   In our day, for the first time in history, buildings are being put up by the hundred or thousands under the title of "towns" for the sole purpose of accommodating families and providing them with consumer goods, or, in other words, for purely private ends which are absolutely universal. This being so, one cannot be surprised that the resultant rows of huddled cells with their thoroughfares and supply depots should be lacking in any particular significance.

C.   Ancient towns and live towns

28.   Realization of the above facts has already led to important changes in the attitude of the planners, and the need to diversify and integrate the new towns is now on the agenda. It is thus possible that such towns, laid out around open spaces and public buildings which are different (and quite unlike the present administrative or bank buildings or the so-called "shopping centres") may in their turn come to be the expression of the sociological idiosyncrasies of their builders and those who live in them, their ways and their hopes.

29.   Meanwhile, that cultural crisis which is an undeniable reality for the majority of such populations is leading to growing interest, particularly in industrialized countries, in the villages of the pre-industrial area and in ancient towns. Town dwellers in such countries are amazed at the human settlements created by a peasant civilization which to them appears so very distant, though it is only a few years since it began to die out. For example, the small country towns of Europe are the final stage in a cultural evolution which actually started in neolithic times and reached its heyday in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

30.   Other types of villages appear to be of still greater interest. In Asia and Africa we find them to be entirely significant. Certain examples which have been studied at length (especially in Mali, Ghana and Cameroon) provide the demonstration that human settlements may possess highly complex social and metaphysical systems no matter how simple their techniques; they are even the foundation and the guarantors of such systems. Their architectural forms and their arrangement hold messages which are inexhaustible, provided, that is, that one learns to decipher them. Such traditional units, closely bound up with the society which conceived and interprets them, are ill able to resist changes in ways of living; their perfect cohesion tells us how fragile they will be.

31.   Ancient towns, frequently known as "historic" towns, are a little less seriously threatened. At the outset, care was bestowed essentially on their most famous monuments, which were listed and sometimes zealously restored; but now there is growing realization of the value of their over-all form and fabric, their minor buildings and their setting as a whole, and increasing care to preserve them. Their populations now see in them a successful cultural achievement and a cultural continuity which combine to form what it is agreed to call a "patrimony", whether national or even international.

32.   It is a striking fact, meanwhile, that those who take up the defence of historic towns and quarters are not seeking to preserve them merely in order to pay honour to the masterpieces of the past. The reason they demand the right to live there is also - and primarily - that as human settlements they find them more human and alive than the others. The essential attraction of the historic town would thus appear to lie in a layout difficult to imitate, in which practical purposes and historical periods are equally mingled. For the authors of the ever more numerous pleas in their favour published by professional bodies and citizens' associations, ancient towns are still models of urban design.

D.   Changes and demolition

33.   In reality, the concept of a "historic unit" covers a wide variety of things, from cities of legendary fame to small country towns whose story is known only to a few initiates, overpopulated towns swarming with life to villages lying in ruins, towns of a homogeneous character built over a short space of years to towns which have developed without interruption over the centuries, towns or villages which are distinct entities to districts preserving, within their present day urban surroundings, no more than a vague identity deriving from their anachronistic character, central cores or towns and outlying districts swallowed up as the urban area has expanded, isolated historic towns remaining intact owing to an interruption in their growth, or ancient towns surviving among the new towns born on their doorstep but indifferent to their existence as they spread in other directions.

34.   The common denominator of all these units is the precarious nature of their future. It suffices for their survival to be questioned for them to become "historic".

35. They are generally held to be ill-adapted to contemporary life. Where the political, religious, military, cultural and economic activities which were their raison d'être have moved to other areas or disappeared with fading beliefs, techniques and social customs, they in fact lose some of their original functions and are awkward in their fulfilment of those they still retain. Their very habitat undergoes profound changes once the wealthiest or more dynamic section of the population moves out into the new towns. Upper class houses are let as flats and become the refuge of a low income sector of the population. Such tenants are unable to pay for upkeep, and the owners - with the aid of the authorities, who let it be supposed that demolition is on the way - cease investing anything in such property, on the principle that, whereas the walls must bring in a short-term profit, the building site alone represents a capital whose value must necessarily increase as time goes on. The shops change their style to suit the requirements of relatively underprivileged groups with a simpler style of living and take their share in giving the district its new appearance: that of a temporary quarter for new arrivals, to be compared with the shanty towns which grow up on the outskirts of the big towns.

36. Such districts, rejected as such by the community, are thenceforward doomed, within a space of time which will depend on the degree of pressure from the speculators, to be demolished in the so-called interests of public health and as part of a town planning programme in which immediate profitability and traffic requirements take absolute pride of place.

37. Obviously such a state of things is not to be found in all out-of-date historic towns and quarters; while some are empty, others are overflowing with life. There are also some which have preserved their prestige or recovered it.

38. Logically, urban expansion should not lead to the disappearance of ancient centres and districts. However, industrial civilization is the first civilization to possess at once the financial resources and the technical means required for mass destruction followed by almost immediate reconstruction to designs which are totally different.

39. The alternative seen to be most frequently adopted at the present day still consists of either the destruction of districts declared to be insalubrious or else the preservation of the place as a "museum town" appreciated by initiated persons and used by a privileged class.

E. The search for new solutions

40. The national and local authorities who envisage the preservation of a district, town or historic site have generally progressed beyond the stage of mere pleading on behalf of cultural property; yet it is rare for them not to have to combat arguments and practices of the above types.

41. However, the desire of the authorities to preserve ancient quarters, which formerly rested on the conviction of art historians and connoisseurs, is now backed up by a public opinion more alive to such problems than in the past and

actively opposed to wholesale destruction, and responds increasingly to preoccupations of a social and economic nature. It is doubtless necessary to achieve recognition of the intrinsic value of a city or quarter, assert its distinctive character and remind one's public of the value of cultural heritage. But it is at least equally useful to demonstrate to the community which is to preserve the urban area in question that it will be acting in its own interest just as much as out of duty.

42. It is in this direction that the search for new solutions is being conducted today. Solutions to the problem may vary enormously from one country to another, according to social structures, traditions and political set-ups. In some, pride of place is given to the authorities, whether federal or centralized, while others are based on private initiative; some are essentially dependent on planning as a means of solving the problems connected with the integration of historic quarters into contemporary life, while in other cases the initiative with regard to preservation and revitalization is left to well-organized local communities possessed of generous financial means.

43. But in all the countries involved, it is obvious that the implementation of a policy of preservation implies coherent and co-ordinated public action both at government level and at the various regional and local levels.

44. There are two areas in which this is particularly so, i.e.:

    (a) Legislation and official regulations; and

    (b) Economics and finance.

    1. Legislation and official regulations

45. Very few Governments indeed have included in their legislation the fundamental idea that an ancient town is one whole urban unit and not just a collection of monuments. In most cases the historic area is still no more than an aesthetic background which is also a tourist attraction.

46. Nevertheless, systematic inventorying of areas interesting for their layout or architecture is tending to become more widespread. Generally this is merely with a view to conservation: revitalization as a worthwhile proposition is either not mentioned or mentioned separately.

47. Yet a trend is definitely developing at the present time. It may be anticipated that, within the coming years, every country will be led to adopt specific legislation in which the following four principles will be asserted:

    (a) The unity and homogeneity of ancient towns and villages considered as such;

    (b) The absolute need to treat the conservation and practical use of historic areas as going hand in hand;

(c) The need to prepare plans for preservation and revitalization as part and parcel of the plans for developing the town and area;

(d) The need for the local community to have a share in both the planning and the implementation of the measures decided on by the central authorities.

48. Already in administrative practice this trend is reflected in the creation of urban sectors to be preserved and revitalized under the responsibility of several different authorities: those who are responsible for the cultural heritage and those in charge of town planning, regional planning and equipment.

2. Economic and financial measures

49. For many Governments the necessary prelude to any action in this field is the combating of speculation in land and building, which is particularly lively in historic centres. This is a crucial problem which does not arise in countries where the land is State-owned.

50. A typical example is that of Italy. The new building law passed by the Italian Parliament introduces the principle of expropriation of owners of buildings in historic centres and, where assessment of the corresponding compensation is concerned, rules out any possibility of using the area thus made available for any building purposes, and even any increase in value as a result of urban development within the locality.

51. Apart from the problem of speculation, the main stumbling block everywhere today, regardless of the political or administrative system, is the inadequacy of the financial means allocated for the conservation of urban historic areas and the still worse inadequacy of those available for revitalization.

52. Generally the central departments in charge of the conservation of a nation's monuments have only ridiculously small credits available for the preservation of ancient buildings listed as such, and they are little inclined to devote a part of their modest funds to the preservation of whole areas and their surroundings, which may involve work on non-listed buildings or even on roads and general infrastructure.

53. Those Governments which are the most highly conscious of the part played by historic centres in the life of society and their importance in the context of the problems relating to habitat, attempt to break down these barriers by adopting or examining measures for providing communities and individuals with financial aid.

54. Such assistance may take several different forms, i.e.:

(a) Over-all operations, as in the case of the French "conservation sectors", where the public authorities take over the whole of a sector of limited size;

(b) Contribution to the cost of the external building work, as, for example, in England, under the "town schemes", where the State pays, for instance, for the rebuilding of the walls and leaves it to the owners to pay for any interior improvements;

(c) Partial assistance for the improvement of the habitat; or

(d) Lump sum subsidies to encourage owners to rehabilitate inherited property. In such instances private and public action are co-ordinated and supplemented from miscellaneous contributions from foundations or private persons.

55. As a general rule, the trend is more and more in the direction of exempting historic quarters from land taxes, taxes on real estate and death duties.

56. However, though such measures may appear justified and adequate, they remain dependent on budget possibilities. In France, for example, where the State makes a very visible effort, subsidies have been granted for the restoration of 3,000 dwellings in operational units lying within conservation sectors, corresponding to a total area of 27 hectares (68 acres). If the whole 2,150 hectares representing the total area of the present conservation sectors were to be afforded the same treatment, it would take 420 years to collect the necessary funds, assuming the budget remained constant.

F. Culture and the part played by the public

57. In the circumstances, it is, in the last analysis, the citizens who are made to bear the responsibility for the possible survival of their historic quarters, whether through initiatives on the part of the owners or whether, as in Great Britain, through private individuals meeting together in well-organized and effective local and regional associations. The National Trust is the main body concerned with the preservation of the ancient urban units belonging to it, which are generally a part of the big estates made over to it or left it as a legacy. Here the role of the State is primarily to co-ordinate private initiatives and provide superintendence at each of the various levels.

58. In reality effective participation on the part of the population in the revitalization of a town, quarter or village is a very rare phenomenon in any country. Yet it is universally agreed to be essential.

59. We may say in conclusion that the preservation of historic towns, which are privileged cultural treasures, thus emerges as one particular aspect of the general problem of the cultural identity and significance of any human settlement. The value and meaning of a settlement can derive only from the attachment of its inhabitants. For those who freely participate in the construction of their environment, its management, its defence and its existence, such an attachment is feasible.

Part two

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. This paper which seeks to base itself equally on qualitative as much as on quantitative data reveals manifold contradictions in the field of habitat and education, the main ones being the disparity between MDR and LDR and the town-country gap and the man-woman gap. But the hoped-for emergence of a twenty-first century global and universal civilization makes it indispensable that each country and its culture make a substantial and specific contribution to both architecture and urbanism and to the methods and objectives of education.

2. The causes of these deprivations in the sphere of human settlements and education lie in the international division of labour, the discrepancy between town and country and in the exploitation of the working classes. Specific educational practices can succeed only if these are first integrated in a more substantive sharing and dissemination, which also aspire to a new cultural, social and educational balance.

3. If one stops short with stereotyped thinking in regard to the cost of education or the arrangements for the urban and rural areas, then we will never find a solution to the MDR and the LDR gap. But if one has confidence in working populations, inasmuch as they are the bearers of cultural values, the innovators for a community and also responsible for their own educational experience, then the benefits and worth of educational systems will quite surpass the simple expectations of commonplace financial investments.

4. There exist several possibilities and options which, in the long run, will allow us to minimize the startling inequalities in the domain of housing and education. Among these are the acquisition of cultural autonomy, freedom from imitations of foreign models of consumption, the founding of a new global economic order, a new equilibrium between urban and rural and the upgrading of inherent endowments and cultural values.

5. In the MDR, the shortfalls of conception of pure economic growth and its re-assessment furnish us with a historic occasion to re-equilibrate the social system through the development of democratic life and the vigour of cultural forces. Thus, the school and town variables dependent on production, in their turn, will accordingly be able to orient industrial society.

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II. THE ASSESSMENT

A. World-wide trends in housing and education: qualitative and quantitative aspects.

6.   Contrary to the methodologies frequently used in reports of an international range, the study that follows is not circumscribed by quantitative comparisons and parallels.

7.   Under the guise of highly scientific forms, estimates and decisions of significance are propagated through statistical usage, as a consequence of which the most advanced countries appear to be universal models. In the elucidation of world-level relationships between human settlements and education, qualitative criteria become as important as quantitative criteria.

8.   Each of these separate cultures are creators of architectural forms and moulders of spatial solutions genuinely adapted to local environments. Besides this, the traditional elements of housing also include the active contribution of various populations as well as the framework of their lives (material location, artisanship, self-constructed buildings). Modern techniques and their fruition, which take into account the above functional elements, satisfy requirements and reduce costs. This has already been realized in Egypt under the direction of Hassan Fathy. Many similar projects are extant in other countries of the third world. For example, there are the regional centres for research, for the improvement of techniques vis-à-vis materials at Baghdad, Kumasi, Teheran, Lomé and Roorkee.

9.   In education as a whole, certain modes of knowledge and instruction, not as specialized or as standardized as in Western civilizations, also have a viability and congruence at certain local levels. An example of this is expertise in the field of agriculture. To deny such cultural resources because of a circumscribing matrix of superstition or to refuse to re-utilize supplementary modes of imparting knowledge only because they differ from the accepted methods entails a considerable wastage. Moreover, this wastage cannot be assessed or discerned through the mode of criteria which is based on the cultural system of more advanced countries. But this immediately becomes evident in the course of an investigation, both qualitative and quantitative, of the social subjects assessed.

10.   Quantitative comparisons are essential to ascertain the phases and to hasten the awareness of the immense effort required to enable less-developed countries to achieve victory over misery and poverty.

11.   Qualitative considerations upgrade spiritual richness, the ecological balance of man and his environment and the equilibrium of pre-industrial social relations, which contain such valuable education contents that it is not merely a question of preserving these behind tourist show-windows or in ossified reactionary régimes.

12.   Regarding this entity of human values, the interdependence of human commonalty and the flow of everyday life which contains the art of living, the advanced

countries can profit from backward countries to solve their own post-industrial problems, such as those of self-alienation which stem from urban life and industrial nuisance.

13. In this manner, the search for a new equilibrium in the developed regions can nourish and maintain itself on cultures from all over the world. Similarly, the "take-off" of the less developed countries can draw sustenance from the experience of more advanced countries. These two complementary tasks could lead to much desired repercussions in the policies of housing and education.

14. The world-wide urbanization of whole populations, linked to industrialization, can currently proceed at a quick pace - that is, at a growth of 40 per cent over a 10-year period, appertaining to towns with populations of over 20,000 inhabitants.

TABLE I

World population, rural and urban 1800-1970 (in millions) based on
"Urban Anthropology" by Peter C. V. Outkind.

Year	World-wide	Rural	Urban	Town 20,000 +	Metropolis 20,000 +
1800	978	948	29	23	16
1850	1,262	1,181	80	54	29
1900	1,650	1,425	224	151	90
1950	2,502	1,795	706	566	406
1960	3,013	2,018	993	809	592
1970	3,628	2,229	1,399	1,169	863
Growth rate %					
1800-1850	5.2	4.5	22.5	18.2	11.8
1850-1900	5.5	3.8	22.7	22.8	25.6
1900-1950	8.7	4.7	25.8	30.1	34.9
1950-1960	20.4	12.4	40.7	42.9	45.9
1960-1970	20.4	10.4	40.8	44.4	45.9

TABLE II

World population, rural and urban. Projections 1970-1975
Source: The UNESCO Annual Statistics for 1973.

(Numbers given in ('000,000s))

REGIONS		POPULATION				Annual growth rate		
		Total	Urban	Rural	% of urban pop.	Total	Urban	Rural
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GLOBAL	1970	3,635.2	1,353.5	2,281.7	37.2	2.02	3.17	1.38
	1975	4,028.5	1,584.6	2,443.9	39.3	2.08	3.20	1.38
	1980	4,467.3	1,875.0	2,581.3	41.5	2.09	3.21	1.33
	1985	4,949.1	2,198.1	2,735.4	44.4	2.07	3.17	1.25
MDR	1970	1,084.2	698.8	309.4	64.4)	1.0	1.9	0.7
	1975	1,133.6	769.5	376.2	67.8)	1.1	1.9	0.8
	1980	1,196.3	846.5	361.8	70.7)	1.0	1.8	0.9
	1985	1,261.8	926.9	345.2	73.5			
LDR	1970	2,554.9	659.6	1,883.0	25.8)	2.5	4.5	1.7
	1975	2,888.1	826.7	2,049.3	28.6)	2.4	4.4	1.6
	1980	3,260.3	1,029.1	2,219.4	31.5)	2.4	4.2	1.5
	1985	3,671.6	1,271.2	2,390.2	34.6			

15. Singularly, in highly developed regions, it is possible to foresee the trend towards a complete urbanization by the end of this century.

16. The massive growth in school enrolment is also evident on the world level. The total of educational institutions, in 1970, received over 500 million enrolments (against 320 million in 1960), which consumed 16 per cent of the global budgetary resources. 1/

17. At the primary level, the world's student population surpassed 254 million in 1960, and exceeded 351 million in 1970.

1/ Report for the UNESCO Commission on Education: "Three Billion Students".
R. Faure. Editions UNESCO Fayard.

18. The goal of primary education for everyone in the LDR is a possible objective for 1985.

19. For secondary education the global figures for school enrolments grew from 66 million in 1960 to 130 million in 1970 and the rate of annual growth for enrolments is anticipated at approximately 3.2 per cent until 1985.

20. Table III below gives the information classified, by continents, for the general evolution of secondary education.

TABLE III

Enrolment and average rate of annual growth of primary and
secondary education (see UNESCO. Table I).

REGIONS	Year	Primary education		Secondary education	
		Enrolments	Average annual growth rates*	Enrolments	Average annual growth rates*
			%		%
WORLDWIDE	1960	254,649	–	66,111	–
	1965	310,266	4.0	101,323	8.9
	1970	351,425	2.5	130,011	5.1
	1985	468,902	1.9	209,330	3.2
MDR	1960	134,763	–	45,218	–
	1965	145,864	1.6	64,794	7.5
	1970	150,451	0.6	72,498	2.3
	1985	162,388	0.5	93,196	1.7
LDR	1960	119,886	–	20,893	–
	1965	164,402	6.5	36,529	11.9
	1970	200,974	4.1	57,513	9.5
	1985	306,514	2.9	116,134	4.8
AFRICA	1960	18,543	–	1,767	–
	1965	25,814	6.8	3,139	12.2
	1970	33,094	5.1	5,098	10.2
	1985	50,991	2.9	12,797	6.3
ASIA	1960	91,984	–	25,157	–
	1965	119,291	5.3	38,929	8.0
	1970	137,625	2.9	47,886	4.2
	1985	215,975	2.9	86,536	4.0
LATIN AMERICA	1960	26,517	–	4,038	–
	1965	34,403	5.3	6,725	10.7
	1970	43,546	4.8	10,709	9.8
	1985	64,435	2.6	24,919	5.8

   * These percentages are for the average annual rates of growth for the three periods 1960-1965, 1965-1967 and 1970-1985.

21. For higher education there has been a considerable increase in the enrolment of students. It topped 11,600,000 in 1960 and 26,850,000 in 1970, which is an average annual world increase of 8.8 per cent. Table IV below gives the total figures and the rate of growth by continent.

TABLE IV

Number of students in higher education and the rate of growth.

REGIONS	NUMBER OF STUDENTS			MEDIUM RATE OF ANNUAL GROWTH		
	1960	1965	1970	1960-1970	1960-1965	1965-1970
				%	%	%
WORLD-WIDE TOTAL	11,594,714	18,353,726	26,843,947	8.8	9.6	7.9
Africa	135,055	247,098	373,884	10.7	12.9	8.6
Latin America	569,151	914,078	1,614,790	11.0	9.9	12.1
North America	3,778,908	5,890,425	9,140,130	9.2	9.3	9.2
Asia	2,295,797	3,731,289	5,943,943	10.0	10.2	9.8
Europe	4,690,874	7,380,138	9,502,270	7.3	9.5	7.1
Oceania	124,929	190,698	268,930	8.0	8.8	7.1
MDR	9,399,190	14,677,813	20,778,381	8.3	9.3	7.2
LDR	2,195,524	3,675,913	6,065,566	10.7	10.9	10.6

Note: These figures do not take into account the following countries:

AFRICA: South Africa and Southern Rhodesia

ASIA: The People's Republic of China; The Democratic People's Republic of Korea; The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

22. Education is, in effect, one of the main indicators of the development of urbanization. A comparative study covering 36 countries, made in the 1960s by the United Nations, discloses a coefficient of correlation of R = 0.70 between the percentage of the urban population and the indices for schooling. 2/

2/ Urbanization and Economic and Social Change in International Social Development, Review No. 1. United Nations, 1968, p. 27.

23. Quantitative forecasts in education and in the field of urbanization are conditioned by the cultural contexts of different peoples and ethnic groups. These forecasts are further modified by every single change in the international economic and political status quo.

24. The statistical notion of disparity in the field of education between developed countries and the third world are, in this context, made doubly relative:

(a) Because advanced countries are not models meant for servile imitation: the determinative cultural contribution of illiterate countries intervenes and their spiritual quality can enrich humanity by its vocal and tangible skills, by its art and cosmogony, in the same measure as the intellectual prowess of a more literate civilization which has achieved modern technology; and

(b) Because the possibilities and options of development expand along with new vigorous relationships of economic and political power. The actions of countries who are exporters of basic raw materials foretell a redistribution of planetary resources such as will increase the capacity of third world countries to finance the endeavour required in the field of education.

B.   Disparities in the field of education and human settlements

25. Official statistics with reference to the models of education in developed countries reveal that the qualitative and quantitative gap between the MDR and the LDR is in the process of widening. Official norms disclose that this gap is also evident in environment, sanitation and in over-population.

26. Lack or weakness of policies in the field of health, sanitation and housing have unfortunate consequences on the viability of economic investments in education. The percentage of children between the age of 5 and 14 (school-attendance age) is very high in the countries of the third world. Similar percentages for the age group 25 to 45 years (individuals most valuable from the economic point of view) is, on the contrary, weaker than in MDR. That is to say the educational systems of the third world prepare a certain percentage of children who do not participate, or else remain for a restricted period in the labour market. For example, in Japan in 1970, 16 per cent of the population fell into the age group 5 to 14 years, while in Central America the percentage was 28 per cent. In Japan, for the same year, 32 per cent of the population was of the age group 25 to 45 years; in Latin America, for the same age group the proportion was only 21 per cent.

27. It was foreseen, between 1970 and 1985, that the total number of children under 15 years of age would increase to 450 million throughout the world and of these, 400 million would be in the LDR. The rate of population growth for the age group 5 to 24 years is 30 per cent for a 10-year period for the LDR, in contrast to 10 per cent in the MDR.

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28. At the same time, between 1970 and 1985, it was foreseen that the increase in the active population would be 42 per cent in Africa, 48 per cent in Latin America, 34 per cent in Asia and 16 per cent in the rest of the world.

29. This means that Africa, Latin America and Asia are likely to be faced with a rapid increase in expenses for education, followed by the increased need for capital required to create new posts, together with other specific investments in the field of professional training.

30. Another relevant factor is the rate of school attendance after six years of schooling. In 1960, in the MDR, 93 per cent of boys between 6 and 11 years continued with their schooling, and so the forecast is - 99 per cent for 1980. For girls, the figures were 91 per cent in 1960 and will be 99 per cent in 1980. In the LDR, these figures attain only 62 per cent for boys in 1960, with a decrease forecast for 1980. For girls, the figures were 52 per cent in 1960, with a slight increase forecast for 1980.

31. The situation is even more unequal in the MDR in regard to the ratio of students who enter school and of those who remain until the end of the 12-year period, 1975-1987: 49 per cent for boys and 39 per cent for girls in the MDR. During the same period, the comparative figure is 11 per cent for boys and 7 per cent for girls in the LDR.

32. Moreover, one must not forget that there is already a most perceptible disparity in the field of education. In 1968, $132 billion ($380 per inhabitant) was invested in the MDR and $12 billion ($11 per inhabitant) in the LDR. The widening of this disparity leads the educational systems to increasingly more uneven levels.

33. One must not, however, assume that these disparities are confined to school systems. The educational structure outside the school system creates inequalities even more striking, simply because the principal investments of the LDR have been in the schools and in universities. As an example, let us take two countries, in 1971, which fall into the first and second categories. As regards libraries, a country in the first category with a population of approximately 10 million inhabitants had a network of around 9,000 which loaned 50 million documents. The second country, with a population of approximately 16 million inhabitants, had two with an annual loan of 9,400 documents.

34. In the field of education, there also exist striking disparities between town and country and between urban centres and the peripheries. The ratio of schooling to the retention of students in schools is higher in the towns than in the country and the exodus of youth and adults also indicates that the initial educational investments in the rural sphere finally end up for the profit of the urban centres. For the year 2000, one can forecast urban populations of 81 per cent for the MDR and 43 per cent for the LDR. As far as it appertains to the MDR, the construction of schools shows an increase in urban and semi-urban zones, even in rural zones where school enrolment for the 1960s has been extremely poor. Let us remember, on this point, that even if the reduction of rural population maintains a 5 to 10 per cent rate between 1965 and 1985, it will not show any decrease in real terms.

35. The demographic analysis of populations shows that the town-country gap further increases between MDR and LDR and that rural populations will continue to be more significant in LDR.

36. With regard to this disparity between town and country in the field of education, particularly significant is the ratio that exists between those who enter primary school and those who complete a comprehensive course, in both town and country. For example, in Colombia, with an index at the national level of 17.3 per cent, the figure for town is 27.3 per cent and for country 3.7 per cent. In Guatemala, with a national index of 25.4 per cent, the figure for town is 49.6 per cent and for country 3.5 per cent. 3/

37. In relation to the educational establishments, children from an urban environment in Latin and Central America are able to complete the whole course at the primary level at the same school, at a proportion of 88 per cent against 34 per cent for the rural area because of inadequate scholastic facilities.

38. The marriage age, comparatively higher in towns, is also a factor that has to be taken into account because it bears a positive relation to the level of schooling.

39. The variable social class, in all societies, plays a role in whatever concerns school establishments and the quality of housing. In the LDR semi-urban zones, social classes will show a narrowing because educational services are apt to develop in a more selective manner in centres than in the rural areas. Social demands are sharpened without the reciprocal development in the educational infrastructure. In the LDR, urbanization, particularly in the towns, is not accompanied by any increase in revenues such as would permit a significant investment in education. The percentage of children without schools (58 per cent in 1965 and 30 per cent in 1985, and which, in absolute numbers, will increase from 164 million in 1965 to 405 million in 1985) will be composed of peasant children, untrained labour and urban unemployed, in environments devoid of social, cultural and educational institutions.

40. Sex variables also play a role in schooling. If, in the MDR, this variant is not sufficiently important at the level of higher education, in the LDR, however, this factor unquestionably discriminates against women at every level.

3/ See Statistical Measurement of Educational Wastage, UNESCO.

TABLE V

Number of female students expressed are a percentage of
total primary and secondary enrolment.

	1960	1965	1970
PRIMARY SCHOOLS			
A. COUNTRIES BY GNP PER INHABITANT:			
I - Below $120	35%	37%	38%
II - $121-$250	42%	43%	44%
III - $251-$750	43%	44%	45%
IV - $751-$1,500	48%	49%	49%
V - Above $1,500	49%	49%	49%
B. CONTINENTS			
Africa	37%	38%	40%
America	49%	49%	49%
Asia	38%	39%	38%
Europe	49%	48%	49%
Oceania	48%	47%	48%
MDR	49%	49%	49%
LDR	39%	40%	40%
World-wide	43%	44%	44%
SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
COUNTRIES BY GNP PER INHABITANT:			
I - Below $120	19%	23%	28%
II - $121-$250	27%	30%	29%
III - $251-$750	37%	41%	41%
IV - $751-$1,500	45%	44%	45%
V - Above $1,500	47%	47%	48%
HIGHER EDUCATION			
WORLD-WIDE TOTAL	33%	36%	38%
Africa	16%	19%	22%
Latin America	30%	33%	35%
North America	37%	39%	41%
Asia	23%	27%	28%
Europe	37%	39%	43%
Oceania	26%	28%	31%
MDR	35%	38%	41%
LDR	25%	29%	30%

Source: Statistical Reports and Studies - UNESCO 1960-1970.

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C. <u>Achieving autonomy of education and culture and consequences for human
settlements</u>

41. The tendency towards an independence of education and culture from its economic
logic and bureaucratic pressures is, on the whole, strengthened in both rich and
poor countries. During the 1960s the social agitations and contestations of
university students and later those of secondary school students impinged upon a
great number of developed societies: Japan, North America, Western and Eastern
Europe. These aims and the distinctive national disputations of a new type of
social struggle are less important than the deep-hidden currents which become
evident from them. The mass of students and their percentage in the most developed
countries became a new factor in the chronicles of humanity. Thus, in North
America, since 1970, there are more than 400 students for every 10,000 inhabitants.
(See table VI below.)

TABLE VI

Number of students per 10,000 inhabitants

Regions	1960	1965	1970
WORLD-WIDE TOTAL	55	73	97
Africa	7	9	12
Latin America	27	37	57
North America	190	275	402
Asia	27	34	48
Europe	73	109	135
Oceania	98	134	159
MDR	99	146	197
LDR	19	25	35

42. Even more important is the enrolment of a significant portion of youth in
higher educational institutions. For the class age-group 20-24 years, table VII
below shows that almost 20 per cent of young Europeans and approximately 50 per cent
of young North Americans take up higher education.

TABLE VII

Student enrolment in relation to the population:
age-group 20-24 years.

	1960			1965			1970		
	MF	M	F	MF	M	F	MF	M	F
WORLD-WIDE TOTAL	6.3	8.3	4.2	9.5	12.0	6.9	11.7	14.1	9.1
Africa	0.8	1.3	0.2	1.0	1.7	0.4	1.4	2.2	0.6
Latin America	3.2	4.5	1.9	4.5	6.0	2.9	6.7	8.6	4.8
North America	30.6	38.5	22.7	39.1	47.6	30.6	48.0	56.0	40.0
Asia	2.8	4.2	1.3	4.2	6.0	2.3	5.7	7.9	3.3
Europe	8.8	11.1	6.5	16.8	20.1	13.4	17.8	20.0	15.5
Oceania	15.1	21.5	8.2	18.6	26.1	10.8	18.6	25.1	11.8
MDR	12.5	16.1	8.9	21.2	26.1	16.2	24.5	28.6	20.2
LDR	2.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	4.2	1.7	4.2	5.7	2.5

M: Male enrolments in relation to the population of the same sex-age -
20-24 years.

F: Female enrolments in relation to the population of the same sex-age -
20-24 years.

43. To this quantitative phenomenon is added a qualitative realization which one
also discerns in science and research of developed countries. Physicians,
biologists and experts in social sciences are increasingly stepping in, in order
to control the use which is made of their scientific research. Institutions in
the education and science sector seek to affirm their own independent influence,
because of their strength and struggle to emancipate themselves from both
techno-structure and military complex.

44. Autonomy of education and culture has already had repercussions upon
settlements. School and educational settlements are conceived in closer relation
with the other human settlements. The campus, isolated and peripheral, no longer
has its significance at a time when the educators and educated strive to play an
appropriate role in political, social and economic life.

45. In the long run, educational institutions in the MDR are called upon to have
a radical transmission, such as will justify an influence even upon the modalities
of urbanization (cf. part III).

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46. In the less developed regions, the aims of education are no longer the training of productive elements ruled only by the criteria of short term productivity of initial investment. Other variables come into consideration, particularly the involvement in political, social and cultural life. The original experience of the Chinese Cultural Revolution should be regarded in this perspective.

47. Because of the increase in the absolute figures for rural populations in the statistical expectations for the year 2000, the reshaping of educational models of certain countries of the third world implies an upgrading of the intrinsic value of the rural areas, within the framework of a policy designed for a balanced management of land use. If the right to education for all humanity becomes the aim of educational systems, the rural areas will take first priority in educational assessments; one will have to ask peasants and labour to participate vigorously in the formation of educational systems, the objective of which is the strengthening of the participation of the masses, from a social, cultural and political viewpoint, in the making of society. The schools of rural China are seeking to identify themselves with local conditions and specific needs of the population with mobile schools erected on boats, travelling schools under tents and in the mountain regions, that are but a few examples of original approaches to achieve education of scattered populations far from urban centres.

48. Some important experiences of decentralized educational activities in the rural areas took place through voluntary activities in literacy in the interior of different countries: Cuba, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Senegal and others. The aim was and is to allow the participation of the whole population in the building of their society and the rupture of the differences in educational systems between town and country. The voluntary participation of school and university students working as educators surpassed the normal scope of expansion of the educational system linked to the increase in the GNP.

49. The enhancement of the educational role of workers with their technical skill and social and political awareness is also another approach which permits the establishment of new relations between town and country and among the social classes. The peasants and workers accordingly have the means to shape the educational, cultural and political life of their country. In this case, it is no longer the metropolis or the civil servants of a centralized bureaucracy that dominates and advocates the policies and function of education. The method of Freire and the educational "nuclearization" of Peru, the "Ujama" villages of Tanzania and those of the liberation movement in the ex-colonies of Portugal (Angola and Mozambique) are, from the cultural and educational standpoint, but examples of educational work based on an active participation of the peasants of these countries.

50. Under these conditions, the peasant population is concerned with the educational activities and inclined to participate in a direct and free manner to create the schools and to transform them into active centres of production and vice versa (educational evaluation of centres).

51. If one is struck with the stereotyped thinking about the cost of education, there will never be a solution regarding the disparity between the MDR and the LDR; but if one places confidence in populations inasmuch as they are bearers of culture and active members of a community accountable for their own educational experience, then the value and worth of educational systems will surpass the simple logic of financial investments.

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III. CONDITIONS FOR ALTERNATIVES

A. <u>The necessity for alternatives in the global reallocation of resources</u>
   <u>to achieve reductions in disparities in housing and education</u>

52. These preliminary remarks permit us to observe that, at a global level
there is an increasing disparity within the domain of education itself. The
alternatives in the one pedagogical sphere do not appear to be a remedy to reduce
this gap. The preliminary needs, in the first place, must forestall or permit the
reinforcement of the economic, social and educational policies. Beginning with
this reconstruction, one is able to foresee functional educational systems helping
the development of these societies.

53. The dependence, to a large degree, of the economies of several countries and
the social and international division of labour are the chief factors causing
malfunctioning of these educational systems. That is, the rapid growth of
services, the stagnation of a deformed industrialization and the lack of
investments in agriculture merely help to strengthen such educational systems whose
objectives are the duplication and the prolongation of a parasitic tertiary class.

54. If one compares the situation in 1975 with that existing at the beginning
of the century, one is aware that the disparity between per capita incomes is
still growing. This means that the international exchange has worked out to the
profit of the MDR. The international division of labour accentuates and provokes
inequalities in education. A striking thesis has been set out 4/ which foresees
the world divided into three kinds of countries: firstly, the countries with
primary education, producing basic raw materials; secondly, countries which have
attained a level of secondary education and can carry out production and processing
of basic materials; lastly, at the highest level where everyone has both
university degrees and work in industries constituted to undertake intensive
research. The requirement in the quality of a labour force has turned into an
element which strengthens division of labour.

55. In taking up and re-examining this international division of labour, the first
aim is to reduce the town-country gap in those developing countries.

56. A more equitable incomes policy at this level is an indispensable condition
to reduce disparities between the educational choice offered in towns and rural
areas.

57. An integrated economic policy, centred upon the development of non-sectoral
rural areas linked to the development of crafts and industry with strong
emphasis on manpower, will become a necessary requisite for an independent start
and for the autonomous growth of many societies. These economic claims and
priorities allow a deeper integration and equality between the urban and rural

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4/ J. Galtune, C. Beck and J. Jaastad "Educational Growth and Educational
Disparity", UNESCO, 1974.

populations and, moreover, give them means to escape from their precarious state of penury.

58. It is fitting to remember that the rural population, though diminishing in percentage (5 per cent to 10 per cent between 1965 and 1985), will still increase in total numbers. If one accepts the above integrated economic policy, then the peasants will be able to organize their own educational centres according to their practical needs, make room for a folk and rural culture and, in the educational programmes, upgrade the oral tradition so as to introduce into their systems of education such educators who will affirm this culture and whose competence is linked to the actual and living needs of the development of rural communities. Some African countries are already committed to this course of procedure.

59. Due to lack of finances within these communities and the need to invest capital in agriculture and basic industrialization, the demand is for less costly educational structures, so that the effects of production complement the meagre budgets: all this without, in any way, working at cross-purposes with these educational centres, which will remain at the disposal and service of the community for all possible requisite training.

60. A policy of transportation will allow the integration of the urban and the rural communities, so as to lead them out of their educational and cultural isolation.

61. In order to achieve a new global sharing and allocation of resources, the objective must not only be quantitative and the methods not just aimed at getting things to work and limited to the struggle against the economic preponderance, but it should equally be an educational and cultural affirmation in each country of the LDR, and this latter remains the basic requirement for the destruction of existent machinery of exploitation.

62. The causes responsible for the human settlement and education gap lie in the international division of labour, the friction between town and country and the exploitation of the working class. Any exacting measures undertaken in the domain of education will succeed only if these are assimilated into more comprehensive actions which also aim at new cultural, social and economic equilibrium.

63. Cultural dependence often indicates the acceptance of foreign models of development foisted on the dependent country. These models, over the decades, have appeared as the only practical ones but, in truth, they have yielded meagre results and, in the main, have served to worsen the dependence of the host country.

64. It is clear that the basic and preliminary condition for a new sharing of the world's resources lies in the capacity of each country to rediscover its very own model of development. This reappropriation will also make it possible to surmount the problem of policy of aid, but also aims at preserving a policy of national and regional independence. That is, the enlargement, at the regional

level, of the work for economic and political independence will also be an opportunity for a new sharing out of resources in most of the LDR.

65. The acquisition of cultural independence by the LDR can also create most important economic results: independence from foreign models of consumption, new equilibrium between town and country, development and autonomy of national leaders and opinion makers and the upgrading of natural and cultural work.

66. The denial of cultural freedom results in ill effects not only in the cultural domain. For example, take the consumption in the domain of human settlement and of education. This is a consumption which is in the process of increasing quantitatively in most countries of the world, but this increase often occurs in a restricted manner and consequently impairs the development of these societies. These imported and costly educational models are imposed upon many countries, which causes minority groups to consume an inadmissible portion of the GNP and national budget to satisfy their educational needs. This occurs sometimes in the management of the areas used for construction and sometimes for luxury school edifices propped up by policies of real estate speculation. It also weighs heavily upon the economy of several countries, diverting critically needed wealth for the use of urban minorities.

B. The alternatives in the more developed regions (MDR)

67. Since the end of World War II, economic growth in the MDR has had a priority to which the school and town had to adapt themselves. The policy of full employment of State assisted industrial investment and economic growth for the sake of growth, have been the unwritten rules of Governments inspired by Keynesian thinking.

68. In the 1970s, the prospect of a prolonged economic crisis came as a challenge to the established model, coupled with the threat of inflation and unemployment. The concept of an important social and cultural qualitative development, in this instance, has appeared as an alternative to the quantitative growth of supplies and public services. The qualitative adaptation of the need for manpower alone allows readjustments by sectors and avoidance of stasis in opportunities for employment. That is, if the State succeeds in guaranteeing employment for all in the coming years, then the only function proper to towns and management of human settlements will be that of education and development.

69. Material and human resources exist in developed countries. A forceful effort can lead to a reorientation as States take cognizance of the urgent need to have another kind of civilization. At that time, democratization of the socio-political life and the opening out of educational and cultural opportunities will become corrective to the obsessions of production-consumption and also for the hypertrophy of economic life at the very heart of the MDR.

70. From the outset, the reversals of prospects show, for example, that Tokyo, with a prodigious economic rise in the 1950s and the 1960s was also confronted by a brutalizing urbanization of the habitat with a population of 14.9 million

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inhabitants for greater Tokyo. This has resulted in a total disequilibrium of industrial investment and its dependent sectors and of what the Japanese have named "social investment". Today, resources are channelled into housing, education and public services. This social investment corresponds to the qualitative alternatives demanded by the citizens of post-industrial societies.

71. On the other hand, the outlook of a total urbanization in the most developed regions is being increasingly admitted as a testimony to the description of the Oecumenopolis - the universal city - heralded by Doxiadis. This modern megalopolic complexity of overcrowding and congestion, of the multiplication of social problems and incidence of crime, is epitomized by New York.

72. What, in this over-all picture, is the alternative to the inordinate agglomeration of 20 million inhabitants for whom all the facilities available do not succeed in giving them even essential services, except at the cost of an enormous wastage?

73. In the field of education alone, restricted to the town not including its suburbs, official statistics enumerate that 1,122,000 children and 70,000 teachers daily crowd into 900 schools that are run with the assistance of 43,000 municipal employees; 440,000 children go to private schools while 147,000 students and 9,000 professors/staff attend the 23 universities attached to the town. The blockage of an ungovernable school system has forced towns strongly to decentralize the administration and to depend, instead, upon local associations which possess both educational and administrative independence. There exist two ways in which this gigantism, the blockage as well as the slow-grinding wheels of bureaucracy, can be mastered: by means of reducing the density of the urban network and by democratizing social life up to the level of districts and municipal sections. The responsibility of the burden of education, and also of transportation and re-housing leads to radical restructuring of the towns by its inhabitants. Herein resides the chance to control unmanageable metropolitan cities. However, this way of participation and of decentralization of the hardcore of decision-making conjures up a financial obstacle: the indebtedness of towns. The following regional capitals of Western Europe in 1974 clearly illustrate this position:

<u>Municipal indebtedness</u>

Frankfurt	1,500 million DM
Genoa	50 billion lires
Grenoble	357 million francs
Manchester	420 million pounds/sterling

The debts and liabilities contracted end up by tying the hands of the organizers of these towns, vis-à-vis the State or private capital. The social tensions and the complexities which surround cultural and ethnic minorities are inherent problems of large towns. Often the decay of old and ancient localities works towards a concentration of the subproletariat or "lumpen" confined to ghettos, which worsens social segregation. The willingness - notably by busing - to

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reintroduce a mixture of national groups into the schools does not suffice, for it is necessary to work out a policy formulated for the rehousing of immigrants or of racial minorities, and devise a type of schooling for these children which hinges on dual cultural models.

74. In the fight against traditional or hereditary culture, these complexities partake of a broader cognitive awareness. For, even if the gross number of graduates from the working class increases steadily, there will still remain a considerable inequality facing schools. The developed socialist countries have managed to rectify this inequality. but even the example of the recent Polish reform of such systems demonstrates that this task requires a substantive and sustained effort. The aim and object of this equality of opportunities is not so much cultural as economic and social structural reform.

75. In order that this economic growth may proceed swiftly on to social and cultural development, it has become imperative to attain a profound change of relations between different groups and classes. But urban populations need to master the distinctive architectural outlook of the new human settlements.

76. The problem posed by the speeding-up of history and today's amazing techniques deployed for urban and rural development, can be mastered by education and by self-management, which should become the objective of all the inhabitants faced with a collective apprenticeship for the management of their new environments.

C.   Alternatives in the less developed regions (LDR)

77. The new international economic order is preliminary to alternatives in the LDR. But, it is also necessary to keep in consideration the nature of the cultural, technical and educational conditions. That is, the possibilities of the latter should also become a decisive element in the dynamism of the new international economic order.

78. The wealth and the cultural and educational potential of the LDR do not display quite the same features as are seen in the MDR. The opportunity for participation and the obstacles to this participation have conflicting characteristics, which it is necessary to set out and specify.

79. In this manner, utilization of potential resources of traditional environment in the LDR operates on two complementary levels:

    (a) The traditional social structures can be re-employed as a means to popular participation;

    (b) The architecture and the technology of traditional environments can also lend themselves to re-utilization in rural and semi-rural areas, i.e. as materials, local workmanship and suitably adapted forms.

80. In the suburbs of Dakar, five urban zones make up the quarter known as "Pikine". This includes the "Pikine ancien", the "extension", the "loti récent", the "cités" and "irrégulier" with a population of 200,000 inhabitants of whom

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many live in slums and insalubrious shanties. So it is clear that any influx
of rural people to the suburbs of Dakar merely swells the percentage of idle
labour. School equipment and facilities are almost non-existent. Some schools
are scattered about the semi-urban complexes; there are, above all, from two to
three Koranic schools in each quarter. The schemes for the renovation of the
slums, particularly of Pikine "irrégulier", have recourse to the artisans and
local talent that is utilized for constructions by concentrating on the amelioration
of health and sanitation and of collective facilities.

81. With regard to the European-type school, architects and urban experts involved
admit that these schools merely turn out unemployed and migrants. So, without
neglecting indispensable literacy, above all it demands that one accept the help
of existent organizations and functional groups: on the one hand, of political
organizations like the Union Progressiste Sénégalèse, on the other, of traditional
organizations. Thus, local leaders, chosen by the people, the council of leading
figures, the organizations for mutual help, the ethnic organizations (notably the
Toucouleurs) or women's committees are capable of introducing a new dynamism into
the projects of renovation, as well as the religious organizations, the Dahiras,
the traditional meeting places (the "tours de thé") and the theatrical and
recreational associations which participate in the transmission of education and
in undertaking complete charge of the project for renovating Pikine.

82. Similar experiments can be observed in many countries of the third world.

83. The alternative is actually to profit from the revolutionary and the creative
potential of the people whose endowments and talents exceed the monetary and
economic worth. There exists a cultural, social and technological skill which
needs to be effectively exploited. In these communities, there often exist
several levels of solidarity which conduce to a collective and mutual apprenticeship.

84. The above alternative demands bringing education even closer to the needs of
the communities and of their development. Buildings, public works, agriculture,
health, are the pressing requirements of these family units and of their
communities. Education should be capable of responding to these needs by
transforming and adapting its contents, its structure and its methods.

85. The alternative proceeds by a strengthening of the systems of information and
transmission. The upgrading of local languages plays a central role because
an introduction of these into the educational experience makes it possible, from
that moment, to avoid discrimination, the division and segregation of those
social groups who have not mastered foreign languages.

86. A policy on the means of traditional and modern communications, congruent
with the aims and scope of development, is also a solution to problems of social
and geographic segregation; cultural dependence or independence are closely
bound to the quantitative and qualitative choice of information and communication
policies.

87. The project of the policy of "life-long education" becomes the melting pot

for educational policies. The crisis of teaching in schools has its origin not only in its present inefficiency or in the rising cost of education, but equally in the shallow and restricted systems of education.

88. Thus, the societies in a state of crisis or in the process of change and transformation, the people who are fighting for their independence, do not neglect their learning or their education, and the acquisition of knowledge is not circumscribed by time or circumstances.

89. An innovative role for leaders is a necessary condition for alternatives in the domain of education. These will need to draw their justification from the working class, they will have to be integrated into the masses and, furthermore, free themselves from the domination of foreign models.

90. One must also consider new relations between education and production. In traditional peasant life, these relations are always constricted because education is never conceived as something isolated; modern schooling advocates a clear, incisive break between work and education; in contrast to this, modern industry and the tertiary group have tried to re-introduce the harmony and balance between education and production, but through a narrow professional training which, in the LDR, promotes interest in only a segment of the population.

91. The solution is not to be found in this way, but in the creation of new and functional relations between production and training, above all in agriculture and also in the traditional sectors of the economy of these countries.

92. In Indonesia, an effort has been made to promote cottage and handicraft industry, in order to ameliorate the conditions of village life. Similar pilot experiments have been carried out in India, within the framework of the Bhoodan movement, where the aim is not to gain diplomas or even to acquire expertise parallel to Western techniques, but rather the knowledge and skill which are of practical use. In certain African countries, the co-operatives for both production and integrated vocational training lead pupils firstly to cultivate and commercialize their products and secondly effectively to use their resources to produce sport and cultural facilities.

IV. ENLARGING THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

A. Human settlements and education confronted with changes in ways of living

93. The policies for human settlements and for education, influenced by the changes in the ways of living, in their own turn reactivate the daily life of the users. But this logic is dependent upon its specific position within the developed regions and the less developed regions. In the MDR, this means financing technology and administration for the housing of existing populations. But the inhabitants of large cities today seek collective facilities and the possibility of varied assurances for achieving numerous kinds of fulfilments within an aesthetic framework of life. The free movement to urban living has essentially become a problem of the quality of life in the human settlements with their rapid rate of increase. This concept covers a broad span of leisure, of interesting work as well as economic growth and technical change better mastered, therefore less brutalizing. The substantive development of education is considered to be attained in the MDR, and this, in the collective awareness of the advanced countries, represents one of the pillars of "gross national happiness", as evoked by Sicco Mansholt, to which urbanism and a distinctive architectural outlook should equally contribute.

94. In the LDR, the substandard facilities in housing and schools remain the fundamental issue. The change in the way of life takes place at the crucial junction of a traditionally well-balanced but conservative society and a new-born industrialization too often overly-dependent upon foreign sources. The exigencies of a sustained rise in the standard of living in the less developed countries, replace the aspiration of the MDR for a better quality of life. To maintain this status quo, the LDR requires sizeable capital and investments in the LDR which, with rare examples (for example in Africa) have to face a demographic increase of 2.5 to 3 per cent.

95. Part of the task of educating classes of huge numbers of young students is to anticipate both urban and rural employment and to solve the problems of slum towns and insalubrious settlements, if one wants to move out of the confines of a pre-industrial society which can stand to benefit from modern technology.

96. To circumscribe and seize these problems more fully, it is necessary to make certain definitions more precise: the concept of education and the concept of people held accountable for education.

97. Education, for a long time assimilated to the development of mental faculties, today takes on an enlarged meaning for the individual and the group. From a socio-psychological approach, education includes all activities which promote the fulfilment of individual and collective opportunities, as well as physical and manual skills along with sensitive, artistic and intellectual ability.

98. How should one class those responsible for education? The essential criteria is that of the chief function of these educators:

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(a) Whether the educational function is the chief one: for example the school.

(b) Whether the educational function is a secondary one: in the factory, the phases of vocational training are secondary in respect to the needs of production.

99. Another important criteria in the study of the relations education-human settlements is that of the local placement of educators:

(a) Whether the work of these educators is localized: one speaks of an establishment with an educational function (this is the case of the schools or of the factories mentioned above).

(b) Whether the work of these educators is diffused and their spatial placement is not a determining factor. One speaks of an institution with an educational function: this is the case of the family or various and different social movements.

100. By combining the two criteria, functional and spatial, this study employs a fourfold classification of educational structures:

Local placement	Educative function	
	Primary	Secondary
Determinant	Type 1	Type 2
Non-determinant	Type 3	Type 4

Classification of educational structures

Type 1: Institutions exclusively educational

101. Usually, these institutions are schools (primary and secondary schools and university) or out-of-school education (for example: family planning centres). These are usually public institutions. The choice of their setting is thus manageable and, to this extent, it can influence the pace and operating conditions of urbanization, especially on the measures that make operative that paradigm centralization-decentralization.

Type 2: Institutions designed for secondary education

102. The work of these institutions has an impact on every sector of social life: economic, political and even health. But what is important is that they can offer

a portion of their material and human resources, more or less important, according to the circumstances, to the process of being educated. Thus, a hospital annexed to a faculty of medicine will create a new convention of a university-hospital which will work to diversify its functions so as to assure the training of future physicians.

Types 3 and 4: Social structures and movements

103. In order to present these hypotheses, types 3 and 4 are herewith regrouped in social structures and movements with an educational function. That is, whether the educational impact is, or is not, their chief purpose, the family, associations, unions or, even more, mass communications, all institutions of this kind have common ground: their localization in human settlements is not a determining factor in their activity; however, they are able considerably to influence changes in ways of living. Because they can transmit and modify ideals and values, these structures and social movements modify the socialization of the individuals according to the distinctive conditions of the MDR and LDR.

104. An analysis of the propensity of these educational systems permits us to note the contradictions, on the one hand, between the change in the ways of life and the new prospects of education (learning), and on the other, the rigidity of educational systems. In particular, the analysis of the tendency in the nursery and the primary level makes evident the amplification of the concept of education a necessary alternative.

105. The extension of nursery education and a new role in this field for the departments of national education show, in several countries, the transformation of the family system and the role of women who refuse to play only a family role and who participate more in community life. Urbanization and industrialization are the other factors in the promotion of a generalized nursery educational system whose development encounters resistance among those who want to preserve the traditional role of the family and the financial constraints in the poorest communities. But the tendency towards the extension and the integration of the nursery sector into the education system is common to many countries, and statistics attest to a definite progress in the pre-primary domain.

106. At the same time, traditional primary schools, especially in low-income countries, have become a source of unemployment which hits increasingly harder those who have finished the primary phase than illiterates or those who have not finished their primary education. Consequently, the need to re-examine the contents and the methods of working of primary schools, whose purely preparatory nature for studies of secondary teaching does not correspond to the needs of the development of several societies. This development has its initial stages in the transformation of a primary school into an educational centre whereby the whole population can share educational activities and where the educators respond to the needs of training as expressed by the communities on work, housing, health, transport, leisure and artistic life.

107. The aim of many educational systems is to reformulate their concepts on basic education. This has already been the object of experiments in several

countries. The overcoming of the contradictions between town and country, between intellectual and manual work, between peasants, labourers (factory workers) and civil servants is facilitated by a different concept of initial education.

108. Regarding the introduction of the peasant/workman culture into educational activities, it is essential to integrate learning carried out in educational institutions into the understanding of everyday life (for example: practical education in Gabon). But these educational institutions do not seem equipped to keep alive the oral tradition of these cultures, their scientific acquirements nor the wealth of their profound experience of life.

109. Basic education must extend beyond the limits of primary schools in order to become an education to which everybody has access: infants, youth and adults. Furthermore this basic education cannot be considered as anything but the first stage of a global project for lifelong education. Communities, parents, workers and migrant workers all need educational programmes which go further than mere basic initial training.

110. The international social division of labour is deepened by a basic education which is not designed to give an equitable response to the needs of all those which could profit from it: from the outset, among the educational systems, there are privileged students who have the opportunity to continue an uninterrupted schooling within the educational system.

111. The educational policy in the LDR was aligned towards universal education at the primary level and, generally, one can state that both school and university systems have been privileged. Minimal investments have been reserved for non-formal education which is better placed to respond to the specific developmental needs of every country. Moreover, investments in secondary and university education have been confined to towns causing an exodus to the towns by people who would not, otherwise, have left the rural areas in such massive numbers; this could have been avoided if adequate social and educational facilities had been foreseen for the rural areas.

112. The orientation towards universal schooling has not yielded the results anticipated. Several countries have invested 4 per cent of the GNP and 18 to 20 per cent of national budgets in education. 5/ In the LDR, on an average, not more than half the adult and infant population profits from education.

5/ See table VIII.

TABLE VIII

Investment and recurrent cost of education

(for insertion into previous page No. 23)

	Total expenditure in percentage of the G.N.P.		Percentage of the total government expenditure		Recurrent costs in percentage of total recurring costs		Investment in percentage of the total investments incurred	
	1966	1971	1966	1971	1966	1971	1966	1971
AFGHANISTAN	-	-	-	12.3	-	15.6	-	-
BURMA	-	3.2	-	18.5	-	18.8	-	7.5
COSTA RICA	-	5.2	-	28.8	-	-	-	-
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	2.7	2.7	14.5	14.4	18.1	20.0	1.8	6.1
EL SALVADOR	-	3.6	-	25.5	-	28.5	-	23.8
GREECE	-	2.6	-	9.8	-	-	-	-
GUATEMALA	-	1.8	-	14.5	-	18.0	-	5.1
INDONESIA	-	2.1	-	18.8	-	18.8	-	5.1
KOREA	4.2	5.4	17.9	18.2	-	-	-	-
MALI	-	3.7	-	25.7	-	25.6	-	5.8
NICARAGUA	-	2.2	-	20.0	-	-	-	-
PAKISTAN	-	1.8	-	7.1	-	-	-	5.9
PHILIPPINES	3.0	2.1	28.3	17.7	-	-	-	4.6

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113. In the LDR, the forecasts of the 1960s for the rates of schooling to be achieved in 1970 have not been realized. Take, for example, the case of Africa: the Addis Ababa plan anticipated a growth rate of 15 per cent for the secondary level, and 71 per cent for the primary level, but the rate achieved was in fact 6.34 per cent and 46.16 per cent, respectively.

114. In the case of the Addis Ababa plan for Africa and the Karachi plan for Asia, the demographic underestimate has been a decisive factor, but it is necessary to take into account the poor performance of the educational systems and the increase in the disparities within the same regions; that is, the decentralization of the educational systems has not taken place in Africa, Latin America, not even in Asia, and the internal disparities of these regions have increased.

B.   Educational institutions and human settlements (MDR)

115. In post-industrial countries, the growing needs for more comprehensive economic aspirations have been the target of many tentative approaches; 24 social and basic necessities assuring the well-being of the populations have been regrouped by OECD under eight headings: health; development of personality by acquisition of knowledge; quality of everyday life; leisure; welfare and available services; ecological environment; security; and participation in cultural life. The social indicators of quality of life, in the first place, concern architecture and urbanism responsible for housing and those cultural, educational structures responsible for education.

116. There is a fundamental need for innovation. It is remarkable to verify that creativity manifests itself first in institutions of types 3 and 4.

117. The phases of diffusion of the innovations produce a delay in the time required for transmission and, in principle, it works according to the following pattern:

    Types 3 and 4   ———> Type 2 ———> Type 1

Innovation in the educational and cultural sectors

118. It is clear that the educational innovations and initiatives take place first in institutions responsible for the socialization of all age groups, and that this encourages the traditional schools to reform pedagogy, or simply school architecture; here we have a phenomenon which proves that, in the urban and educational society, the transmission of knowledge affects all aspects of urban life and that its boundaries coincide with the main social practices. The important concept in the actual structural plans of polyvalent areas is useful for describing the multiple ways of using the urban centre. Educational facilities are integrated into the main local and regional facilities.

119. The concept of polyvalent space is exemplified in the house of glass in Dronten, Holland. The architecture possessing such transparency in this vast central space is also the hub of local activity. Every day, this area is the

setting for the people's market, a sports-ground for children, a theatre and a conference hall for adults. This innovative use of space, now such a rarity, in response to need, also contributes to saving funds. During the two-and-a-half days when the school is empty, the premises can be put at the disposal of the community, provided that an effective control over the facilities can be exercised.

120. Apart from this, the hierarchy of urban centres, according to the scope of their influence, enables one to establish the requisite criteria valuable to the hierarchy concerned with educational facilities. The primary centre is for university and research use (between 200,000 and one million inhabitants).

121. In the secondary centre, there are secondary (high) schools and colleges for vocational education (between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants). At the level of the tertiary central ring, families avail themselves of the primary and pre-primary facilities. The boundaries which define these levels of "centrality" vary from one country to the other, but it is important to note, at the same time, that the idea of the "Russian dolls" by interlocking and dovetailing, also applies to the urban and educational plan. This same observation, applied to developed regions, reveals that, in the field of urbanism, the structure and the elements of urban centres again reflect the new impact of education. Education and culture work by a fusion of contemporary urban forms while they diffuse only the information in industrial towns. In this manner, one of the main new French towns, Lille-Est, conditioned to absorb 10 per cent of the demographic growth of the regions in the North, i.e. a target of 100,000 inhabitants in 1985, is, today, already polarized by the university and the higher tertiary class. Here, the educational facilities have been envisaged in order to create the structure of the urban centres and human populations.

122. The growth of personality and leisure and the increase in opportunities for education require innovative concepts in the framework of the post-industrial megapolis. The dissemination of education establishments throughout the urban complex is only one aspect of the problem. It is imperative to reduce the density of populations, for example, by integrating them into the green belts. It was quite fitting that the Green Belt Act was initiated in London, capital of the country which started industrialization, and this collective willingness to solve the contradiction of town-country also made London the first great city to preserve rural zones in the perimeters of the great urbanization. This concept of the green belt is also to be found in Moscow, in Ottawa (the Greber plan in 1950 with 50,000 acres of territory in the south of the city) in the Polish towns and in Western Europe. The green belts penetrating right into the heart of the towns are natural zones of equilibrium functioning as "lungs" of the great metropolis. This applies on every occasion to areas almost wholly managed by agriculturists but on which the managers impose facilities for rest and recreation. The example furnished by Ranstadt is interesting, because Holland has the world's highest population density. This ring of urbanization functions as an inter-meshing of 70 towns (like Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague) with a green centre at Ranstadt. The large areas of forests and parks, natural and protected, make possible a visual assuagement and psychological solace for the residents of high-density metropolitan zones.

123. In England and Wales, 17 per cent of the territory has been made into parks or zones of exceptional natural beauty. The policy of national parks in all heavily industrialized towns irrevocably includes the conservation of land. Faced with the challenge of excessive concentration of populations, scarcity of space and hyper-organization, it is necessary for the inhabitants of the more developed regions to think up a new way of life and somehow learn a creative adaptation to their new environment.

C.   Educational institutions and human settlements (LDR)

124. Substandard educational facilities and scarcity of housing are one of the aspects of poverty in the countries of the third world faced with pressing and even hopeless deadlines, if there is delay in the establishment of a new world economic order.

125. Growth and rise in living standards are basic priorities. But the road to development has not been defined by all industrial countries of the western hemisphere. There does not exist any immutable way or fixed scale which can lead an agrarian society to a post-industrial level. Many diversified experiences have been established and from this it is necessary to learn specific ways and means for every individual nation.

126. The countries of the third world have inherited, from the colonial period, an education system based upon western models leading to wastage of resources. In the same way, the dependent urbanization in Africa, Latin America and South East Asia favours large towns and ports linked to world-wide trade.

127. The influx of uprooted rural populations to the slum towns, which encircle the metropolis, further worsens social disparities. In theory, the regulation of the movement of migrant workers pre-supposes a decentralization of activities, where the rural management and village schools play a decisive role.

128. The developed countries have experienced two contradictory phases: an excessive urbanization followed by reduction of population density in towns so that the citizens could better be situated in the complexes of human settlements. These two phases have exacted a heavy price regarding damage to ecological environment and in the aggravation of social frictions. The question arises whether or not it is possible for some of the third world countries to industrialize and, at the same time, achieve a town-country equilibrium.

129. Since the beginning of their socio-economic take-off, the Chinese model of de-urbanization advocates the industrialization of the countryside by means of small scale units of production.

130. Some precise experiences have been undertaken throughout the third world, but without the planned and systematic character of the "great leap forward" of 1958. In China, industrialization was first carried out in coastal urban centres, thereby reinforcing inequalities between the littoral regions and the interior of the country. The total number of towns with populations of over a million

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inhabitants grew from 9 to 17 during this period, showing a rapid growth of urban population which is demographically estimated at the minimum rate of 7.6 per cent/ year for the period 1949 to 1960.

131. The reversal of tendencies of the 1960s was not merely a quantitative de-urbanization. The creation of popular communes and the diversification of rural areas, especially for education, has for the last 15 years induced a massive return of populations to the country. However, the total figures of density of towns remains considerable. The lesson we can extract is that the creation of an original model has allowed fundamental transformations in the reorientation of management and activities: those of the economic sector, of political mobilization and also education - beginning with country and rural population.

132. The Chinese de-urbanization does not possess a more universal applicability than the western models: however, it does illustrate the scope of using specific national ways and means.

133. The enrolment of children in primary schools, without taking into account their separation from the family environment, introduces both wastage and excessive prolongation of the school attendance (repetition of grades). The first consequence of this is that these schools turn out students who are socially maladjusted, uprooted from their own environment and faced with the impossibility of finding employment in the urban sector. In some cases, as in Morocco, families have been spontaneously active in controlling this form of wastage: the family will not invest in education for more than one child per family.

134. Another problem particular to the LDR is that of remanagement of the suburbs and urban and semi-urban slums. This is the case in Caracas (3 million inhabitants of which over one third live in "ranchos" or shanty towns). The Government is disposed to limit these by its policy of buffer zones of self-made facilities and by transit camps. But one can nevertheless see that the number of these "ranchos" will have doubled between 1961 to 1990, the date by which they will occupy approximately 15,000 acres in the metropolis of Caracas.

135. The basic problem is to re-think and reformulate educational systems and their contents, in terms of autonomous development, free from the traditional models of the highest developed countries. The overcoming of the town-country contradictions implies a popular experience, decentralized, unique and, thus, differentiated from the parallel experiences of advanced countries. The progressive upgrading and enhancement of informal education, which is the new element in several countries, requires land use and education policies which also allow the upgrading of the structures of Types 2, 3 and 4 (see page 21) and the development of fresh relations between the above and Type 1. With such a prospective outlook human settlements and the attendant problems can develop into a major theme of research and social and educational action.