Educators from developed countries arrive in the third world with a set of recipes large enough to cope with all the problems of the country they want to help. Their advice, however, is usually not taken into account. The present paper describes the main constraints limiting innovation in the Chilean case. It is hoped that a better understanding of the functioning of this school system (representing the actual situation in more than 90% of the less developed countries) will help those experts to design more realistic proposals.

Les éducateurs des pays développés offrent au Tiers-Monde toute une série de formules suffisamment élaborées pour remédier aux difficultés que rencontre le pays auquel ils viennent en aide. Il reste que ces éducateurs ne sont pas toujours écoutés. La présente communication décrit les principaux obstacles qui se dressent lors des tentatives d'innovation au Chili. Le fonctionnement du système éducatif Chili est représentatif de la situation réelle qui prévaut dans plus de 90% des pays en voie de développement et l'on espère qu'une meilleure compréhension de ce système aidera les spécialistes en question à élaborer des projets plus réalistes.

Educators from developed countries arrive in the third world with a set of recipes large enough to cope with all the problems of the country that has to be taken out of ignorance and error. Once a certain number of recipes are prescribed, the educators leave the country looking for a new and more challenging task. If by chance they return to a certain country, they usually discover that their advice has not been followed and they proclaim loudly that bureaucratic lack of responsibility went beyond any acceptable limit, thus blocking the best opportunity offered to natives to surmount their ancestral handicap. In few cases is the quality of the recipe also considered as a possible source of failure.

The present paper tries to describe (to those honestly interested in developing educational systems of the third world) the attempt made in Chile to find the limit to change in a given situation. This experience may help to (1) describe the educational patterns of these countries; (2) illustrate some of the constraints that must be taken into account when trying to innovate in these systems; and (3) recall that success in one unit of the system does not mean automatic diffusion throughout the system.

The reader must be aware that the case presented in this paper represents the actual situation in more than 90% of the less developed countries. This fact must be emphasized to readers from North America and Europe because they may think this stage of educational development was attained 20 years ago. The case presented in this paper may help them to get a more realistic picture.

Some Historical Background
The Chilean high school (liceo) has a long history, having been established originally following the French lycée tradition. Spanish colonial influence has no direct relevance to the contemporary functioning of the Chilean liceo. Around the middle of the 19th century, the liceo expanded its classical-humanistic curriculum and incorporated experimental sciences. Later on Latin and Greek were replaced by modern languages. Toward the end of the 19th century, middle-level education was opened to women, and European professors—mainly Germans—were invited to lay the foundations of a teachers' college. At the same time, the influence of these professors spread throughout the rest of the growing educational system.

Receptivity to foreign ideas has been a charac-
teristic of Chilean educational development. The influence of foreign experiences can be seen in the several attempts to introduce changes in the liceo in the last 50 years. The idea of linking schools to the community and to its socioeconomic development was discussed around 1928 and some experiments were developed. In 1955 experiments were carried out with a new type of vertically integrated school, "consolidada," and in 1945 the Gradual Secondary Educational Renewal Program was launched. The last attempt—the Educational Integration Plan of Arica—was started in 1955 in the north of the country, in order to experiment with a new structuring of the system.

Starting National Educational Planning
In 1965 a comprehensive reform of the entire educational system was launched. New curricula were designed to stress intellectual skills rather than rote learning. Didactic materials and textbooks were prepared and distributed. Teachers were retrained in short courses and their salaries substantially increased. Traveling teams of technical advisers went throughout the country attempting to solve problems on the spot. Capacity was substantially increased in order to meet the social demand for schooling. A national assessment testing program was started in 1967 for the eighth graders.

Changes were introduced at the same time in the structure of the system. Basic general education was extended from six to eight grades (years), and secondary education reduced from six to four grades. Moreover, liceos were no longer permitted to have attached grade schools. Previously, there had been class privileged systems, with students of high socioeconomic status attending primary schools attached to the liceos (and thus having an inside track into these prestigious schools), while students of lower socioeconomic status generally attended common grade schools, from which they had difficulties gaining entrance to secondary vocational or normal schools.

At the same time, curricula in vocational schools were redesigned to promote general technological knowledge rather than pure manual skills. Science, mathematics, and language standards were raised. The same diploma was granted to those graduating from the liceo and the vocational schools in order to avoid problems of university admission of vocational graduates.

Enrollments in the system were increased at a rapid rate. In 1970, enrollments on the secondary level were equivalent to half of the 15- to 18-year-old population. The probability that a student entering the first grade will graduate from the 12th grade (end of the secondary level) is about 25%. But the system is still rather selective and several surveys (Bucknam, 1970; Fischer, 1970; FLACSO, 1964; Hamuy, 1960; Leyton, 1965) have shown that socioeconomic status is one of the decisive factors influencing the completion of secondary education.

Current Liceo Patterns
Public education has always been free in Chile,2 and tuition-free private education is subsidized by the state. At the secondary level, 75% of Chilean students are enrolled in the public system.

In private schools, 40% of the students attend tuition-free schools, and the rest pay fees ranging from U.S. $30 to U.S. $350 a year. Comments on the traditional liceo in this paper refer to the public or free private liceo, but also apply to the paid private liceo. Most of the paid private liceos, however, are attended by students of higher socioeconomic status and have better facilities than those in the rest of the system.

In spite of the suppression of the attached grade school classes the liceo structure was not substantially affected by the reform. Three alternative plans were presented3 by the Educational Planning Office to the National Educational Board, but the changes adopted did not modify the main characteristics of the Chilean liceos.

Classes begin March 15 each year and finish December 20. There is a three-week period of winter vacations in July and a week vacation in September. Each student of a class must follow a similar fixed set of courses. Minimum standards must be met in each one of the courses in order to be promoted to the next grade. The new curricula, although being centrally designed, permit local options and adaptation

2 In secondary and university education this situation represents a subsidy to families of high socioeconomic status since most lower-class students drop out before reaching secondary education.

3 The first alternative maintained the traditional situation in the secondary level. The second enabled schools to design one fourth of the courses and permitted students to choose among them. The third, proposing a new school called "integrada," corresponded to a proposal for "comprehensive" schooling.