- * The teacher should be given maximum independence to organize the class and the study content as he sees fit.
- * The school administration should provide positive reinforcement for the teacher, in order to increase motivation to handle pressure in the class.
 - * An educational environment comfortable for both teacher and pupils

should be created, and as many pressure factors as possible should be eliminated, including noise, crowding, inappropriate lighting, and temperatures that are too high or low.

- * An attempt should be made to arrange convenient teacher class schedules, without large gaps of time between lessons, and without too many classes too close together.
- * Attempts should be made to bring teachers and pupils together, through joint activities and meetings, both formal and informal.
- * The school administration should initiate activities in order to increase teacher morale and to improve their positive image in their own eyes and in the eyes of those around them.

Aliza Cohen

DEFINING "SOCIAL DEPRIVATION" IN ISRAEL

According to Elad Peled (1983), the "socially deprived" are the pupil population characterized by "social deprivation syndrome" (Minkowitz, 1969). This syndrome is reflected in three areas: a) scholastic achievements—serious failure in attaining accepted norms; b) scholastic ability—difficulty in understanding, connecting, implementation, and conceptualization; c) motivation to learn—lacking motivation in studies and other intellectual matters. The use of a specific term to define the target population demonstrates the perception upon which this educational policy is based.

The definition used to define a target population is the product of political struggle between different groups in society. The term used for the target population, and the policy for handling it, has changed a number of times over the last five decades. During the 1940's, the target population was perceived as anomalous, at the margins of society—i. e. street children (Brill, 1941). During the 1950's, it was perceived as an immigrant population—the children of immigrants. During the early 1960's, country of origin was added to the criteria of "immigrant"—that is, children of immigrants from Islamic countries.

During the 1960's and the 70's, the target population was viewed through an educational perception that strove to do more than diagnose and label with names such as "underprivileged" and "educationally disadvantaged." The term "socially deprived" was used, which implied that proper action on the part of the authorities could compensate for these children's initial deprivation. In the 1980's, an attempt was made to dissociate the stigma from the concept of "social deprivation", and a different definition was sought. Throughout these years, special note was always made of the fact that the target population was comprised mainly of children of "Oriental origin".

As has been discussed, educational policy is largely the result of the interaction between the political power of the dominant group and the target population, and of society's current culture and ideology. A diagnosis of a population of educationally disadvantaged pupils, who fail to attain the accepted level of scholastic achievement, is a clear and unequivocal act. However, during the 1950's, this phenomenon was associated with immigration — that is, the backwardness of these pupils was attributed to their being immigrants, a phenomenon common in countries with high immigrant populations. Therefore, it was thought that regular immigrant absorption processes would eventually resolve educational problems, as was the case in other countries.

During the early 1960's, as in the previous decade, the definition based on time in Israel was still accepted, along with an indication of the immigrant child's origin — i.e. "children of immigrants from Islamic countries", "from Asia and Africa", or, sometimes, "children of immigrants of Oriental ethnic origin". It was during the mid-1950's that the term "socially deprived" was first used. According to Elad Peled's interview with M.Smilansky (22-10-1978), this term was first formulated in 1956 by

Yosef Rapoport, then educational director of Youth Aliyah. However, the concept was officially recognized only in 1962, in a Knesset Speech by Abba Eban, then Minister of Education. In his speech, he was the first to introduce the concept of "socially deprived schools".

From that point forward, no more mention was made of "children of immigrants" or "children of Oriental immigrants." The use of the term "socially deprived" demonstrates the rejection of the perception that the educational deficiency of a large population group is connected to time in Israel, or is strictly an ethnic problem. The term "socially deprived" presents the issue as a purely educational

and social problem, with no indication of any group characteristics.

Yosef Avinon (1979) claims that the concept of "socially deprived" was introduced into Israel's socio-cultural vocabulary in order to express a positive educational approach. According to this educational approach, pupils with traits considered deficient can be advanced through appropriate cultivation of their intellectual and social ability — cultivation that was lacking in the environment in which they grew up. Thus, those who coined the term sought to express positive intentions, and to eliminate, or at least neutralize, the negative significance that usually accompanied concepts such as "cultural disadvantaged" or "social disadvantaged", which referred to the deficiencies of the pupils' scholastic achievement, or even of their personalities. It was believed by calling a group "socially deprived", judgment would not be passed on the group's values and modes of behavior. Nevertheless, as we shall see, a diagnostic analysis of the concept of "social deprivation" shows that this concept is discriminatory, and that its implementation seeks to preserve the existing educational hierarchy and achievement gaps (Avinon, 1979).

As a concept, "social deprivation" includes two directives: a descriptive directive and a prescriptive directive. The descriptive directive intimates the possibility of deficiency in the child or pupil. This directive indicates a comparison, a distinction, or a difference between two different population groups — those described as "socially deprived", and those who are not — primarily because these latter form the normative group and thus no special description is required. In a general sense, this normative group represents the central group in society, and is identified with the values and norms of the established middle class; these values and norms are perceived to be dominant in society. Thus, the term "socially deprived" indicates "difference". The need for "cultivation" is demonstrated by the explicit prescriptive directive, which indicates an obligation to "assist", to "compensate", and to "rehabilitate" (adapt, re-educate, shape, restore, heal) the "socially deprived".

After the first stage of identifying the deficiency and its symptoms comes the second, or prognostic, stage. The central cultural group identifies the "socially deprived" by means of its political and professional agents, and determines a need to treat and advance them. Thus, again, both the prognostic declaration and the concrete therapeutic aims and stages that go along with it would seem to be shaped first of all by the cultural and "scientific" concepts of those with social bargaining power. In this process of treatment and advancement, preference already exists regarding who will be the "nurturers". Thus, it is far from clear whether "social deprivation" is understood in the same way by the "nurturer" and the "nurtured". Do the "socially deprived" see themselves as such?. And if they do, do they agree to undergoing treatment/advancement due to their different values, behavior, and thought patterns, which fail to correspond to those demanded by the school, which is shaped by and functions in accordance with the power of the established groups? Are they to be educated to the values, norms, thought patterns, behaviors, and methods accepted by the school itself?

This is a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, it is admitted by all that the "socially deprived" are different. However, on the other hand, an attempt is made to educate them using the same content and standards by which they were judged to be different. It would seem that this paradox can be explained by the discord between the formal meaning and the accepted semantic meaning of the word "different". In its neutral, formal sense, "different" means "not like the others." Nevertheless, people tend to ascribe moral and esthetic validity to these "others", and see "difference" as "inferiority". Thus, using the label of "different", people are defined as deviant, unsuitable, problematic, and less valuable, requiring adaptation and reshaping to fit the system of values, norms, and knowledge of those who, in their justice, power, and purpose, aim to carry this out. In this way, not only is the "inferiority" of the "socially deprived" made possible, and not only are they denied respect and esteem in the school, but any attempt on their part to change their classification as "inferior" is doomed to failure.

The concept of "social deprivation" includes a discriminatory nuance, and signifies the group's cultural and social marginality. This necessarily deepens and expands the hierarchy's position, and further solidifies educational gaps. Moreover, the suggestive power of the concept of "social deprivation" convinces those so termed to believe that they are inferior, and that they now must seek compensation for this inferiority by striving to be like those who so define them. Thus, they hope that they will manage to escape their inferiority, and earn the esteem of others. However, the outcome is quite the opposite—the result is an attempt to obscure special, unique, and different qualities, and to draw away from, hide, and ignore the authentic values of the individual and the group does not usually work, leading instead to an increasing sense of isolation and frustration that generates violence.

Avinon (1979) sets forth four prevalent definitions of "social deprivation":

Definition by ethnic affiliation (the definition accepted in Israel): The "socially deprived" are "children of parents from Islamic countries", i. e. North Africa and Asia; or, more commonly, "of Oriental origin". The definitive element in this definition is painfully obvious—no better than stereotypical generalization and categorization. Ethnic affiliation together with "social deprivation" becomes a complex negative label, affecting the individual's identity and his socio-cultural context.

Definition by social stratum and cultural characteristics: The "socially deprived" belong to a low-level socio-economic group and live in a "culture of poverty." Here, an attempt is made to exchange the ethnic factor for a socio-economic and cultural factor. However, it is a well-known fact that in Israel, these two factors are highly congruent; children born to parents of a certain origin very often live in a "culture of poverty." The "socially deprived" are presented here as inferior not by virtue of their affiliation with a particular ethnic group, but by virtue of their social status, or cultural environment—in a situation in which ethnic origin, status, and culture are very closely linked.

Definition by cognitive characteristics: The "socially deprived" have low IQs undeveloped language, concrete thought, and so on. The causal explanation provided is that these phenomena are the product of environmental factors). Despite its reliance on psychological and other findings, this characteristic is no less discriminatory than the previous definitions—intelligence and language are highly dependent on social and cultural context. Various researchers have insisted that the attempt to understand children termed "socially deprived" within their (the researchers') culture and language have shown that these children's perceptual, conceptual, and abstraction ability are no less developed than those of other children who are not "socially deprived". These researchers indicate that logic itself is a social discipline shaped by society.

Definition by achievements in and opinions towards learning: "Socially deprived" do poorly in school; they lack readiness, and motivation, suffer from low self-esteem, and so on. It would seem that two factors create this situation: the structure of the school, and the teachers' attitudes towards the children:

- a) As it stands today, the school is a cultural agent of the middle class. The values, norms, thought and behavior patterns, classification processes, and expectations that the school represents, and according to which it functions, are first of all accepted by the groups from society's center. The children termed "socially deprived", who are raised in and educated to certain values, norms, expectations and so on, are similar, yet also different, and over time find themselves alienated at school. Their culture and life experience are not respected in fact, these are not considered and do not count in the educational process that actually takes place in the school, and their ability to influence is extremely limited. Therefore, they feel helpless, alienated, and frustrated traits that tend to lead to failure.
- b) Many teachers see "socially deprived" children as problematic, and expect low achievements from them; they scorn them and are hostile to them. They tend to see these children's life patterns and system of values and norms as something that must be changed, that is, to modify them so that they correspond to those of the teachers'. Since these children's culture is perceived as, and defined as, backward, and their parents are considered uneducated and unqualified, these teachers expect the children to cut themselves off from their cultural patterns and to put their identities and ways of thought behind them.

Since 1975, research and science publications have begun to indicate that the cause of the educational underdevelopment of the "socially deprived" lies not their unenlightened background (which, as has been discussed, is not backward at all, only different with regard to culture, values,

etc.), but in the educational system itself. The term "social deprivation" is itself discriminatory (Porat, 1979); the school too labels and discriminates. This labeling leads to low expectations, which in turn lead to poor achievements. In the classroom, teachers' attitudes to "socially deprived" children and their parents are negative; the educational system blocks their unique and different culture by imposing a uniformity that stems from the ideological foundation of the middle class. This coercion perpetuates the "inferiority" of the "socially deprived", from which the ruling class benefits. There are many possible reasons for this:

Liberation movements. In the US and elsewhere arose liberation movements, which fought discrimination against repressed groups such as blacks, women, the poor, remote populations, and so on. In such an atmosphere, a population whose children are "socially deprived" can be viewed as a social stratum repressed by the Establishment. Education serves the Establishment, and as such is

partner to this repression.

The new wave of romanticism. Rousseau's view of the "noble savage" was reinforced by a) anthropological research, which showed that many primitive tribes maintain more humane societies than can be found in the modern world, for all its technology; and b) the prevailing disappointment in modern society and the crumbling of the traditional community structure, causing man's alienation. According to this approach, a "socially deprived" child is the product of a community with its own unique values, and education seeks to transform him into part of modern estranged society. This is an analogy of the criticism of the destruction of tribal life in new African states (Berger et al, 1974).

Sass' psychiatric model. According to this model, society defines its own normalcy, and every deviation from this normalcy is considered mental illness. Throughout history, intelligent and healthy people have been defined arbitrarily as sick by religious, political, and even scientific bodies. Similarly, emotionally healthy children who deviate from the accepted norms are arbitrarily defined as "socially deprived", and they find it very difficult to free themselves from this stigma.

Response to failure of advancement methods used: Nearly all the conventional ideas that explain the phenomenon of "social deprivation", and which served as a foundation for rehabilitation programs, have been proven unsuccessful. Thus, scientists have been forced to seek new hypotheses.

Blaming the teachers: Teachers have always been a scapegoat for all society's ills. Even today, education is blamed for the decline in society's values (Schwarzberg, 1979). It is easy to release the parents of "socially deprived" children from all responsibility and to blame teachers' negative attitudes towards these them.

Detachment from reality: Many "social deprivation" researchers are cut off from the reality of the school for the "socially deprived". The researchers do not work within the schools for the "socially deprived", they only visit them.

Keeping these factors in mind, one thing is clear from these various forms of criticism: the advancement programs are ineffective (Porat, 1979). The concept of "social deprivation" was defined by the Ministry of Education in 1953, and amended in 1974; it serves an administrative purpose for the Ministry in allocating excess resources to "socially deprived" schools in order to advance them as much as possible.

The "socially deprived" child is defined by the State of Israel by the following characteristics: father's education, family size, and father's country of origin (Elgrabli, 1975). Many studies show a close relationship between scholastic achievement and cultural background. These data are characterized by socio-economic indices such as: father's education, mother's education, occupation, The State of Israel, as mentioned, has seen fit to set these three criteria as an index for defining a child as "socially deprived."

Minkowitz, Davis, and Bashi (1979) indicate that this last definition is effective, and serves the purpose for which it was created. However, they also propose introducing certain modifications: more distinctions in the variable of "parental origin", and looking at the general achievement level, not at a particular area of knowledge or subject of study. Yet, "social deprivation" is not a specific term (Adar, 1978) used by a small group of administrative and budget employees in the Ministry of Education; it is a common phrase used by every educator, and by many who are not. It has become part of written and spoken Hebrew vocabulary. When one Israeli citizen says to another, "At X school, most of the pupils are "socially deprived'", he assumes that he will be understood. If we look at the general use of the term, we see that: a) one characteristic of the definition is immediately obvious, but it is long and complicated and therefore it does not help the user to better understand the concept of "social

deprivation"; b) the definition of the term includes a negative element—poor scholastic achievement; c) the definition includes both cause and effect—the individual's affiliation with a particular social group (as defined by ethnic group, father's education, and number of children in the family), and the effect is scholastic failure. Since these social characteristics cause this poor achievement, they also explain it, thus becoming negative characteristics, or characteristics of negative groups.

It can be claimed that defining any group by its low socio-economic characteristics is by nature negative—indeed, poverty, ignorance, and crowded living conditions are negative social phenomena. However, Israelis, and the general public, interpret the definition of "social strata in distress" as "needing help and advancement. When it appears in the context of the term "social deprivation", the definition of these social strata means not only that this is a "weaker group" but that the group does not manage to function properly in the vital task of educating its children. The definition is negative in effect (delaying the children's progress), not with regard to the poverty and distress.

The first characteristic trait of the definition—length and complexity—means that the individual using the term "socially deprived" will in effect refer to another, much shorter definition that differs slightly, or a great deal, from the official definition (Adar, 1978) because there are two common "concise" definitions used by the Israeli public. One of these is an abbreviated definition that preserves the major elements of the original one: "socially deprived' children are children from the lower socio-economic strata", and the second is "socially deprived' children are children of Oriental origin".

Both these definitions have a negative element. The first abbreviated definition is a precise rendition of the official definition, except for one thing: it presents the logical significance of the definition, but not the practical significance. The official definition does not establish the social groups that produce "socially deprived" children; it merely sets forth an index by which these groups can be identified, i. e. the children's actual achievements (survey, 1972). If, for example, it were to be found that the children of University-educated European immigrant fathers who had two or three siblings scored lowest in the survey, the Ministry of Education would include this group in its definition of "socially deprived". In contrast, the abbreviated form of the definition used by educators and members of the general public refers specifically to certain social groups: the poor social strata of the Oriental ethnic groups.

Factually speaking, this is well-based. Ninety-five percent of the children defined by the Ministry of Education as "socially deprived" do in fact belong to Oriental ethnic groups—and to the lower socio-economic levels, not the University-educated. The second abbreviated definition is far more problematic, as it connects scholastic backwardness solely to ethnic affiliation. Both educators and the general public use the terms "socially deprived children" and "children of Oriental origin" interchangeably, to the point where these two concepts have become synonymous for those, in education and in the public, who lack information on the subject.

Thus a typical negative stereotype is formed—and acknowledgment of the stereotype, with the claim that there are "exceptions". An example of this is found in an article by A. Schtahl (1976): a teacher who characterizes the parents of her pupils as "primitive", ill-bred, uncivilized, and ignorant. When asked, this teacher does emphasize that she has "a few nice North African pupils... " (Adar, 1978). Certainly, the negative stereotype of the Oriental immigrants held by many members of the Israeli population would exist even if the term "socially deprived" had never been dreamed up.

However, the existence of such a term helps crystallize things, in that it is a) an "official" negative term; b) in effect, it applies to nearly all members of Oriental ethnic groups; c) it is difficult for the uninformed citizen to remain aware of the fact that "even if all, or the vast majority, of the "socially deprived' are of Oriental origin, not all citizens of Oriental origin are "socially deprived'". Concerning the third element in the definition, we must say (Adar, 1978) that "the systematic study of ethnic culture will probably lead to an acknowledgment of both the positive and negative characteristics of each ethnic group. "Nevertheless, it will not lead us to identify any of the positive characteristics in the ethnic origin of the "socially deprived", as they are necessarily defined in advance as a negative group.

Since it is negative, the concept of "social deprivation" indicates a special type of pupil, and leads to "over-definition" of that type by researchers who seek to advance and cultivate the issue in order to arrive at the roots of the problem, and to propose solutions. Minkowitz (1979) claims that existing research shows "essential deficiencies" in language functions, significant inadequacy in abstraction

and generalization ability, and developmental delays in the ability to classify and in the shaping of fundamental concepts in various areas of knowledge and life. The differences in intellectual function between the "socially deprived" and the regular child is not solely quantitative; it can be described as qualitative in certain areas of cognitive function. According to researchers, one of the characteristics setting "socially deprived" children apart from regular children is the formers orientation towards the concrete, the specific, and the usual, as opposed to the abstract, the general, and the possible."

In their article, H. Eiger and N. Konick (July, 1979) state that the thought patterns of the "socially deprived" are characterized by following instead of initiative, dependence on external authority instead of personal choice, and stereotypical and manipulative activity instead of discerning and direct activity. Further, they claim that "the "socially deprived' child is incapable of clearly differentiating between imagination and reality, and cannot observe his feelings in an objective and critical light". Thus, "the teacher needs to learn that the expectations he has developed from his work with middle-class pupils are not appropriate when working with "socially deprived' children".

An additional example (Adar et al, 1979) is the statement that "the "socially deprived' are characterized by low motivation, general slowness in thought activities, weak hypothetical thought, and so on". All the authors quoted here would certainly not attribute these characteristics to individuals "of Oriental origin", or even to "members of low socio-economic strata" without quantitative limitations when these or other characteristics are attributed to a particular social group which has been defined according to broad and accepted criteria such as ethnic group, status, educational level, or some combination of these. If they were to do so, it would not be possible to attribute additional characteristics to this group, except by adding quantitative statements such as "some", "a majority", "70%", etc.

However, the concept of "social deprivation" is essentially over-defined, as it refers to both an ethnic and social stratum and to the consequences of belonging to this ethnic group, i. e. poor scholastic achievement. It is therefore natural, that when an attempt is made to understand the link between the two elements of the definition, "explanatory" causal characteristics become its determining characteristics. The group then becomes a sort of special homogenous "entity": any reference to it refers to the entire group, as it explains the connection between the two elements of the twofold definition.

There are two additional contexts (Adar, 1978) in which the term "socially deprived" is used: in assessment research, a distinction is made between a) the political context; and b) the educational context. The political importance of the issue is that "social deprivation" is a painful social problem, and that the educational administration, educators themselves, and the general Israeli public deserve to know what steps are being taken to solve this problem and whether these are successful. The usual question concerns "the gap" — whether the gap in scholastic achievements (and thus changes promoting social advancement) between children from different social strata are decreasing, and if so whether this is occurring by itself as a result of processes taking place in Israeli society, or as a consequence of some form of educational intervention — for instance, educational reform and the establishment of junior high schools.

We must, therefore, ask why the term of "social deprivation" is necessary — for purposes of political discussion? for reporting to the general public? for processing information that serves as its foundation? According to Adar (1978), in the political context, the right and natural (and also usually the most accepted) way of discussing the problem is in reference to clearly defined social groups, not to a problematic group of "socially deprived" individuals. These groups are certain ethnic groups, or groups from low socio-economic strata. Regarding reporting to the public concerned about "the gap" — whether this public is the academic community or all Israeli citizens — statements such as the following would be perfectly clear: "For the past ten years, the gap in scholastic achievements between children of Oriental parents and children of Western parents has been decreasing at an annual rate of X%", or, "The achievements of second-generation Orientals are closer to those of children of Western immigrants than they are to those of children of immigrants from Oriental countries", or, "Is the achievement gap between children of different socio-economic status decreasing or increasing, and is this the result of public or educational policy?"

This question is harder to answer if it is conceivable to abandon the term "socially deprived" in educational discussion on the essence of the problem, its etiology, or ways of rehabilitating the "socially deprived" (Adar, 1978). This is the major context of all educators, including educational

researchers, teachers, principals, superintendents, and all branches of educational administration concerned with various types of rehabilitational programs. These people are all discussing a particular "something"; they all seek to understand this "something", change it, and/or correct it — and this "something" is the "socially deprived", i. e. the large group of children that have both elements of the definition: unenlightened family background and poor scholastic achievement. The treatment of this "something", and the effort to understand it and to define (or "over-define") its characteristics, have given rise to rehabilitation theories and practice meant to produce genuine advancement.

But is not this "over-definition" and the linking of cause and effect in defining "social deprivation" in accordance with educational thought on the issue in question? Minkowitz, Davis & Bashi (1977) view the problem as follows, and propose a suitable solution: For the educational-scholastic aspect, as opposed to the political aspect, "social deprivation" will be defined not by his social status or ethnic affiliation, but by his individual scholastic ability and achievements. Nevertheless, here too the social characteristics of the "socially deprived" will be relevant in the following senses:

Socio-cultural distinctions common to pupils defined as "socially deprived" will serve as a basis for both etiologic explanations of the phenomenon and preventive action.

Knowledge of background characteristics of the home will help determine whether the poor scholastic performance of the pupil defined as "socially deprived" is the result of actual retardation, emotional disturbance, or disadvantaged environmental conditions.

In other words, knowing the social background of poor achievers can help in understanding the causes of his failure and in determining rehabilitational action based on this understanding. However, from the moment we identify a child as "socially deprived" by his individual scholastic failure, we no longer need this term.

Obviously, the solution does not lie in exchanging one word, or set of words, for another. Other terms have already been used to identify the "socially deprived", such as "disadvantaged", "culturally impaired" and so on. If we were to call this group "advanced" or "high-ability", these expressions too would quickly become negative labels. The logical conclusion of the proposal to define the "socially deprived" child individually is that we must refrain from using adjectives in order to avoid characterizing a group of pupils. Thus, in the educational context, the use of an adjective must be replaced by the use of an abstract noun, that indicates not the child, but the phenomenon in question — i.e. poor scholastic achievement, in all children, not only those from the lower social strata, and not in all children of these strata. Even if the reasons for poor achievement, and ways of overcoming it, are different for children from different social strata, the general overview of the entire phenomenon of failure will heighten, not obscure, the comprehension of the unique problem of the "socially deprived".

In her article, Adar (1978) mentions of five advantages that she identifies in abandoning the use of any adjective for indicating the group of children in question:

When no adjective is used for indicating the group of children, they are simply children — and children are different from each other. Attention to each individual child is important first of all to the class teacher; however, it is also crucial for researchers and educational theorists. There has been too much discussion on what characterizes the "socially deprived" as a group, and not enough on individual differences within this group. Exploring these individual differences can indicate factors, isolated or in combination, of unique importance in understanding the essence of the learning process in pupils from lower social strata, and in identifying the cause of their relative failure (or relative success) in school.

Poor achievement can be found even in the upper social strata, even if in such cases we do not associate it with mental handicap or organic disorders. This fact is important because it invites us to examine whether there may be common factors in scholastic failure, along with those unique to a particular social strata. Such an examination of common factors can be of benefit in planning and executing directives for integrative classes, particularly when these factors stem from the school and the teaching in it, and not from the characteristics of the children and their parents.

Educators and psychologists accept that the scholastic achievement levels of "socially deprived" pupils usually do not express their actual potential, and that this potential, sabotaged by deficient home conditions, can be rehabilitated (Frankenstein, 1970). However, it is almost certain that most better-off pupils from the same ethnic groups also do not perform in accordance with their actual

potential, and it is reasonable to assume that many educational patterns found in middle class families also undermine children's intellectual potential, such as fostering over-dependence, pampering, materialism, restriction of individual expression, being bound by convention, and so on. If this is true, it may be possible to learn about under-achievement in children from low socio-economic strata from the nature and causes of under-achievement in middle class children.

The parents of "socially deprived" children do not function properly as educators. A teacher opinion questionnaire, distributed for the purposes of the assessment study, showed that teachers find very few positive traits in these parents, and often attach negative traits to them. Minkowitz, Davis, and Bashi (1977) claim that "the parents do not devote sufficient time and attention to their children"; "they are helpless when faced with problems in their children's education", "they have unrealistic assessments of their children's ability and talents"; "they do not take an interest in their children's studies", "they do not educate their children to be independent and responsible" and so on. However, a look at middle class parents will show a significant degree of these same characteristics. Obviously, the damaging influence of these characteristics will be of varying intensity in different families, and in children with different individual traits; however, such differences can also exist within each social stratum, and not only between them.

The same can be said for the traits of individual children. This same opinion questionnaire (Minkowitz, Davis, and Bashi, 1977) found that teachers see "socially deprived" children as "not striving towards succeeding in school", "lacking confidence at school and being apprehensive about failure", "having deficient attention span and ability to concentrate", "being passive and lacking initiative", "being unimaginative", andsoon. These are traits that are also typical of large groups of children who are not "socially deprived"—and, again, scholastic success depends on an entirety of factors which differ from each other both within and between social strata. A genuine explanation of the influence of familial and personality factors in scholastic success and failure would be far more complete and accurate if it reached beyond the framework of a particular group; why, then, is the group called "socially deprived" negatively labeled? (Adar, 1978).

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TALKING AND LISTENING: FACTS AND RULES

Speaking and listening in contrast with writing and reading

How do we connect with what ever goes on in someone else's mind? how will the other person respond to your efforts? There are many ways of expression in communication. Sometimes it is done through yelling, crying, facial expressions, gestures or other body signs. most of the time communication passes through the use of language: Speaking and writing on one hand, reading and listening, on the other. Those four uses of the language are "arranged" in two parallel pairs; speaking and writing are one pair, reading and listening are another. Both parts in each pair complete each other and create a whole.

It is known that some people express themselves better than others. Those people have better skills or abilities than others do. But, even the best writing is ineffective when it reaches an unskilled reader. The ability to read demands skills and training. Here too, there are differences between individual's abilities. It is obvious that the consequences will not be the same.

This is also true in speaking and listening. Some individuals have a natural talent which able them to be better speakers than others. But, they too, have to train to actualize their full potential. This fact is also true for listening. There are four different performances needed in the process of connecting with someone else's mind.

For each one of these performances there are certain skills needed, so that the process will be effective and correct.

How many of those skills are acquired at school? Writing guidance is given through out the elementary school, continues through secondary school, high school and sometimes even beyond that. Reading guidance is only rarely given beyond elementary school.

How about guidance in the abilities and skills of speaking? Doubtfully it exists even in elementary school.

There are a few specific "public speaking "courses; however, there is not even one specializing in the" art of speaking".

Is listening being taught at any stage? It is amazing that listening is looked at as a natural ability. One that does not need training and improving. Moreover, there is no effort put in any educating process to acquire listening skills. Not even to a level that enables closing the circle of communication by equating the level of listening to the level of speaking

The lack of guidance and instructions in schools in these domains is astonishing especially due to the fact that listening and talking skills are more difficult to acquire than their "partners' "-reading and writing skills.

The reason for the neglect of talking and listening skills is due to the fact that most critic is about educational institutes graduates in reading and writing proficiencies. only a little, if any, is about listening and speaking skills.

In fact, today the reading and writing abilities and skills are more developed than speaking and

listening abilities and skills of graduates.

The least developed skill of all four is the listening skill. Assuming that dealing and solving reading and writing problems, speaking and listening problems will automatically be solved too, is

This assumption is totally wrong due to the great differences between speaking and listening - reading and writing. Those specific differences are the reasonfor the process of acquiring listening and speaking skills being complicated.

On the surface, it seems as both pairs totally parallel. Both pairs use language as one mind makes contact with another mind and responds to it. If it's possible to do it by writing, why should it be more complicated orally, by speaking?

If it's possible to respond and react to the written word, why should it be more complicated to respond to the spoken words?

The fluidity and fluency of the conversation is the reason for the negative answers to these questions. When the word is written down, it is possible to read it several times and do a "better job "understanding it. We can improve our reading by repeating and reading over again. By writing it is always possible to rewrite and improve what had been written down. A writer does not have to pass on his writing to someone else as long as he is not fully satisfied with his writing. The most important element needed for reading and writing proficiencies, is the knowledge of improving them. This element does not play a role in speaking and listening. We can compare the art of speaking and listening to the art of dancing, acting or playing an instrument. This comparison is made due to the fact that at all those activities, once the performance is over, it has been done and it is not changeable any more. Later on, the next performance can be improved. Once the screens are down, the show is over and nothing can be changed. This situation is similar to the art of speaking and listening. You can not go back and improve what ever had been orally said. (in contrast with the ability to improve writing). Every attempt to repeat and change what had been said, usually makes things more complicated. A prepared speech can be improved before taking place. An improvised speech – cannot,

It is possible to improve and train speaking skills at the future, but at a curtain event, the maximal performance of speaking should be presented. This is also true for listening. The listening skill that matters is the current one. There is no option to improve listening at a specific event taking place at the present.

A writer can only hope that the reader will use all the time needed to reach the best results at reading the writer's writings. A speaker cannot even hope. A speaker has to plan his speech so that it will be understood the very first time it is said or heard.

Speaking and listening take place simultaneously. Both begin and end at the same time. Totally different from the time factor in reading and writing.

Effective listening as an active process

"In every person, when he is born, there is a little genius, that is to say, someone who really listens. He can listen and talk at the same time. Through the years, as he gets older, he gets tired and listens less. But some people, very few, continue listening. At the end, they get so old, they stop to listen at all. This is very sad, let's not talk about it" (Gertwood Stein).

Ears do not have an organism parallel to the eyelids. Nevertheless, ears are able to shut down very effectively... Sometimes, both eyes and ears are shut down. The more common situation is when the ears are closed and eyes are open. This situation is fine as long as the attention of the mind is focused at other stimulation rather than the ones heard or seen. At this situation, our senses absorb meaning less sounds, voices and sights.

Listening, like reading, is based on the outcome of apprehending. When the mind is not involved, the act will be hearing, in contrast with listening. The most common mistake is seizing listening and reading as passive actions. This mistake does not exist when referring to speaking and writing. It is easy to see that those two involve the use of energy, attention and effort.

Communication can be compared to basketball. You can be the best player or the best passer, but your skills will not be effective if there is no one there to catch the ball. It is similar with the use of words in communication. There will be no good "pass" if the reader or the listener will not try to reach the mind of the "sender" – the writer or the speaker.

If we use only our eyes and ears but not our mind, to adapt the information and try to understand the message, we do not perform meaning full actions of reading and listening. The consequences are communication failures. The blame is not always on the reader or listener. Sometimes the writer's or the speaker's words is meaning less or sense less.

The importance of listening is well known. It is also well known that out of the four main communication activities; writing, reading, speaking and listening, listening skills are least developed. The reason of this situation is the time and efforts invested in training and teaching reading, writing and oral expression, in contrast to the total ignorance of the listening skills. Another reason for the

lack of concern to the listening skill is the thought and belief that for becoming a good listener you need nothing more than to be quiet.

Researches have shown that out of the four basic activities of communication, keen listening is acquired at a child's primary development. It is at use through out his lifetime 46% of the time and is very rarely learnt during school years. On the other hand, the ability to speak is acquired later on in life and is being used 30% of his life, speaking skills too, don't get much attention during school years. Reading is acquired before writing and is being used a longer period of time – 15% of the time, whereas, writing being in use 9% of the time.

There is less guidance and attention put into reading than into writing, there are some bad habits that interrupt and prevent keen listening. One of them is emphasizing the speaker's habits rather than his speech. Another bad habit is pretending to concentrated at the speech while your thoughts wonder around, as you give your mind the option to be shifted away. An over reaction to specific words, the emotional arousement that prevent further listening. Prejudice will also interfere listening. And last but not least, is letting yourself not to listen because you don't find the subject interesting. By that you will not be able to find interest at all. The one and only sure way to deal with those bad habits is using your mind.

The way to efficient listening can and should be similar to the way to efficient reading, due to the similarity between them. Both proficiencies demand the mind of the receiver to react to the words

through the concept that lays beyond them.

There is a need to surmount the obstacles of the language for better understanding. The language and the vocabulary of the speaker or the writer is only seldom similar to the language and vocabulary of the listener or the reader. The reader must try to "get to the bottom "of the writer's thoughts, so as the listener to the speaker. In other words, our ambition should be to understand the ideas behind the words, any way they are pronounced. Not all that has been said, is equally important. The listener and the reader should be able to separate the significant ideas from the insignificant ones. They should be able to identify the main ideas.

* What is the subject and the content of the speech? What is the speaker trying to say and how is

he doing it?

* What propositions, ideas and conclusions are the center line of the speech?

* What special notions are being used to emphasize the ideas?

* Do the conclusions sound right to you? Is there a connection between the propositions and the conclusions?

* Do the propositions actually lead to the conclusions?

* What derives out of the conclusions? What do the conclusions mean to speaker?

Just like a written document, speaking is a stage based on different parts. The reader and the listener must put In the effort to distinguish the structure and the duration of the different parts that build up the whole.

Understanding the content of the speaker's speech, diagnosing the performance and the reasons given ahead and aiming to conclude the speech. All of the above are essential for keen and effective listening. But being essential as they are, they alone, are not enough. An effort should be made not to set an attitude to the speech before it is over.

There are some questions a listener can ask himself while listening to a speech. By asking these

questions and searching for specific answers, listening will be more focused:

It is possible to think about those questions while the speech lasts. It is merely impossible to answer them while listening. The answers should be given immediately when the speech is over.

Another "instrument" that might be helpful, is writing. An effective listening requires writing down notes through out the speech and even when it ends. When the speech is over, notes should be read and rearranged so that answers for the questions would be found.

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Habib Nasser Geries

COUNSELOR'S DUTY: THE COUNSELOR'S PERCEPTION ACTIVITY DUTY WITHIN GALIL HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS

Introduction. The modern school is supposed to assist the learner effective competition with the variable environment surround him swiftly.

But this assistance cannot be limited by bounds of knowledge, science, technology, and society. It must take into account other aspects, which derives from them, such as mentality, feeling, and person to person communication, values, positions, and human relation. The situation is created when the teachers have to embrace simultaneously many aspects, and it is difficult for them to focus on all those aspects satisfactorily. Because teachers and principals see their direct professional functions as to bring the learners together in a team with the required knowledge, to an effective task in the environment, which turns to be demanding, achieving and clever, they need to be helped by professionals whom most of their time, training and qualifications are focused on different aspects of behavior, science and the relation to the pupil as an individual. One of this professional is a counselor.

The combination of teaching and counseling functions creates an exclusive contradiction amongfunction for counseling is Israel. There is a requirement from the ministry of education that the counselor engage in teaching, and it is possible to create a situation in which the counselor has to combine teaching with counseling, Mostly at school and sometimes in one class. As a teacher he has to cope with judgments, evaluation achievement, and discipline problems, and to be identified by the pupils with an image of authority, limiting and sometimes punishing, too.

As a counselor, his duties demand an "acceptive" attitude, "supportive" "not judgmental", "not criticizing" and using principles and ways that are not of like nature customary with the teacher's practice.

Concerning the educational team at the school it complete an intermediate duty, which puts it between the management and between them and the pupil. That is why its duty is able to put him in a situation that obliges him to keep interests of management and its priority order, (the counselor is subordinated to the principal of the school) despite his identity (as a teacher) with the teachers or his professional obligation (as a counselor) towards the pupil.

(Avigdor Klingman - the counseling at the school - prevention focus)

His personal status at the school, his personality, his willingness to take the most important initiation to advance the pupils.

The purpose of the article is in one hand to describe the main functions of the counselor and on the other hand to check the pupil's perception of the duties of the counselor in Galil High School.

Assumption – The work of the counselor at school in Galil is caught when it concentrates in the interference during crisis and for a short range, the counselor is not involved in prevention counseling or development.

The Duties of the Counselor. The counselors see themselves responsible for professional guidance of treatment for personal problems and for creating techniques for designing behavior pattern. And bring to expression the maximum potential of individual.

The counseling is a development process that is fitted to every pupil and it is also a preventive process and not only a helping process for the pupil in a crisis moment.

The main work of the counselor is seen as an idea that focuses on hard struggles of the individual, which do not get beyond the standard, An idea which does not deal with "deep layers" of the soul, but focuses on developing tasks of the counselor, that takes place in his natural environment. (Klingman and Eizen, 1978)

Definition of the teacher-counselor's duties within eight functions he is involved:

To help pupils to adapt to the school and to the community.

To help pupils to reach a self-understanding.

To provide the required information for working choices.

To help pupils to understand their aspects of interests, their values and their opinions.

To help pupils person-to-person communication

To be a counselor for teachers and other professionals.

To help parents in getting decisions relating their plans for choosing a profession for their children, and help them handle with behavior problems.

To turn to special institutions in need.

The counselor decides the priority orders of his work in co-ordination with the school management and the inspection.

He focuses on certain aspects, according to the needs of the school, his academic training, his exclusive specialization domain, and his personal view that he brings to the subject. (Klingman, 1982)

The counselor will assist with the help of the homeroom teachers to handle class problems and pupils' problems who are not adapted: the counselor will give a supportive treatment, to individuals according to his professional and qualifications deliberation.

A part of the counselors in Israeli schools identifies themselves with the educational team and see the counseling as an additional educational specialization in its work in education and teaching.

Part of them identifies themselves with the principal's staff and organization and seeks help as members of the organization and staff, to change the function of the system and improve it. Other counselors see themselves as professionals who give individual treatment. In reality this combination is possible or more than those three aspects. (Avigdor Klingman - Counseling in the school preventative point.)

The Counselor as a Preventive Model. The preventive model of the counselor (Raviv Klingman and Horowitz) is based on an intervention which the first stage:

Is created before the disturbance appearance in the usual functioning or before they caused the change or the contrast of the acute emotional phenomenon.

Is intended for general population, community, or a group of community.

Is based on the interference, which occur to confront spiritual difficult factors and to provide tools and skills of coping to the population so they can control the situation more efficiently. This way prevents or at least reduces the difficult situations and the rate of being mentally hurt in the community.

In the second stage of prevention is an intervention which:

Is created in the early stages of the development difficulty.

Is intended for direct action with the individual or a small group in order to solve or bring a quick relief to the situation problem which is found and in this way prevent aggravation which will make the treatment more difficult later.

Is taking ways and methods of localizing, identifying, and early diagnosing and using tools and treatment skills for treatment in crisis situations. (Aguilera and Messcik, 1978)

The third stage of prevention is an intervention which:

Is created in the relief stage of the problem

Is intended for the individual in the comeback stages to regular functioning in order to help him integrate in the best way in the community.

Is using among other thing psychological ways and rehabilitation counseling.

The first prevention has to be in the first priority in the means of his work focus, his specialization and his professional identity integration of the counselor.

The first prevention is such a broad field that the counselor has to develop, and deepen the

working pattern in the first preventive field within the school. (Klingman, 1984).

Counseling is not limited and it is a treating profession, trained to give supporting treatment to the individual, to deal with the idea that focuses on the normal individual in the time crisis. The school counselor has to be available for the pupils at any time so that the pupil can get help from a professional skilled person, his loyalty to help girding mental existing strength, solve problems and get decisions.

The counselor can serve as a counselor for the homeroom teacher in the preventing frame, especially for those incidents in which there is no need for a clinical diagnosis. The counselor provides the homeroom teacher information according to the characteristic reactions and their interpretations, while he makes the struggle with the anxiety that makes the child's crisis easier for the teacher. But when the child cannot form a positive relation with the homeroom teacher, or when the homeroom teacher feels the relation between the child and himself is not sufficient, it is necessary for the child to turn to the counselor in order to follow the principles' prevention. The counselor is supposed to be a meaningful character in the system, a character which is easy to reach. Certain events, especially extreme ones, demand intervention of prevention. For example, for a public reaction on a communal disaster is need for an intervention for those who influenced in a very acute way.

In the framework of prevention, the counseling may focus on the intervention at the time of a crisis (Aguilera and Messcik, 1978). Intervention is supposed to assist the individual to get intellectual comprehension of the crises he is in, to rise the feelings that are involved with his situation and to help him check communications and possible struggle mechanism. The counseling focuses on identifying the personal resources in effort to provide more skills needed to solve problems, and making the right decisions in order to cope with daily problems in the learning field, in the professional development field, form planning life style, struggling with contrasts and personal problems that are related with his life generally at home and especially at school.

The Method and the Tool. Sixty pupils from grade 10,11 and 12 were chosen in random in Galil High School. The pupils were asked to fill a form in which they had to nominate to 10 function in the framework about the school counselor's duty and to arrange these functions in order of importance according to the pupil.

(It is necessary to point out that there are no more the 200 pupils in Galil High School).

The Results. The functions of the counselor in order of descended importance according to the pupils.

Taking care of integration problems of pupils in the class.

Providing information about universities and other institutes.

Help the pupils to register in the University and other institute.

Taking care of pupils with discipline problems.

Teaching a subject at school.

Conclusion and Discussion. The pupils marked down only these functions of the school counselor and did not mention other function. There were no pupils who marked down more than five function despite they had the possibility to nominate to 10 function about the counselor. The pupils marked down that the counselor teaches in the school and that it is a less important function than other functions. As we have seen, the pupils did not mentioned the fact that the counselor devotes time to regular, normal pupils. They did not mark down that the counselor work with examinations and forms for pupils in order to base on his work according these form and examinations. The pupils did not mark down that the counselor devotes time to group dynamics among pupils and in counseling for interest development in activities in free time.

The counselor devotes most of his time to the problem pupils, who are in crisis, and/or are a passing problem, like new pupil or a pupil who requires special attention, and most of the relation with the pupil is based on providing information.

This is the picture of the counselor as seen by the pupils in Galil High School. From the pupils' answers the counselor focused on two main working fields.

One field is work with children who are in a crises situation, new pupils and problem children. The other field is the field of professional guidance, giving information to pupils about universities and registration to other institutes.

The counselor devotes form his time to problem pupils and not to pupils who are not so in one way or another. The counselor does not base his work on examinations and form results that are filled

in by the pupils, that is why the counselor is not systematic and not preventive.

Summary. As we can see, from the pupil's answer, the counselor's work in Galil High School concentrates on the intervention during crises and short range. The counselor is not involved in preventive counseling or development that requires a long time. The counselor is a communicative person of the school, he is a go-between among pupils and the school staff and he establishes the relation between the school and institutes and people in the community. He establishes the communications between the pupil's family and the school as well. The counselor adopts to himself a broad function definition and surrounded which agree to the general purpose of the counseling service. This broadening functioning definition relates to varied services, counseling, consultations, information gathering, localizing, evaluation, grading, communication with communal institutions, correcting teaching, treating reaching, reaching, main shafts, and duty explanation. (Klingman, 1973).

It is recommended to check the expectations of the pupils from the counselor's duty because it is worthwhile to balance the expectations that the service givers and to the receivers from the duty. Expectation balance from the counselor's duty will bring clearness, central and secondary duty

identification at his work.

In addition, it is recommended to work on the school clearness counselor's duty, from the pupils counseling's side at school.

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А.В. Донцов

ОБОВ'ЯЗОК І СОВІСТЬ ЯК МОРАЛЬНІ МЕХАНІЗМИ ПОВЕДІНКИ ОСОБИСТОСТІ

У зв'язку з необхідністю подальшого удосконалення системи морального виховання підростаючого покоління і, особливо, студентської молоді, підвищенням її ролі в розбудові відкритого демократичного суспільства, розробка теоретико-методологічних питань виховання почуття і свідомості громадського обов'язку займає у виховному процесі найприорітетніше місце. Так вимога зумовлена тим, що в громадському обов'язку проявляються насамперед обов'язки особистості перед суспільством, які випливають з конкретно-історичних умив розбудови незалежної демократичної держави.

В дослідженні громадського обов'язку як етичної категорії є декілька підходів: по-перше, громадський обов'язок розглядається як суспільна необхідність, що випливає з моральних вимог до особистості в конкретній ситуації [2; 78-80]; по-друге, він розглядається як сконцентроване вираження вимог моралі, які постають перед особистістю у вигляді розумно усвідомленої відповідальністї за свою поведінку перед суспільством, колективом і самим собою [4; 128]; по-третє, обов'язок розглядається як усвідомлена система громадянських і моральних вимог суспільства, соціальних спільнот та особистісті в їх взаємозв'язку та притиречності відносин, що випливають з потреб соціальної необхідності [5; 42]. Таким чиним, в громадському обов'язку міститься історична необхідність прогресивних перетворень, що виражає об'єктивну необхідність і потребу переходу належного в суще. Чим значніше у суспільній свідомості буде виражатись об'єктивна сутність громадського обов'язку, тим більш інтенсивніше буде відбуватись реалізація уявлень про обов'язок в соціальній практиці, яка удосконалюючись висуває нові вимоги щодо його змісту.

Співвідношення між належним і сущим, об'єктивною і суб'єктивною сутністью обов'язку мають бути привідними у дослідженні питань виховання моральної поведінки особистості. Відношення до громадського обов'язку розкриває цілу систему протиріч між зовнішніми об'єктивними вимогами належного і внутрішніми мотивами поведінки. Такий підхід дозволяє розмежувати поняття "громадський обов'язок, як сукупність взаємних обов'язків людей і спільнот, і "моральний обов'язок" як система відносин людей до обов'язків, що виникають об'єктивно і виконуються у відповідності з внутрішньою моральною переконаністю особистості.

У моральному обов'язку відображаються високорозвинені свідомість і почуття громадськогообов'язку. Моральний обов'язок характеризується як форма раціонального і емоційного сприйняття особистістю своїх обов'язків перед суспільством, що випливають з об'єктивної необхідності удосконалення моральних відносин.

Специфіка обов'язку як провідного морального механізму поведінки особистості полягає в органічному поєднанні емоційних і раціональних компонентів в її моральній свідомості. Якщо свідомісті обов'язку характеризує наявність певних етичних знань і переконань в необхідності сумлінного виконання своїх сімейних, службових та громадських обов'язків, то в почутті обов'язку проявляється безпосередня залежність особистості від тих суспільних відносин, в які вона залучюється в процесі соціалізації. В почутті обов'язку проявляється емоційне ставлення особистості до необхідності його виконання як її внутрішня моральна потреба. Коли усвідомлене і пережите почуття обов'язку набуває властивості етичної потреби, то лише за цієї умови виконання обов'язку виключає примусове внутрішнє вольове, або зовнішнє насильство над особистістю.

Перехід об'єктивної сутності обов'язку в морально-психологічну структуру особистості, пов'язаний з розвитком її моральних потреб, задоволення яких викликає почуття морально-психологічного комфорту. Моральні потреби утворюються на підгрунті соціальних властивостей особистості, тому обов'язок як механізм утворення морально-психологічної мотивації поведінки особистості слід розглядати в контексті переходу зовнішніх елементів моральної свідомості у внутрішні, раціонального в емоційне, ідеологічного в психологічне, теоретичного в практичне.

У дослідженні проблеми виховання почуття і свідомості громадського обов'язку виділяються такі напрямки, як організація інтелектуальної і фізичної діяльності особистості з урахуванням особливостей розвитку її інтелектуальних, емоційних і вольових психічних процесів (А.Я.Криєва), систематичне залучення учнів до суспільно корисної діяльності на підгрунті розвитку їх інтересів і потреб (Г.Оглобліна), створення педагогічних умов для формування суспільних мотивів діяльності і переконань в провідній ролі суспільних інтересів (А.Арилепський), цілеспрямоване використання ігрової, навчальної та трудової діяльності, яке передбачає перехід власного відношення щодо виконання обов'язків через внутрішнє сприйняття цих обов'язків як зворотньої позитивної реакції (Г.Г.Уранова).

Почуття обов'язку належить до групи найбільш піднесених моральних якостей і формується поступово в процесі соціалізації особистості, засвоєння ситеми моральних норм і цінностей, накопичення життєвого досвіду. Проблема переходу громадського обов'язку з зовнішньої форми морально-психологічного примушення особистості у внутрішній морально-

психологічний стимул її діяльності як один з високозначимих мотивів її поведінки має об'єктивні і суб'єктивні особливисті. По-перше, в результаті розширення соціальних зв'язків особистості з середовищем не завжди відбувається засвоєння уявлень про обов'язок як сукупність найбільш доцільних і належних способів поведінки, прагматичний сенс діяльності вступає в протирічча з більш віддаленими завданнями, перспективами і моральними вимогами. По-друге, процес виховання почуття обов'язку торкається самосвідомості особистисті, її ціннісних орієнтацій, системи індивідуальних значень та мотивації поведінки. Тому вивчення властивостей обов'язку як механізму поведінки особистості неможливе без урахування змін, що відбуваються на її психічному рівні.

Дослідження морального обов'язку як механізму поведінки особистості неможливе без урахування системи детермінованих зв'язків. Аналіз непутніх детермінованих чинників, що впливають на особистість дасть можливість: по-перше, вияснити особливості переходу від нищих "рівнів добровільності" виконання обов'язку, до більш високих, по-друге, визначити соціально-педагопчні умови утворення високозначимої мотивації поведінки і, по-третє, вивчити допоміжні процеси, завдяки яким відбувається перехід від обов'язку з системи об'єктивних моральних цінностей в психологічно прийняту моральну цінність особистості.

Для дослідження цих питань необхідно також вияснити яким чином взаємодіють: суспільна і індивідуальна моральна свідомість, культурна діяльність взагалі і моральна діяльність особистості як складова частина культурної діяльності, яка проявляється в загальній структурі соціальної регуляції поведінки, що включає в себе як модальну регуляцію, так і психічні механізми регулятивної діяльності особистості.

Детермінація поведінки особистості залежить від трьох загальних чинників: системи виховання, впливу навколишнього середовища і внутрішніх психічних властивостей особистості. Ці чинники самі по собі виступають як внутрішні та зовнішні загальні механізми регуляції діяльності та поведінки особистості.

На думку психологів під внутрішніми механізмами регуляції діяльності слід розглядати певну мотиваційну структуру особистості. причому "внутрішня робота по усвідомленню, об'єктивації суб'єктивних особистісних стосунків з дійсністю в системі суспільне напрацьованих значень... є глибинний особистісний рівень регуляції діяльності людини" [6; 240]. Таким чином, основна дія обов'язку як механізму морального розвитку особистості полягає в тому, що його об'єктивний зміст у процесі інтеріоризації суб'єктивації як цілісної системи моральних норм і цінностей під дією виховного впливу відображається у внутрішній соціально-психологічній структурі особистості.

Коли об'єктивно актуалізований зміст обов'язку переходить через емоційну сферу особистості, що передбачає не тільки його усвідомлення, а й переживання як істинно достовірного, то лише завдяки цих умов обов'язок стає внутрішнім надбанням особистості і

сприймається як моральна цінність.

При гальмуванні процесу накопичення моральних цінностей на особистісному рівні морально-психологічна орієнтація особистісті призупеняється, а за нею гальмується і процес суб'єктивації обов'язку як один з механізмів саморегуляції поведінки. Гри відсутності належної виховної роботи і наявності несприятливих соціально-педагопчних умов домінуюче положення починають займати інші спонукально-примусові механізми поведінки (страх, боягузство, стурбованість), які за своєю сутністю не належать до моральних механізмів поведінки, бо несуть в собі психологічне пригнічення людини, обмежують її право у виборі тієї, чи іншої форми поведінки, руйнують її психіку.

Особливості моральної регуляції поведінки особистості на відміну від інших рівніврегуляції визначаються її етичним змістом і безпосередніми зв'язками з соціально-психологічними і індивідуально-психологічними механізмами саморегуляції поведінки, де

провідним має бути об'єктивно актуалізований зміст морального.

Серед умов, завдяки яким відбувається перехід об'єктивного змісту обов'язку у внутрішню морально-психологічну структуру особистості, на нашу думку, є процес збагачення змістовного рівня спілкування. Саме спілкування створює надійне підгрунтя для обміну моральними цінностями на міжособистісному рівні. Таким чином, інтеріоризація обов'язку тісно пов'язана з процесом формування та функціонування громадської думки взагалі, і, зокрема, тієї соціальної спільноти, або колективу, ди якого належить особистість.

Колективна діяльність завжди опосередкована моральними відносинами, які, в свию чергу, залежать від стану громадської думки колективу. Але свою регулятивну функцію колективна думка може надійно виконувати лише тоді, коли етичні норми, які генеруються і нідтримуються громадською думкою колективу не мають суттєвих розбіжностей з віками відпрацьованими моральними нормами суспільства. Тому розбіжність між вузькогруповими, колективними, клановими та суспільними моральними нормами, які випливають з об'єктивної сутності належного є осипаною причиною морально-психологічної деформації особистості.

В процесі обміну думками проявляється виборча активність моральної свідомості особистості, оскільки саме через спілкування відбувається аналіз суспільне значущих моральних цінностей з "особистісних" позицій, проявляється система відношення особистості до них, в якій, в результаті відбору, одні цінності сприймаються як особистісно значимі, інші цінності відкидаються. Виборча активність моральної свідомості особистості багато в чому залежить від рівня розвитку її соціальних потреб.

Соціальні потреби відіграють особливу роль у формуванні соціально-психологічної структури особистості і є однією з провідних збуджуючих сил в утворенні мотивації поведінки, "потреби виконують збуджуючу і регулятивну функції, вони інтегрують в собі найбільш суттєві характеристики особистості, її типові властивості у їх відношенні до навколишнього світу. На їх основі утворюється система інтересів, мотивів, ціннісних орієнтацій, установок, цілей та ідеалів особистості. В потребах приховані "енергетичні коморі" особистості, які визначають силу її потягів і пристрастей. Вони інтегрують почуття і розум людини, — зазначає Л.П.Буєва. Психологи характеризують потреби як відносно стійкий психічний стан особистості, який визначає її потяг до речей і явищ, їх переживання як необхідної умови існування людини [1; 154].

Однією з проявів соціальної сутності людини є її прагнення до самоствердження, повага з боку оточуючих є один з найважливіших збуджуючих мотивів самореалізацп внутрішніх моральних якостей особистості, які ще не проявились в її практичній діяльності. Це пояснюється тим, що любий індивід поряд з іншими соціальними потребами має потребу в надбанні певного соціально-психологічного статусу, який проявляється в результаті розвитку міжособистісних стосунків.

Створення умов для найбільш повного задоволення потреб особистості в самоствердженні є важливою передумовою утворення більш високих моральних потреб і, зокрема, потреби в об'єктивації громадського обов'язку. Механізм такого переходу ще достатньо не досліджений, але вбачається цілком очевидним, що більш глибоке його вивчення неможливе без всебічного аналізу ролі колективної думки в цьому процесі, прояви її контрольно-регулюючої функції.

Поняття совісті поряд з обов'язком також торкається різних рівнів моральної свідомості особистості. Воно характеризує співвідношення між ідеальними науковими знаннями і реаліями життя, між декларативністью прав людини і її реальною соціальною захищеністю. Деструктивність розвитку суспільних моральних відносин негативно впливає на розвиток моральної свідомості особистості. Методологічна невизначеність свідомого і емоційного ставлення особистості до моральних норм суспільства полягає в тому, що вони, поряд з індивідуальними моральними нормами, також здатні до мінливості на рівні буденної і теоретичної моральної свідомості суспільства.

Основним, найбільш об'єктивним критерієм совісті є усвідомлення і переживання особистістю тих моральних норм, які випливають з об'єктивної необхідності вирішення першочергових моральних завдань, що стоять перед особистістю і випливають з моральних вимог суспільства. Якщо поняття совісті і обов'язку сприймаються особистістю як моральні цінності, та перетворюються у внутрішні імперативи її поведінки, то в такому разі вони можуть бути більш надійними регуляторами поведінки ніж зовнішні впливові дії з боку громадської думки колективу, або адміністративно-правового примушення людини.

Колективні моральні норми не завжди стають ефективним засобом формування моральних якостей особистості, оскільки вони можуть не відповідати об'єктивним вимогам належної поведінки. Таким чином, з одного боку, совість є наслідком усвідомлення і переживання особистістю інтересів свого найближчого соціального оточення, або всьго суспільства, з іншого, є результатом внутрішньої боротьби особистості між альтруїстичними і егоїстичними мотивами поведінки, в якій дюмнуючими виступають альтруїстичні мотиви.

Совість тісно пов'язана з почуттям сорому, але якщо сором характеризує власний морально-психологічний дискомфорт особистості від реального або можливого її засудження з боку інших, то совість може виступати внутрішнім автономним регулятором поведінки. І.Кант розглядав совість як "свідомість внутрішнього судилища в людині", а безсовісність як схильність не звертати уваги на судження совісті. Таку схильність він пов'язував з неуцтвом і нездатністю людського розуму заглиблюватись у стан речей.

Виходячи з цього, слід зазначити, що совість проявляється лише на основі високого рівня розвитку автономного морального мислення особистості, яке в свою чергу утворюється на підгрунті усвідомленого почуття громадського обов'язку, "початок всякої людської мудрості, зазначав І.Кант, - є моральне самопізнання, яке прагне проникнути в труднодоступні глибини

серця" [8; 290].

Внутрішні механізми поведінки особистості розвиваються лише при умові її часткового звільнення від механізмів зовнішнього соціального контролю і надання її можливості самостійного морального вибору. Механізм совісті підключається в моральну регуляцію поведінки лише тоді, коли вона має свідомі, читкі переконання про сутність добра і зла, героїчного і ганебного. "Немає моральної доброчинності при відсутності читких уявлень загального блага і усвідомленного знання того, що добре або погане в моральному сенсі, що гідне захоплення, а що ненависті, що справедливо, а що несправедливо" - писав Д.Дідро [2; 83].

Почуття совісті є одним з найважливіших моральних критеріїв, які характеризують відношення особистості не тільки до свого найближчого соціального оточення, а й до своїх обов'язків, до фізичної і розумової праці, природи, суспільства тощо. Тому совість в широкому розумінні випливає з усвідомленого і пережитого поняття належного, як ідеальної моральної субстанції, як основної крапки відрахування, яка, в свою чергу, має починатись з прагнення

особистості до суспільного блага.

Совість не виключає можливості утворення внутрішнього морального конфлікту особистості з суспільством. Суспільні моральні відносини частіш за все відображають не належне, а суще, тобто реалії життя, але саме належне концентрує в собі необхідність підкорення людської діяльності досягненню найвищого суспільного блага.

Внутрішній моральний конфлікт особистості з суспільством пригнічує утворення почуття совісті по відношенню до нього. Це є однією з основних причин розбіжності між особистими і

суспільними інтересами в свідомості людини.

Вірне розуміння об'єктивних критеріїв морального сенсу суспільного блага є надійним підгрунтям об'єктивного оцінювального ставлення особистості до своїх вчинків. В противному разі, коли особистість не набуває стійких морально-світоглядних орієнтацій, її почуття совісті заторможується під впливом різноманітних мотивів моральногого справджування своєї поведінки. Частіш за все це відбувається саме тоді, коли особистість орієнтується на негативні вчинки інших, які в певній соціальній спільноті стали нормою.

Почуття совісті завжди пов'язане з активною розумовою діяльністю особистості, з її постійним пошукам істиних критеріїв моральної поведінки. Якщо у людини утилітарнопрагматичне мислення переважує над засвоєнням гуманістичних моральних норм і цінностей, то за таких обставин притупляється і почуття совісті. Кожна людина, незалежно від рівня її морального розвитку, повинна відчувати докори совісті. Якщо серед психологічних мотивів поведінки совість не набуває належного місця, то за даних умов спрацьовує механізм зворотньої

морально-психологічної деградації людини.

Совість як мотив внутрішньої саморегуляції поведінки особистості пригнічується під впливом самозадоволення собою, або надмірної впевненості у безпомилковість своїх суджень і переконань. Почуття совісті може пригнічуватись і тоді, коли особистість постійно відчуває несправедливе відношення до неї з боку інших, коли відсутня об'єктивна моральна оцінка і визнання її добрих вчинків. У такому випадку виникає почуття пригніченості і образи, а від цьоги знижується і повага людини до свого найближчого соціального оточення, почуття совісті пригнічується саме тоді, коли оцінка діяльності людини не відповідає його самооцінці. Дію такого механізму можна пояснити тим, що особистість, перебуваючи під тиском необ'єктивного ставлення до неї з боку інших, може не відчувати докорів совісті у спільноті людей, яких вона не поважає. Таким чином, серед сприятливих умов виховання почуття совіс-ті можна виділити

доброзичливість в стосунках, гуманне ставлення до людини, здоровий морально-психологічний клімат колективу.

На основі співладання оцінки і самооцінки утворюється почуття справедливості. В противному разі важко виховати почуття справедливості у людини, до якої весь час ставились несправедливо. Хоча гуманізм і людяність у вихованні не повинні виключати вимогливості. Адже відсутність вимогливості також негативно впливає на стан дисципліни, знижує інтелектуальну активність особистості, формує безвідповідальність.

Універсальний характер совісті полягає в тому, що вона поєднує раціональні і емоційні, свідомі і надсвідомі, моральні і естетичні компоненти моральної регуляції поведінки особистості. У формуванні почуття совісті провідне місце посідає інтеріоризація моральних норм і цінностей на свідомому і надсвідомому рівнях, бо вона завжди фіксує об'єктивні вимоги до особистості.

Притуплення почуття совісті відбувається з двох причин: по-перше, коли послабляються механізми соціального і морального контролю за діяльністю особистості і формується безвідповідальність. По-друге, коли моральні вимоги до особистості з боку інших людей, чи соціальних спільнот є необгрунтованими, далекими від об'єктивності, занадто завищеними і суперечать загальним гуманістичним принципам формування моральних відносин. За таких соціальне несприятливих умов людина пригнічується морально і психологічно, в її внутрішню регулятивну структуру включаються інші чинники, серед яких домінуюче положення займає страх як один з інстинктів самозбереження.

Виховання почуття совісті неможливе, коли виховний вплив пов'язаний з моралізуванням, приниженням гідності особистості, погрозами в її адресу. Такі впливові дії значно заторможують розвиток внутрішніх імперативів поведінки, які мають концентруватись на підгрунті усвідомлення і переживання свого обов'язку перед родиною, друзями, іншими людьми, перед самим собою і суспільством.

Страх, переживання перед можливим моральним засудженням особистості з боку інших утворює насамперед не совість, а сором. Ці поняття тісно пов'язані між собою, хоча сором'язливість як моральна якість особистості на відміну від совісті відрізняється нестійкістю і стосується найбільш інтимних сфер життєдіяльності. Ю.М. Лотман характеризує страх, як інстинктивно-біологічне утворення, яке притаманне всім тваринам, як насторожливе відношення до потенційно ворожих і небезпечних ворожих сил, а сором, як специфічний людський механізм, який гарантує дотримання певних норм і обов'язків по відношенню до "своїх" [3; 98-101].

Проява почуття сорому пов'зана з сегреаційним компонентом морального розвитку особистості не тільки по відношенню до нормативних особливостей моралі, а й по відношенню до соціальних носіїв моральних норм. У зв'язку з цим виникає проблема співвідношення, з одного боку, об'єктивної моральної оцінки абстрактної особистості і моральної оцінки поведінки конкретної людини, її відношення ди інших соціальних спільнот — з іншого.

Вплив соціального оточення на формування почуття совісті і обов'язку завжди зумовлений попереднім розвитком моральних відносин, бо для кожної людини має велике значення відношення до неї з боку її соціального оточення та інших соціальних спільнот. Чим вища соціальна значущисть та авторитет оточуючих для особистості, тим більш значним буде їх вплив на формування тієї чи іншої форми поведінки. Важливо, щоб цей вплив мав соціальне орієнтовану, гуманістичну основу.

Виховання почуття совісті і обов'язку не може бути ефективним без розвитку загальних основ морально-естетичної культури особистості, любові і поваги до інших людей незалежно від їх соціальних, етнічних, статевих, вікових, психологічних та інших соціально-демографічних особливостей, засвоєння гуманістичних і естетичних норм, принципів і ідеалів є надійним гарантом подолання особистістю соціально-демографічних обмежень, пережитків минулого у розвитку власної нормотворчості, яка має випливати з поглибленого усвідомлення належного.

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Yael Nissenbaum

WOMEN'S PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES: LEISURE & RECREATION

Do women engage in physical activities in their free time? Are there differences between men and women in this area too, because of the accepted (or previously accepted) image of women in society.

In earlier centuries only women from the upper classes – the aristocracy – engaged in sport in their free time. For the upper classes, "leisure was the rule of life" (J. Hargreaves). But even among the upper classes, sport was controlled by men and women only took part in sports for social reasons and very rarely participated in competitive sports. They engaged in sport in a "feminine" way that preserved their feminine image, particularly in branches of sport that were considered more masculine. Women were considered weaker and more delicate and it was felt that they were unable to perform difficult physical tasks.

The ability to enjoy freedom of movement was partly due to changes in women's clothing. Changes in clothing allowed women's sport to develop quickly – discarding corsets, hoped skirts and numerous petticoats in favor of loose, comfortable garments gave women much more freedom of movement, which increased their enjoyment and allowed a much wider range of movement. Women still did not have complete freedom of movement, as the body was still seen as the source of sin and free, pleasurable movements could be interpreted as sexually erotic and provocative. For women from the middle and lower classes, purity and virginity were important "values" if they wished to marry and raise a family.

When the first public swimming pool opened in London, women demanded to be allowed to use it on a "women only" basis. After much discussion and pressure on the management, which consisted entirely of men, the request was granted for one day a week, but as a favor, not a right!

This permit motivated women to try to obtain permission to make use of other sporting facilities, but even here we can see differences between various groups of women.

"Working women" were financially unable to use the pool, and so for a long time only women with means could allow themselves the luxury of using the pool. Tennis and golf were two other games that only members of high society and those with means in England, America and the colonies could take part in.

In the bourgeois culture, leisure was seen as a corrupting influence which threatened the discipline of the middle-class world. Leisure was opposed to the value of work, both at home and in the work place. Sport was essential to release tension, to store up energy, to preserve the body, for better health – all in preparation for the next day's work, not as a pleasurable activity for free hours.

At the end of the 19th Century, sport became more accessible for girls and women in the working classes as well as for their sisters in the middle classes. Women began to be more involved in community life and in voluntary work, and leisure was no longer a bad word. It was permissible for women to have some free time.

In the 20s and 30s, developments in the entertainment industry – cinema, transport, communications and so on – made sport more popular. Sport was seen as part of the entertainment industry. Radio in particular brought sport into every home, yet even at this time most of those who engaged in sport were still men.

This was also true of those who were involved in physical activities in their leisure time – in clubs, at meetings and in games. Women began to be more involved, but mainly as spectators or, in the clubs, as the organizers of refreshments or of parties to raise funds for the sports clubs to which

their husbands belonged.

During and after the second World War many women started working outside the home. Productivity is one of the most important aims of industry in a capitalistic society, and in the last 50 years there have been tremendous advances in productivity in the western world. Many people now work 4-5 days a week, leaving more time for leisure activities. Women are a growing section of the working population, but they too work shorter hours.

We can even see changes in housework with all the modern electric appliances: housework has

become easier and demands less time.

In her article "Marketing Recreation & Physical Activity Programs for Females", Karla A. Henderson suggest ways of marketing these activities to women, indicating a new development. For about 100 years women have had the opportunity to engage in physical activities, and yet still the number of women involved in sports is relatively small. Few women take part in organized sport of physical activities outside the home. For many women their only physical activity is in programs aimed at the whole family.

So why do women choose not to participate in recreation activities? The writer claims that first we should try to identify women's needs and areas of interest in order to motivate them to participate. Some women do not wish to take part in activities organized and run by men. Others don't like game rules – they would prefer more flexible rules. The male model where friendship, relationships and cooperation are unimportant, only competition and winning count, is unacceptable to some women. Worship of the body – youth and beauty – is also not accepted by everyone.

We can find solutions to some of these problems in "Women Only Philosophy" (J. Hargreaves). Leisure time physical activities do not have to be expensive: walking does not cost anything; bicycles are not expensive and provide a means of transport for many people as well as exercise. But recreational sport does require money and so again we see that women from the lower classes hardly participate. In addition, some of them are simply tired after their hard daily work.

Today more and more working women have their own income, which does not depend on their husbands, and of course single women also have their own money, but they still do not take part in sport. Perhaps the fact that after work they have to do housework doesn't leave them the time or the energy to do so?

A program for women must give them confidence, in a friendly environment, rather than a hostile or threatening one. The male model doesn't interest them. Many females seek social experiences in their leisure pursuits. Of course, women looking for different type of activity – aerobics, body shaping, competitions – must also be catered for.

The women's movement, the fitness boom, legislation of Title IX and the female sports role-models that we see – all these have created awareness and more opportunities for women to take part in sport. Yet all this progress in the status of women, in the attempt to achieve equal opportunities, has led to a new problem. Today both women and men in western societies are the family breadwinners, but the woman is also still the one who does most of the housework. In other words, she works more hours than her partner. She is a mother, a wife, a housewife and a salaried worker: with all these jobs to do, it's not surprising that she is left with little time or energy for recreational activities.

In "All Work and No Play" by R.Deem we again see that although sport is a leisure activity and although women still do not choose to follow it, sport is of national interest and significance: sport is given full coverage in the medium, far more than any other leisure pursuit. It is taught in schools, and is closely connected to fitness and health. But sport is also usually associated with competition!

Many women decide not to participate in sport because of the masculine image associated with athletes and sporting activities: leadership, assertiveness, striving for excellence and victory, independence, a strong and decisive personality – all these qualities are considered unfeminine. To be feminine means being weak, dependent, unable to decide or lead. Yet today women who are leaders,

make decisions, have strong personalities and are independent are far more accepted by society and can reach high achievements. In this situation, physical activities for women become more and more legitimate.

But we still see that sport as it is today, with its male-dominated image, is not suitable for many women. The sports that women tend to participate in are quite different from "male" sports. For this reason, Karla A. Henderson's article is important, as it deals with the need to identify women's needs and wishes as the first step towards marketing recreational activities to them. By identifying these needs and wishes maybe we will be able to persuade more women to participate in leisure time recreational sports and physical activities.

In support of all the foregoing, Dr. Helen J. Lensky, in her article "Women, Sport and Physical Activity", claims that the literature on sport and sociology shows that women have different areas of interest, different priorities and different values, as well as a different approach to sport and recreation.

There is also the problem of leadership in this area as in other areas, and an urgent need for female leaders in sport, to combat the growing violence found among young supporters of various sports, and to promote more female participation in leisure sports and recreation. Women are not interested in being part of the male sporting model, but will be aware of women's different needs.

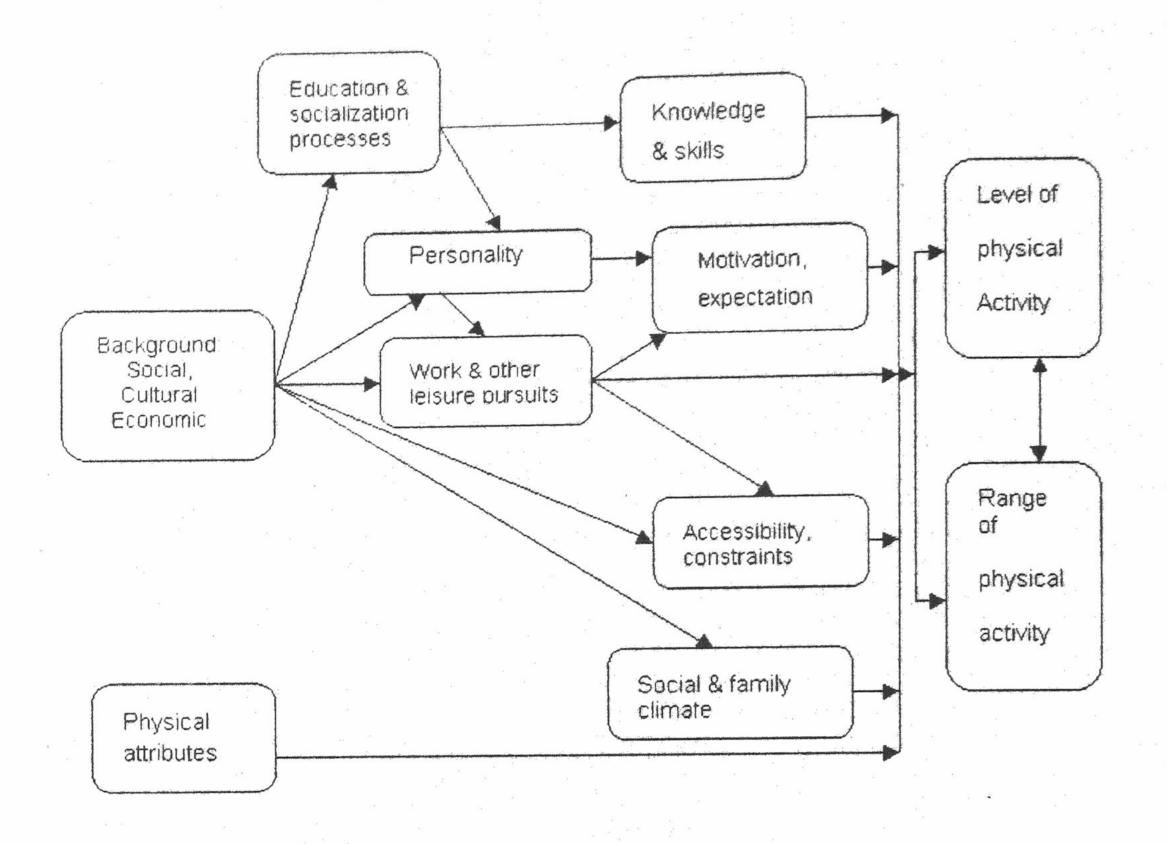
So far I have referred to articles from a number of countries dealing with leisure and recreation, and if I have to sum them up, I would have to say that it still seems as if a fairly low proportion of women engage in physical activity during their free time, and again we are speaking about fairly well defined social groups: white women belonging to the socioeconomic middle class and upwards. Of course there are specific problems in certain societies which limit women, such as religion or cultural norms leading to religious and/or social taboos.

I tried to find material on the subject of leisure and recreation in Israel in relation to women, but according to the head of the Association of Women in Sport, the last study on this subject was carried out in the 1970s and has not value today.

At present another study is being conducted, and after a lot of lobbying, the Sports' Authority agreed to set aside a place for women only. This study has not yet finished and there are no results meanwhile.

One article in the collection "Psychological and sociological characteristics of physical education and sport" talks about Community Center which provide physical activities for many different types of people.

The report of the 2nd National Convention on Psychology and Sociology of Sport and Physical Education describes a study – "Selected factors relating to male participation in physical and sporting activities in free time". Women are only mentioned as wives or as part of something, not as an independent section of the population. The study contains a very interesting model, which I have reproduced below, as it lead me to construct a short questionnaire of 8 questions, using some of the elements in this model, in order to try and see what is happening around me: do Israeli women choose physical activities in their free time? If so, why? Which do they prefer?



Seventy eight women answered this questionnaire. Out of these 78, the majority were aged 30-50. They are all working women, apart from three students, married and with children. Their socioeconomic situation is average to good. I have not related to ethnic origin or religious practice, but I should point out that most of them belong to the agricultural sector – they are members of kibbutzim or moshavim, while very few are city dwellers. In all the places where they live physical activities are easily accessible to anyone who is interested, with sports clubs etc. (A sample questionnaire is attached to this paper).

Responses

1. Do you engage in physical activities in your free time?

Y	es	No		So	metimes	To	tal
24	30.8%	31	39.7%	23	29.5%	78	100%

2. What is your preferred type of physical activity?

Dancing	Walking	Running	Swimming	Ball games	Exercises
20	39	4	21	27	2

3.If you don't engage in physical activities, what is the reason? (Some of those questioned did not answer this questions, and some marked two reasons).

No time	Don't enjoy	Not important	Not available
28	4	1	5

4. If you do engage in physical activities, what is the reason? (Again, some people marked more than one reason, including 10 out of the 31 who answered "No" to the first question!):

Health	Fitness	Enjoyment	Friendship	Good appearance
29	25	27	9	11

5. If you had the chance, would you join a physical activities group?

Yes		No		Maybe		No rep	oly
44	56.41%	7	8.97%	23	29.48%	4	5.12%

I felt it would be useful to see how the responses to this question related to the responses to the first question. The breakdown was as follows:

	If you had the chance, would you join a physical activities group?									
Response to Q1	Yes		No		Ma	Maybe		reply		
Yes	16	16.66%	2	8.33%	3	12.50%	3	12.50%		
No	15	48.38%	4	12.90%	11	35.48%	1	3.22%		
Sometimes	13	54.54%	1	4.54%	9	40.90%	0	0%		

This shows how groups could attract more women to take part in physical activities. The group provides confidence, support and encouragement as well as social contacts, all things that many women are looking for in physical activities. Conversely, we often see that where women lack confidence, support and encouragement, they do not take part in physical activities in their free time.

Do you think physical activity gives you anything? (Some people marked more than one response):

Health	Fitness	Enjoyment	Friendship	Better appearance
33	54	34	9	13

What would help you to keep up your physical activities? (9 out of those who answered "No" to the first question, responded to this question, while again, some people marked more than one response):

Awareness		33	Self di	scipline	25	Group support	6	
						6 8		
What is yo	our favo	rite leisure pu	ırsuit?		w 100	or e c		
Television	34	Reading	53	Sport	12	Doing nothing	4	

Summary of responses

To summarize the results of this survey, we can see that the majority of women do not engage in physical activities. (Probably half of those who answered "sometimes" do not really engage in physical activities on any meaningful basis.)

Health, fitness and enjoyment - these are the main reason for physical activity. Nearly all the women questioned answered this question, even if they themselves do not participate in physical activities, showing that there is a very high level of awareness of the value of such activity, but in practice this awareness does not drive women to become actively involved.

Their favorite spare time activities are reading and watching TV. Even though physical activities are accessible and the women are aware of their importance, they are not a preferred pastime. Which leads us to question 3: Why? Although I did not go into this question in depth, I feel that the reasons

are largely cultural and social. In recent years we have seen a rise in the number of women participating in physical activities, particularly among younger women. I also know that "golden agers", particularly those living in sheltered frameworks such as Old Age Homes, are encouraged to participate in physical activities. The amount of physical activity drops in the 20s and 30s (among young mothers) and only starts to rise again in the 40s.

There is still a lot to be done in order to encourage more women to take part in physical activities. Lack of exercise due to modern living – cars, electrical labor-saving appliances in the home, robots, computers, long hours spent watching TV – all these cause the body to degenerate and lead to many health problems, which affect the ability to work and therefore affect the national economy. That is why it is so important to make people aware of the role of physical activity in modern life

But apart from being healthy, physical activity can also bring a lot of pleasure. It is a form of entertainment for the whole family.

Physical education is taught right from the first years of school. In order for women to see physical activity not as something "silly" but rather as something good, healthy, fun and another way of making friends, perhaps we have to change the approach in schools by separating competitive sports for outstanding athletes from general physical education, and giving non-athletes more of a chance to take part and enjoy activities.

We should not focus only on competitions and winning, because we can see that competitions and winning are not the reasons why women choose to engage in physical activities. On the contrary, many women are put off participating in physical activities and sport for this very reason.

Another factor which might encourage more women to take part in physical activities may be a change in attitude to them as children. The following passage is taken from "Leisure today" by Dr. Joseph Levy (p.36):

Daughters deserve equal opportunity

As a father of two very active daughters, I thought I would address this column to all those fathers who do not think it appropriate to play chess, collect stamps, throw a baseball, kick a soccer ball or take their daughter to a junior hockey game on a Sunday afternoon. In an era when both males and females are encouraged to strive for personal bests in vocational and avocational fields, fathers would be fulfilling their role as parent and educator by equipping their daughters with the same social, emotional and intellectual aptitudes as their sons are receiving."

But I think that, even adopting Dr. Levy's approach, the best way is the "Women only" approach, or more accurately, finding out what women want and on that basis providing centers offering a range of possibilities so that each woman can find something that suits her – whether it be competition, aerobics for body shaping, or just pleasurable physical activity to provide vigor and energy, based on the female model, **not** on the male model.

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РАЗДЕЛ 3. СОЦИАЛЬНАЯ ПЕДАГОГИКА

PART 3. SOCIAL PEDAGOGIC

Viktoria Sukovataya

THE FEMINIST POLITICS IN UKRAINIAN EDUCATION: TOWARD THE LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY VALUES?

Identity problem is a central issue in modern feminist theory. Its practical ties with the higher and secondary education are evident. Higher and secondary education are the corner-stones in personal self-consciousness forming together with politics of mass-media, cinema, folklore and official propaganda. Exactly feminist criticism of 80-90s started to insist the revision perverting traditional education system because of the realization in it politics of early genderization on the basis of sexual stereotypes which were widely legalized in educational and scientific texts.

The politics from the Soviet spelling book can serve as a classic illustration of our assertion. These pictures are always accompanied by an appropriate descriptions such as "Mother was cleaning windows (or washing Masha, the daughter)" while at the same time "Father was of labor in the family reading newspaper". Those descriptions force into the child's consciousness sexist perception of the division of labor in the family. On feminism researchers views the patriarchal school is responsible for woman's narrow-minded ideas, for complexity of professional insolvency, fear of success and forming social deprivation of female student. The process of predestination of females by males starts with their "producing instinct" of motherhood, etc. by them. It has denied women the due place in politics and decision making as the women opted for active professional careers an the cost of their family, motherhood and other socially ascribed responsibilities labeled as "defective" and "woman, who has not fulfilled her duty". This situation implicitly demonstrates the practice of the "etatisation" of female body, when the subject is deprived of the cultural choice of whether to have or not to have children since there is assumed to be no alternative for "reproductive function" for a "real", "normal", "natural" woman. In this manner the state penetrates the private sphere by depriving the woman of her private space (domain) and resuming the ancient discriminating policy - from menstrual taboos to prohibition of abortions.

Exactly in schools the providing of woman reproducing instincts through exploitation of political myths about maternity, as the basis of woman public status, has its place. Further it gives an opportunity for culture obstruction of woman who makes a choice in professional carrier favor or who has no children because of different reasons as defective and woman, who has not fulfilled her duty. The merit of feminist critics is the discourse about "glass ceiling" existing, gender separatism and sexual harassment in school, researchers articulated a phenomenon which was called "simply life" only few years ago. It is well known fact that Soviet school giving powerful intellectual package of knowledge often does it at the expense of "individuality infringement", training citizens who are socially convenient and obedient to the power, substituting the personal responsibility by the

^{*} See: bell hooks. Teaching to Transgress: Education as a Practice of Freedom. New York and London: Routledge,

[†] See: Steinem Gloria. Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions. - New York: Holy, Rinehart and Winston, 1983, p.149.

collective one and giving priority to scientific values. Post-soviet woman in many respects is the product of disciplinary measures of higher and secondary schools which have even nowadays phalluscentered orientation and often use totalitarian education method. In traditional school system the principles of gender equality, progress of woman subjectivity and identity are driven back to the periphery. In this process they have deprived or available filling and not included in development of education plans, programs, methods.

In this situation provision of gender courses into the higher and secondary education system is an important step not only with respect to specialization humanities and social sciences courses. It is also a phenomenon which can transform the politics of the totalitarian education to the direction of greater tolerance. The aim of gender courses is not only restricted to professional function, their sense is wider: using of feminist criticism and deconstruction of stereotypes to construct a new person who

can comfortably and adequately enter the democratic society conceptions.

This concept considers rejection of "congealed" identity, continuous re-orientation of social symbols, constant production of new practices, values and alternative form of cultural life as reflection of tolerance and multiculturalism in society, priority of the personal over the public, widening of the scope of the racial, sexual, migration minorities and property rights[†]. Such democratic ideas were introduced by Julia Kristeva's ideas about intelligentsia's cosmopolitanism and special status of intellectual person in modern life, "dissidents" as regards to any systems of Power[‡] and also with Rosi Braidotti's philosophy of feminist subject who considers that main characteristics of modern philosophy consciousness are interdisciplinary, post-humanism, mobile way of life, polyglotism, rejection of stable identity[§]. So we can affirm that these ideas are mostly presented in gender courses philosophy. Because of that gender courses have more wider possibilities in forming the new, alternative identity in postmodern situation.

Which ways realization of democratic potential of gender courses are optimal and acceptable? A number of ideas about the feasible possibilities, were accepted while giving lectures on gender courses in Kharkov National University students' audience in 1996-2000 years ***. From teaching of University experience that the process of teaching itself, using Rosi Braidotti's, bell hooks's, Zilla Aizenstein's, Erik Erikson's, Karen Horni's, feminist psychoanalysis and psychotherapeutics can transform student's consciousness into a new level of its quality which in totality corresponds to identity of Postmodern situation. This is due to the gender theory itself as it is appealing to investigations of many disciplines and variety of cognition's forms is the product of postmodern interdisciplinary thinking.

One of teaching aspects is a fact that traditional teaching in modern schools comes from paradigms of Middle Ages scholastics and scientific binaries of enlightenment which represents antinomic thinking: subject/object, independent/dependent, disciplining/is disciplined, knowing/cognizing, etc. that are concentrated in pair Teacher/Pupil. In that pair the Teacher has right

The tradition of the "collective responsibility" has emerged in Russian rural communities as early as in the middle of the 19th century. Its principles of "general interdependence" has been activated during the period of Stalin"s repressions. During those years the alleged guilt of one member of the family used to lead to the imposition of the punishment on his/her relatives. This principle was reflected in the abbreviation "Ch.S.I.R." ("Member of the Family of the Motherland Traitor") created by the "language of power". This formulation allowed the state to impose imprisonment not only on the state, public or political leaders, artists and scientists but also on the members of their families.

^{*} See: West Cornell. The American Evasion Of Philosophy: a Genealogy of Pragmatism.-Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1989: Kymlinska Will. Multicultural Citizenship.— Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

^{*} Kristeva Julia. Strangers to Ourselves, transl. Leon S. Roudiez. - New York. Columbia University Press, 1991.

[§] Braidotti Rosi, Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemprorary Feminist Theory. - New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

During the past four years I have been lectuing at Kharkov State University, Theory of Culture and Philosophy of Science Department on the following topics: "Introduction to Gender Studies", "woman and Culture:Gender aspect", "National images of Love in the World culture:gender aspect", "Feminist ethics".

to punish and evaluate i.e. to provide phullistic power principle, he knows all "right" answers and has a monopoly on speech.

Formal expression of such monopoly is lecture, representing account of information as monologue. "Reverse side" of lecture is seminar concentrated on interrogation of students the aim of which is to determine how they "learn" the material, i.e. how they join to the "authorities", canonized knowledge of books. In difference of totalitarian education appealing to the "authorities" and "monologue" in gender course dialogue, performance, polylogue should substitute the lecture. It can be social-communicative training, script and role games, psychodrama (G. Morreno), psychosynthesis (R. Assagioli), heuristic dialogue, exercises which extend consciousness, and other forms existing in arsenal of modern practice of self-actualization. It does not cancel traditional lecture but essentially modifies it, expands possibilities of influence of educational material on students' consciousness, causes it perception on deeper level of mentality which are responsible for identity forming. As shows experience such nonstandard (for educational audience) exercises and methods causes alive and interested students" reaction not only in aspect of new information but also as appeared possibility to change leader's roles and make deconstruction of stereotypes as on intellectual-logical as on bodyexistence level. It is very important factor ascending to idea, that while accounting gender theory it is necessary to use body and emotion as building material, to construct microspace of Gender Freedom in audience and Alternative Identity, to involve students into psychosomatic reaction, creative impromptu, mini-discussion during process of lecture. Collateral effect of such actions is psychotherapeutics relaxation: taking off suppressions and complexes, past experience of traumas, connected with gender stratification of all culture fields which "legalized" delimitation of human essence in Spirit and Body, or Intellect, Emotions and Flesh, or Rational and Intuitional man's origin with their successive opposition to each other.

Corporal essence is one of Postmodernism attention center in philosophy of Feminism gives equal cultural rights to categories of Mental and Spiritual that affirms necessity of harmonious union between different spheres of man's subjectivity expression. Traditional "white, Christian, heterosexual, masculine-centered" civilization, dictating Flesh as a "sin thing" and ignorance of Spirit's mystical enlightening. It constructs unprecedented monster professor Dowel's head[†], a subject who does not need body, whose intellect is the only anthropological origin. This head was the symbol of all spectrum of cultural existence. For Europeans and for a majority of Americans, coming from roots of European culture, Logic substitutes all other methods of world cognition, Education comes to Science and Culture to possessing the limited set of socialized techniques ascending to pragmatism of phallic-centered ethics: Weapon = Power = Success[‡]. Aspiration of alternative identities searching which we can see in ethnic philosophy of Homi Bhabha[§], Franz Fenon **, Leopold Sengor ** supported by such thinkers of XX century as Jean-Poule Sartre *‡, Erik Erikson in revealing of special, more integrative world outlook inherent to representatives of "black" consciousness and "black" identity.

Feminist deconstruction of gender stereotypes is being used in gender education system that allows to legitimize sensual experience of subject as a necessary part of education and forming of culture identity. The method of Performance (training, psychodrama), using on lessons, haunts three-united aim: firstly, this is an existential aim, in aspiration to unite on practice Mental, Spiritual, and

In Roland Bart's analysis of the texts by de Sade the juxt a position between the Narrator and Listener represents at its utmost the machanism of Power. The Master is one to speak, and the Subject is silent and is deprived of any access to speech.

[†] A hero of Alexander Beliaev"s novell "A Head of the Professor Douel", which did not have a body, but had very strong intellect

[‡] See about the concepts of the masculine pperception of success in modern art: Creed Barbara. The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalyses. - New York, Routledge, 1994, others.

Bhabha Homi. The Location of Culture. - New York: Routledge, 1994.

Fanon Frantz. Black Skin, White Masks, transl. Charles Lam Markmann. - New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967.

^{††} Senghor Leopold. Liberte 1. Negritude et Humanisme. - Paris, 1964.

^{‡‡} Sartre J.-P. Orfee noir. - Situations., 111.

Societal levels and inculcate feminist ideology of integrity not only as intellectual construction, requiring "new thinking" but as of mind and body. It correlates to Rosi Braidotti's thesis about feminism, which is "going away from thickened identity" and about reproduction of feminist consciousness in daily practice, in the consciousness creation of "nomadism"

The second aim is socialization, which is reached through exercises of self-presentation, including in lesson structure. For example, some tasks can be provocative from the point of view of

traditional education methods and "Soviet" psychology of communication in general

However, holding with proper tact and humor they can bring revolution as in students" world outlook as in their socially adapted ideas. Dominance of "collective bail", while escaping of personal responsibility, has deep roots in Post-soviet consciousness. Even in scientific discourse there is a tradition to use pronoun "we" instead of "I" while writing article or book which indicates as if on "objectivity and allow to hide for the authority of "many": "there is an opinion" this indefinite formula, like boxer of heavy weight, tramples many creative fates. It is difficult for pro-Slav and pro-Soviet oriented consciousness, trained on orthodox values of ascetics and wishes to perfect oneself, to accept in its spiritual world pragmatism of Thomas Hobbs or irresponsible selfishness of Epicure. At the same time, forming the self-respect starts with details, which are seemed unimportant, but subconsciousness is very sensible to them. For example, in culture of English speaking countries pronoun "I" is always written as capital letter. That reflects certain type of thinking as modern ethnolinguistic theories say. In that clue one can consider such peculiarity of Western countries as, for example, indicating in post address name at first, then surname, data of post office and at last country. Such way of marking is directly contrary to Soviet system of address indicating, which have existed many years and where priority is given to the country (state) and subject was driven back.

The other effect of feminist methodology in accordance with gender courses is strengthening of woman's subjectivity. In traditions, legalized by Christianity, the woman can visualize her existence only through figure of man: God's Mother, Virgin Maria becomes known only because she gives birth to son, to God-man, i.e. man. Other figure, Eve, becomes famous because she was a wife of the first man. Keeping woman's names culture marks them as "daughter" of so-and-so man, or "sister", or "nurse", or "one hundred thirteenth love" etc.

That is why the main practical aspect of gender stereotypes deconstruction is student-girls training in order to teach them to express themselves not through Other-man, husband, father, lover, company of friends, authority of teacher or chief, but through construction of her own individuality. This situation can be also turned out important for youth: assertion and defending position that is not canonized by "authorities of many".

Such method has world's outlook sense, because it "challenges" moral patriarchic ideas, inculcating feminist values into consciousness of young people future administrative, scientific, business, creative intelligentsia. If ideal of patriarchal society is social Success, laying on "three whales": Money, Force, Power, synonyms of which could be Sexuality, Aggression, Scientific recognition, and so on. Feminism introduces in public use values of other range – Health, Love, Family, Delight, Responsibility, developing ideas of Multiculturalism, "peaceful coexistence" of different ethnic nations and ideals: traditional – masculine and alternative – egalitarian.

And, at last, one more strategy, which can be successfully used in teaching of gender courses because of its significant transforming influence, is making abstracts by students with using of original literature and its further discussion. Besides indirect consequences – developing of foreign

^{*} Braidotti Rosi. Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemprorary Feminist Theory. - New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

[†] For example, a teacher poses the following questions: "Definite, please, what strong ("weak") gualities of your personality can support your professional success", or "What kind of the transformation in yourself have you seen in the context of getting of new knowledge?"

[‡] The recognition of the fact that the language has an influence on our perception of the world and on the formation of the cultural identity served as a cornestone for powerful philosophical theories such as logical analysis of language, linguistic philosophy, germenevtics, poststructurulist critics of meaning, semantics of grammar, etc.

Used by Alexander Pushkin to address his bride, in conversation with Countesse Vyasemskaya, See: Guber Pavel. Pushkin's list of "Don-Guan". (in Russian). - Kharkov, 1993, p. 14-15, 19-21.

language skills and increasing of students professionalism. Such method decides cultural and political tasks, namely: forming in students audience more tolerant gender-creative discourse, which allows to discuss the problems, usually are difficult to discuss in open forum in patriarchic society, for example, problems of sexual culture, etiquette of marriage and family, phenomenon of Love, Sexual freedom, change of sex, different types of Desire and Delight, lesbian, homosexual, bisexual orientations, gender equality and sexual harassment on working places, which are presented in foreign editions in academic discourse. Unfortunately, the literature on such thematic and competent representation of these themes are rare in Russian (Ukrainian, Byelorussian) press, on TV, in scientific communication. Meanwhile these problems are actual for modern society consciousness and actively developed in Western Culture and require adequate formulas of discussion in Russian speaking world. "Absence of language" in culture for verbalization themes of that sort and, as a result, difficulties with accepting them into the structure of own identity. It requires filing of this locus by working out terminology and patterns of expressions which are adequate to Western sources. Such approaches, in one hand "legalizes" marginal status of "sexual discourse" in common culture field by reference on "precedent"; in the other hand it gives a push to development of own patterns of expressions on native language of students. In the issue, it should promote more tolerant and humane attitude of students to position of Other, which is realized by them in their own life, marriage, sexual and family scenario. Besides informative and developing-language function, work with the original texts, not retold in books, stimulates creative imagination of students, immersing them while process of translation into daily occurrence of foreign culture. This method has much in common with Reframing neuro-linguistic conception, one of the component of heuristic thinking. In order to understand the card of reality of other people, one should learn to look at the world by their eyes, and to understand people of other sex, class, race, in this case one can make the choice of social rules more wider. Reframing means extending of "contextual frames" and including "foreign languages" models of world perception into own internal reality. Students gains the habit of speaking about situation, which are actual as for personal sexual experience as for phenomenon of post-totalitarian culture such as "juridical consciousness", "gender equality", "woman picture of life", "woman subjectivity", etc.

Are the existing teaching-learning methods are really altered? Are they really valued in replacing the other methods in the history of education? Let's start from the very beginning. At the end of XX century our education were oriented mostly on uniform and absolute method of knowledge transference: verbal-logical, which is built on processing of existing book information and its further reproduction. Such approach makes all European education somewhat virtual, separated of every day practices and dependent on sign connotations. Taking that into consideration one should recall that other principles of knowledge transference are known in culture. For example, Master in Middle Ages makes nonverbal craft teaching, through their own examples and experiences of discipline of "ordinary": Pupil stirs paints, dilutes glue, accepts the customers and during that time trained sharpness of eye and accuracy of arm, comparing his spiritual world to that image of subject, actions and situations, which were the core of selected way. It was the way of finding his "own" place in flow

of life, " growing" into rhythm of selected speciality.

Eastern culture of Zen monastery offers other example of teaching, where initial strategy is simulated by not giving a certain content, but as destruction of Pupil's mental stereotypes, which prevents his spiritual progress. More effective ways of providing renewal of senses, as tutors of Zen monastery considered, were irony, shock, traunce, and respiratory exercises.

Another alternative of European "book's" education is "oral" culture of archaic societies and modern African, Chinese, Slavic villages, which oriented on giving information "by word of mouth" -

through signs, recipes, etc.

For a long time Travelling was one more form of cultural education as the way of world outlook extending. In this form cognition of Unknown world and adaptation to its values quite often was the main condition of subject's survival. Role of Teacher belonged to Interpreter, Guide, local Native, who did not teach anything directly, but showed the direction and can explain definition of those or others things, basing on situation of communication and his own understanding of needs of Asking Person.

Marriage, friendship, working in groups under certain conditions can also be the forms of mutual teaching, as any other forms of partnership; however, this idea is not popular in modern culture.

It seems to me that forming of alternative identity in process of gender education happens not only with students but also with tutor, the methodology of "feminist education" itself is not defined once and forever. Aspiration to constant renewal and reinterpretation makes feminism the "synthetic genre", including on equal rights its own methods and academic lecture, provocation in Zen style, and psychosomatic exercises for gender stereotypes producing, which look like traveling in another reality, where youth learns to accept woman picture of life, where girls learn to state their own position in world of gender ideals.

Using of feminist methodology in gender education of higher education represents creating a new stage of culture mechanisms. It does not call doubts that just system of education and training, their internal policy are the main producer of "rules of culture" and types of gender identities. In 1998 one of my acquaintances, professor of Yell University, Ukrainian by his origin, in private talk said, that there are different levels of education. The first one is "train". This is lowest one: dog is trained in such way: "this is impossible, that is possible", but people also can be trained by such way. The second type is "learn", it's slogan: "Do it as I do!". Pupil repeats all teacher's actions step by step. The third one is "educate". It is contained in "support" of pupil's gains without any prohibition. Teacher only helps them as if saying: "You have done it yourself, well done, do it further!". And at last, the highest level of education is so called "explore". There is no direct teaching, pupil must find all answers himself, understand situation, investigate it, but just that type of training stimulates creative thinking and forces to move forward. Many former "Soviets", living in West and knowing English, has another thinking in a comparison with Americans, Canadians, English, and continue to be people with "Soviet" identity. On opinion of that American professor " Soviet" education is based on fear of punishment, it comes to "train" system and crippled souls of people turning them into "moral invalids" even before old age who constantly requires social help and state privileges. Is such help necessary, when it turns man into irresponsible dependent person, who is waiting for instructions "what and how to do" during all his life? It is very favorable for totalitarian power, but such person can never adopt to democratic society. At largest Western Universities in Yell, Harvard students are taught not technologies, but methodologies, affirmed professor. They should master heuristic methods of thinking with reference to world which can be called "explore" and "educate", i.e. understand possibilities of their potential applying to surrounding reality, searching of affirmation and realization ways of their individuality. Because, - American professor finished his thought, - usual municipal school or University teaches technical parameters, but University of Yell's diploma is "a ticket to world", because it teaches Freedom".

Analyzing the mentioned above, can be proposed the idea of "democratic education", thus on my opinion, it is necessary to recognize that in situation of post-Soviet, post-totalitarian disorder in higher education system, the future belongs to gender courses which use feminist deconstruction, performance and polylogue, and these courses are able to perform function of "teaching of Freedom". Feminism as philosophy of life does not propose "finished" recipes. It just allows variety of forms; interdisciplinary and multiculturalism of gender theory supply optimum tolerance of thinking. So, the aim of gender education is development of identity which is alternative to totalitarian values of patriarchal society, only gender education due to its nature can manage this role.

Moshe Schneider

A UNIQUE PROGRAM FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ETHIOPIAN YOUTH

In most Israeli educational institutions, principals and teaching staffs invest a great deal of effort, goodwill, and "heart" in their work with Ethiopian pupils. Nevertheless, the dropout rate among the Ethiopians in Israel is exceptionally high by any standards—fewer than one-tenth of all Ethiopian pupils earn matriculation certificates. In order to improve this situation, there is a need for far-reaching changes in the absorption of Ethiopian immigrants; such changes must be translated into