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EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT
IN LATIN AMERICA (1950-1975)

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The Social Structure in Latin America

The guidelines which oriented Latin American development with more or less force, depending on various epochs, until the first half of this century approximately, formed a social and economic structure whose principal characteristics could be summarized as follows:

- a) A strong link with foreign markets based on exports of a principal product, generally agricultural or mineral, which demanded, as counterpart, imports of manufactured products.1/
- b) A dual social structure, strongly associated with elements of ethnical differentiation, which was less significant only in urban centres because of the presence of middle class sectors connected with business and the State.
- c) A political system with oligarchic base, partially questioned by urban middle class sectors which would only demand participation in the structure of power without, however, affecting the model of growth imposed by the exporting groups.
- d) A cultural and educational system which gave symbolic legitimacy to the differentiations contained in the social structure. The high and middle sectors, mainly urban and racially white, controlled culture and its means of communication. Meanwhile the rest of the population, living under different ethnic and linguistic conditions, was outside the channels through which knowledge was spread.2/

Obviously, not all the countries in the region shared those elements to the same extent. The availability of natural resources for export, the supply of labour, the degree of agreement or disagreement among the dominant sectors, etc., led to different national conditions. Those different conditions demand a certain caution when an attempt at generalization is made for Latin America as a whole. In addition, the different nature of national experiences has increased notably in the last quarter of the century because of the different ways in which countries readjusted themselves to the changes introduced in the centres of international power and the various approaches which have prevailed in each one of those centres.3/

In spite of these differences, some aspects of the structural changes produced in the last 25 years can be mentioned as characteristic of the region as a whole. They will allow us to place in an appropriate framework the propositions contained in this paper in connection with the educational system.

The oligarchic and mono-exporting social structure was seriously questioned after the crisis of 1930 and, particularly, because of the conditions created in the context of the second World War. The breakdown of links with foreign markets, protectionist trends in the importing countries and internal conflicts encouraged by the mono-exporting model, led to the exhaustion of the model and the emergence of new approaches which, in certain

cases, resulted in structural modifications of some significance. The first consequence of this crisis was the need to resort to the internal supply of manufactured products, especially those for direct consumption. The process of industrialization thus created used relatively simple and labour intensive technologies. The urban centres grew rapidly and new social forces emerged with political weight. In those countries where the process was stronger, the political oligarchies representing mono-exporting sectors were replaced by populist regimes expressing an alliance between sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie, labour unions and, in some cases, the armed forces. However, the conditions that made possible that process of substitutive industrialization within the framework of populist regimes changed substantially around 1950. On one hand, the prices of exports -which had assured remuneration for agricultural sectors without seriously affecting their interests and, at the same time, provided the financing for the process of industrialization- decreased significantly in the international markets. On the other hand, substitutive industrialization had already passed the first phases of development and was confronted with difficulties, usually found in advanced stages, such as the impossibility of further substitution of consumption goods and the increasing need for capital goods. Under these conditions, it was indispensable to invest more than what was usually devoted to the replacement of equipment and machinery in use. Such additional investment could only be obtained in a dependent capitalist economy at the expense of the usual investment or by resorting to some form of external financing. Furthermore, it should be taken into account that, both in the international situation and in the development of capitalism there had been some important changes which led the central countries to increase significantly their pressure on peripheral countries to place capital and industries in those countries. Economic penetration appeared basically through investments in industry by means of local subsidiaries of foreign companies or by partnerships of foreign capital with national companies. Economic activity concentrated gradually in a few monopolistic units which incorporated modern technology. The consequences of this process have already been discussed on many occasions and a general consensus exists that they played an important role in the inability of industry to produce employment as fast as the active population expanded.

Together with the new industrial model, the distribution of income also concentrated gradually and the aspirations and programmes of agrarian reform, which had started slowly in the previous stage, suffered seriously in most countries. In some of them, the situation has even worsened and in others the capitalistic modernization of agriculture for industrial or exporting purposes has accelerated the process of decomposition of rural labour without providing for alternative employment.

In spite of these limitations, the social structure of the region has gone through important changes as compared to that existing before the beginning of industrialization. The significant growth of urban population was accompanied by the increase in tertiary activities, in which the State played the most dynamic role. The dual social differentiation of the preindustrial phase is also undergoing noticeable changes. The medium level groups linked with tertiary occupations have increased constantly, while

in the low level groups there are clear indications of differentiation between those working in the modern sectors of the economy and those outside them.

Urbanization has also raised the need to ensure certain basic social services (education, health, etc.) under State administration, and, as such subject to pressures from the various social sectors.

The consequences of these changes in the educational system are many and different. An attempt will be made in the following discussion to summarize the main trends, through the analysis of fundamental problems existing in each of the levels of the system. Obviously, the brevity of this paper requires a summarized presentation, in which only the most noticeable characteristics of the process will be reflected.

Literacy and Primary Education

Latin America has made notable progress in the last quarter of a century in the areas of literacy and primary school attendance. That progress is observed in the adult population as a whole, but it is more significant among youth. If the population between 15 and 19 years is considered, it may be noted that, while in 1960 one out of four was illiterate, in 1970 the rate had decreased to one out of six. By the same token, while in 1960 the average rate for primary education in the whole region was 70.7%, ten years later it had increased to 86.5%. *

However, averages for the region show a homogeneity that is far from real. Internal dissimilarities continue to be very high in the area of illiteracy and primary education, much higher than those obtained from data of secondary and higher education. While some countries have been practically able to eliminate illiteracy among youth, others still have rates of more than 40%. Similar differences are noticed in the implementation of compulsory primary education, which is far from being achieved although it has been a stated goal since the last century.

Although the rates of compulsory primary education show a significant growth in the last 25 years, various factors which make that expansion relative could be mentioned. The most important -and the only one discussed in this paper because of lack of space- concerns the results achieved by that system. Even in the countries of higher educational development, the percentages of students enrolled who are not able to complete the cycle of compulsory schooling continue to be very high. Data on drop-outs among recent cohorts show, for instance, that out of students enrolled in first grade only the following reached the 6th grade of primary education: 14 in Brazil, 19 in Nicaragua, 21 in the Dominican Republic, Honduras and Guatemala, 30 in Paraguay, 32 in Colombia, 38 in Peru, 42 in Ecuador, 53 in Argentina, 54 in Venezuela, 60 in Panama, 61 in Bolivia, 64 in Uruguay and 76 in Costa Rica.^{4/} In most of the countries, the highest drop out rates occur during the three first years of school. For this reason, learning of the basic skills of

* For all statistical references, see the tables in the appendix.

reading and writing is not duly achieved and it is lost in a few years due to lack of practice.

What is the reason for the significant progress achieved by some countries and continuing backwardness and slow advance registered in others? In order to answer this question, it may be interesting to provide a short historical description of the various factors involved in the elimination of illiteracy in the industrially advanced countries, as well as in the countries of the region.

As is known, the reasons which historically promoted the process of achieving universal literacy in Europe and the United States were essentially political and not merely of an economic nature. That is why the process was mainly in the hands of various social agents not linked with the State (religious institutions, political parties, labour unions, etc.) and developed in a way relatively independent of compulsory education.^{5/} On the other hand, the situation in Latin America was entirely different. Literacy was almost exclusively the result of an increase in the number of schools, which was promoted specially by the State.^{6/} These factors seem to explain both the significant expansion observed in some cases and the slow progress noted in others.

The process of expansion of compulsory education being tied to State initiative, was subject to budgetary limitations as well as to the ability of the various social sectors to exert political pressure. In this regard, there have been cases where groups able to use political pressure promoted education beyond the limits required by productive development; while in other cases, high and middle sectors used their superior capabilities to influence the State to orient the scarce available resources for their own benefit.

Examples of the first cases are those countries which started the process of elimination of illiteracy in the second half of the last century (Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica) by virtue of needs of national integration and formal political participation. In more recent times, the same needs were behind the progress achieved by countries such as Peru or some of the small nations in the Caribbean, with serious problems of national integration emerging from ethnic as well as linguistic factors.

At the other end of the spectrum are the countries where the expansion of literacy and compulsory education was adjusted to the requirements of production. In these cases, the rate of expansion has been notoriously slower than in the others and it has not been able to change the situation of important sectors of the population, mainly those living in rural areas, which are kept marginal by the economic system.

In this respect, statistical data show that the higher rates of illiteracy and low primary school ratios are linked with weak indicators of urbanization. Among the many aspects involved, the fact that a very high percentage of the rural population has diverse cultural origins is of particular relevance in Latin America. In addition to the difficulties

typical of the rural environment to solve the problems of expanding education (population dispersion, temporary migrations, low levels of income, malnutrition, etc.) there are those resulting from the barriers imposed by the presence of communities with their own linguistic and cultural standards.7/

Historically, those linguistic and cultural standards served to strengthen the marginal situation of Indian communities in the socio-economic system. In short, the isolation of these communities during four centuries shows clearly the limitations of the process of development, unable to incorporate the whole population into the labour force.

In this respect, the problems involved in overcoming that isolation are of a very different nature. This is not the context for a detailed discussion of questions relating to ethnic discrimination, but the fact is that there are two problems of special relevance. The first relates to the characteristics of the process leading to literacy. In this case, literacy appears as a synonym of learning Spanish. Thus, requirements imposed on methods and policies for eradicating illiteracy are qualitatively different from those already known and tested in more homogeneous linguistic and cultural contexts. The second problem refers to the productivity of schooling in its widest sense. Various studies conducted in bilingual and monolingual conditions have stressed the importance of linguistic interaction to insure the effectiveness of training.8/ Although little is known about this problem in the critical rural areas of the region, available evidence shows that, in addition to the low results obtained in educational coverage, there are also low results in terms of the quality of learning.

While an explanation of the low level of the quality of learning can be found mainly in the use of a language different from that known to students, this does not account for the whole problem. All the dynamics and organization of rural education in Latin America reflect standards that do not fit the users conditions. With the exception of some isolated experiences, the reality of rural school shows that it uses the same educational programmes, training techniques and teachers as those existing in urban centres. Therefore, not only are results obviously poor but also the devaluation of the culture of rural groups, be they Indian or not, is strengthened.9/

This factor favours trends towards migration which rural conditions as a whole show in most of the region. Migrations towards urban centres have been constant in Latin America for several decades. Nevertheless, the options which immigrants find in the city have changed substantially in recent years. During the first stages of industrialization by import substitution a strong demand existed for barely qualified labour. This allowed high percentages of the migrant rural population to join the urban environment through productive employment. The countries developing this phase of industrialization more intensively show clear indicators of this fact. As expressed at the beginning of this paper, however, around the middle of the decade 1950-60, substitutive industrialization could not develop further and, since then, the process of industrial expansion became characterized by capital intensity and low demand for labour. In view of the new situation, it has been held, that the alternatives open for employment among the educationally backward

sectors have been reduced practically to selfemployment in activities of low productivity which guarantee, in the best of cases, income for mere subsistence.

Secondary Education

Secondary education has experienced, from the quantitative point of view, a proportional increase in the rates existing in the various countries at the beginning of the period under discussion. On the basis of these data, a number of elements explaining the growth of the educational system in the region can be identified. In the first place, those countries with higher educational coverage do not show symptoms of saturation. They continue to increase their rates in such a way that relative differences among countries have not changed.

The counterpart of this fact, however, is that the countries less developed in primary education are making efforts to expand secondary education similar to those which have already solved that problem. In short, there exists a stratified educational system which, while it cannot provide for the population as a whole at a basic educational level, offers possibilities of a long education to those who overcome the barrier of primary school.

The expansion of secondary education cannot be explained only by the demands of production. At least, it may be noted that these demands are not of the same nature as those recognized by the traditional hypothesis of approaches based on human resources. By exaggerating the terms of the problem, it could be stated that the limitation and deformities of productive development are generating a social demand for education of such high levels.

The first point to be mentioned, following this line of thought, concerns the limitations and characteristics of the labour market. In the first stages of substitutive industrialization, the significant creation of jobs notably increased the opportunity cost of education. Access to productive employment and the chances of social mobility without education discouraged the continuation of studies. But the stagnation in labour demand and the fragmentation of the labour market, by virtue of the emergence of both the sector of modern monopolistic enterprises and the sector where self employment predominates, had important effects on the link between education and work.

The opportunity cost of education tended to decrease. For many among youth the present alternatives consist of continuing their studies, remaining inactive or obtaining employment in positions of very low remuneration. In this respect, educational expansion operates as a factor avoiding, or at least postponing, excessive pressures on the labour market.

Precisely because of this function, official policies favoured the process of educational expansion, seeking through this means to achieve several objectives at the same time: to diminish pressures on employment, to create illusions of social mobility through educational mobility and to satisfy educational demands coming from middle sectors without having to satisfy others.

In other words, education became the "weak" variable of the social system: its distribution could be democratized without being necessarily followed by similar processes as regards the distribution of income and power.

But the quantitative changes in secondary education deeply affected its qualitative aspects, particularly those which refer to the social functions assigned to this level of the educational system.

In the traditional structure, secondary school was opened to an élite and its function was precisely to provide a cultural education enabling candidates to enter college and to share in the values and symbols differentiating the élite from the rest of the population. For those purposes, an encyclopedic curricular structure was the most appropriate, with predominance of humanities and especially of classical and modern languages. As regards methods, the relationship between teacher and student was characterized by an authoritarian link which could be explained by the fact that the same link was predominant in the social relations of the oligarchical structure.

Mass education and the emergence of new roles for which secondary school had to prepare candidates, intensified criticism of this traditional structure. That criticism achieved general consensus and widespread diffusion. Numerous projects for reform have been planned in almost all countries of the region, yet the results achieved by those projects are not proportionate to the level of criticism 11/.

Teaching plans continued to follow preferably classical modalities and the contents of the new cultural model, both the scientific and technical as well as the values associated with them, were introduced fragmentarily and with many difficulties. The consequence was that all the negative aspects of the traditional secondary education were accentuated without maintaining its positive values. Classical culture became exclusively a school product without any standing in real society, where, on the other hand, the values and cultural expressions of industrial capitalism were beginning to spread. The deep breach between school and real culture led to an internal re-affirmation of the authoritarian relationship between teacher and student, since this was the only possible way to impose a type of learning detached from reality.

In general, some of the criticism of the traditional structure of secondary education emphasized the need to increase vocational and technical training, in order to achieve more correspondance between education and the requirements of the labour market.

Two different assumptions were at the root of that criticism. The first, of a quantitative nature, maintained that industrial expansion would produce an increasing demand for human resources trained at the technical level. The second, on the other hand, was essentially qualitative and held that a specialized schooling and training were necessary to accede to new positions in the labour market.

In view of the rigidity of the traditional structure and the need to ensure that the new forms of education should not be used as alternative channels to

college instruction, the new secondary technical education tended to be organized in many countries outside the existing system and its streams acquired a terminal character 12/.

However, the assumptions of this strategy were far from being achieved. On the one hand, while the creation of technical occupations was intense, it was below the growth of enrolment. On the other hand, trends in technological innovation and their effects on job qualification were not uniform. While some occupations became more complex, others were simplified and what appears clearly is that there is no relatively strong correlation between occupation and type of studies 13/.

In addition, it should be taken into account that since secondary education still operates as a strong social filter, individuals in a position to accede to it belong, in general, to the high and middle levels of the population. The opening of new technical options is not so attractive to those sectors, which aspire not only to complete their education but also to work in activities generally considered as non-manual. The social composition of the enrolment in those technical options helps to explain the process of gradual assimilation observed between them and traditional education. The pressure to abolish the terminal character of technical studies is strong and reflects the interests of students as well as the rigidity of the labour market, which were discussed above.

In this context, the technical trends in secondary education seem to be fulfilling very different functions to those which justified their development. From the point of view of the educational system, they would be acting as a check, not very efficient, to aspirations and demands for higher education. As regards the labour market, they would be promoting symbolic elements for the internal differentiation of manpower between the sectors linked respectively to modern and traditional enterprises.

Higher Education

In recent years, the expansion of university coverage has been highly significant in terms of enrolment as well as in the ratio of the corresponding age group that is enrolled. However, some characteristics of that expansion lead one to conclude that it does not lend itself to simple interpretation nor should it be considered as an indicator of democratization or an expression of modernization.

One of the factors supporting this conclusion is that a significant part of the growth in enrolment reflects the increasing presence of women among university students. On the basis of data for the decade 1960-70, it may be observed that in most Latin American countries, the participation of sexes tended to become even 14/. As is known, the increasing participation of women starts in the high and middle groups. The enrolment of women, therefore, does not imply any modification in the social origin of students.

In addition, that growth in the enrolment is mainly channelled towards careers reflecting the social image of the role of women. Some are related to

the process of socialization and others to social assistance, but none of them are usual channels to accede to élite groups or provide for either new approaches or social change. Thus, one of the careers of predominantly feminine enrolment and which has shown a remarkable dynamism in recent years, is the education of teachers, where the will to maintain the existing system is clearly reflected. That will has been expressed by raising the level of teacher training to higher education, but detaching it from university centres. Thus, the socialization of teachers by ideologies opposed to the status quo is avoided and they are kept at a cultural level characterized by a relatively low standard of scientific analysis and judgement.

In spite of those limitations, college enrolment has been so large that a crisis developed in the functions traditionally assigned to the university by the social system. This crisis arises from the fact that quantitative expansion was not simply the consequence of a policy outlined for the university itself, but the result of a particular social process influenced by factors emerging from economic growth and the structure of power, as well as from ideological beliefs operating in the different social levels.

Therefore, the crisis appears as a product of the lack of correspondence between the various social factors influencing expansion and the way in which the university attempts to cope with them. That is how some policies outlined with the needs of economic activities in mind were inadequate or contrary to the requirements of political or social demands and, on the other hand, policies attempting to satisfy social demands clashed with existing standards of economic growth. In short, the implementation of policies of one kind or another has been the result of concrete historic circumstances, meaning the correlation of force in society at a particular moment. Consequently, policies have mainly been a response to specific situations and, for that reason, the Latin American university goes through permanent oscillations, even through those which are most extreme.

This framework makes it difficult to point out in a few pages the most noticeable trends of the university situation. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to summarize the essential elements of the problem by three central hypotheses: the internal segmentation of the college system, the increasing depreciation of higher education and the deterioration of the academic and scientific quality of studies. The common link uniting these hypotheses is given by the fact that they are different answers to the problem of massive enrolment and all seek to neutralize, in different ways, the de-stabilizing consequences which massive college enrolment has in the social system.

a) Internal segmentation. The increase in enrolment was linked to a significant growth in the number of institutions of higher education. In general, the oldest universities located in the most important urban centres concentrate a very high part of the enrolment. However, in the last few decades, colleges have appeared in smaller urban centres. Another factor accounting for the increasing number of colleges was private initiative, also very active at the level of secondary education.

The establishment of colleges in small cities has been the consequence of pressures exerted by local middle classes unable to send their children to

the capital cities. Those pressures generally find political support among regional groups, which perceive the university as an element of prestige for the area and also a new instrument to exercise power.

As regards private initiative, its expansion has been connected with a number of goals: to legitimize the superiority of some groups in the context of an apparently equal opportunity of access, to ensure for upper and upper middle class groups a certain quality of training, to separate students from centres of socialization in which values contrary to the status quo were beginning to spread or even to offer some sectors of low cultural levels educational opportunities with less requirements and more flexible grading through short courses on apparently new and poorly organized subjects.

The result of this proliferations of establishments is that the university is losing homogeneity and instead a stratified system is being strengthened by the differentiation of educational institutions according to both the social origin of students and the academic quality of colleges participating in the system 15/.

b) The depreciation of higher education. One of the aspects mostly affected by the quantitative expansion of higher education has been, undoubtedly, its relationship with the labour market. In fact, this is a problem affecting the whole educational system and not only the university. Therefore, the general lines of the following analysis may also be valid for the other educational levels.

Global data on the dynamics of the labour market show that the area which has been most active and most expanding has been that of non-manual jobs. If the professional and semi-professional categories are considered - the composition of which includes persons with high educational standards - it is possible to verify that in the decade 1960-70 they achieved the highest percentage of increases among all occupational categories 16/. This means that, for the moment, higher education has been the channel for access to the sector of the labour market of more relative expansion and better income. Nevertheless, there are sufficient indications that this situation is undergoing rapid deterioration. On the one hand it seems unlikely that the growth achieved in the decade could be maintained. If that were to happen, there would be cases like Venezuela, for example, where projecting the increase recorded up to the present through 1980 and 1990, would bring the professional and semi-professional category to 15% and 25% of the economically active population respectively. On the other hand, in view of the increase of available labour in a market of restricted employment, it is possible to foresee that income levels for these categories would tend to decrease and to express important disparities which would make the averages misleading.

This situation supports the hypothesis of educational depreciation which, schematically, may be subject to two possible interpretations.

The first of these would explain the depreciation as the result of an arbitrary process, through which employers demand more and more years of study for access to certain positions, independently of real job requirements 17/.

This constant increase frustrates the efforts of wide sectors of the population which are able to give to their children higher educational levels than those achieved by their parents. It also maintains, through that process, the structure of social differentiation of a stratified society.

As is known, in a stratified society the labour market becomes the instance for maintaining the hierarchic structure of inequalities. The positions being offered (each with its own characteristics in terms of remuneration, prestige, etc.) materialize the scale of inequalities. Now, if in that society there are instances charged with the task of fulfilling the preliminary function of securing the stratification of individuals before they reach the labour market, so that competition for each kind of position takes place among the "legitimate" competitors from the system's point of view, then the labour market does not develop its own machinery to achieve the stratification of competition. In this regard, education was always one of the key structural elements to ensure that access to the labour market should have basic differential characteristics. A university degree, for example, was by itself a solid guarantee of being a member of the social levels entitled to aspire to certain positions. The same may be noted in connection with the other educational "credentials". However, massive growth of education has produced some sort of crisis in that concept, since a certain educational level no longer guarantees that the candidate has the requirements which the system demands to maintain existing inequalities. Thus, a number of the selective functions which previously were in the hands of the educational system are now being performed by the labour market, which must develop its own machinery to choose candidates, acting at the same time as a "filter". In that sense, it may be held that, in fact, as certain educational levels spread, they guarantee less and less access to positions which were traditionally open for those levels. That is why the depreciation arises, and why additional qualifications to compete for a position are needed.

The "artificial" increase in the number of years in college required for access to certain positions poses a series of problems of different nature. On the one hand, those requirements, in the context of a not very expansive labour market, open the possibility that highly educated individuals will have to accept low positions in the occupational scale. This lack of adjustment is the basis of a number of specific problems: rapid changes of employment to seek better prospects; dissatisfaction with the work being done, etc. On the other hand is the situation where the abilities of individuals are not fully used, a subject to which the literature is paying more and more attention.

But this is only an interpretation of the situation of higher education. An alternative hypothesis could be held, according to which the depreciation does not result solely from arbitrary elements. In other words, the question is not that the same curriculum and knowledge are being valued in different ways at two different historical moments. The educational system itself, in its curriculum and organization, is undergoing changes which tend to favour the process of depreciation. These changes may be summarized as follows:

a) The same curriculum is distributed in more years of studies. The first years of each cycle lose significance and are devoted to non-cognitive functions or else compensate for aspects not sufficiently developed at the previous level.

b) The introduction of new curricular elements in the educational system, as a consequence of scientific and technological progress, is difficult. They join the existing elements and therefore the number of obsolete parts of the curriculum increases more and more, and promote the extension of studies needed to achieve appropriate qualifications. In addition, new elements are introduced from the high to the low levels of the system. This may explain why the depreciation is not the result of a real increase in the time requirements of education, but the product of an increase in the volume of information within the system, regardless of its value.

It could be held, following this line of argument, that the new contents of the curriculum appear first not only at the higher levels of the educational system, but they are also concentrated in those institutions recruiting students from given social sectors. As examples of this situation, the stratification of colleges and the curricular differences emerging from it could be mentioned.

The hypothesis of educational depreciation in terms of the decreasing quality of training is confirmed empirically by the reduction in the financial resources devoted to educational services. Some recent studies show that, towards the end of the decade 1950-60, the rate of increase of educational expenditures in the region began to deteriorate. This fall continued constantly and, although there are different national situations, most of the countries show signs of weakening financial efforts in the field of education 18/.

The true hypotheses on the problem of educational depreciation are, to some extent, contradictory. If the loss in value of the years of study is due essentially to an objective fall in the quality of training, this would mean that selection continues to operate from the educational system itself. If, on the other hand, the contents of education are kept relatively stable and what has changed is its distribution, then it could be argued that the machinery for discrimination is being transferred to the labour market. The question of determining how both factors operate is an empirical problem to be explained in each specific social context.

c) Deterioration in the quality of studies. The preceding discussion suggested, as a working hypothesis, the possibility that the qualitative deterioration of studies might be considered as an important factor for explaining the process of educational depreciation. A number of elements pointing in the direction were mentioned, to which at least two more must be added.

The first is the type of student admitted to the university. The problem of secondary education was considered above and an attempt was made to show to what extent massive enrolment had been followed by a "ritualism" in the pedagogical process based both on authoritarian methods and obsolete instructional programmes. The assumption can be drawn that most candidates for college instruction lack adequate levels of knowledge and have not sufficiently developed their analytical abilities, at least in so far as school input are concerned.

The second element to be considered refers to the fact that massive enrolment in the university has led to a crisis in its role as the agent for the preparation and diffusion of the cultural model of dominant groups of the ruling élite. Obviously, this is not an exclusive problem of the university, It reflects, in fact, the ideological crisis of dominant groups in the last quarter of a century. This crisis emerges because, once the hegemony of agro-exporting sectors ended, the new groups could not strengthen their position to an extent enabling them to produce cultural models which could represent them organically.

Educational Expansion and Conflict

The balance sheet of the last twenty-five years in the relationship between development and education in Latin America must recognize that a considerable part of the population has overcome illiteracy and that important numbers of young people are acceding to the various levels of the system. Leaving aside any other consideration, this fact has great significance because of the imbalances which it produces in the different levels of the social structure.

An attempt will be made below to discuss very briefly the consequences of educational expansion on the political and cultural system of the region 19/.

Literature on this subject has insisted in recent years on a hypothesis describing the educational system as a mechanism reproducing the dominant cultural models and ideologies. The generalization of these ideas has brought up a concept which perceives educational activities as being deeply conservative. A detailed discussion of this question is not relevant for this paper, but some considerations leading to a critical review of that hypothesis are necessary.

For the purpose of clarity, three principal elements of the process of ideological diffusion in the educational system may be identified: the content of the cultural model being transmitted, those responsible for diffusing it and those receiving it.

As regards the cultural model being transmitted by educational institutions, the crisis which it is suffering and the need to resort to clearly authoritarian methods to maintain it, have been discussed above. It may also be added that the extent of the contradiction between values being professed and those in force in society, create a framework in which the educational process loses more and more significance. With regard to the agents responsible for the diffusion of the model, it is known that they are one of the social sectors which has most suffered, throughout history, the consequences of the policies of concentration of income. In addition, in the latest years, the lack of fit between training and socially recognized status has visibly sharpened. Finally, the expansion of the system has placed them in daily contact with the social conditions in which the poorest sectors of society are living. These factors have promoted among teachers new attitudes towards a social system which does not recognize them, whether by adequate material benefits or by valuing their social function.

As far as students are concerned, it can be held that massive enrolment in secondary and higher education has produced a crisis for the belief that society offers social mobility through education. On the contrary, many of those leaving such levels are drawn into different kinds of under-employment or towards occupations offering very few opportunities to use their personal talents or the training received. The lack of satisfaction among students explains the critical concepts being spread with respect to the social system. Under present conditions, educational expansion may become the basic point of departure from which the rejection of structures which go with the present model of development and of their ideological connotations may be developed.

Notes

1/ The implications of this link for economic development in Latin America have been discussed many times. A summary of the most relevant processes may be found in: F.H. Cardoso and E. Faletto, Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina, Siglo XXI, 1969. O. Sunkel and P. Paz, El subdesarrollo latinoamericano y las teorías del desarrollo, Siglo XXI, 1970.

2/ An historical summary explaining the consolidation of these characteristics may be found in Barbara and J. Stein, La herencia colonial en América Latina, Siglo XXI, Mexico 1975.

3/ On the concept of styles of development and its application to the various aspects of the social structure in Latin America, see: Informe sobre un enfoque unificado para el análisis y la planificación del desarrollo, Naciones Unidas, Consejo Económico y Social, Comisión de Desarrollo Social (E/CN.5/477), 1972; Marshall Wolfe, Approaches to Development. Who is Approaching What? ECLA/DS/DRAFT/105/Ref. 1, Santiago, Chile, 1974 and Germán W. Rama, Educación, imágenes y estilos de desarrollo, DEALC/6, Proyecto Educación y Desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe, 1977.

4/ See UNESCO, Evolución y situación actual de la educación en América Latina. Santiago, Chile, 1976.

5/ See Carlos Cipolla, Educación y desarrollo en Occidente, Barcelona, 1970. François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, Lire et écrire. L'alphabétisation des français de Calvin a Jules Ferry. París, Les Editions de Minuit, 1977.

6/ See CEPAL, Enseñanza media, estructura social y desarrollo en América Latina, E/CN. 12/924, November, 1971. Germán W. Rama, Educación y Democracia. Paper submitted to the CLACSO Seminary, "Condiciones sociales de la democracia en América Latina", San José, 15th to 20th October, 1978.

7/ In Paraguay, for example, 70% of the rural population speaks only Guaraní. In Guatemala, estimates of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional showed that the percentage of monolingualism in native tongues in areas of indian population runs between 50% and 95%, according to the zones. In Peru, the 1972 census also showed that 31% of the population above 5 years old was indian monolingualistic, whilst this percentage reached 78% in areas called "mancha india". See CEA, Algunos aspectos del rendimiento escolar relacionados con el bilingüismo. Paraguay 1976-1977, Buenos Aires, 1978. Nelson Amaro and M. A. Letona, Estrategias y modalidades de la enseñanza bilingüe en Guatemala en la última década. Proyecto Educación y Desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe, versión preliminar, abril de 1978, (mimeo) J. Matos Mar, Educación, lengua y marginalidad rural en el Perú, DEALC/10, Buenos Aires, 1978.

8/ See Basil Bernstein, "Social class and linguistic development: A theory of social learning", in A. H. Halsey, S. Floud and C. A. Anderson, Education, Economy and Society. N.Y., The Free Press, 1965. For Latin America, see: OEA, Algunos aspectos del rendimiento escolar relacionados con el bilingüismo. Paraguay 1976-1977, Buenos Aires, 1978. Also see the results of

research conducted in Buenos Aires by Celia A. de Córscico and M. M. de Rosas, Interacción lingüística entre maestros y alumnos y su influencia en el rendimiento escolar. Buenos Aires, CICE, 1974.

9/ In connection with this problem see Abner Prada, Educación para el desarrollo rural en América Latina, DEALC/11, 1978; and José P. Nuñez, La escuela en áreas rurales modernas. DEALC/12, (in press).

10/ See various papers by PREALC, particularly El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectivas y políticas, Santiago, Chile, OIT, 1976.

11/ See Rodrigo Vera Godoy, Disyuntivas de la educación media en América Latina, Proyecto "Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe", (in press).

12/ An eloquent indication is the fact that institutes created with the objective of training technical personnel of medium level were established under the ministries of labour and not under the ministries of education.

13/ In the case of the Argentine industrial sector, see Juan C. Tedesco, Industrialización y educación en Argentina, DEALC/1, 1977. Also see J. Hallak and F. Caillods, Educación, travail et emploi a Panama. Document de Travail, IIEP/544, 7F. Paris, UNESCO, 1977.

14/ In 1970, feminine participation in enrolment in higher education was above 40% in Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Panama, Paraguay, and Uruguay. It reached between 30 and 40% in Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Perú and Venezuela. Only Colombia, Guatemala and Mexico were below 30%.

15/ A very good example of this process is the case of Colombia. In that connection see: Germán W. Rama, "Educación universitaria y movilidad social. Reclutamiento de élites en Colombia", en Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología, Buenos Aires, vol. VI, julio 1970, N° 2.

16/ In 1960 and 1970, the professional and semiprofessional categories represented the following percentages of the economically active population: Argentina 5,4% and 6,7%; Brasil, 3,3% and 4,8%; Chile, 4,6% and 6,8%; Panama 4,6% and 5,7%; Paraguay 3,2% and 3,7%; Venezuela, 5,2% and 8,8%. In the case of urban economically active populations, those categories achieved the following percentages: Costa Rica 9,9% and 11,3%; Ecuador 6,0% and 8,5% and Uruguay 10,0% and 8,8%.

17/ The working paper by J. Hallak and F. Caillods referred to in footnote 13 provides some empirical support to this hypothesis.

18/ See Héctor Gertel, Financiamiento de la educación en América Latina; una aplicación a la Argentina, DEALC/3, 1977.

19/ For a more detailed discussion of this question see: Germán W. Rama, Educación y Democracia, op. cit.

APPENDIX

Indicators of the socio-economic and educational situation in Latin America

Table 1. Income and Urbanization

	GNP/INHAB (US\$ 1970)			Urban Population Percentages ^a		
	1950	1960	1975	1950	1960	1975
Argentina	817.3	912	1,320	51.7	59.0	69.8
Bolivia	213.3	192	299	19.7	22.9	29.4
Brasil	231.6	331	603	21.1	28.2	45.0
Colombia	370.0	425	587	21.0	32.5	47.8
Costa Rica	343.6	474	764	21.2	23.0	27.6
Cuba	...	...	...	35.2	38.9	43.4
Chile	576.4	679	717	38.7	50.6	66.1
Ecuador	246.9	297	447	17.7	25.9	35.9
El Salvador	265.1	319	430	12.5	17.3	21.6
Guatemala	292.7	322	471	10.3	14.3	16.3
Haití	118.6	118	109	4.7	7.5	14.5
Honduras	232.2	250	275	6.8	11.2	21.1
Mexico	485.8	627	997	24.9	28.9	38.7
Nicaragua	215.2	289	453	14.2	21.2	35.2
Panama	458.5	549	967	23.5	33.1	42.9
Paraguay	305.3	294	425	15.5	15.8	23.2
Peru	312.8	407	587	18.2	28.3	44.6
Dominican Republic	230.4	294	476	10.3	18.7	36.9
Uruguay	829.0	875	877	45.5	59.4	64.7
Venezuela	653.0	918	1,276	30.9	46.1	63.7

Source: CEPAL, Indicadores del desarrollo económico y social en América Latina, 1976.

a) Cities of 20,000 inhabitants or more.

Table 2. Gross Enrolment Ratios in Twenty Countries of Latin America

	Primary education			Secondary education			Higher education		
	1950	1960 ^a	1975 ^a	1950	1960 ^a	1975 ^a	1950	1960	1975
Argentina	94.1	98.3	98.1	10.4	27.0	50.5	5.2	11.3	28.0
Bolivia	35.0	53.8	92.9	4.9	9.9	18.0	1.6	3.6	5.9
Brasil	39.3	59.7	85.5	5.7	9.5	19.6	0.9	1.5	9.4
Colombia	36.0	54.8	88.5	3.9	10.2	20.1	0.9	1.7	8.4
Costa Rica	61.4	81.9	91.7	5.9	16.2	39.5	1.3	4.8	18.5
Cuba	66.2	94.5	107.0	4.7	12.3	27.4	...	3.3	9.0
Chile	74.0	88.7	90.0	10.7	21.5	47.2	1.6	4.0	16.2
Dominican Rep.	53.5	82.0	94.4	1.7	11.6	25.5	0.9	1.5	5.7
Ecuador	56.7	72.6	93.7	4.4	10.6	27.5	1.3	2.6	8.3
El Salvador	61.1	66.7	93.4	2.9	9.6	19.1	0.6	1.1	...
Guatemala	27.7	39.9	53.3	2.4	4.8	10.1	0.7	1.6	4.1
Haití	19.0	30.8	35.2	1.0	3.8 ^b	5.0 ^b	0.2	0.5	0.5
Honduras	28.1	56.9	73.4	0.6	5.7	11.9	0.6	1.1	4.4
Mexico	53.0	70.1	98.5	2.7	10.0	30.2	1.6	2.6	9.6
Nicaragua	38.5	48.7	71.4	2.7	5.4	19.3	0.7	1.2	6.7
Panama	76.0	80.5	106.9	9.2	25.0	48.4	1.9	4.6	18.3
Paraguay	74.3	84.7	86.4	1.5	9.4	17.7	1.2	2.3	4.8
Perú	66.8	72.5	95.2	6.4	13.5	33.9	2.1	3.6	22.8
Uruguay	89.8	93.8	90.6	17.0	30.5	62.4	5.7	7.7	15.0
Venezuela	51.1	83.5	84.5	3.0	17.7	31.9	1.3	4.3	19.8

Source: For 1950 UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook 1963, (Ages: 7-13 primary education, 14-19 secondary education). For 1960 and 1975: OREU, UNESCO and Statistical Yearbook 1976, for enrolment data. CELADE, Estimaciones de Población, para los tramos de edad. (Ages 6-12 primary education, 13-19 secondary education and 20-24 higher education).

a) Courses from 1st to 6th are considered as primary education and from 7th to 12th as secondary education.

b) Data from UNESCO ... source quoted for 1950.

Table 3. Incidence of Illiteracy

	Illiteracy 15 years and above			Illiteracy 15-19 years		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Argentina	14.0	8.6	7.4	8.3	5.0	4.1
Bolivia	...	...	...	57.3	....	...
Brasil	51.0	39.4	33.6	47.2	33.4	24.3
Colombia	38.0	27.1	19.1	31.4	17.4	11.0
Costa Rica	21.0	15.6	11.6	18.4	8.6	4.0
Cuba	...	...	...	22.5	...	...
Chile	20.0	16.4	15.2	13.9	9.4	4.0
Dominican Republic	57.0	35.5	32.8	46.7	17.4	22.1
Ecuador	44.0	32.5	...	34.7	20.2	12.7
El Salvador	61.0	51.0	43.1	55.6	39.3	26.6
Guatemala	71.0	62.0	53.8	68.0	56.7	43.6
Haití	...	...	...	...	...	...
Honduras	65.0	55.0	...	64.8	45.7	25.0
Mexico	43.0	34.6	25.8	...	25.9	15.0
Nicaragua	...	...	...	61.4	44.9	33.4
Panama	30.0	23.3	20.6	20.4	12.7	10.8
Paraguay	34.0	25.4	19.8	22.7	13.2	8.8
Peru	...	38.9	27.2	42.5	26.2	11.5
Uruguay	...	9.5	6.1	...	2.3	1.4
Venezuela	...	...	...	42.6	25.3	...

Source: National census and OREALC, UNESCO for illiteracy data CELADE, Estimaciones de población, para los tramos de edad.

Table 4. Indication of Educational Content

	Enrolment 6th grade as % population aged 12 years 1/			General education as % total enrolment in secondary education 2/ a/			Technical enrolment as % of total university enrolment 3/ b/		
	1960	1970	1975	1960	1970	1975	1960	1970	1975
Argentina	71.9	80.6	89.7	25.6	41.1	36.8	20.1	25.8	24.5 ^{c/}
Bolivia	34.9	34.7	53.5	83.4	84.7	87.1	20.2	20.8	15.2
Brazil	13.5	34.3	52.0	73.7	74.8	75.9	18.1	20.5	23.7 ^{c/}
Colombia	27.4	35.8	64.9	57.6	71.4	80.1	37.4	27.5	25.1
Costa Rica	40.7	79.4	92.6	74.1	92.2	95.9	5.4	7.6	7.6 ^{e/}
Cuba	51.9	...	83.0	73.4	74.0	77.0	27.9	43.1	39.3 ^{e/}
Chile	80.2	88.0	101.3	70.9	67.0	63.5	29.3	36.2	30.8
Ecuador	36.3	60.4	51.9	60.0	63.1	84.2	28.7	27.3	17.6 ^{d/}
El Salvador	30.5	48.5	52.5	60.7	80.9	69.6	29.5	14.3	27.6 ^{c/}
Guatemala	...	22.6	27.6	81.2	75.0	75.0	26.3	21.8	23.8
Honduras	20.9	40.2	40.8	63.8	73.9	75.8	11.4	24.0	26.4 ^{c/}
Mexico	37.2	63.7	91.9	54.6	71.7	70.3	32.2	33.9	24.3 ^{c/}
Nicaragua	17.1	34.3	40.6	60.2	87.9	91.4	29.3	19.8	14.5 ^{c/}
Panama	66.4	73.0	80.5	68.8	65.0	66.7	25.4	10.5	21.4 ^{e/}
Paraguay	32.4	50.0	55.1	62.6	87.4	92.6	18.3	18.9	21.5 ^{e/}
Peru	...	65.9	72.6	67.8	81.2	74.3	23.6	16.2	27.5
Dominican Republic	...	35.8	51.9	55.5	95.9	96.3	21.7	14.3	14.8 ^{c/}
Uruguay	68.6	82.9	97.9	65.5	75.8	76.7	8.6	15.0	18.0
Venezuela	46.1	63.7	69.6	58.1	63.9	63.9	23.5	23.8	25.9

Source:

- 1) OREU, UNESCO and Statistical Yearbook 1976, for data on enrolment. CELADE, Estimaciones de población, para datos de población por edad.
- 2) Prepared on the basis of data from UNESCO, Evolución y Situación actual de la educación en América Latina, OREU, Ed. Santillana, Santiago, Chile, 1976.
- 3) Statistical Yearbook 1976, UNESCO.

a) General education covers teacher education as well as commercial and technical.

b) Technical enrolment covers Engineering, Natural and Exact Sciences and Agronomy.

c) 1974

d) 1973

e) 1972

Table 5. Participation of Women in Education

	Percentage Women Secondary education			Percentage Women Higher education		
	1960	1970	1975	1960	1970	1975
Argentina	51.4	52.6	52.0	32.1	45.1	45.1
Bolivia	40.2	42.1	43.6	...	...	...
Brazil	47.1	50.5	...	28.1	47.3	45.6
Colombia	65.9	48.8	48.2	18.8	24.5	...
Costa Rica	46.0	49.0	51.6	44.1	43.5	...
Cuba	52.6	51.4	46.1	38.4	39.3	35.9
Chile	51.6	53.1	53.2	38.5	38.4	35.2
Ecuador	42.3	48.5	46.0	18.6	31.8	31.2
El Salvador	46.5	48.7	44.7	20.3	29.9	30.0
Guatemala	43.9	41.3	41.6	...	23.1	22.8
Honduras	43.0	44.9	...	14.5	32.8	33.0
Mexico	37.8	39.7	38.0	17.5	18.5	...
Nicaragua	38.8	47.4	48.1	21.9	33.9	33.6
Panama	53.0	52.2	51.2	41.5	46.0	51.2
Paraguay	50.0	50.0	49.8	30.8	42.1	...
Peru	38.0	41.2	42.5	20.5	32.6	32.1
Dominican Republic	56.9	50.0	43.8	24.4	42.4	46.0
Uruguay	42.1	54.5	54.0	...	45.2	43.8
Venezuela	46.3	48.8	52.5	31.0	39.7	...

Source: Prepared on the basis of data from UNESCO, Evolución y Situación actual de la Educación en América Latina, OREU, Ed. Santillana, Santiago, Chile, 1976.

Table 6. Occupational levels in nine countries of Latin America, 1960-1970
(Percentages)

	Argentina		Brazil		Costa Rica		Chile		Ecuador		Panama		Paraguay		Uruguay		Venezuela	
	1960	1970	1960	1972	1963	1970	1960	1970	1962	1968	1960	1970	1962	1972	1963	1970	1960	1973
I. <i>Medium and high levels (excepting employment in the primary sector)</i>	31.4	32.2	15.0	23.3	33.6	46.3	20.3	27.8	25.0	39.8	16.4	21.8	11.8	13.9	50.9	43.8	23.9	36.8
a) Employers	8.2	4.3	1.9	4.1	3.0	6.0	1.5	2.4	1.7	4.1	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.4	8.4	5.6	1.8	3.6
b) Self employed workers and owners of commercial enterprises	2.4	4.4	0.2	1.6	4.4	3.1	3.7	4.9	9.1	12.1	0.9	1.3	2.7	3.1	3.0	3.8	5.4	7.0
c) Independent professionals and semiprofessionals	0.7	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.6	2.5	1.5	0.4	0.6
d) Dependent professionals	4.7	8.5	2.6	4.3	9.4	11.0	4.0	6.2	5.3	7.2	4.3	5.4	2.6	3.1	7.5	7.3	4.8	8.2
e) Management personnel	1.1	4.2	2.6	1.9	1.9	3.4	1.4	1.2	0.4	1.1	1.7	2.4	0.3	0.4	1.3	0.8	1.0	1.3
f) Employment salesmen and assistants	14.3	12.2	7.0	12.8	14.4	22.4	9.2	12.5	7.8	14.0	7.9	11.3	4.4	5.3	28.2	26.8	10.5	16.1
II. <i>Lower levels of the secondary sector</i>	30.8	34.0	22.7	20.1	32.4	31.3	32.4	31.9	38.2	34.7	16.6	23.7	21.3	23.5	30.1	36.1	25.0	30.2
a) Wage earners	26.5	27.5	15.2	14.6	25.1	26.1	26.1	25.2	19.2	22.5	12.5	18.4	11.2	13.0	25.0	29.5	19.3	22.5
b) Self employed workers and non remunerated workers in family enterprises	4.3	6.6	7.5	5.5	7.3	5.2	6.3	6.1	19.0	12.2	4.1	5.3	10.1	10.5	5.1	6.6	6.7	7.7
III. <i>Lower levels of the tertiary sector</i>	8.9	9.9	7.1	7.9	16.9	15.7	13.4	12.0	14.8	17.7	10.9	12.7	7.8	7.7	14.9	14.3	11.4	12.6
a) Wage earners in services	8.3	9.1	6.7	6.5	15.2	15.0	12.3	10.9	12.4	13.9	9.5	10.7	7.2	6.8	13.9	12.7	10.0	10.7
b) Self employed workers and non remunerated members of the family who work in services	0.6	0.9	0.4	1.4	1.3	0.7	1.1	1.1	2.4	3.9	1.4	2.0	0.6	0.9	1.0	1.6	1.4	1.9
IV. <i>Medium and high levels of the primary sector</i>	3.4	1.3	0.1	0.1	1.3	1.1	0.5	0.8	1.2	1.0	0.6	0.2	1.3	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.9	1.0
a) Employers of the agricultural sector and in the extractive industry	3.4	1.3	0.1	0.1	1.3	1.1	0.5	0.8	1.2	1.0	0.6	0.2	1.3	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.9	1.0
V. <i>Lower levels of the primary sector</i>	14.9	13.1	50.9	40.2	12.6	4.8	29.9	24.4	18.9	6.1	43.5	36.9	51.0	48.9	0.5	1.4	32.7	19.1
a) Salaried rural workers	9.5	7.8	14.2	11.8	8.3	3.5	21.7	16.5	10.6	3.9	6.3	6.8	11.0	9.3	0.4	0.5	11.6	7.1
b) Self employed workers and non-remunerated workers in family enterprises	5.4	5.3	36.7	28.4	4.3	0.9	8.2	7.9	8.3	2.2	37.2	30.1	40.0	39.6	0.1	0.9	21.1	12.0
VI. <i>Others (not classified who predominate probably in the primary sector)</i>	10.6	9.5	4.3	8.4	3.6	0.9	3.2	3.7	1.3	0.7	12.0	4.7	6.8	5.4	3.3	1.8	5.1	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: CEPAL. *El Desarrollo económico y social y las relaciones externas de América Latina*, Report of the 17th session, Guatemala, 25 April - 5 May, 1977, E/CEPAL/1074/Rev. 1, page 24. for Argentina, 1960 and 1970, results of national census; Brazil: 1960, result of a national census; 1972, surveys from a population sample of six regions (a mistake may exist with regard to information on the very low percentage assigned to the high and medium levels of the primary sector); Costa Rica: 1963 and 1970, surveys from a population sample covering urban areas; Chile: 1960, result from the census; 1970, census (national census in both cases); Ecuador: 1962 and 1968, surveys from a population sample covering urban areas; Panama: 1960 and 1970, results from national census; Paraguay: 1962 and 1972, results from national census; Uruguay: 1963, result from the census, 1970, surveys from a population sample. Only Montevideo in both cases; Venezuela: 1960, census; 1973, surveys from a population sample (national census in both cases).

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