1991

1991 Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society

Center for International Education

PROCEEDINGS:

1991 REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION SOCIETY

November 15, 1991
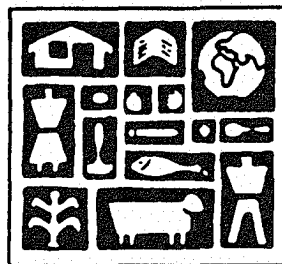
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AMHERST

FOREWORD

The 1991 Northeast Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society was hosted by the Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts at Amherst on November 15, 1991. The theme of the conference, "The Challenges of International Education in the 1990s: Effectiveness and Excellence," was deliberately made broad in order to encompass a wide range of problems and issues relevant to educators involved in the development of education world-wide.

More than sixty people attended the conference, and participants represented the rich institutional diversity in the northeast region of the U.S. Participants came from the Bunting Institute (Radcliffe Research Study Center), Clark University, Harvard University, Springfield College, University of Bridgeport, University of Connecticut, University of Pittsburgh, and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The conference provided participants with a forum in which to exchange ideas and to inform each other of their current research.

The conference began with a keynote address by Dr. Barbara Burn, Associate Provost for International Programs at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Dr. Burn informed her audience of the latest developments in study abroad programs and summarized the key issues involved in promoting opportunities for American students to study overseas.

The program for the remainder of the conference centered on concurrent panel discussions in the morning and discussion groups and multi-media presentations in the afternoon. The topics addressed in these sessions reflected the wide-ranging concerns of the participants: educational discourse, curriculum and materials development, literacy, gender issues, research paradigms, economics of education, politics of education, social change, educational technology, educational issues in comparative perspective, community learning and assessment, pedagogical reform, and education for refugee resettlement. Many conference participants lamented the fact that, in choosing to attend one particular session, they were deprived of attending other concurrent sessions that were of interest.

In addition to the impressive array of content areas, the conference presentations had a truly international flavor in terms of the countries on which the research focused. From the African continent, research was presented on: Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Malawi, Somalia, and South Africa; from Asia: Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Nepal, and Thailand; and from Europe and North America: France, Germany, and the U.S.

The papers in this volume represent the proceedings of the conference. They are included in unedited form and in alphabetical order according to the author's name. We thank all of you for your participation.

Edward Graybill
George Urch
Conference Coordinators
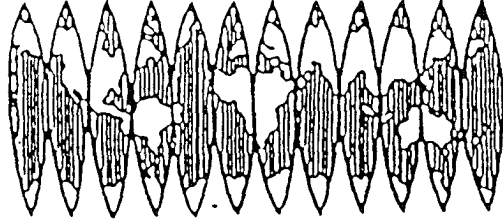
CIES

NORTHEAST REGION
CONFERENCE

Comparative & International Education Society
Northeast Regional Conference

November 15, 1991

University of Massachusetts/Amherst

Sponsored by the University of Massachusetts
School of Education
and its
Center for International Education

8:30 – 9:00	**Registration**
9:00 – 9:15	**Welcome:** Bailey Jackson, Dean, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
9:15 – 9:45	**Keynote Address:** "New Directions for Study Abroad Programs." Barbara Burn, Associate Provost for International Programs, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
9:45 – 10:00	**Coffee Break**
10:00 – 11:15	CONCURRENT PANELS

Panel One (Room 917):**Issues in African Education**

Chair: Robert Miltz, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Debating Excellence at a South African University: Transitions from Opposition to Democracy." Graeme Bloch, University of the Western Cape, South Africa; currently Humphrey Fellow at University of Pittsburgh

"The Failure of External Science Curriculum Models in African Schools." Saeed Osman Fahia, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Literacy in Ethiopia: A Long Campaign Winds Down." Susan J. Hoben, Bunting Institute, Radcliffe Research Study Center

Panel Two (Room 911): **Inquiry Methodology and Issues of Equity**

Chair: David Kinsey, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Language Diversity and Language Policy in South Africa: Issues of Equity and Excellence in Education." Timothy Reagan, University of Connecticut

"Literary Sociology: Children's Holocaust Memoirs as Human Rights Education." Frank A. Stone, University of Connecticut

"A Transformative Paradigm of Scientific Research for the 90's." Patricia S. Weibust, University of Connecticut

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Panel Three (Room 905): Values in International Education

Chair: George Urch, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Political Correctness and Language Sensitivity in the International Domain." Thomas L. Bernard, Springfield College

"The Potential Impact of Foreign Aid on Third World Education Budgets." Lynroy Grant, University of Connecticut

"Community Service Learning in America and India." T.M. Thomas, University of Bridgeport

"Examples of Dependence and Independence in Educational Processes in Germany, Japan and the United States." Gerda Walz—Michaels, University of Connecticut

11:30 - 12:45   CONCURRENT PANELS

Panel One   (Room 917): Women's Literacy and Gender Issues

Chair: Joan Dixon, University of Massachusetts

"Under Construction: Curriculum Issues and Strategies for Gender Issues in Development." Antonietta Bolomey and Mary Jo Connelly, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"'Essa grande escola que e a OMCV': Women's Organizations as Educational Processes—a Cape Verdean Case." Marla J. Solomon, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Women's Literacy and Social Change in Bangladesh." Mainus Sultan, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Panel Two   (Room 911): Participatory Theatre and Educational Technology

Chair: Sabuur Abdul—Kareem, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Documenting Women's Empowerment: Video as a Participatory Tool for Nonformal Education." Liz Fabel, Clark University

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"Popular Theater and Participatory Video Field
Production: Report on Combining Theater for
Development and Video Field Production
Techniques in the Production of a Local Drama
About the Effects of Deforestation in Malawi,
Africa." David McCurry, University of
Massachusetts, Amherst

"Musical Theatre with Disabled Adults: Sowing
the Seeds for Social Change." Mark Lynd,
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

Panel Three (Room 905): Educational Change in Asia

Chair: Edward Graybill, University of
Massachusetts, Amherst

"University Students in China: Learning Outside
the Classroom." Paul Englesberg, University of
Massachusetts, Amherst

"The Challenge to Find an Effective Education
System in Nepal: An Analysis of Formal and
Nonformal Sectors of Education." Jeetendra R.
Joshee and Keshab D. Thapaliya, University of
Massachusetts, Amherst

"Admission in Higher Education: A Comparative
Study of Three Countries." PingPing Zhu,
University of Connecticut

12:45 - 2:00   **Lunch**, Campus Center, Room 1101

2:15 - 3:15   DISCUSSION GROUPS AND MULTI-MEDIA PRESENTATIONS

Discussion Groups:

Room 911: "Cross-Cultural Issues in Community
Assessment." Sara DeTurk and Sally Habana-
Hafner, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Room 915: "Introducing Interactive and Learner-
Centered Teaching Approaches in Thailand:
Issues of Culture, Change, and Resistance."
Edward Graybill, University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

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Room 905: "Popular Education: A Participatory Approach for Social Change." Timothy Mitchell, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Room 909: "Towards a Model for Collaborative Development: Issues and Practice in Malawian Materials Development." Bonnie B. Mullinix, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Multi-Media Presentations (Room 917):

"Participatory Process: Empowering Cambodian Women on the Thai–Cambodian Border." Phyllis Robinson, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"'Reducing the Odds': A Boardgame to Help Cambodian Refugees Repatriate to Cambodia." Don Robishaw, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

3:15 - 4:00   **Concluding Plenary Session**

Chair: George Urch, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Wrap-Up of Day's Activities

4:00   **Adjournment**

Conference Planning Committee

Sabuur Abdul–Kareem
Paul Englesberg
Edward Graybill
Jeetendra Joshee
Don Robishaw
George Urch
Center for International Education

Political Correctness

and

Language Sensitivity in the International Domain.

Thomas L. Bernard

Springfield College

There is an unfortunate tendency for Americans to be
generally imprecise and somewhat vague about correct
terminology as it applies to peoples and places around the
world. For example, the recent breakup of the U.S.S.R. has
brought to the fore the fact that not all Soviet citizens
are Russians.

In this paper, the author seeks to illustrate how
-albeit unwittingly- one can offend people in the
international domain by not being culturally aware or
appropriately sensitive to precise usage in the areas of
pronunciation and vocabulary.

This paper which deals with name usage on a global
scale could well be subtitled "Otherwise Known As...."
because there are, in many instances that will be mentioned,
other possible names that are either alternatives, of
greater "correctness", or are culturally preferable
depending on one's point of view. The emotional intensity
involved can range considerably from the raised eye-brow to
considerably worse.

One of the early examples of name sensitivity was the
belated eventual abandonment of the term "Mongolian idiot",
or Mongolism, for what we now call Down's syndrome. There

is, after all, the Mongolian People's Republic. One can only imagine the reaction of Americans to a malady by which children were known internationally as "American idiots".

There are many ways by which the term "political correctness" can be defined. In the context of this paper it is not in the sense of Germany: Deutschland, Spain: Espana or Finland: Suomi, but in a much more subtle form such as the case of Kenya: Kenya. Let me explain. The British, in the 1800's became the colonial overlords of Kenya (Kēnya) until 1963, when, with independence, the country began the new chapter in its history with the new more Africanized name of Kenya (Kĕnya) but of course with the same spelling. Those of the incognoscente who see the name but don't know how to say it, would probably have a guess at the pronunciation or repeat what they'd heard at one time. In that East African nation one's pronunciation of Kenya would put one on one side of this thin dividing line - being in spirit with the former British imperialists or with the mainstream native African population. Another example of this that this author came across while visiting the capitol of Denmark, was that to the Danes, Copenhăgen (the German pronunciation) evoked memories of Nazi occupation in World War II. To Danish ears, the preferred pronunciation for Anglophone foreigners is Copenhāgen.

The Turks used to live in Turkistan - which became Turkiye with the founding of their republic. They are quite

unhappy that the English name "Turkey" is also the name of a not too intelligent and not too attractive looking bird. The Turks - to put it mildly - are not amused at political cartoons which depict their nation as a turkey (usually wearing the old-style fez). Increasingly they are insisting that other nations call their country Turkiye and spell it that way too. They do have a point; Greece is not associated with grease, nor Hungary with hungry...which is a good reason why some Turks feel it to be an injustice to have this unfavorable avian image. Could they succeed in this? Well, when we look at what the Chinese government has managed to do in terms of the enforced switch from the Cantonese "Peking" to the Mandarin "Beijing", it is certainly within the bounds of possibility.

Turning to the Soviet Union, it is interesting to note that one of the first things the Moldavians did on declaring their independence was to change the sound of their country's name from the Russian "Moldavia" to their own "Moldova" - with the request that other nations call them that henceforth. Closer to home and just north of the border, there is the fact that our Francophone neighbors are far more receptive to the sound "Kaybeck" than they are to the more familiar Anglophone Quebec.... a slight difference perhaps, but one that contains a great depth of psycholinguistic significance.

An interesting case that has hit the headlines in recent months has been the case of Czechoslovakia. The

subtle nuances here are such that this spelling in itself can suggest a Czechocentric view of the world. The other form - Czecho-Slovakia - is seen as being more equitable, sensitive, and sympathetic to the Slovak nationalist cause. This hot issue has become known as "The Great Hyphen Debate", and it is one that might be solved if both groups agree to the proposal of "The Czech and Slovak Federative Republic" as the new name for the nation. At one point in 1990, the Parliament changed the country's name twice in three weeks. It's no wonder that foreigners can be uncertain and confused.

A recent joke that has been going the rounds is about an aged Russian who was being interrogated. He was asked Where he had been born? - "St. Petersburg".

Where was he educated? - "Petrograd".

Where did he work most of his life? - "Leningrad".

Where did he expect to die? - "St. Petersburg".

As it turns out he was right; the circle has recently been completed.

An interesting development in the Soviet Union is the fact that the now independent country of Ukraine resents and objects to the definite article "THE"; this is considered by the Ukrainian people to be pejorative. Certainly no offense is intended, but a lack of understanding and historical significance exists here as in many other cases. As "Ukraine" means "frontier", the use of "the" is suggestive of the people as frontiersmen and women, and of

the Ukraine as a region from the perspective of Russia -
rather than as a national homeland in its own right.

In the international context, some individuals in
actual fact, are not clear as to where they actually are!
One famous American crooner (who shall remain nameless) once
flew into Glasgow, and on landing expressed his great
pleasure at being back in "England". (Which was not to the
great pleasure of the local Scots).

Similar confusion reigns in Northern Ireland where
visitors are confused as to whether they are in Ireland,
Britain, or both..... and whether the people are Irish,
British, or both. The issue of course, is complex and
depends to a large degree on one's loyalties and sympathies
- whether they are (as most Roman Catholics are) for an
independent united Ireland, or (as most Protestants are) for
the Queen and the United Kingdom. These are issues of
considerable emotional intensity and great sensitivity in
which one can readily give offense -albeit unwittingly- by
using the wrong terms or names. An example here is the city
consistently called "Derry" by the Catholic Irish, and just
as consistently called "Londonderry" by those of British
allegiance.

A similar instance is with regard to the Falkland
Islands off the coast of Argentina. In a Latin-American
context, one would be well advised to always refer to those
islands as The (or Las) Malvinas. In the selling of
atlases, these obviously have to be important issues for

map-makers.

Watching a tennis match on T.V. recently, the importance - and changing nature - of national designations was brought home to me when a certain celebrated top - rank tennis player refused to play until the name "Yugoslavia" next to his name on the scoreboard, had been changed to "Croatia" - the newly-declared independent state from which he hailed. This was certainly no minor matter as far as he was concerned - especially as his compatriots were having to fight a vicious war to try to achieve their full independence.

With so many name changes, it is perhaps asking too much to expect the ordinary person to keep abreast of events such as these name changes: British Honduras to Belize, Upper Volta to Burkina Faso, Dahomey to Benin, South-West Africa to Namibia, and Burma to Myanmar. Speaking personally, while I was teaching in Southern Africa some years ago, I traveled in a dozen nations all of which have undergone name changes since that time. Winston Churchill would not be sympathetic to these issues under discussion. He once expressed the somewhat chauvinistic view that, "I do not consider that names that have been familiar for generations should be altered to suit the foreigners living in those parts."

What is the point and what are the implications of this paper? Well, for one thing it can in a very real sense be a matter of "How to Win Friends and Influence People" - or

more importantly, how not to make enemies and preclude
promising opportunities. For example, if writing to confirm
a contract in Beijing or Bratislava, one would probably do
better to address the letter in a politically correct manner
(from the point of the reader) by writing The People's
Republic of China and Czecho-Slovakia, rather than, say,
China (certainly not Republic of China), or Czechoslovakia.
With the poor track record of American youngsters in the
areas of geography and overall global knowledge, it is up to
us as international educators to take the lead, set the
standards, and emphasize correctness in accurate and precise
terminology. We need to know and we need to be able to
provide these important cultural insights that will aid the
cause of human sensitivity, global awareness and
international understanding.

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Nov 15, 1991.

TRANSITIONS FROM OPPOSITION TO DEMOCRACY AT A SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY.

by Graeme Bloch (University of Pittsburgh; University of Western Cape, Faculty of Education).

"No social institution in South Africa, whether educational or other, stands above or outside of the colonial and apartheid history of this country. A starting point for any institution in contributing to, and being part of, the struggle against apartheid is to recognize and make explicit the way in which it is a product of that history and may still be an agency for reproducing the racial order of apartheid in South Africa."
   -Prof Jakes Gerwel (Vice-Chancellor's Report for 1987, 3).

"...unless we transform ourselves in terms of the intellectual and academic practices of the institution, the nature and quality of the discourse that characterizes the institution and the type of intellectual that we send out into the world from here, our experience as a university would have been a failed one."
   -Prof GJ Gerwel at UWC Conference (1988,28).

"The University of the Western Cape is a first fruit, a promise of what the new South Africa could be like. Let us go for it."
   -Archbishop Desmond Tutu at installation as Chancellor 05/20/88.

Contextualizing Tertiary Education.

The history and the fate of any educational institution must be related to the social-economic-political and cultural context of which it is a part, the "uniquely national" as the starting-point of analysis as Gramsci has put it (see Bloch, 1991).

The University of the Western Cape - today serving some 13 000 students - is no exception (DNE ,17). Explicitly intended as an institution to mould a separate Coloured ("mixed-race") constituency, UWC has been impelled in its thirty year history into a directly oppositional and confrontational relationship with its apartheid creators.

Established for the purposes of an ideology "antagonistic to the community it was to serve" (Gerwel, 1987), by the latter half of the 1980's and in the middle of a brutal period of repression under the State of Emergency, the university was arguing that "there is an internal imperative for this university to develop a critical alignment with the democratic movement as the dominant

ideological orientation describing our operative life" (UWC 1989,9).

Openly describing UWC as a "home of the radical left" the rector saw the university "working for a more fundamental transformation of the old settler-colonial dominated order...The major thrust is towards a non-racial and majoritarian democracy reflecting itself...in the social reorganization of power and privilege"(Gerwel,1987).

The university as a social space intersects with patterns of power and dominance, reproducing and producing relations in unique and particular ways with their own rhythms and forms. These include international, disciplinary and professional dimensions. The institution lays claim to being a "central location for the handling of knowledge" with ideas of "service to knowledge, culture and future generations" (Clark 1987, 376). There is a simultaneous "strong stress on individuality...within guildlike and community like social units that are in turn encapsulated or closely supported by large bureaucracies and the modern state" (ibid, 372).

The ambiguities of defining the university and its key professional tasks are well captured by Clark, describing a profession "that is an art as much as a science, a place where dreamers dream alongside tinkerers who tinker, all in the name of the highest values of society" (ibid,398).

Apartheid had the dubious virtue of simplifying many of these equations. With the state taking central control of all Black education in 1954 in terms of the Bantu Education Act and extending racial segregation to the universities under the 1959 Extension of Universities Act, racial and political control became dominant themes in the life of educational institutions.

Not only was education transformed into a physical and ideological battleground - a site of ongoing resistance - not only were university and school students transformed into major organised forces , but they built a veritable field of alliances and support as they often spearheaded social as well as educational struggles, in coalition with a wide range of social sectors doing battle against all aspects of the apartheid system.

These battles within, around and outside of the university, have created new realities in South Africa today. Painfully and in incomplete ways, the possibilities of a non-racial democracy are emerging in the first years of the 1990's. What these shifting realities also disclose is that apartheid is not the only source of relations of domination and control, though the specific forms of racial control will no doubt leave their imprint - their physical and psychological scars - for years to come.

Yet the transition to democracy throws a new light on the relations that criss-cross through society in general and the university in particular. For the latter institution, with its own mission inherently visionary and forward-looking, new challenges fall into place and call for definition. It becomes important to analyse more carefully the forces that have brought the university to its current position and to identify the blockages and impediments to further transition, in order to prepare for a critical future beyond apartheid.

Apartheid and University Education.

UWC operates in the context of apartheid education. This is not the place for a detailed examination or analysis, though it is important to note that "underpreparedness for university education (is) a majority phenomenon in South Africa, brought about as the deliberate effect of apartheid education" (UWC 1989, 5).

In 1980 at least 40% of adults had less than a Fifth Grade education (DNE, 35). Some seventeen fragmented and racially-divided education departments administered an education system that a government report said, in what is probably an over-estimation, is "at present educating to a level of literacy"(ibid, 11).

TABLE 1 gives an indication of the numbers of students at specified educational institutions in South Africa, defined by official "population group". The table shows the proportionally high number of blacks in schools or teacher training colleges as against other tertiary levels.

TABLE 1:   NUMBER OF PUPILS/STUDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA ACCORDING TO
POPULATION GROUP AND EDUCATION SECTOR FOR 1990

POPULATION GROUP	EDUCATION SECTOR							TOTAL
	Public Ordinary School Education	Special School Education	Private Ordinary School Education	Technical College Education	Teacher Training	Techni-kons	Univer-sities	
All Population Groups	9 709 804	36 767	103 854	72 174	67 266	84 364	302 036	10 376 265
Whites	971 587	14 969	52 801	48 852	9 467	53 795	153 807	1 305 278
Indians	242 323	5 580	5 904	5 976	734	5 864	18 854	285 235
Coloureds	847 647	6 558	7 865	4 625	7 636	6 942	18 112	899 385
Blacks	7 648 247	9 660	37 284	12 721	49 429	17 763	111 263	7 886 367
Self-Governing Territories	3 317 895	1 934	7 210	4 595	21 733	1 369	-	3 354 736
Rest of the RSA	2 167 103	5 036	30 074	8 126	10 514	15 454	96 137	2 332 444
TBVC States	2 163 249	2 690	*	*	17 182	940	15 126	2 199 187

*   Not available

Table 1 (Source: DNE,12, Table 3).

FIGURE 1

ENROLLED WHITE PUPILS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN THE RSA ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX FOR 1990

FIGURE 2

ENROLLED INDIAN PUPILS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN
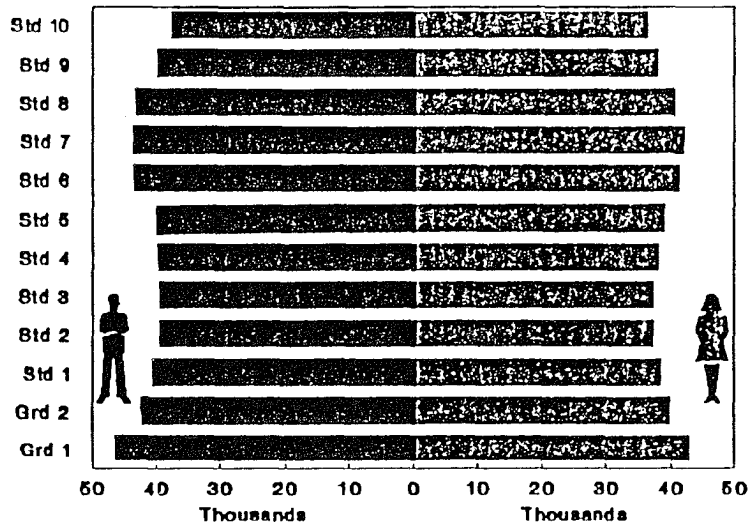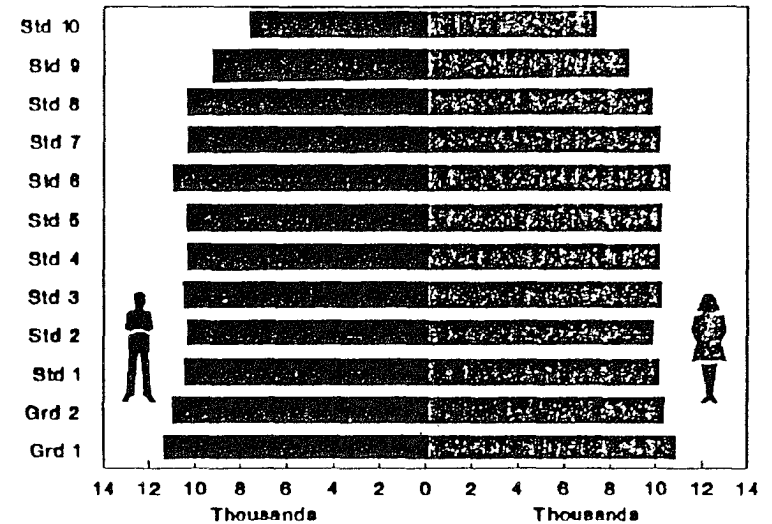THE RSA ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX FOR 1990

FIGURE 3

ENROLLED COLOURED PUPILS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
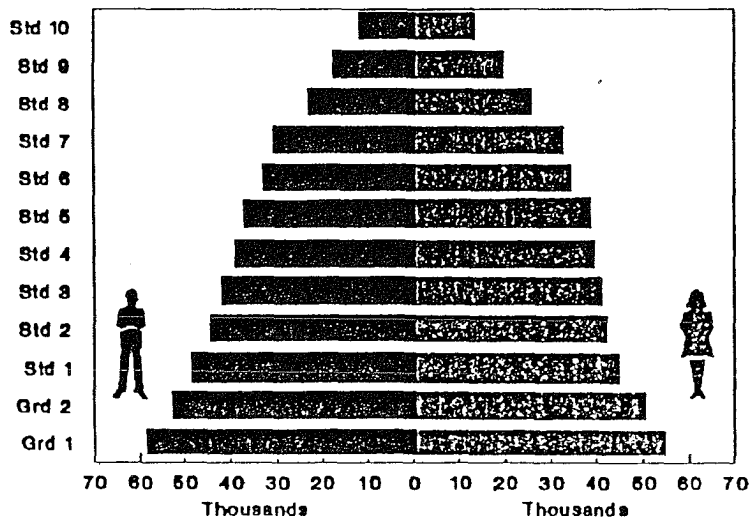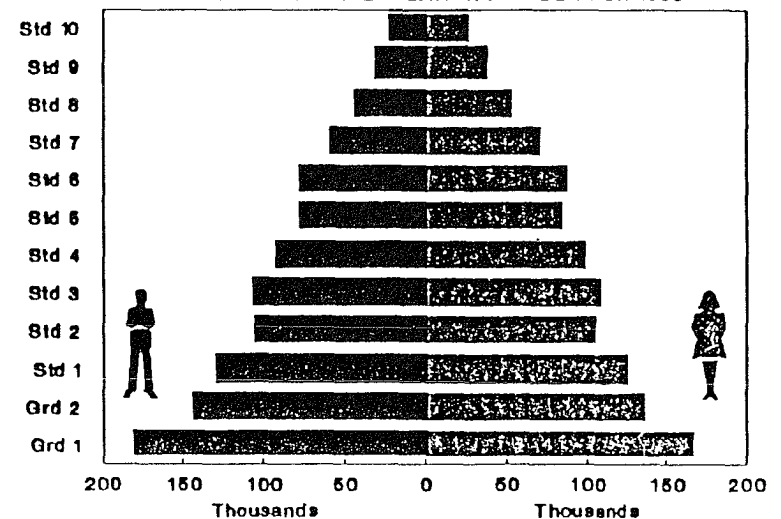IN THE RSA ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX FOR 1990

FIGURE 4

ENROLLED BLACK PUPILS (EXCLUDING SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES
AND TBVC STATES) IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX FOR 1990

More important than gross numbers is an indication of the passage
through the school system, with **FIGURES 1-4** clearly showing the
racial disparities in attrition rates:

Insert Figures 1-4 (Source: DNE,15, Figures 8-10).

Of those blacks even making it to the final level in secondary
school, in 1988 only 15,1% were taking Physical Science as a
subject and 32,3% mathematics, although this figure itself does not
reflect extremely high failure rates.

Disparities at elementary and tertiary level are reproduced in the
tertiary system which includes universities, teacher training
colleges and the technikons (for middle level technical skills).

The relative proportion of whites at universities and technikons
is 10 times higher than for blacks, 5 times higher than for
Coloureds (DNE, 45). Numbers per thousan of population attending
universities and technikons are given in the following **TABLE 2**:

TABLE 2: No. per 1000 of population at tertiary level 1989:

Category	University 1	University 2 *	Technikon
White	31	29	10
Indian	20	-	6
Coloured	6	4	2
Black	4	2	0,5

(Source DNE, 49, Table 14; * UWC 1989, 4).

Of the 21 Universities, 11 fall under the White House of Assembly,
1 under the Coloured House, 1 House of Delegates (Indian), 4 under
the Department of Education and Training (Black affairs under the
White house) and 4 under so-called Bantustan governments. While
state-subsidised, they enjoy varying degrees of formal autonomy
under partially nominated and elected Councils.

TABLE 3 below shows total enrolments at universities in 1990,
though it must also be borne in mind that pass rates at white
universities were relatively higher, varying from 75-82% as against
63-67% at black institutions.

TABLE 3   ENROLLED UNIVERSITY AND TECHNIKON STUDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA
ACCORDING TO POPULATION GROUP AND INSTITUTION AS ON 10
MARCH 1990

INSTITUTION	WHITES	ASIANS	COLOUREDS	BLACKS	TOTAL
Universities					
Cape Town	9 795	467	1 905	1 378	13 545
Durban-Westville	337	4 361	150	2 637	7 485
Medical University of Southern Africa	226	117	17	1 623	1 983
Natal	8 163	2 547	275	1 818	12 803
North	18	3	9	9 744	9 774
Orange Free State	8 975	0	208	59	9 242
Port Elizabeth	4 098	66	462	142	4 768
PU for CHE	8 271	12	111	264	8 658
Pretoria	22 811	24	77	64	22 976
Rand Afrikaans	8 491	16	387	161	9 055
Rhodes	2 971	185	132	514	3 802
UNISA*	52 497	8 863	4 559	42 097	108 016
Stellenbosch	13 083	19	687	41	13 830
Western Cape	145	561	8 586	3 440	12 732
Witwatersrand	13 814	1 580	308	2 531	18 233
Zululand	24	13	2	5 156	5 195
Vista*	88	20	237	24 473	24 818
Fort Hare (Ciskei)	39	15	12	4 490	4 556
Transkei		not available			5 222
Venda		not available			2 566
Bophuthatswana		not available			2 782
Technikons					
Cape	6 083	47	658	82	6 870
Northern Transvaal	25	0	1	2 774	2 800
Mangosuthu	0	0	0	1 369	1 369
M L Sultan	250	3 584	193	923	4 950
Natal	4 831	221	154	322	5 528
OFS	2 927	0	29	49	3 005
Peninsula	70	120	3 202	968	4 360
Port Elizabeth	3 031	96	448	400	3 975
Pretoria	9 617	33	63	151	9 864
RSA**	16 032	1 421	2 048	8 649	28 150
Vaal Triangle	4 072	69	13	238	4 392
Witwatersrand	6 880	274	133	898	8 185
Transkei		not available			64
Setlogelo (Bophu-thatswana)		not available			421
Ciskei		not available			455

*   Offers mainly distance tuition
** Offers only distance tuition

TABLE 3 (Source: DNE,17, Table 4).

From Table 3 it is important to note the virtually all-white character of the Afrikaans -speaking campusses; as well as the high proportion of whites at the liberal so-called "open" universities such as Cape Town (72,3% white, 10,2% black), Natal (63,8% white, 14,2% black), and Witwatersrand (75,8% white, 13,9% black). UWC has 27% black students with 2/3 being classified Coloured. In 1991, almost 50% of the new intake was black.

While it would clearly be premature to accept UWC's claim to be "truly national and non-racial in character" (UWC 1989, 3) it has purposively set out to reflect national demographic trends. The liberal English-speaking campusses are likely to remain culturally alien and alienating social environments for the majority of South Africans. Further, these statistics are purely quantitative and so far little has been said about the ethos and nature of the various institutions.

The above observations are reinforced when examining full-time academic personnel. Out of a total of 9 901 in 1990, some 88,4% were white, 2,5% Coloured and 5,9% black (DNE, 30).

Statistics are given in TABLE 4 below for selected universities:

TABLE 4: University Educators by Institution & Pop. Group 1990:

Institution.	White	Asian	Coloured	Black	Total	% White
UCT	712	9	12	20	753	94,6
Wits	786	11	5	29	831	94,6
Stellenbosch	847	1	3	4	855	99,1
RAU	321	0	0	2	323	99,4
Zululand	97	9	0	103	209	46,4
Fort Hare	130	3	3	97	233	55,7
UWC	247	19	214	18	498	49,6

(Source: DNE, 30, Table 7).

A final comparative area to be noted is the disparity in staff-student ratios. While UWC, UCT and Stellenbosch have roughly similar numbers of students, the staff-student ratios are in the order of 5,5:100 at UCT; 6,2:100 at Stellenbosch; 4,6:100 at Wits and only 3,9:100 at UWC and 4,0:100 for Zululand (from Tables). Nor

do these figures reflect the availability of temporary positions or student graduate assistantships, for which the white universities are far more securely endowed. Further, levels of administrative staffing and backup are not reflected nor the character and efficiency of bureaucracies.

With this general description of some aspects of the racial context of the university system, it is possible to make a few more observations about the University of the Western Cape before moving to a discussion of more "qualitative" issues in the development and history of UWC.

One feature of the recent period has been the rapid growth in student numbers at UWC as it sought to respond to increased pressures on university access, and to expand in a way that more accurately reflected the population profile. Thus, UWC grew from 6772 students in 1986 to 9 034 in 1987 to 11 770 in 1989 and 12 732 in 1990 (UWC 1989, 5). Whereas UWC argued that secondary-school exit results did not reflect the student's abilities, it imposed no admission requirements beyond a school-leaving certificate. Yet, from 1990 pressure on resources forced the beginnings of limitations on admission, and a complicated set of formulae were developed to try accommodate a spread of students to include black/rural/ women and working-class categories traditionally excluded from access to tertiary education, while at the same time of course encouraging maximum achievement at the school level.

This process was not without its traumas, including inter-racial friction as Coloured students sometimes found themselves unable to gain admission to what had been a traditionally preferential area. Further, traditions of militance, also reflecting heightened levels of repression in black communities, brought new cultural and social realities onto the campus.

The state, seeking to limit levels of resistance at the university, attempted at points to escalate potential divisions. Yet both its harsh and overt attacks on the university, and creative responses by the university community in declaring 1988 a year of focus on the issue of non-racialism, ensured the lack of success of state initiatives.

Perhaps more serious was the state's attempt to manipulate subsidies. This included decrees overturned by the Supreme Court that tried to link subsidies to political inactivity on the part of students, and manipulation of the budget formulae to ensure that UWC received the lowest proportion of any university of the funds to which it was entitled. Thus in 1986 UWC received 17% less than its full subsidy, and by 1989 some 52% less, a situation in which the state was thus also actively discouraging growth in student numbers.

Where the relatively large number of black students has been noted,

it is also useful to note the spread across faculties. TABLE 5 below indicates the extent to which UWC is concentrated in the arts and humanities, or liberal professions. Only some 12% of students are based in the Science faculty. While a feature of the Dentistry school is that virtually all graduates now practise in South Africa - as opposed to up to 30% of medical professionals graduating from the liberal campusses who are likely to emigrate (UWC 1989, 22) - the numbers are relatively low. Further, if one excluded law, theology and education (where post-graduate certification is almost a formal part of the degree program), it can be seen that there is very little in the way of graduate studies or research being actively pursued.

TABLE 5: UWC ENROLMENT BY FACULTY 1988.

Faculty	Male	Female	Undergrad.	Post/g	Total
Arts	3065	2767	5 678	304	5 832 *
Econ. & Management	898	472	1 364	96	1 370
Education	714	420	491	743	1 134
Law	579	175	619	135	754
Dentistry	128	56	140	44	184
Theology	141	7	74	74	148
Science	968	458	1 354	72	1 426
Community & Health	159	693	769	83	852
TOTAL	6652	5048	10 489	1 551	11 770

(Source UWC 1989, 22)
* I have not corrected disparities in the original Table.

One last comment would be to note that gender inequalities are pervasive, with low numbers of women in the Science and Economics fields, and proportionally far higher in the Community and Health Faculty (including physical therapy, nursing, social work - the so-called service professions). A task force on gender issues has only recently been established at UWC.

Three types of University.

The Afrikaner universities were explicitly part of the Afrikaner nationalist movement, culturally and ideologically, preparing their students for the corridors of political power as well as commanding positions in agriculture and the new openings in business or state corporations.

The English-speaking universities, with older traditions, reproduced the situation throughout Africa where colonial models were imposed, with the language and orientation of the curriculum and intellectual life generally in the direction of the advanced industrial countries of the metropole. (Altbach 1974,7). One observor has pointed out how such institutions were "slow to develop indigenous roots" on the one hand (ibid, 7) , yet on the other, in South Africa this was "anglophile liberalism, primarily linking and responding to its institutional expression as in the English schools, cultural organisations and importantly big business" (Gerwel 1987).

This encouraged "the leisurely contemplation which had been the hallmark of university life... a product of a specific political culture" in which "suppressed social realities...through discourse-censorship, and research resistance, are largely unattended to in scientific discourse" (ibid).

The black or "tribal" universities - usually situated in rural communities and intended to serve a specific ethnically defined group - were tightly-controlled authoritarian institutions , under-funded, staffed often by conservative and second-rate products from the Afrikaans universities, with rigid and inflexible hierarchies. No new research was (or was likely to be) produced and indeed debate was harshly discouraged. They were glorified finishing schools for a small black elite that was meant to be grateful and eternally obedient in return for its meagre privileges.

Resistance and Transformation.

Yet power implies a relationship. Terrains where power is exercised become sites of resistance and struggle. With the rise of the Black Consciousness movement, university students at black campusses took the lead in resistance in the late 1960's. The South African Students Organisation (SASO) was formed under people such as Steve Biko and Barney Pityana. Black campusses become the site of overt political and ideological resistance.

The University of the Western Cape occupied a unique position within this web of relations. Situated at an institution embedded in the so-called Coloured community, with historically far lower

levels of involvement in national-democratic politics, students in SASO came to play a crucial role in spreading ideas well beyond the university. Many became teachers who occupied respected and influential positions in rural communities in particular. UWC students and graduates were able to link up with the even more central high-school student organisations, acting as catalysts to draw the Coloured community into active rejection of the tri-cameral constitutional schemes of the Nationalist party in the early 1980's and the more overt resistance and defiance in the latter part of the decade.

Situated in an urban area, and linked to a community subject to the ambiguously cooptive strategies of the government, spaces for organisation were more porous than in the isolated rural colleges. Repression was less complete, surrounding communities more supportive, schools often quick to respond and stretch the concentrated focus of state repressive apparatuses. While UWC certainly had its fair share of teargas, detentions, shootings, the student boycotts and strikes of the 1970's were not driven as rapidly and completely underground as at many other black campusses.

Other factors were also of importance. The surrounding Cape Town white community was more liberal than elsewhere in the country and less likely to tolerate extended and highly visible repression. The presence of two other universities (the liberal University of Cape Town, and Stellenbosch, by far the most intellectually sophisticated of the Afrikaner campusses), helped to draw UWC into some sort of community of scholarship that could not for long indulge overt or permanent suppression of university autonomy.

If student militance provided the hard-core of opposition to compliance with apartheid's objectives, another strand of resistance was found within the faculty. The Coloured community had a deeper base of academic/intellectual resources, with academics who might have studied at the liberal campusses or even overseas. This was a network of appointees resistant and bitter towards their racist white colleagues (though it must be noted there was also a sympathetic core of Afrikaner academics). It was the faculty that could ensure that many of the gains from student activism might be consolidated within power relations in the bureaucracy, the staff-room and even the classroom itself. Alliances were struck with sympathetic administrators, alumni, and also the workers within the university.

Small spaces - consolidated and filled - reached a critical mass during the term of the first Coloured rector, Prof Richard van der Ross, and with the granting of full autonomy over internal affairs under the 1983 UWC Act. It was a finely balanced game thatt had to be played. Yet in October 1982 the University Council, including state appointees, defined its mission "to include a firm commitment

to the Third World communities in Southern Africa...to serve its immediate community and to keep open the possibility of new options emerging for the South African society...(and to be) in no way restricted on the grounds of race, colour or ethnicity (UWC 1989, 1).

This period marked too the flowering of opposition in the extra-parliamentary movement. In 1983 the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed, heralding a period of intense political activity in the Coloured community and amongst oppressed South Africans in general. With its focus on organising on defined sites of struggle around particular sectoral needs, the non-racial character of its ideology, and its strategic approach of direct mass action, the UDF interacted with, encouraged, and drew on the possibilities that UWC with all its resources could provide.

On the one hand, the university - in particular through its student body - was to give impetus and protection to the democratic movement and its mobilisations. On the other hand, UWC found itself at the cutting edge of a new relationship. Students no longer saw the university administration and faculty as part of the apartheid machinery but as alliance partners in a broad anti-apartheid struggle.

The intensifying pace of struggle contributed to the emergence of a progressive hegemony within the university, signalled and consolidated with the inauguration of Prof Jakes Gerwel as rector in 1987. In turn, he was to play a critical role, courageously identifying the university with the anti-apartheid project, defending the social struggles through a difficult period of repression, and creatively using this interaction to define a new space and direction for the university.

In 1986, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed. NECC represented a high-point in education struggles, drawing together a wide coalition of sectors in the field. For UWC, the emerging concept of "people's education" and the notion of the particularity of struggles on the educational terrain, crystallised new possibilities.

In 1988 a unique university-wide conference brought together different constituencies - students, workers, academics, administration, and the broader community - to assess progress and chart directions for the challenges of transformation to a "people's university": "to examine collectively what we are doing, to investigate where we are going, and generally to avoid becoming lost in rhetoric and slogans" (Morrow in UWC 1988,35).

The ideas of people's education that backgrounded the conference

can be briefly summarised:

(1) the idea of sectoral organisation and mobilisation of different constituencies to challenge apartheid and capitalist dominance in education;

(2) the goal of education as the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, non-exploitative democracy, with collective and participatory organisational forms appropriate to these objectives, including the democratisation of educational institutions;

(3) education directed to resolving the problems of the majority of South Africans, specifically black and working-class communities;

(4) educational methodologies to enhance the above processes and engender empowerment and critical thinking, especially in the face of an apartheid education system geared to conformity and obedience.

As the rector of UWC suggested: "There is an internal imperative for this university to develop a critical alignment with the democratic movement as the dominant ideological orientation describing our operative life. The integration of academic and intellectual life and the development of it out of the reality of people's social experience and world, is essential both for the order of our functioning and, more importantly, for the vitality and quality of our intellectual environment" (UWC 1989, 9).

Events around the university, specifically the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in February 1990 and the beginnings of negotiation between the ANC and the government, telescoped the timetable of transformation. The real possibility of a democratic state and a new relationship to the dominant order, placed the agenda of the university into a new frame. Debates at the university took on a more urgent tone.

In the last section of this paper, a number of key issues for the future are addressed.

Possibilities and Challenges:

In the first place, the university's contribution to change can no longer be seen in its defence of a space for anti-apartheid resistance. Rather, the challenge is a creative and positive one, to produce high-level knowledge for the building of new social

relationships, to provide new definitions of striving and excellence to a society in transition:

"...unless we transform ourselves in terms of the intellectual and academic practices of the institution, the nature and quality of the discourse that characterises the institution and the type of intellectual that we send out into the world from here, our experience as a university would have been a failed one...it remains the depth, extent and quality of our academic transformation that will determine how much we can withstand attacks from the state or any other antagonistic quarters" (Gerwel in UWC 1988,28).

This central task of the university opens up a wide range of issues. The relationship to the democratic movement or the new state must of necessity be a critical one. In the university, debate and differing opinions become the lifeblood of a critical and creative approach to new social and intellectual problems.

More specifically, there is a need to develop a hitherto suppressed new generation of "seasoned and committed black intellectuals, researchers and scholars" (Ndzimande in UWC 1988,8), in an environment where academic skills have often been devalued relative to direct struggle-activity. Furthermore, "the centrality of higher education to the economy and political life has increased the trend (of interest from government and other agencies).Traditional concepts of academic autonomy are called into question on intellectual as well as financial and managerial grounds" (Altbach 1974,3).

There has been a flow of reputable academics and researchers to UWC from other more established universities and from abroad as exiles have been free to return. Of crucial importance, is how new syllabi and teaching processes are established and develop over time, as well as a new relationship to the disciplines of research.

These are not simply qualitative issues. Many of them revolve around the ("simple") issue of resources. If class sizes are too large - as they are- discussion and debate become unlikely if not impossible. Over-burdened teaching staff cannot research, more especially develop new discourses or define new problems of relevance to majority interests hitherto suppressed. Would there be money to introduce a system of teaching-assistants to provide space for promising graduate students to acquire teaching skills and open up career paths? Will there be sufficient personnel for tutorial and seminar-type teaching relationships that enhance critical thinking and discussion?

Libraries will need dramatic upgrades in extent and quality to

encourage independent study at undergraduate levels and enable research-oriented graduate studies. What about laboratories, computer and other equipment?

In short, the relationship of a new state to a university such as UWC will be crucial. A new government will be torn by vast demands to correct basic disparities and allocate resources throughout the education system. There will be pressures from large numbers of high-school graduates expecting a new democratic formation to guarantee access to high-level education. Interestingly, the ANC draft Education Policy is virtually silent on the issue of university education.

The case of democratic India is perhaps instructive: "India is a society of scarcity. Resources are insufficient for all of the many projects whcih compete for funds and skilled manpower. Given this situation, there is neither enough money nor qualified teachers to permit both quantitative growth and qualitative improvement in higher education...it is not surprising that standards of instruction, library and other facilities, and salaries should be insufficient" (Altbach 1974, 76).

Furthermore, a new state will have to rationalise its interests within the entire university system in South Africa. There are already indications that older, established universities such as UCT or Wits are just as likely to compete succesfully to establish new training programs for the state, in particular given their larger resource-base and international and business connections. An ordered and rationalised approach would not necessarily favour UWC, let alone other black campusses where transformation processes have barely been addressed. They may simply be left out in the complexities of reallocating resources and finding immediate solutions to pressing problems.

Many of the hard skills the new society will require are simply not on offer at the black campusses. The relative backwardness of science/engineering/ medical and technological facilities and the heavy emphasis on arts/humanities and secondary- school teaching, will assure stiff competition from the higher-level orientations of the more established universities as well as the more practical potentialities of the technikons or teacher-training colleges.

Much will depend on the degree of planning and goal-oriented policy-making that is applied to the tertiary sector. Yet there may be great pressures to ad-hoc and day-to-day responses rather than effective strategies within a broad but realistic vision. Much more will depend on the overall direction of transformation, the politics and economics of the new society, to put it crudely. Will there be a pragmatic series of accomodations, or a directed process of serious and deep structural transformation?

Such questions must perforce rely on multi-layered processes, that must also absorb the lessons of the failures of centralisation and anti-democratic practices in Eastern Europe.

Drawing on the Colombian experience, Pelczar has argued that "only after the universities discover their own identity and mission will they be able to fulfil their long sought after leadership role" (in Altbach 1974, 64). In similar vein, Fafunwa and Hansen quote the goals of the 1972 Conference of the Association of African Universities, to build universities whose aims were "to serve more directly and immediately the interests of far wider numbers of citizens" (ibid, 97). Rather than seeking to fulfil individualistic needs, they should "assist the community and the state in developing the professional specialists and professional men and women increasingly required in modern society" (ibid, 102). This requires building "a community of scholars comprising men and women, young and old, lettered and unlettered, gathered together for the pursuance of truth and disemmination of knowledge to the generality of their people with the expressed purpose of development" (ibid, 114).

In the context of the fierceness and unity of purpose engendered in the anti-apartheid struggle, such formulations might have appeared less idealist. In the context of the complexities of transformation in the new world situation, and given the complex implications of university reforms, they need to be subjected to a more hard-nosed assessment.

Many students will simply see the university, as in India, as a "route for social mobility" with the historical task of creating "trained skilled manpower". (Altbach 1974, 66). The experience of academics returning to Colombia from overseas study is also instructive: "They arrive at the university with high aspirations, only to encounter inadequate research facilities, low salaries, few fringe benefits and other unsupportive conditions. Many professors desert teaching because university salaries are not competitive with those in the private sector or government agencies" (Pelczar in Altbach ,57).

In turn, local communities outside the university fail to develop the commitment and support the goals of what is easily seen as an elite institution, making selfish demands for vague goals. In particular, "social groups strongly committed to egalitarian ideals are deeply offended by the invidious distinctions found in a layered profession" (Clark 1987,380).

Yet it is the commitment of academics that is most central to the consolidation of university transformation and the development of a real intellectual re-orientation, even if it might be possible

for such "commitment" to be encouraged in large measure from an egalitarian-oriented society or a politicised and consistent student body with clear educational goals.

The prospects here are not bright. As has been pointed out, "almost any meaningful innovation or change in policy involves some risk to someone in the academic structure...all the powerful elements in the academic equation are arranged against reform and change"(Altbach 1974, 77 ,80). In general "in each national context, as a product of past efforts as well as historical conditions, the academic profession will have characteristic ways of defending itself and affecting the rest of society" (Clark 1987, 377).

Apart from bureaucratic and centralised university structures that may be entrenched and slow to change, the very nature of academic disciplines and the traditions of intellectual hierarchy and knowledge production militate against dramatic change.

Disciplines operate as a "knowledge tradition - categories of thought and related codes of conduct...there is in each field a way of life into which new members are inducted" (Becker in Clark 1987,279). Often, relations in the academy are based on relations of power, professional association and organisation, friendship, influence, professional authority and even sycophancy and nepotism, as Bordieu (1988) and Clark (1987) have argued.

These relations are not just reinforced in an institutional setting, not only in the national context, but across boundaries into an international community of scholars that exerts powerful codes of legitimation and recognition. Bordieu refers to the "contamination of specifically scientific authority by the statutory authority founded on the arbitrariness of the institution "(55). Speaking of nepotism and cooptation, he refers cynically to "the real fee for admission to the group, what is known as 'team spirit'...the visceral form of recognition of everything which constitutes the existence of the group, its identity, its truth, and which the group must reproduce in order to reproduce itself" (36).

One does not necessarily need to adopt such a crass view of reality, to agree that such issues are made eminently more complex by the claim of the university to be centrally located in the pursuit of truth and creation of higher-level knowledge. These are

"the bases for the loftiest ideals and pretences of the profession, the ones on which claims of professional altruism can best be founded. Always ambiguous and always edging into myth and cant, the services to knowledge, culture and future generations are part

and parcel of what the profession is about. They are also the outcomes of academic effort that are most remote to the touch of efficiency criteria and accountability demands. Hence they are the strongest bases for claims of trust: if you cannot direct their work, you have to trust them to get it right" (Clark 1987, 396).

A university such as UWC would run serious risks in attempting to escape such universalistic pressures through a retreat into "relevance" or a localistic orientation. While the calls open highly important new discourses and areas of knowledge generation, at the same time the processes of knowledge legitimation are linked to participation at all levels by society in a wider world market. Nor are wider criteria unambiguous, or simply the expression of power relations. Academics would lessen their contribution in a failure to participate in a world community of scholars.

A university with differing emphases and localized sets of goals, needs precisely to be able to guarantee to its graduates the ability to participate and compete in the mainstream. Social and collectively-defined goals can least afford to be seen to be devalued relative to even powerful and dominant pressures: the challenge of building an alternative set of practices is not to remain in permanent opposition but to enter, surround and move beyond the mainstream against which critique is being developed. While it is unlikely any individual university could define or transform such currents or even give a central impetus to the general social goals and thrust , it may yet play a powerful and defined role in the realisation of the broad thread of development of a particular nation.

Conclusions:

If this paper has presented a somewhat pessimistic picture, it is in no ways to devalue the goals that the University of the Western Cape has set for itself. The struggles that have brought UWC to its present position have set in motion real processes within the university. They have contributed to vital transformations in South Africa, and offered the possibilities for unique and courageous explorations.

The central critique implicit in the thrust of UWC's practice exposes clearly that "the dangers of adopting wholesale the institutional and intellectual models of the advanced nations are substantial. Developing countries must be particularly careful to evaluate their own needs and to create their own kinds of institutional forms" (Altbach 1974,7).

Nonetheless, international experiences do indicate that universities have proven to be "exceptionally durable and in many ways conservative institutions (with a) slowness to accept change" (ibid, 10). Despite the great distance UWC has been able to travel, the new possibilities of social transformation in South Africa may paradoxically make it more difficult to proceed with university transformation, rather than easier.

Rather than expecting great and totalising changes in the university (and more especially in the entire university system in South Africa), it may well be that "perhaps the main hope is that if a few visionary individuals working within the academic system are permitted leeway and given resources, successful innovations carried out on a small scale may have some impact elsewhere"(Altbach 1974, 80).

Nor does this need to be such an individual project as Altbach suggests, but would be greatly enhanced with an organisational dimension. The strategy is not purely pragmatic or needlessly reformist, but in many ways eminently Gramscian. It may well apply to the processes of progressive societal change taken as a whole, in which movement is seen as a process and consists in partial and "day-to-day series of challenges, not one single moment" (Bloch 1991, 35).

The challenges posed by UWC are important. Its participation in the anti-apartheid struggle has deeply underscored the merit and contribution of the university as a social institution, and ensured that the production of highly-skilled university-trained intellectuals of quality and excellence, is seen as one of the priorities in a new South Africa. The university is a crucial and necessary site for progress, "without question...a unique social institution which is allowed in most societies almost unprecedented freedoms to express minority viewpoints and to pursue research and teaching." (Altbach 1974, 10).

Despite the institutional autonomy and freedom that UWC has claimed as a social space for the development of all South Africans, its future is neither guaranteed nor easy. Its experiments in ongoing transformation will deserve the realistic and critical support of all those interested in enhancing the quality of life of the people of South Africa, as UWC continues to contribute to "the creative conceptualization of a future community beyond the destructiveness of an Apartheid order" (Gerwel, 1987).

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with a committee headed by the class monitor in each class at the lowest

level; a standing committee composed of chair, vice-chairs, and five or six

section heads within each department; and a similarly structured college-wide

standing committee at the top level.[12] [see table 4] The formal organizations

also replicate, to a some extent, the alienation between leaders and members

found in other mass organizations throughout Chinese society.

Student association officers are appointed by faculty such as the

political counsellor [zhidaoyuan or fudaoyuan] or elected by students, and

often both methods are used in different situations at the same college. The

Student Association is by no means autonomous; it is under the guidance or

control of the CYL, Party, and the administration. Almost always, monitors and

Student Association officers are League members.

B. Student attitudes

While some students felt that by organizing dances and cultural

programs the Student Association made significant contributions to their

lives, disinterest and dissatisfaction with the organization and its leaders

were widespread. Here is one fairly typical example:

> The SA has no connection at all with my life. I can live very well
> without it...I don't think [student cadres] can do many things for
> students. Their quality is not very high. Many get good jobs, but
> I don't think they are capable.

Students have some opportunity to pursue their own interests and

learning through the student association, but the internal bureaucratic

structure and external controls imposed many limitations on student activity.

Students complained about restrictions on campus newspapers and broadcast

stations, forming new organizations, holding events, and inviting speakers.

Control over funds was a primary means by which the CYL leaders controlled the

activities of the student association and student societies. For peer support

and a freer hand, students tended to turn to involvement in various societies and informal groups.

C. Student societies and clubs

To function on campus, societies and clubs, ranging from hobbies and games to the academic and political, must be sanctioned by the school either through the student association or the Youth League. Before 1989, "salons" were becoming popular on some campuses, where students would discuss social and political issues quite freely. Numbers of participants in these semi-official groups ranged between a dozen to over a hundred, and some of their events drew hundreds more. These organizations and their activities were more popular by far than the official organizations, and through them students made broad contacts outside their class and grade.

There was a great difference in the scope and importance of these organizations among various institutions. In 1990 there was strict limitation and control over student societies at Technical University but much less control at Comprehensive University. [see table 5]

At Technical University only three or four organizations existed, membership was small, and activities were infrequent. The authorities, in their campaign for discipline and order, "school spirit" [xiaofeng], and evening study, had limited the number of societies and events. One example of this control was the refusal to approve a student-organized karaoke singing evening and a film club.

In contrast, at Comprehensive University, which had constructed a student activity center, the policy seemed to by one of encouragement. In 1990 twenty student organizations were listed there, and at least sixteen were active. Some were reported to have be quite large and very popular.[13]

IV. INFORMAL GROUPS

Despite the popularity of some of these organized groups, much of students' extra-curricular life centered around informal groups and networks. Networks and friendship groups are, of course, always difficult to analyze with great precision, but they can be divided into three types of relations: first, college classmates [tongbantongxue] (and especially roommates or same-gender classmates); second, those with local ties such as a common middle school, hometown or home province [tongxiang and laotongxue]; and third, those who participate together in various extra-curricular activities or share a common interest. [see table 6]

A. Local ties

As we have just discussed roommates and classmates, I want to examine the second type, local connections which not only bridge departmental and grade divisions, but also link students at different colleges. Students felt that the strongest bonds had been made during middle school, and these friendships and acquaintances then spread like webs connecting students on every college campus and department. On some campuses, especially those which admit students from many provinces, there are strong informal tongxiang networks, connecting those from the same hometown or locality. Students from the same city or province, and schoolmates from middle school may create ties

knew each other before college. For many of the students in this study, these ties were a major basis of friendships and often a way of meeting members of the other sex.

In addition, students from those ethnic minorities whose religious beliefs, language, and dietary customs differ from the Han majority often

formed groups. They were sometimes formally organized by the college as separate classes with a separate dining hall for Muslim students, but these minority groups were not permitted to form ethnic associations. As a matter of policy, school authorities generally discouraged the formation of groups based on locality or ethnicity.

Identity with one's hometown was strong even for those students who did not regularly associate with old schoolmates or tongxiang. For young men and women often away from home for the first time, the familiarity of local place and a common dialect or accent offers a comfortable feeling of rootedness resembling kinship. Friendship ties also developed between students from rural areas and small towns because of their shared rural backgrounds and their sense of inferiority compared with urban students. One student described a roommate from the countryside being, "treated by others as if he were from another planet. They looked down on him and I was sympathetic. We had a common countryside experience."

B. Common interests and shared activities

Finally, I would like to explore some of the interests and extra-curricular activities which brought students together informally. Some of these provided opportunities for meeting students in other grades and departments; others tended to reinforce class and department affinities. For some activities, like bridge and mahjong, students tended to be linger in same-sex, dormitory groups; whereas events such as parties and dances provided special opportunities for genders to mix. Together these activities have created a student culture with some autonomy from, and even resistance to, orthodox values and control. In the 1980s increased access to Western culture and the liberalization of intellectual life led to a flourishing of activities

on campuses.[14]

The other side of student enthusiasm for the extra-curriculum was the phenomenon of disinterest in classroom learning, commonly called yanxue. With slogans such as "studying is useless" [dushu wuyong] and "long live sixty points" [liushifen wansui] many students expressed their feelings of frustration. The job assignment system, lack of interest in their major, dull teaching methods, irrelevant and obsolete nature of the curriculum, and the poor job prospects for graduates were all factors which students commonly offered for their academic disinterest.[15]

Browsing through youth magazines of the 1980s and 1990s, one cannot avoid being struck by the many "crazes" or "hot topics." [in Chinese re] reported to be almost spontaneously sweeping through the campuses. One college journal in early 1989, for example, listed "the ten university student crazes": [see table 7] Others jokingly divided students of the late 1980s into four "factions": mahjong, TOEFL, poker, and love.[16]

These extra-curricular activities and interests can be seen in terms of four broad avenues of pursuit: intellectual understanding, entertainment, romance, and money.[17]

Intellectual interests may be pursued by individuals without much group support, but for many students the shortage of books and funds led to the sharing of reading material and ideas. Before the 1989 student movement, discussions salons and talks by invited speakers attracted increasingly large followings on some campuses. These discussions provided broad contact across the boundaries of academic discipline, age, and gender and even bridged the gaps between undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty.

The extremely narrow disciplines, lack of elective choices, and

traditional methods of instruction led students to seek other avenues for broadening their learning in other fields.[18] In what some have called the "reading craze" [dushure] of the 1980s, students in both sciences and the humanities developed a strong appetite for Western philosophy and psychology.

Meanwhile, students gave the required lip-service to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Chinese Communist Party in the mandatory political education courses.

Students also sought diversion and social contacts when out of class. Card games, mahjong (previously prohibited on campus), and even illicit gambling became popular. But the most popular were the many college dances. The dance was the single most important social event, often breaking class and departmental barriers and providing the opportunity for mingling and casual physical contact with the opposite sex. In China in the eighties, the dance became a youth culture ritual (Hooper, 1985).

Dating and courtship [in Chinese tan lian'ai, lit. "to talk love"] became more open and widespread in the mid-eighties. For many students, especially those in the upper-grades, love was a preoccupation.[20] Couples often developed among students in the same grade and department, middle school acquaintances, and tongxiang.[21]

Another trend that attracted a large number of college students in the late 1980s was the pursuit of money through part-time work, vacation jobs, and small-scale business enterprises.[22] In some cases, such as tutoring referral, students were loosely organized under the official organizations, but often work was handled privately or through informal connections. Some work related to students' academic fields and involved classmates. For example, one group of medical college students set up a table off on the street and do blood-

typing for passers-by for a fee. But the 1990 national college regulations prohibited students from engaging in private business, and required that part-time be organized under college work-study programs and be related to academic studies.

The "social practice" campaign, in which thousands of students work and investigate conditions mostly in small towns and backward rural areas, is the socialist answer to private work and business. It has been promoted by the educational authorities, especially since the rise of student activism in the mid-1980s, as an antidote to the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology and to counteract the ivory-tower campus and sterile curriculum. Authorities hope that students, tempered with a vacation lesson of harsh social realities, will return more loyal to socialism and Communist Party leadership. There are indications that students make use of this off-campus, unchaperoned activity as an opportunity to make new friends, carry out romances, and pursue their own interests.

In conclusion, although some activities may be nominally group-sponsored, the most popular activities among students were those which were more or less free from control by official groups.[23] Rather than as a threat to order and control, the informal group should be seen as an outgrowth of the students' needs which are not being fulfilled under the formal university structures. Unless college authorities make substantial reforms in the structure of curriculum, the management of students, and political education, students will continue to develop their own ways to pursue their intellectual interests and to fulfill their social needs.

"inconvenient."

In one small class of 21 students at Comprehensive University, eight of the nine male students shared one dormitory room and the ninth was next door. For these men, the dormitory room unit was their primary group. Many preferred to spend time after class with female students in other departments and colleges.

D. Class monitor

Another important factor determining the degree of class cohesion and identity felt by students was the class monitor [banzhang]. As the head of the class committee, the monitor bore responsibility for organizing class activities and meetings, for disseminating information from the political counsellor and school authorities, and for conveying classmates' requests and opinions to those in charge. One monitor explained his role:

> The monitor acts as a broker or mediator between the faculty and students. So whatever students want, we have to go to the teacher and talk to him. [When] the teacher has something to say to the students, or ...feels embarrassed...he would like to talk to me first, and then I would talk to the students.

In one unusual instance, in order to make a demand for televisions for their entire grade, he and the six other monitors of the same grade in the department joined together and petitioned the dean of the department. The department gave in after seeing that the students were all firmly behind the monitors.

Although the monitor could play an important role in representing the class and organizing activities, he or she could also function as part of the system of control. One student spoke of always needing to be careful what he said in his dormitory room because one of his roommates, the class monitor, reported on them. Another informant described a good monitor as one who did

not report on others unless most students thought the matter seriously wrong. Because the monitor and class committee were part of the system of control, many students did not want to take on these roles, and some felt aloof from the organized side of classroom life.[9]

III. THE STUDENT ASSOCIATION

In addition to the academic structure of class and department, there are three formal organizational structures at work within the student and campus community creating an "organizationally saturated" environment (Francis, 1991). These are the student association or xueshenghui [sometimes translated as the student union], the Communist Youth League or CYL[10], and the Communist Party.[11] [see table3] I will focus here on the student association and the clubs and societies under its umbrella.

A. Structure and purpose

The objectives of the student association are often explained as to enrich students' lives outside of the classroom, to create a healthy social atmosphere, and to promote student self-regulation and self-management (Yang et al, 1989). The student association and its officers are also meant to be channels for two-way communication between university authorities and students. But the student leaders find it difficult to serve these two masters, and students often feel the association cannot truly represent them.

Following the pattern of mass organizations in every school, work unit, and neighborhood, one official organization, the student association is officially designated as the one and only legal representative of college students. The titles and roles in this organization correspond to positions in other institutions throughout Chinese society. There is a layered bureaucracy

classmates. As study outside of class hours was not structured, more mixing

was possible in the evenings. Yet with library seats often fully occupied, the

classmates tended to study together in their classroom.[7] There were more

activities that crossed class boundaries than at Technical Institute, two

popular examples being Saturday night dances and the Sunday English

conversation corner. Both of these activities were open to students from other

campuses and attracted quite a few.

Similarly, students at Comprehensive University seemed to mix more

across department and grade than those at Technical Institute. Like Teacher's

University, there were many extra-curricular opportunities in which students

from different grades and departments could meet. Because of insufficient

space, there were no fixed classrooms. With no designated space for classmates

to study and hold activities together, the class bonds were somewhat weaker.

In general, class identity was weaker in those colleges with no fixed

classrooms and also where classes were often combined for larger lectures. In

these cases, the grade (nianji) was   a more important group within the

department.[8]

C. Gender group and dormitory units

In some classes there was a very clear gender division, and social

groupings corresponded closely with dormitory units. At Technical Institute

and Comprehensive University, like most Chinese campuses, dormitory areas for

males and females were physically separated. Interestingly, Teacher's

University had mixed dormitory buildings with men occupying the upper floors

and women the lower ones, but there did not seem to be any less of a gender

division, and both male and female students found this arrangement to be

crowding, students find some privacy and space for self-exploration.[4]

Camaraderie among dormitory roommates was typical, and both college men and

women commonly referred to the time after the lights go out in the dormitory

as the most open forum for discussions on campus.[5]

B. Group identity and cohesion

Class cohesion was strong in the three universities studied and for most

of the students interviewed from other universities, but there were

significant differences in terms of the amount of time classmates spent

together and opportunities for interacting with students outside their class.

At Technical Institute, each class was assigned a fixed room in which

students not only met for nearly every course but also studied after class.

Especially in the first two years, students had very little free time during

which they could mingle with others outside this group. In one typical second-

year class at Technical Institute, students spent 29 hours each week in class,

or an average of five hours each day. (See table 2) In addition, students were

required to spend two hours each weekday evening, studying in the same

classroom.[6] As the library was quite small, the classroom was the only

practical place to study. Even some weekend activities were organized by

classes at Technical Institute. On Saturday nights classes often held dances

in the classrooms, moving aside desks and chairs and decorating light fixtures

with colored paper and the monitor and class committee sometimes organized

class activities such as picnics and outings.

At Teachers' University, classmates had more time and opportunity to mix

with others outside their class group. But there too, each class remained in

the same classroom where often the class committee arranged a wall board of

poetry, jokes, drawings, essays, quotations and other contributions of

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN CHINA:

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND NETWORKS

Paul Englesberg

Center for International Education

University of Massachusetts

Amherst, MA 01003

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I. INTRODUCTION

Many books and articles have been published these past two years related
to the 1989 student protest movement and its antecedents, most of which have
focused on the immediate events on Tiananmen Square and the streets of Beijing
and on the Chinese government's responses. Yet this rather large body of work
offers few insights into the lives and thoughts of China's college students
beyond the demonstrations. Leaving analysis of student protest to others, I
will view students using a broader frame of reference, focusing on various
dimensions of student culture and identity.

There are now over one thousand colleges and universities in China with
a combined enrolment of around two million students. Most of these are
undergraduates who enter directly from middle school after passing the
national entrance examination. They are an elite group composed of only a
small percentage of middle school graduates, and an even smaller percentage of
their age group.

Of course, universities are not all the same, and along with
institutional differences there are various types of students and variations
of campus culture. Variation among institutions of higher education are quite
significant, and one can look at variation across levels in the hierarchy of
the higher education system, across geographic regions, and across different
types of institutions. (see table 1)

This paper relies primarily on research conducted in 1990-91 for a study
of formal and informal student organization and networks. Data was gathered
at three institutions, which I will call Comprehensive University, Technical

Institute, and Teacher's University, and from graduates of several other universities who were interviewed in the United States. For this presentation, I will concentrate on what I have found to be the three most significant organizational elements of student culture: the college class unit, the official student association, and informal networks.

First, I want to explain how rigid regimentation and clustering of students and narrow compartmentalization of their academic curriculum has tended to constrict their social contacts and experiences. As a result, students generally have maintained very strong group cohesion and identity by college class and dormitory units, but they have also developed informal networks which often cross the boundaries of these units. Secondly, I wish to describe the how the formal organizations, used to shape student behavior and ideological beliefs, have lost some of their effectiveness in the 1980s as many students became alienated from orthodox values and the system of administrative and political control. Finally, I will suggest how informal student networks and extra-curricular activities have functioned to fulfill both intellectual and social needs of students not met within the formal academic and organizational system.

II. THE COLLEGE CLASS

The entering college student is assigned to a department, a specialization within it, a class [ban], and a dormitory room usually shared by classmates. Several classes enrolled at the same time in each department together make up a larger group, the departmental grade [nianji].[1] In general, classes are composed of approximately 30 students, but I found classes in this study ranging from 15 to 89 students.[2]

II. THE COLLEGE CLASS

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A. Class as academic, administrative, and social center

The class is the smallest student unit in the academic structure of university organization, and classmates all must follow the same general curriculum and specialization. The class is also the strongest social group for many students due, in large part, to the sustained amount of time classmates as a group spend together every day for four years, and to their limited contact with members of other classes. With the exception of a very few electives, classmates all take the same courses together including required basic courses such as foreign language, politics, and physical education, and some courses combine two or more classes within a grade.[3]

Each student is assigned a dormitory room where typically six-to-eight students live with spartan accommodations. Whenever possible, students are assigned rooms by academic class; thus, for four years they sleep with the very classmates they see throughout the day in nearly every course. Students commonly speak of their lives as following a routine of "three points on a line" - the dormitory, classroom, and dining hall - to designate what they see as a limited and monotonous pattern. But the dormitory room is one of the areas of least control for students. There, despite the regimentation, and

Table 1

Higher Education in China (1988)

Institutes of higher learning   1,075

total undergraduate enrolment   2,065,000

average enrolment/institution   1,922

Major types of institutions   # of insts.
    comprehensive universities   49
    science and engineering   281
    teacher training   262
    medicine   119
    finance and economics   80
    agricultural and forestry   70
    arts   30
    politics and law   25
    athletics   16
    other   129

source: Min, W.F., Gaodeng jiaoyu guimo kuozhande xingshi yu banxue xiaoyi yanjiu. Jiaoyu Yanjiu, October, 1990, pp. 43.

Institutions included in Study (1990)

| | enrolment | | |
	undergrad.	grad.	departments
Technical Institute	2,200*	*	6
Teacher's University	6,000	500	15
Comprehensive University	5,500	400	14

*enrolment figure for Technical Institute includes regular undergraduates, short-term students, and a small number of graduate students.

Table 2

Student Academic Schedule

Class schedule for second-year engineering students in one department at Technical Institute. First semester, 1990.

	1 & 2	3 & 4	lunch	5 & 6	hours
Monday	math	dynamics		athletics	6
Tuesday	survey	English		physics lab	6
Wed.	math	oral English (one hour)		political & moral educ.	5
Thurs.	Marxism/ Leninism	physics		-	4
Fri.	survey	math & dynamics		-	4
Sat.	English	physics		-	4

Table 3

Formal Organization

	mass organization	Youth League	Party
College level	Student Association (standing committee)	CYL branch (cadres)	CP committee (cadres)
Department level	Student Association divisions (standing committee)	CYL branch (staff)	CP branch
Class level	Class committee (monitor)	CYL committee (CYL secretary)	small group
Student Membership	100%	90-97%	3-5%

Table 4

Organizational Structure of the Student Association

Student Association, University-wide level
at Comprehensive University

chairman team [zhuxituan]
    chairman and vice-chair
secretariat [mishu chu]
    secretary general [mishuzhang]*
    vice secretary for day-to-day work [changwu fumishuzhang]
    vice secretary [fumishuzhang]
    (6 ganbu)
association section [shetuan bu]
    head, 2 vice heads, and 6 ganbu
literature and arts section [wenyi bu]
    head, 2 vice heads, 8 ganbu
athletics section [tiyu bu]
    head, vice head, and 5 ganbu
student life section [shenghuo bu]
    head, vice head, and 8 ganbu
study and propaganda section [xuechuan bu]
    head, 2 vice heads and 6 ganbu
women's section [nusheng bu]
    head, 2 vice heads, and 3 ganbu
public relations section [gongguan bu]
    head, vice head, and 6 ganbu

* Apparently a teacher who is a Youth League cadre. All other
    positions held by students.

        Departmental Student Associations [gexi fenhui] at
                Comprehensive University

    chair [zhuxi]
    vice-chair(s) [fuzhuxi] (some departments had 2)
    study [xuexi bu], or study and propaganda [xuechuan]
    athletics
    literature and arts
    student life

        Sections found in only one or two departments:

    women's (2)
    propaganda [xuanchuan bu] (1)
    self-discipline [zilu bu] (1)
    public security [zhibao bu] (1)

Table 5

Student societies

TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

stamp collecting
weiqi [go]
calligraphy

COMPREHENSIVE UNIVERSITY

sociology
exploration society
youth economic forum
stamp collecting
calligraphy
ancient Oriental culture
public relations
film and video arts
martial arts
computers and Chinese character information
guitar
qigong
soccer club
xiangqi [Chinese chess] and weiqi [go]

Table 6. Formal and Informal Networks

clubs & societies

m.s. schoolmates
[laotongxue]

DORM ROOM
[sushe]

official organizations

local ties
[tongxiang]

CLASS
[banji]

common interests

GRADE
[nianji]

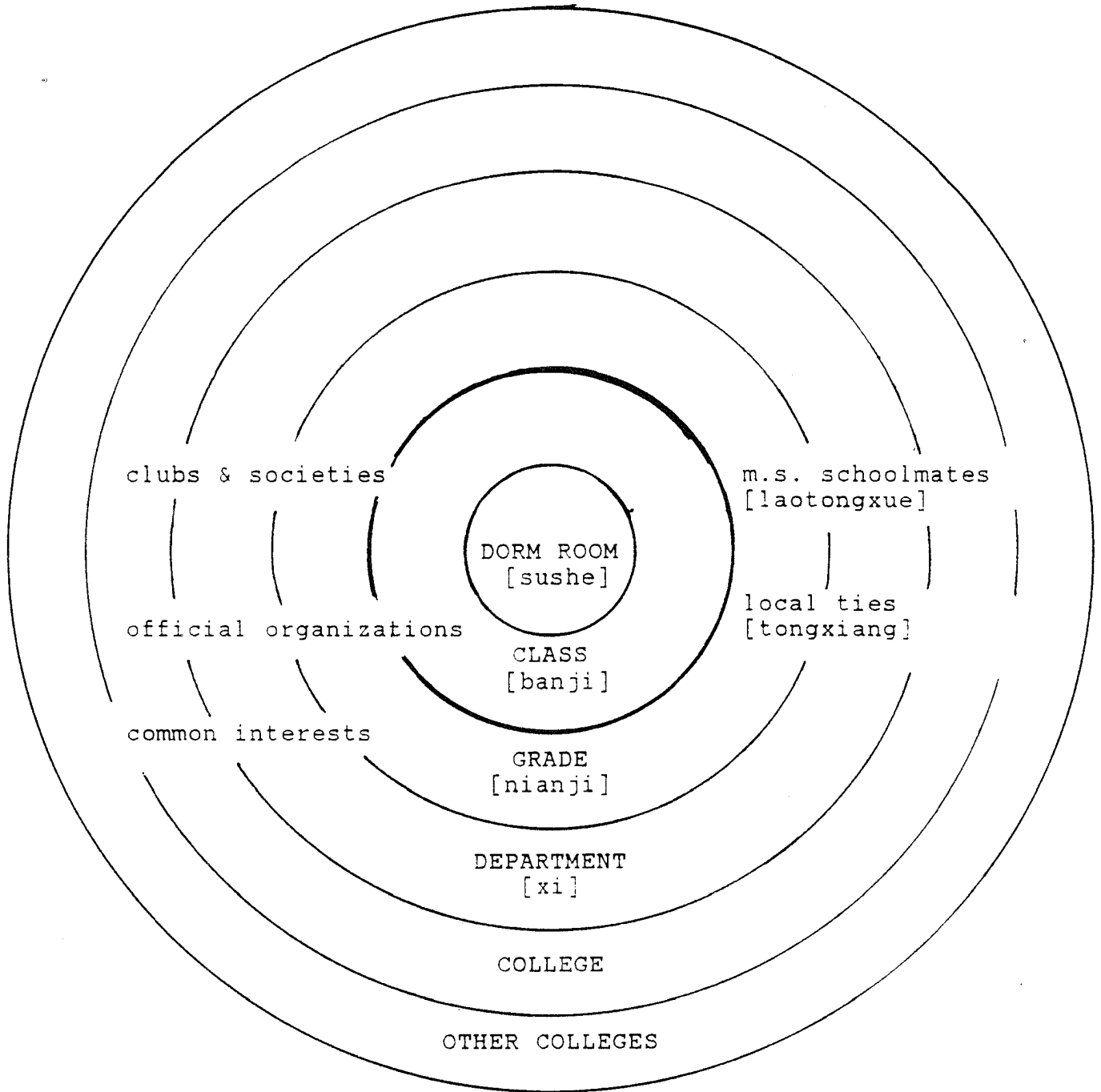DEPARTMENT
[xi]

COLLEGE

OTHER COLLEGES

Table 7

Extracurricular Activities and Interests

"The ten university student crazes":

1. reading (often Western philosophy)
2. doing business
3. writing
4. love
5. sports
6. dancing
7. current events
8. martial arts
9. travel
10. films and video

(Gaojiao Wenzhai December 1989, p. 39, reprinted from Sichuan Yixueyuan Xuebao, January 1989)

- -

Survey of students at Comprehensive University, May, 1990
    (n=206, 75% response rate)

1. Type of student
       romantic   32%
       TOEFL   9%
       card player   16%
       studious   12%
       other   31%

    (document B-8, p.3)

- -

                     Shenyang Survey

Goal of participation in extracurricular culture:

    increase knowledge   42.8%
    mold character/temperament   25.8%
    diversion   18.5%
    pass the time   2.9%

    (Li & Dong, 1987, p. 37)

Notes

1. Each class has a number, for example, History 8902. As the 89 designates the 1989 entering grade and 02 the class number, the departmental grade would be History 8901, 8901, and 8903.

2. Except for the 1977-1980 period, when older "educated youth" who had been sent to farms and factories entered the universities along with younger middle school graduates, classes and grades are composed of peers of similar age and experience.

3. The college class system is so universal in Chinese colleges and universities that deviations are deemed worthy of note. One example was a "mixed class" at Zhejiang University composed of students in several different departments (Lu, June 1990).

4. Wen-hsin Yeh (1990) describes how Chinese students in the 1920s and 30s attempted to carve out personal space by hanging sheets and arranging bookcases in the dormitories, and Shen Tong (1990) describes students in the 80's who "hid under their see-through mosquito-netting; somehow in our cramped quarters, we thought we had privacy there." (p. 110)

5. Common topics during these after-hours discussions [wotanhui] are frequently reported to be about the other sex, philosophical questions, and teachers. In a published survey of students at Comprehensive University (1990) the following responses were given to the question, "What do you talk about when the lights go out at night?"
current events 16%; the other sex 29%; fun/games 21%; academic/professional topics 6%; other 28%.

6. During the 1990-91 period, the institute was actively enforcing this mandatory evening self-study [zixue], and inspectors regularly conducted surveys and checked attendance. An inspection of 36 classrooms conducted one evening in September 1990 reported 58% attendance for "self-study."

7. A third-year student at Teacher's University reported little contact with students outside her department or even from other grades within it. She said that most of her activities were with her twenty classmates. It was not until the third year that she attended some elective classes offered within the department, but she had no classes with students from other grades or departments.

8.   Loose class affiliation characterized one college where there were no fixed classrooms and where by the second year, students could choose from several teachers in sections and could choose between some electives. The class was not usually together and held fewer parties and sports activities than they had the first year. While classmates all knew each other, they liked to be with friends

who were often in other departments. An informant, who had been the class monitor during the first year, felt that, "there was no real class concept after a while."

9. Reports were usually made to the political counsellor [zhidaoyuan or fudaoyuan] who was in charge of several classes, or the grade. The political counsellor was the most important authority, enforcing regulations, keeping tabs, and playing a key role in decisions about job assignment upon graduation. While not always a Party member, the political counsellor was, at least in theory, the most direct representative of state and Party policy; a link between students and the government.

10. The CYL, with a membership of approximately 90% on each campus, also has a bureaucracy which extends into each class and department. The CYL's goals are more ideological than the student association, and it has a more direct mandate as a link between students and the Communist Party.The Youth League was seen as inconsequential to most students interviewed. Many had joined in middle school and claimed little involvement beyond paying the monthly dues of five fen.

11. Especially in the higher grades (third and fourth years) and among graduate students, the Party organization directly plays a role, organizing members and study groups. Party members account for perhaps 3-4% of undergraduates. In the early 1980s, party membership among university students was at its lowest since 1949, less than 2% at many campuses. Since 1984, the party concentrated on recruiting more university students and by 1986 membership rates of three to four percent were reported on many campuses. (Rosen, 1990, 274-5). Among Beijing undergraduate students, party membership increased from 2.5% in 1984 to 5.5% in 1986 and among Beijing graduate students membership increased from 23% to 32% (Wang S. et al., cited in Rosen, 1991, 433).

12. For an idea of the numbers of student officers involved, at Comprehensive University with 5,500 undergraduates in fourteen departments, there was a total of 85 student leaders including 30 chairs and vice-chairs at the departmental and college-levels. (There were actually 90 positions, but several leaders held two posts concurrently within the department.)

13. The societies reported to have the most participants were Exploration and Sociology, both of which were considered academic societies. In a 1990 student survey at Comprehensive University, the news association, youth economics forum, sociology association, and exploration society were judged to be the most successful.

14. One survey of students in Shenyang found that the most commonly reported goal of participation in extra-curricular activities was to enrich their knowledge. The researchers concluded that,
> "This shows that today's college students are dissatisfied with the knowledge gained from classes and textbooks, and they wish to pass through many kinds of avenues to increase their knowledge"
> (Li & Dong, 1987, 37).

15. A survey of Shanghai students found two-thirds expressing agreement to some extent with the "long-live sixty" slogan. Only 20% of the respondents expressed interest in their own field of study, 60% felt it was only a stepping-stone or so-so, and 10% expressed a lack of interest in it. As to what motivated them to study, only 9% chose the quest for knowledge. (Mao & Gong, 1987). In another survey, only 7.6% of students chose personal interest as their major motivation to study (Yu et al., 1986). In another Shanghai survey, the most common responses to the question, "What do you consider to be the worst problems in higher education?" among 13 possible choices were: "boring teaching methods," "backward examination methods," "dull lectures," and "theory is separated from reality". (Yang, 1986).

16. The Chinese for "mahjong faction" and "TOEFL faction" is an ironic political play-on-words: mapai for Marxist and tuopai for Trostskyist. The popularity of studying for TOEFL, the test of English proficiency required to enter graduate programs in the U.S. and Canada, is the most obvious sign of the "going abroad fever" [chuguore] which has swept most campuses. In a 1990 published survey of students at Comprehensive University respondents classified themselves into the following "types":romantic 32%;
TOEFL 9%; card player 16%; studious 12%; other 31%.

17. Informal groups have been analyzed in terms of similar categories by Yang et al. (1989) in a useful book on the sociology of university students. The categories are: 1. political belief [Marxist study groups]; 2. amusement; 3. friendship; 4. academic and technical; and 5. benefit type [business and work]. They cite a Wuhan survey showing that 59.9% of student societies of are of the fourth type and 27.4% are of the second type (pp. 49-50).

18. Broadening their range of knowledge was the number one problem for students in a 1987 survey of students in Shenyang, and "leaving campus to make contact with society" was ranked second (Yang, 1986).

19. A recently published book (one of a twenty-volume "University Students' Friends,"series) discusses this "reading craze" on campuses which began in the 1980s. It analyzes each of the following popular crazes: Nietzsche, Sartre, Freud, Maslow, adventure fiction, Qiong Yao-type romances, and, finally, Mao (Liu, 1991).

20. Various surveys have shown students to accept love during college years as normal and healthy. In a survey of Shenyang students, the majority (60%) saw "enriching life" as the goal of love compared with 25% choosing "establishing a family," 10% "for comfort and diversion," and 4.6% "casual" (Li & Dong, 1987, 39). In a survey of Shanghai students, less than 6% agreed with the traditional assessment that student romances interfered with studies and affected students' future. Over half of the respondents felt that other students' love affairs were a private matter which did not concern them (Mao & Gong, 1987). Increased acceptance of pre-marital sex as a private matter has also been shown in several surveys of college students.

21. Control over student love affairs by university authorities ranged from leniency and encouragement to prohibition and interference. Sexual relationships were always prohibited and considered as grounds for expulsion from the college. There were cases reported, however, of female students who, after becoming pregnant and receiving an abortion, were not disciplined.

22. There are multiple motivations for students to engage in work experience. In a survey of Shanghai students in which promoting contacts and understanding of society were chosen by students as reasons, but the survey report did not include other choices, such as making money, which may have ranked higher. (Yang, 1986). In contrast, in a survey of students at Shenzhen University, probably the most entrepreneurial group of students in China, 81.3% chose "personal profit" as the motivation for engaging in work, and 98% reported having work experience (Daxuesheng, June, 1988, p. 30).

23. Not surprisingly, a survey of Beijing students found that most students reported interest in sports, social practice, cultural activities, open lectures and reports, and work-study programs. Interest in youth league and Party activities was much lower, and political study ranked at the bottom of ten choices (Wang et al., cited in Rosen, 1991).

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The Failure Of External Science Curriculum Models in African Schools

By Saeed Osman Fahia
Center For International Education
University Of Massachusetts,
Amherst.

The Failure of External Science Curriculum Models in African Schools

Western schools were introduced to Africa during the later half of the nineteenth century. Since then schools in which science is taught have sprouted everywhere in Africa, including remote villages. However many science educators and researchers (Jansen, 1989, Ogunniyi, 1988, Jegede, 1982, prophet, 1990) have come to the conclusion that the science taught in these schools, in its various curriculum models, have failed.

Many science educators and researchers portray the colonial and post-independence science curriculum models introduced to African schools as failures. Ogunniyi (1986) asserts that during the colonial period science was taught in African schools like a "dogma rather than a systematic inquiry"(p. 111.) Similarly, Jansen supported by others (Ogunniyi, 1988, Jegede, 1991) concedes that post-independence curriculum innovations including the introduction of external science curriculum models to African schools have failed. After three decades of local and international effort expended to change science curriculum in African schools the present science education in Africa is still textbook dependant, based on memorization and tends to induce passivity in students.

However, there has been an element of success in the science curriculum models introduced to Africa. These

curriculum models were successful in two instances. First, they were instrumental in institutionalizing the science curriculum process in African schools (Ogunniyi, 1986.) Second, with the introduction of external science curriculum models in African schools science became popular (Jegede, 1982). However, this paper is not about the sucesses of the External Science Curriculum Models introduced to Africa, rather this paper is about their failure. The aim of this paper is to present the nature and characteristics of these external science curriculum models (ESCM) and the reasons for their failure, and to identify some of the future directions that science education in African schools might take. I will attempt to address the colonial and post-independence science curriculums, However I will give a greater emphasis to the post-Independence science curriculum.

External Science Curriculum Models

In this paper an external science curriculum model (ESCM) is defined as a comprehensive plan adapted from science curriculums developed in countries outside Africa inorder to improve science teaching practices, science content or learning resources. The external science curriculum models can be distinguished into two, depending on the time periods that they were introduced to African schools, namely: colonial and post-independence. The colonial curriculum model instituted a method and a sequence

of teaching science in Africa. The prefered method of teaching science in the colonial era was the lecture method. While, the sequence of teaching science comprised a syllabus format in which primary and secondary schools taught complimentary science topics (Ogunniyi, 1986, p.111) In the primary schools the science taught consisted of nature study, hygiene, and agriculture. While, in the secondary school level, physics, chemistry, biology, general science, agriculture and health science were taught. The science syllabus in many African schools still follow this format.

The post-independence science curriculum models were, on the other hand, selected to update the science content and to effect a methodological transformation in science teaching (Prophet, 1990, Ogunniyi, 1986). The updating of the science content involved the incorporation of the theoretical developments in science into the science curriculum. While, the attempt at methodological transformation tried to replace the prefered lecture method of the colonial schools with various discovery and integration methods (Prophet, 1990.)

Characteristics

Some of the external science curriculum models incorporated in the curriculum projects implemented in African countries after their independence in the 1960's are shown in Figure 1, namely: The Physical Science Study Committee, the Biological Science Curriculum Study,

ChemStudy, the Scotish Education Department Scheme and the Nuffield Project. Some of the main characteristics of these curriculum models were that they emphasized: (a) That various discovery methods be used in science teaching; (b) That science teaching be learner centered; (c) Students be encouraged to develop observation and other process skills of science; and (d) That students be encouraged to develop language and communication skills.

These curriculum projects that tried to adapt external science curriculum models were in many instances described as integrated science using discovery methods (Prophet, 1990; Jegede, 1982.) Morris(1990) in a UNESO publication titled "Science Education World Wide" defines integrated science as a science course in which the different disciplines of science such as chemistry, biology, physics and others are not distinct. Integerated science has the distinct advantage of avoiding repitition and emphasizing fundemental unity in science.

Fig. 1: An Example of an all Africa science curriculum project, its goal and criteria and how it influenced national curriculum projects that implement external science curriculum models.

African Primary Science Project
(APSP)

Goal:
    To develop processes of scientific thinking in children.

Criteria:

    (a) Whenever facts are presented they should be
        discoverable by students.
    (b) Facts should be of critical importance to
        understanding a principle.
    (c) Content should help to show science proceeds through a
        method of discovery.
    (d) It must be cheap to show, cheap to find out,
        economical in time as well as in money.

Countries: Ghana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Uganda.

Planning: 1961 (MIT, Cambridge, USA;) 1965 (Nigeria).

....

The curriculum projects that were being implemented in African schools were either a sub-regional science curriculum project or a national project. The sub-regional projects were sometimes referred to as an all Africa projects because the countries that implemented them represented all the regions of Sub-Saharan Africa: East, West, North and South. The African Primary Science Programme (APSP) in Figure1 is an example of such a project.

The sub-regional projects had an impact on the national
projects of the participating countries as well as the non-
participating countries. Figure 2 shows such an impact.
This same figure2 illustrates the three way relatioships
between the external science curriculum models, the sub-
regional curriculum projects and the national curriculum
projects. The external science curriculum models impinge on
both the sub-regional and national projects, even when the
project is like Somalia's SCP which did not officially
endorse any given curriculum model.

Figure2 shows that there are three kinds of national
projects. First, a national project that adapts ESCM as
direct result of the implementation of sub-regional science
curriculum project. An example, is the Nigerian Integrated
Science Project (NISP) which was influenced by the African
Primary Science Project (APSP). The second category of a
national project is one in which the African country
directly adapted an ESCM. For example, Botswana,
incorporated aspects of the Scotish Education Department
Scheme (SEDS) in the science component of its Nine Year
Basic Education (NYBE) without collabration with other
African countries.

The third category of national science curriculum
projects, like Somalia's SCP of 1973, are conceived without
conscious attempt at adapting an ESCM. However in this
third category of a national science curriculum project some
aspects of ESCM always trickles down to the science

curriculum being developed (Younis, 1991). This influence

of ESCM on a completly independent curriculum project comes

from the local curriculum developers' awareness about the

ESCM through their training abroad, their attendance in sub-

regional science curriculum seminars or the advice they get

from expatriates in their midst.

Figure 2: External Science Curriculum Models and their relationship with sub-regional and national curriculum projects.
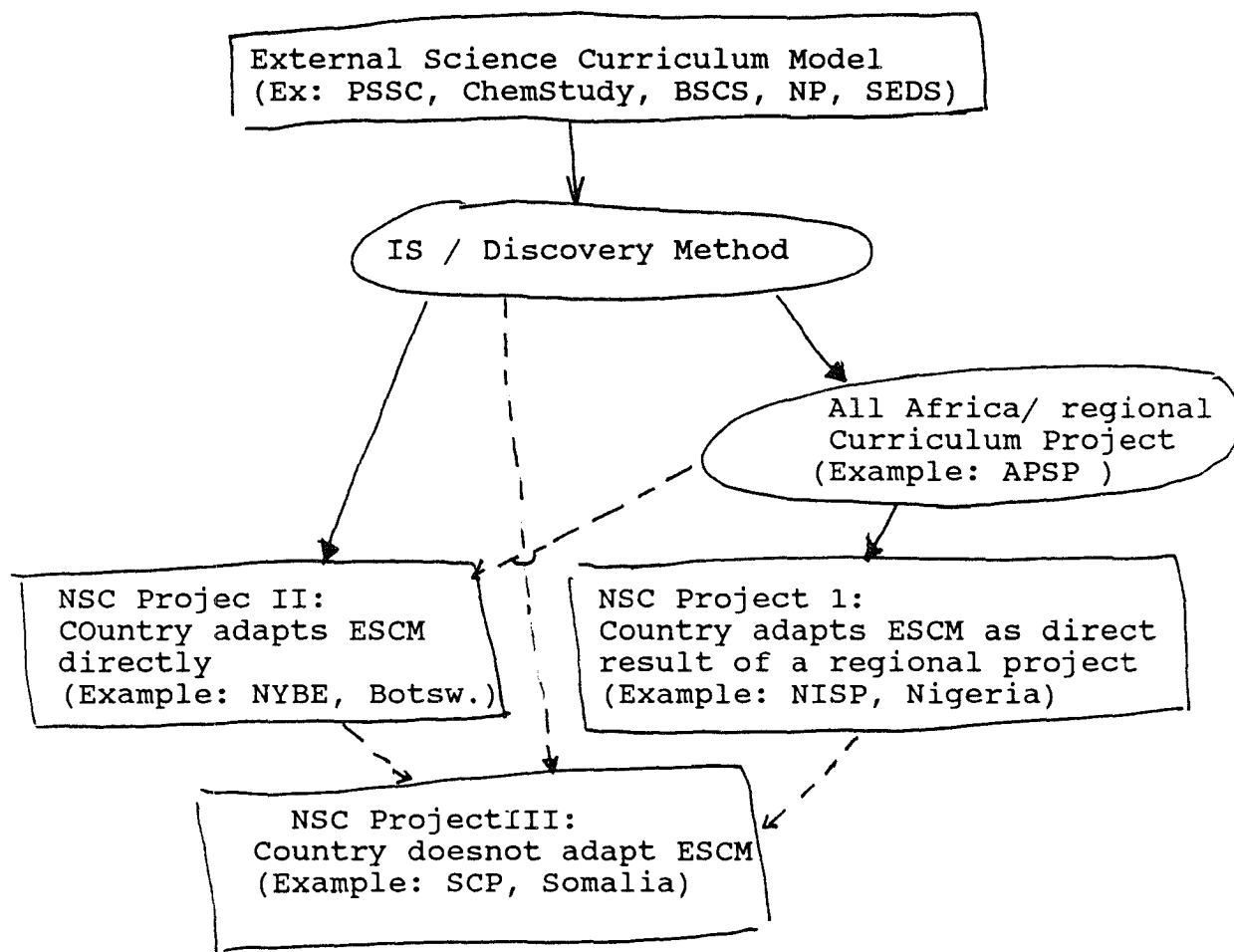
Legend:

------> : indirect link

———→ : Direct link

National Curriculum Projects
NISP- Nigerian Integrated Science Project,
NYBE (IS)- Nine Year Basic Education (Integrated Science)
SCP- Somali Curriculum Project

External Science Curriculum Models
PSSC- Physical Science Study Committee
BSCS- Biological Science Curriculum Study
NP- Nuffield Project
IS- Integrated Science
SEDS- Scottish Education Department Scheme

How Curriculum Developers Know That ESCM's Have Failed

The main indicator that illustrates that ESCM's have failed in African schools is the observed disparity between curriculum intent and classroom practice (Prophet, 1990; Ogunniyi, 1986). Many of the stated goals of these science curriculum models introduced to African schools were not achieved in the classroom. For example, the stated goal of the APSP (African Primary Science Project), to develop scientific thinking in African students, has not been realized.

Ogunniyi (1986, p.116) compiled some of these stated goals, which are: (a) The development of a spirit of inquiry; (b) The understanding of the valid views of science; (c) The teaching of problem solving using scientific techniques; (d) Impartation of scientific literacy; (e) Development of manipulative skills and scientific attitudes; (f) The production of individuals who are capable of participating in a socially useful and productive activities; (g) The production of citizens who are better consumers of scientific products; (h) Accelerating of the development of potential and technological manpower; and (i) Understanding of the transformation of the environment. Some of these stated goals were not concrete or feasible, while the rest of them were co-opted by the realities of the African classroom.

For example, the goal of accelerating the development of technological manpower was vague. The stated goal of the production of citizens who are better consumers of scientific products, on the other hand, is not a feasible goal in the context of African schools given the absence of scientific institutions that produce scientific products. Other goals like the impartation of science literacy to students has been co-opted by the realities of the classroom. Many African students who were exposed to the external science curriculum models were not able: to achieve an understanding of valid views of science; to acquire problem solving skills or to develop a spirit of inquiry.

Teachers in Africa, on the other hand, failed to make science the preferred world view of most these students in what prophet (1990) calls "an epistemological bottleneck" (p. 14.) This goal of making science as a concept intelligible to students is in my opinion the most important aspect of science to be taught in schools and at the same time the best criteria for evaluating the failure or the success of the science curriculum projects introduced to Africa. The most important aspect of science is developing an understanding of what science is, how scientific knowledge is generated and how scientists work and think.

The realities of the African classroom co-opted the intent of the stated goals of ESCM. Some of these classroom realities that co-opted the intent of those goals were: (a) The language of instruction problems (Okpala, 1988; Prophet,

1990; Cleghorn, Merritt & Abagi, 1989;) (b) The persistence of misconceptions in students' conceptual frameworks about scientific phenomena (Ivowi, 1984;) and (c) The financial, manpower and social difficulties of a given school.

There are language problems present in teaching of science in African classrooms. Different kinds of problems manifest themselves in both cases when the language of instruction is foreign and when it is indigenous. A foreign language which is the medium of science instruction hampers the students' understanding of science concepts (Okpala, 1988; Cleghorn et al, 1989). When science concepts lack equivalence in the students' language the individual student is obliged to organize a personal understanding that brings together his or her concrete cultural world outside the school and the abstract world being constructed through the science lessons. The use of indigenous language as a medium of science instruction, on the other hand, brings into the classroom preconceptions that are associated with the students' culture. For example, if the students' language has no concepts equivalent to continous time, as the case is in the Somali culture, then, in that case students will have difficulty in understanding science concepts that use time or the change of time in their definition.

In the case of the persistence of misconceptions in the students' frameworks about science concepts, it is something that happens in science classrooms everywhere even in

Western schools, However, in African schools these misconceptions are not only the result of the science teaching that goes in in classrooms, but also results from preconceptions that students acquires from the cosmology, supersitions and beliefs of their culture (Ogunniyi, 1987; Jegede, 1991; Ivowi, 1984.)

The third reality that co-opts the realization of the intentions of the ESCM in the classrooms of African schools is the existence of financial, manpower and social difficulties in these schools. These difficulties reinforce and exasperate all the other problems teachers face in implementing the curriculum. African schools have overcrowded classrooms, have personnel problems and lack funds to purchase equipment and adequate textbooks. When the inadequacies of the teachers, lab equipment and textbooks are combined with the limited tradition of African schools in teaching science, the lack of support for science in African communities and the large class sizes in many African schools; then the failure of external curriculum models is understandable.

Reasons

Three reasons have been put forward by curriculum developers to explain the failure of ESCM's in African schools. These three explanations revolve around the failure of curriculum developers to appreciate the context of science education in African schools. The first reason

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given to rationalize the failure of external science curriculum models in African schools is that curriculum developers have failed to anticipate administrative and manpower problems faced by African schools (Jegede, 1982; ogunniyi, 1986).

According to Jegede (1982) in an evaluation he did on the Nigerian Integrated Science Project (NISP) there were problems that were not anticipated initially that contributed to the failure of the NIS Project. These problems were: a) The inadequacy of the training given to the teachers who were to implement the course; (b) The inadequacy of the textbooks developed for the course; and (c) The insufficiency of laboratory facilities and materials that were to be used to implement the science course developed from the external science curriculum model. The lack of equipment I am referring to in this last category is not about the lack of sophisticated equipment that are found in labaratories of western schools, but rather I am refering to the lack of access to commonplace things like eye droppers, rulers, weights, scales, or even such American throw-away items like empty plastic containers, spools, shower curtain magnets, and glass bottles. Such items could be used in Africa as labaratory equipment for science teaching.

The second reason given by African educators and their international counterparts to account for the failure of ESCM's in African schools is that curriculum developers

failed to appreciate the cultural contexts of learning

science (Hewson & Hamlyn, 1985; Prophet, 1990; Ogunniyi,

1988; Urevbu, 1987.) Urevbu (1987) asserts that:

> certain cultural elements in the African situation
> may well impinge directly on the way with which an
> African child can appreciate science.
>
> (p. 11.)

There have been several studies done to investigate

assertions similar to Urevbu's statement above. In many of

these studies the African traditional past and their

present culture have been investigated. For example, Horton

(1967), in an essay titled "African Traditional Thought and

Western Science", shows that the difference between science

and the African world view is one of perspective rather than

one of an ability to develop theories. He argues that

scientists question scientific theories and demand

verification, while traditional "wisdom" in African cultures

are rarely consciously challenged. However, Horton

maintains that the " modern western layman is rarely more

open or scientific than is the traditional African villager"

(p. 187.)

Researchers have pursued studies that investigate the

students' preconceptions. For example, Ivowi (1984)

investigated the students' misconception about scientific

frameworks. Ogunniyi (1987) and Jegede (1991), on the

other hand, in two similar studies investigated the way

certain elements in the African culture such as traditional

"cosmology, beliefs and superstition" impinge on the way the

learner develops observational skills. The Jegede study

found "that students who exhibit a high level of belief in

African traditional cosmology made significantly fewer

correct scientific observations of biological structures and

processes" when compared with those with lower level of

belief in traditional African cosmology.

Researchers have pursued studies that investigate the

relationship between science and Afican languages and

African cultural metaphors. Hewson and Hamlyn (1985)

investigated the implications of African cultural metaphors

for science education in African schools. They found that

the cultural metaphor for heat in Sotho language which is

spoken in Southern Africa is "agitated blood." Hewson and

Hamlyn argue that "agitated blood" can be used to introduce

the kinetic theory of heat better than the caloric theory of

heat that always precedes the teaching of kinetic theory of

heat in African schools. They state:

> Our research suggests that Sotho students do not have
> to learn and then unlearn caloric theory of heat
> deeply rooted in Western thinking before being able to
> acquire the kinetic view of heat. Rather, we suggest
> that for these students, their everyday metaphorical
> language, combined with their intuitive "prekinetic"
> notions of heat provides adequate ideas to upon which
> to construct the scientific conceptions
>
> (p. 42)

Odhiambo (1988), in agreement with utility of African

languages in science education, recommends that science

literacy in Africa be achieved through nonformal means such

as: "oral and radio instruction, a powerful strategy in the

relatively communal cohesiveness of the African society;
through plays and games; through poetry and song; and
through actually written texts" (p. 30)   I myself have
contemplated how science teaching can be rendered more
interesting by using proverbs, news-probing sessions,
riddles and other methods that Africans used to transmit
"wisdom" to their children.

The third reason given to explain the failure of ESCM's
in African schools is the lack of systematic curriculum
developmelopment and the resources for curriculum
development in many African countries (Hawes, 1979). Many
African countries do not have people with expertise in
curriculum development such that they can maintain and add
to the ESCM's they have adapted. Forsberg (1989), who
worked in Somalia's Curriculum Development Centre, observed
that the training level of the Somali staff who worked with
her was low. The theoretical curriculum frameworks were in
most cases prepared by expatriates and implemented by the
local staff.

Discussion

The External science curriculum models introduced to
African schools failed under difficult educational context.
The educational context in Africa is charaterized by:
(a) A curriculum defined by the textbook; (b) Success
defined on memorization rather than understanding; (c)
Narrowly defined goals or no goals; (c) Shortage of

supplies, equipment and trained teachers; and (d) The lecture form as the form of instruction.

In the future, science educators in Africa will probably develop curriculum models that take the learner and his and her culture into consideration. The development of such a curriculum model might include the incorporation of an ESCM. However, external science curriculum models can be made compatible with learners' culture. For example, the Constructive Learning Model (Yager, 1991) and Science as "Way Of Science Model" (Wirth, 1991) are two curriculum models that take the students culture into consideration.

The Constructive Learning Model holds that a learner constructs his or her own understanding of science from his or her prior knowledge. The learner looks for patterns, regularity and order in the events she or he observes by relating new knowledge to what he or already knows. New learning thus depends on the learners prior knowledge. In this learning model, how students learn becomes important, since the teaching of science is confounded by the fact that students have well developed explanations for scientific phenomena before they come to the science classroom.

The "Way Of Science" Model which has been taught by Wirth (1991) in a New England college for about dozen years compares science to other ways of knowing such as religion, art or the learners culture. Wirth used the "Way Of Science" Model to develop in his students an appreciation of science and an ability to explain phenomena using basic scientific

"facts" and "the unifying theories of natural science"(p. 248.) In the "Way Of Science" Model students will be made to confront their suspicions and antagonism of science. It also deals with philosophical considerations of science such as what science is, the values of science, how scientific knowledge is generated and how scientists work and think.

However, even if these science curriculum models are introduced to African schools today they would not probably succeed without the consideration of the harsh realities of African schools. Many African schools are hampered in the fulfilment of their mission by inadequate facilities, lack of trained staff or lack of adequate funding. According to Guthrie (1986, p. 81), in a report titled " The Current research in Developing Countries: The Impact of Curriculum Reform on Teaching", reform strategies can have an influence on the classroom when they are well funded and teachers are adequately trained. In Africa only few pilot studies have been known to be well funded, with the teachers used in them adequately trained. In these few pilot studies it has been shown that the external curriculum models can succeed.

Finally, in conclusion to the discussion above, a curriculum reform strategies should be developed to make science curriculums succeed in African schools. Such reform strategies must take into consideration the learner's culture and the harsh realities of African schools. Such a curriculum strategy must reiterate the notion that science in schools should start from the classroom practices of

teachers and students rather than an idealized notion a scientific method. Science curriculum developers should organize a science curriculum with concrete and feasible goals that take the reality of schools into consideration. I present here a format that might achieve such a science curriculum, which is:

a) Develop a science curriculum model that considers the culture and the prior knowledge of the learners;

b) Develop feasible and concrete goals for the implementation of this curriculum model;

c) Train the teachers who will teach the course; and

c) Make sure that the curriculum project is adequately funded. If the project can not be funded adequately, then make sure that the teachers and the school administrators are highly committed to the curriculum being initiated.

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**The Failure Of External Science Curriculum models
In African Schools**

By Saeed Fahia,
Center For International Education,
University Of Massachusetts/Amherst.

I. Introduction

   The Failure of External Science Curriculum Models (ESCM)

2. External Science Curriculum Models (ESCM)

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   The ESCM's Relationship with Regional and National
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PEDAGOGICAL REFORM IN THAILAND: ISSUES OF CULTURE, CHANGE, AND RESISTANCE

Edward Graybill
Center for International Education
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, dismantling the historical mandate for large group, teacher-centered instruction has been the goal of educational researchers investigating interactive, learner-centered approaches to teaching. The impetus for this trend in the West has come from many sources: the desire to increase educational relevance and to enhance diversity in the classroom, the call for increased teacher and student empowerment, the perceived benefits of replacing competition with cooperation, and the need to inculcate in youth ways of thinking and behaving that better enable them to take on responsible roles in a democratic society.

Similar efforts at introducing progressive forms of teaching are being made in non-Western countries, of which Thailand is an example. Beginning with the Educational Reforms of 1978, the attempt has been made to introduce more learner-centered activities into the curriculum, a direct challenge to the monolithic teacher-centered, "chalk and talk" approach to teaching that has dominated the Thai educational landscape for centuries. The Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986) further underscored the need to implement a new curriculum with interactive and learner-centered teaching as part of the delivery system.

Progress in the desired direction, however, has been slow. Many

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observers of Thai education report that the traditional teacher- and textbook-centered styles of teaching still predominate (Chantavanich and Fry, 1988; McNabb, 1988; Watson, 1980); my own experience as a teacher and teacher educator in Thailand during 1987-1989 confirms this (Graybill, 1988). Why have progressive approaches to teaching been embraced only marginally so far? One reason is that, generally speaking, the process of educational change itself is immensely complex and difficult to affect. As a result, according to Doyle and Ponder (1977-8), the life histories of innovation projects in education are, more often than not, "records of disappointment and failure" (p. 1). Similarly, Adams and Chen (1981) refer to the "vexed problem" of introducing change into educational systems; they suggest that, viewed in its grandest perspective, educational reform is the problem of reforming a whole society. In other words, scale and magnitude are often the Achilles' heel of change efforts.

Havelock and Huberman (1977) relate this analysis to developing countries in particular. In their view, many educational innovations in developing countries involve a "major system transformation" (p.3). Such programs are typically ambitious both in the amount of time, energy, and material resources invested and in degree of rapid and massive change expected. Thus, in spite of large-scale investments and expenditures, few innovations make a major dent at the national level in the educational problem they were designed to solve. This analysis is directly relevant to Thailand's attempt to overhaul its traditional syllabus and to introduce a form of pedagogy that is at loggerheads with traditional teacher-centered forms of teaching.

In the case of Thailand, the problem of the broad scope of change has been exacerbated by the myriad underlying value asymmetries that accompany the

increased adoption of progressive educational ideologies. My perception is that socio-cultural dissonance is a major impediment to progress--that the largely Western cultural assumptions underlying interactive and learner-centered teaching approaches are uncongenial to the prevailing Thai socio-cultural milieu. As one writer has put it, "Some observers of Thai education are fearful that inadequate groundwork has been laid for the reforms" (McNabb, 1988, p. 1233). That is, too little attention has been given to the cultural change and adaptation that are required in the successful introduction of progressive educational reforms in Thailand.

The purpose of this paper is to explore in a preliminary fashion the clash of cultures endemic to the attempt to promote progressive, Western educational values into the conservative Thai educational, with a view to delineating a broad outline of how change might be effectively introduced. I will begin by describing the values underlying traditional and progressive approaches to teaching and then demonstrate how dominant Thai socio-cultural values reinforce the former value orientation and resist the latter. I will then briefly examine the relationship between schooling and culture, and discuss where change might be initially targeted most effectively. I conclude by enumerating characteristics of effective inservice staff development for change, with particular reference to dealing with cultural differences.

"EAST IS EAST AND WEST IS WEST": A CLARIFICATION OF VALUES

Figure 1 provides a matrix for comparing the value orientation of traditional teacher-centered forms of teaching on the left with the value orientation of progressive forms of teaching on the right. The values are

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VALUES AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING TRADITIONAL TEACHER-CENTERED FORMS OF TEACHING AND LEARNING	RELEVANT THAI SOCIO-CULTURAL VALUES AND HISTORICAL REALITIES	VALUES AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING INTERACTIVE AND LEARNER-CENTERED FORMS OF TEACHING AND LEARNING
* subject matter-centered	◄— * historically close association between Buddhism and education	* learner-centered
* focus on product	◄— * schools originally in <u>wats</u> (temples)	* focus on process
* knowledge as transmitted	◄— * monks first teachers; veneration of teachers	* knowledge as socially constructed
* teacher authority and control	◄— * <u>kreng jai</u>: respect for age and people in authority	* learner empowerment and efficacy
* prescription	◄— * highly bureaucratic and centralized system of education; teachers civil servants	* innovation, risk-taking
* strict adherenct to syallabus and curriculum		* learners take initiative in learning
* exam-oriented; "teaching for testing"	◄— * doctrine of <u>karma</u>	* utilizes learners' prior knowledge and experience
* students passive	◄— * <u>choei</u>: calculated passivity, detachment, resignation	
* homogenizing; students learn same thing, in same way, at same rate	◄— * individualism; not inclined toward—► cooperative activities	* cooperative
	* merit making in Buddhism —►	* promotes diversity
	◄— * Confucian influences	* engenders democratic values
	◄— * non-democratic, "military aristocracy" form of government	

FIGURE 1

broadly paired as opposites, for example, "subject matter-centered" is contrasted with "learner-centered" while "focus on product" is contrasted with "focus on process" and so on. While these descriptors are not absolute in every case, they do underscore the profound differences which exist between the two ideologies or paradigms of teaching and learning.

The middle column in Figure 1 delineates major Thai socio-cultural values and historical realities; these are, broadly speaking, placed between the relevant contrasting pair of value orientations. Thus, for example, kreng jai, the value of respect for age and people in authority, is related to the values of "prescription" and "learner empowerment and efficacy." The arrows immediately to the left or right of the middle column of Thai values indicate which educational ideology--traditional or progressive--that particular value or historical reality reinforces.

In most cases, the Thai socio-cultural values and historical realities enumerated clearly reinforce or support the values and assumptions of traditional teacher-centered forms of teaching and learning. The only exceptions are the somewhat nebulous value of individualism in Thailand which, on the one hand, would seem to correlate with the progressive values of learner efficacy and initiative yet, on the other hand, reinforces traditional educational values because of its non-cooperative nature. Also, merit making in Buddhism, which implies an element of personal efficacy and the ability to affect one's karma, would appear to support learner initiative and empowerment rather than passivity.

In developing a heuristic like Figure 1, one risks over-simplifying what is a very complicated nexus of interacting cultural and educational forces and values. My purpose is not to engage in an exhaustive analysis of Thai culture

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vis-a-vis educational philosophy, but simply to show how Thai socio-cultural values and assumptions almost exclusively support traditional ideas of teaching. What Figure 1 also makes clear is the broader reality of the interpenetration of culture and education--a relationship which has impacted profoundly upon the effort to enact a major shift in pedagogy in Thailand. Failure to take into account the cultural element has resulted in widespread resistance to the proposed change and, in fact, gives reason to wonder if such wide-ranging change initiatives are even possible given the attendant clash of cultures. Before addressing this question it is useful to briefly examine the intimate relationship between education and culture.

SCHOOLING AND CULTURE

One of the first major works exploring schooling and culture was Sarason's The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change (1971); in this book Sarason underscored the significant role the culture of the school plays in the change process. His central thesis is that every situation is embedded in a history, a social context, a geography, and therefore people need to explore contexts thoughtfully and carefully in discussing change in schools. Attentiveness to context can help ground change in a real instead of an imagined sense of the possible. This is a continuous process, as Ayers (1988) points out: "Mapping contexts is not a single step in change, but is an essential, ongoing process" (p. 40).

Two important questions immediately come to the fore in this discussion: What is culture? and How does culture influence teachers? With regard to the first, there is considerable ambiguity: Ost and Ost (1988, p. 50) remark that

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"little consensus exists" as to the meaning of culture. The range of definitions of culture in the educational literature extends from "patterns of behavior" (Harris, 1971) to "ideas or rules for the operation of behavior" (Goodenough, 1957) to "the peculiar and distinctive 'way of life' of a group or class" (Clark, et al, 1981) to "a 'tool kit' of symbols, stories, rituals and world views which people may use in numerous configurations to solve different kinds of problems" (Swindler, 1986). The thread that runs through all these definitions is the notion that behaviors are merely an individual's expression of a deeper underlying element of culture--that what people do is an overt manifestation of the beliefs and values they hold which have been shaped by the culture in which they live. It follows, then, that behaviors are in a sense relative: What is considered acceptable behavior in one context may very well not be deemed appropriate in another context with a different cultural orientation.

Culture impacts upon teachers in significant ways: It provides the contextual clues necessary to interpret events, behaviors, words and acts--and gives them meaning (Corbett, et al, 1987); it shapes a teacher's approach to work and establishes the tone for all aspects of the teaching environment (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986); it defines the options of the teacher because it frames what he/she thinks is possible--it is ontological in the sense that it defines what _is_ in the world, what exists and what does not exist (Erickson, 1987); and it structures how teachers think--so much so, that teachers come to value ends for which their cultural equipment is well-suited (Sparkes, 1991).

Applying these insights on culture to educational change, it is clear that teachers screen innovations through their existing cultural grid: New

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knowledge and skills must fit the individual's perception of teaching and the teaching culture in order for them to be used effectively (Shulman, 1987). Lortie (1975) argues that there is a natural tendency in teachers toward "reflexive conservatism" because they have gone through a 10,000 hour "apprenticeship" of observation as a student, and this apprenticeship is a powerful shaper of teacher beliefs and actions. Practices which run against the grain of this apprenticeship and prevailing societal expectations of education are thus likely to be met with resistance insofar as resistance to an innovation depends largely upon the fit between a school's culture and the proposed change. That is, change is greeted with suspicion and reluctance when expectations for behavior embedded in a new practice, policy, or program do not coincide with existing conceptions of the way school life is or should be. For this reason, Ost and Ost consider the culture of teaching to be "the single most powerful barrier to change" (1988, p. 55).

The preceding analysis suggests that culture is the prime mover in education, that teacher behavior is largely determined by the school's culture which itself is a reflection of the values of the wider culture in which the school is situated. Several contemporary writers, most notably Bowles and Gintis (1976), have articulated this "reproductive" nature of education--the idea that education's function is to reinforce and perpetuate the dominant ideologies, roles, and processes of the larger society it serves. For Bowles and Gintis, the primary unit of analysis is economics: Hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterize the work force are mirrored in the social dynamics of daily classroom encounter. Schooling in the U.S., for example, serves to produce students with the attitudes and dispositions that render them docile and receptive to the social

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and economic imperatives of a capitalist economy. While Bowles and Gintis might somewhat overstate their political agenda (in my experience, Chinese students--who live in a decidedly anti-capitalist milieu--are considerably more passive and "docile" than are most American students), they do make a strong case for recognizing the significant effects of culture on education.

Other writers see the "reproductive" view of schooling as bordering on cultural determinism and decry the depiction of teachers as passive and unreflective vessels into which culture is poured. Freire (1989) and Giroux (1981), for example, maintain that teachers are not simply buffeted to and fro by the dictates of culture; instead, they are active in defining and redefining their culture and their circumstance within it. As such, education is seen as "transformative," as acting upon culture and changing it, instead of being simply the conduit for perpetuating the status quo. In many ways Freire's and Giroux's critical stance expresses what ought to be the case rather than what actually happens most of the time; their position does, however, represent a compelling case for considering education to be the prime mover in culture.

The truth of the matter, it seems to me, resides at the point where the horizons of the two positions intersect. It is possible to seek a middle ground, to view the relationship between teachers and the culture in which they work as dialectical. In this case, the culture of teaching is both reproductive and re-creative: On the one hand, culture influences and shapes teachers and defines the range of suitable ideologies and practices in their repertoires. Yet this influence is not absolute because teachers interact with their environment and consciously (as well as unconsciously) create their culture; culture is a human product. Thus teachers decide whether to

perpetuate cultural norms or to resist and change them. When change takes place in individuals through the efforts of education, that change slowly comes to define the values of the larger culture as those individuals become active members of society. If the relationship between teachers and their environment is indeed dialectical, teacher change consists of attacking on two fronts simultaneously--marshalling forces against the prevailing school culture while also directing attention toward the knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs of the teachers themselves. It seems a daunting task; where does one begin?

THE SEEDS OF CHANGE

Corbett, Firestone, and Rossman (1987) make a useful distinction between "sacred" and "profane" norms in the school culture as a way of conceptualizing how change might best be introduced. Sacred norms in a school are those which are foundational to staff professional identities and lend meaning to organizational activity; as such, they are considered "unquestionably true" and immutable. Profane norms, on the other hand, operate on a more basic level and define "how we do things around here"; they are susceptible to change in the face of improved knowledge. The absence of sacred norms would create disorientation and would diminish professional identity. Profane norms, while occupying strategic positions in the day-to-day world, cannot establish broad meanings as do the sacred. "Together, both sacred and profane norms define the existing ingrained patterns of behaving and believing in school life" (p. 38). By understanding this distinction in school norms, teachers' reactions to a variety of reforms make more sense.

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The implications for planned school change are clear: Attempts at changing school culture should be initially directed toward the profane norms rather than toward the sacred. While change aimed at these norms might meet with initial resistance, there is a good chance that over time the innovation will be accepted as a viable alternative that is not threatening to teachers' most cherished values. On the other hand, inasmuch as attacks on the sacred norms represent an assault on professional raison d'etre--on the cornerstones of teachers' constructions of reality--they will fail, either quickly, in outright rejection, or in time as the new norms are not really internalized. The distinction between sacred and profane norms provides an initial inroad into how pedagogical change might be introduced in the Thai school culture: The change facilitator, in collaboration with Thai teachers, needs to identify those aspects of the Thai cultural and educational experience that are amenable to the introduction of progressive approaches to teaching, and then build upon those footholds incrementally.

But what about the teachers themselves? How is change best introduced in their attitudes, beliefs, and practices? Denis Goulet (1981), writing about indigenous people and cultures within the context of Third World development, suggests a methodology for introducing change which parallels the distinction made by Corbett, et al., regarding the school culture. According to Goulet, every group has an "existence rationality" which assures existence and cultural integrity, defends identity, and preserves harmony with its surroundings. The key to any sound change strategy is the recognition that every existence rationality contains an inner core of values central to identity and cultural integrity against which a frontal attack should not be mounted in the pursuit of change. Rather, change agents should initially

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focus on values on the outer margins of the existence rationality that are flexible and provide opportunities for gradual change. When those initial changes on the outer margins are adopted, it might then be possible to slowly direct attention toward the core.

In the case of Thai teachers, this means identifying whatever inclination, propensity, experience, or interest teachers have in favor of progressive teaching as entry points into the adoption of these approaches. The teachers then need to dialogue critically with the proposed innovation and its underlying values so that alien cultural values can be reinterpreted to suit the Thai cultural context. In time, as teachers gain greater facility in using progressive teaching approaches, those values closer to the core of their existence rationality will hopefully be impacted upon in a positive manner. The goal is a teaching force in which there is an increasing number of teachers fully committed to interactive and learner-centered forms of teaching and learning. While commendable, this is probably a distant goal, perhaps even a "counterfactual" one in Habermas's sense. Progress in the desired direction will be slow, but it can be steady if a few broad principles of educational change are taken into account in inservice training.

EFFECTIVE STAFF DEVELOPMENT FOR CHANGE

The preceding paragraph raised the question of the process of teacher training for change. According to Thomas Guskey (1986), it can be hypothesized that the majority of staff development programs fail because they do not take into account the process by which change in teachers typically takes place. In his view, staff development efforts typically first attempt

to initiate change in the beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of teachers in order to gain some sense of commitment from them initially. The assumption is that a change in beliefs and attitudes will lead to specific changes in their behaviors and practices which, in turn, will result in improved student outcomes.

In Guskey's view, although this traditional sequencing of staff development activities helps make innovations more palatable to some teachers, it seldom results in significant attitude change or strong commitment from a majority of teachers. Hence, student outcomes are not noticeably improved. As a remedy, Guskey proposes an inversion of the traditional sequence. He advocates that inservice training start by changing teachers practices, which will lead to improved student outcomes which, in turn, will result in a change in teachers' attitudes and beliefs. Remarks Guskey: "Significant change in teachers' beliefs and attitudes is likely to take place only _after_ changes in student learning outcomes are evidenced" (1986, p. 7). This model of teacher change is predicated on the idea that change is a learning process for teachers that is developmental and experiential; only after teachers see that a new program or innovation enhances the learning outcomes of students is significant change in their beliefs and attitudes likely to occur.

Guskey's "ordered" framework for affecting change in teachers' beliefs and attitudes appears reasonable at first blush. Yet, upon closer examination, his argument seems to beg the major question of culture because it holds only when there is reasonable congruence between a teacher's goal orientation and his/her perception of the purpose of the staff development. If there is no such congruence, then it is not likely the innovation will be tried faithfully. In the case of the reforms in Thailand, it is precisely a

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lack of such congruence which has lead to the problem in the first place. Consequently, it appears that neither the traditional sequencing of inservice activities nor Guskey's inversion are, in themselves, satisfactory.

In my view, the three aspects of change in teacher beliefs and attitudes, change in teacher practices, and improved student outcomes should be seen as standing in a dialectical relationship such that each interacts and impacts upon the other two simultaneously. In this case, their relationship might best be conceptualized in terms of a spiral or a helix rather than a linear, horizontal progression. As such, problems of ideological congruence and fidelity of implementation work themselves out in the dialectical movement of the change process itself. Effective staff development will recognize and encourage this interplay.

A second characteristic of effective staff development for change is that it acknowledges that innovations are not adopted and implemented precisely as prescribed. Berman and McLaughlin (1976), authors of the Rand Report on Educational Change, suggest that "mutual adaptation" is a key element in the implementation of an innovation. In the process of mutual adaptation the school culture is adapted to the innovation while, at the same time, the innovation is adapted by the user to fit his/her particular circumstances. According to Berman and McLaughlin, the knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs of the user must be brought to bear in a problem-solving manner to smooth off the rough edges of a new idea to make it fit appropriately into the target milieu. Mutual adaptation can take many forms on the part of the user: reducing or modifying unrealistic project goals, amending or simplifying project treatment, revising aspects of the innovation to better fit the prevailing school culture, and adjusting the implementation timetable. Mutual adaptation

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is of particular importance when dealing with cultural incongruence. Thus staff developers in Thailand should encourage teachers to adapt progressive teaching approaches in such a way that they are more readily acceptable to both teacher and student.

Mutual adaptation presupposes a third characteristic of effective staff development: the promotion of critical reflection in teachers. Regarding teachers as active agents in the change process by encouraging them to bring their knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs to bear in the implementation of an innovation, points to the importance of teacher reflection. Reflection by teachers upon their own knowledge and beliefs, upon the school culture, and upon the demands of an innovation is vital to a productive change process (Sparkes, 1991; Zeichner, 1981-2). Teachers need to be encouraged to critically reflect upon the cultural and theoretical assumptions underlying an innovation and the relationship between those assumptions to their own beliefs about teaching and to the extant school culture. Without such reflection, teachers easily become victims of their own personal histories, systematic political demands, and ecological conditions, rather than making use of them in developing and sustaining productive change.

Thai teachers need to be trained to reflect critically upon their own presuppositions, values, and beliefs as well as upon the values and assumptions embedded in their culture in order to transform both so that an innovation--itself subjected to the same critical scrutiny--can be successfully implemented and sustained. Inservice teacher educators need to encourage Thai teachers to think about the self-formative processes that underlie their thinking, which will help them to reflect critically on the constraints that limit the effective use of progressive teaching approaches.

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In this way, the positivistic uni-directionality of the change process as traditionally conceived will be replaced by a more interactive and dialectical process in which teachers, their culture, and the innovation itself are subjected to the transforming power of dialogue so that a congenial fit between them is reached.

Two further qualities of effective staff development emerge from the foregoing: Inservice training should be participatory and, hence, empowering. The fact that teachers need to locate incongruencies and cultural dissonance and take the initiative in adapting an innovation to suit their immediate circumstances underscores the importance of participation and empowerment. The theme of participation on the part of major stakeholders is a strong undercurrent in much of the change literature. As early as 1967 Asher wrote that "Individuals are more likely to change when they work on problems significant to them and when they share in the problem solving decision" (p. 13). Likewise, Havelock and Huberman (1977, p. 194) posit that participation among the members of a social system in the decision to adopt or develop an innovation is "probably the most central issue in the process." Applied to pedagogical change, Guskey (1986, p. 6) makes the case most forcefully: "Teachers should have input in the planning and development of new programs. Their experience and expertise should not be ignored."

Participation in what Gitlin (1990) calls a "productive" model of change (which, in contrast to a "consumptive" model, builds upon the insights and experience of teachers instead of simply mandating change from the top) can facilitate positive change in schools for several reasons. First, it acknowledges the value of practitioner knowledge; reforms can therefore be directed by a knowledge base that reflects specific contextual constraints and

possibilities. Second, because teachers are seen as having important insights and are consulted about the nature of the reform in question, they are more inclined to direct their energies at the merits or drawbacks of the reform than if they are excluded from the process. Third, because a productive model enables teachers to examine what they see as educational problems and solutions, when they are given the actual power to implement policy changes the reforms are less likely to be reshaped to fit within undesirable traditional notions of teaching and learning. In other words, adapting the innovation to fit into the prevailing culture will be courageous and forward-looking--involving some concomitant change in the culture itself--rather than simple emasculation of the innovation to maintain the status quo.

Given the overall prescriptiveness of Thai education, it is not surprising that the learner-centered syllabus and progressive forms of teaching have been introduced in a largely external, top-down fashion with little ownership for the innovation given to the major stakeholders, the teachers. As such, the resistance that has resulted is not surprising. New practices, especially culturally alien ones, cannot simply be grafted onto existing educational structures. If the progressive reforms are to take root and flourish it is vital that, in the spirit of progressive education itself, teachers be encouraged to participate in the conceptualization and design of change; further, they must be empowered to adapt innovations according to their perceptions and needs in the implementation process. Only then can genuine progress be made toward overcoming the cultural incongruence attendant to promoting progressive teaching approaches in Thailand.

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LITERACY IN ETHIOPIA: A LONG CAMPAIGN WINDS DOWN

Susan J. Hoben
Bunting Institute
Radcliffe College

Ethiopia has had what is probably the longest continuous literacy campaign of any developing country since the end of World War II. The purpose of this paper is to see what lessons for future literacy efforts in developing areas can be drawn from the Ethiopian experience. To do that I will first note some of the similarities and differences between the Ethiopian situation and that of its African neighbors. Then I will briefly describe the nature of this literacy campaign, and finally will examine its results: its sucesses, its major problems, and the lessons it teaches.

Ethiopia, unlike most of Africa, has a millenial tradition of writing and of literacy, at least for its clergy and secular elite. In the Coptic Christian highlands, the core of Abyssinia, every parish church dotting the countryside had its school with a knot of youths reciting their script and puzzling over the Psalms. Nevertheless, at the end of Haile Selassie's imperial regime in 1974 the official literacy rate stood at only seven percent, although this reported rate undoubtedly over-looked many traditionally educated literates, particularly in the Coptic Christian heartland. Until the fall of the imperial government, Amharic, the mother tongue of approximately 30 percent of the population and second language to a sizeable but unmeasured proportion of the rest, was the official national language, the exclusive language of elementary education and of local and national government.

The socialist military government that came to power placed high priority on literacy and education; a preliminary literacy and national development campaign[1] in 1976 was followed, in 1979, by a sustained literacy and basic education campaign, conducted in fifteen "nationality" languages, teaching literacy, numeracy, and a smattering of improved health,

agricultural, and home maintenance practices. It is this campaign which continued for twelve years, until the fall of the Mengistu regime this past spring.

Similarities and differences with other African countries

Similarities: Similarities between Ethiopia's situation and that of other African nations mean that conclusions drawn from it may be applicable more broadly. Like many African countries, Ethiopia started the fourth quarter of this century with a very low official literacy rate, indeed lower than most of Africa. But like many African nations the country as a whole was multilingual and multi-ethnic. Over eighty languages are spoken within Ethiopia's borders; fourteen others besides Amharic are the first language of populations of over 100,000.[2]

Like many literacy campaigns the world over, Ethiopia's was a major initiative of a revolutionary government, mobilizing large segments of the population - students, townspeople, peasants - in an widely accepted development effort. Moreover, as in other parts of Africa, over a dozen of the languages designated for use in the campaign needed to have scripts developed for them, despite the fact that Amharic has a writing system as old as our own. This proved a demanding and time-consuming task for the small group of Ethiopian linguists and scholars capable of undertaking it.

Differences: As a country with an indigenous literary tradition, though, Ethiopia stands apart from most of its African neighbors. Differences that mark this case as exceptional gave Ethiopia some initial advantages in its attempt to eradicate illiteracy - as well as some special handicaps. Its long tradition of writing put Ethiopia in a privileged position to undertake literacy projects. Because of this history, by the mid-1970s Ethiopians had had considerable experience not only with traditional literacy teaching but also with modern literacy programs ranging from European mission efforts to the Unesco EWLP, all of which had trained Ethiopian teachers, planners, and writers to undertake literacy work. By 1930 modern

presses that could use the Ethiopic script had been introduced in the capital. Half a century later, over a dozen were solidly established, operating with trained and competent Ethiopian staff.[3] Addis Ababa, the capital, and Asmara, in the north, had numerous bookstores. Traders carried books and papers to regional markets, even in the countryside. Unlike most of the rest of Africa, this had been accomplished without the support of a colonial regime.

The Ethiopic script, a source of great national pride, was nevertheless in some ways a handicap. Efficiently adapted to the sound system of the Semitic languages of Ethiopia it was unwieldy as a script for languages that differed. As Table 1 shows, each character in it represents a consonant and vowel combination, so each letter has seven variants for the seven vowels of the Semitic languages spoken in Ethiopia. Many of the Cushitic and Omotic languages have, instead, a system of five vowels with long and short variants, to which the script had to be adapted. Typewriters for this script were ungainly machines, making local low-cost dittoed written materials awkward to produce, although producing printed matter was not difficult. (Computer programs have proved far more elegant and manageable, but computers are still a rarity in Ethiopia's ailing economy.)

Finally, unlike Tanzania, which chose a single language, Swahili, for national literacy; Somalia, which had only one major language; or west African campaigns, which limited themselves to three or four; Ethiopia's new government, in reaction to earlier suppression of languages other than Amharic, made the ambitious decision to use fifteen nationality languages in its campaign. This policy proved predictably costly, not only because of the difficulty of actually producing scripts and pedagogical materials for each but also because it frequently ignored local demand to learn to read the most immediately useful language, Amharic.

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The nature of the campaign

In its conception the Ethiopian literacy campaign was not atypical of other literacy campaigns mounted by revolutionary socialist regimes. In addition to providing a vehicle for mobilizing all classes of Ethiopians from modern city dwellers to the rural peasantry in a common, popular cause, it also responded to the new government's interest in affirmation of the rights of "nationalities" in the Marxist sense -- the rights of different ethnic groups to promote their distinctive cultures and use their own languages. This policy was a deliberate reversal of the imperial policy of mandating the exclusive use of Amharic to promote national identity. But this policy, promulgated through centralized planning rather than responding to immediate demands, eventually became another onerous government imposition rather than a force for individual and group empowerment.

Campaign planning was strikingly thorough. The campaign's goal, embodied in its mandate, was to eradicate illiteracy throughout the nation. Acknowledging the scope of this task, complicated by the size and diversity of the population[4] and the difficulties of transport and communication in the mountainous terrain, planners initially envisioned a five-year campaign of two "rounds" of courses per year which was to begin in urban areas and spread in ever wider circles into the countryside, using three languages at first and adding others as it went along. It soon became obvious that even five years was not long enough, and the time frame was expanded.

The odd-numbered rounds, called "attack rounds," were mounted during the summer rainy-season, the school vacation period, and made extensive use of twelfth grade completers (who had completed their school leaving examination and were awaiting the results) as campaigners. These young people had to earn a certificate for their participation as campaign teachers before they could enter university or be legitimately employed. During the even-

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numbered "mop-up" rounds local volunteers were used: these included schoolteachers, students, and anyone else who could read - local officials, priests, literate local residents.

The educational program consisted of three levels of three-month courses: the beginners level; a second level at first called "remedial" but, in later years, simply "intermediate;" and a "post-literacy" level. This third level was intended to reinforce reading skills for increased retention. In principle an apt student might pass from the first level directly to the post-literacy class by passing a simple literacy test. In practice, aside from unschooled youths and a few highly motivated adults, most men and women needed to attend a second round at the second level.

Teaching methods built upon the traditional way of teaching reading. In the first classes the script was introduced on wall charts and learned through the age-old method of recitation, though the order of introducing letters was modified to introduce the most regularly formed symbols first. From the chart, students moved on to graded readers that presented short lessons with accompanying line drawings on political and development topics relevant to adults. The post-literacy course made use of functional readers covering similar subjects. It included time assigned to be spent in reading rooms attached to the local literacy centers. These were supposed to be stocked with up to a hundred titles in the language(s) appropriate to the region. In fact, the reading materials were never produced. In non-Amhara areas these rooms, huts, or lean-tos generally contained the functional readers in the local language and a meagre grab-bag of other materials in Amharic or even in English. In Amhara areas, though the language problem was less acute, it is unlikely that rural reading rooms' holdings were much better.

After finishing the literacy classes, completers were encouraged to continue on through elementary school, preferably in night-school courses. It appears that this may have

become more difficult to do as the campaign went on because of overcrowded elementary schools, due to the growing pool of school-age children in the population as a whole. In any case, all elementary school classes were conducted in Amharic. By 1991 plans were under way to teach Amharic as a second language as part of the post-literacy course, and a text for the purpose was in preparation.

The work of preparing scripts fell to the Ethiopian Language Academy in the Ministry of Culture which, in turn, sub-contracted much of it out to linguists who were professors at the university. Writing texts and training instructors was the task of Department of Adult Education staff in the Ministry of Education. This ministry was also responsible for printing and distributing materials. Coordination between these different agencies left much to be desired at first; it improved over time.

Figure 1 shows the structure of campaign implementation, extending from the central National Literacy Campaign Coordinating Committee (NLCCC) down to the local level. The NLCCC was technically under the Department of Adult Education but in fact was the department's main *raison d'etre* for years. Since the government's first organizational reform had been to create a cell structure of peasant associations and urban dwellers' neighborhood associations of remarkable penetration, the campaign used this as a scaffold for its activities, as Figure 1 demonstrates. The main functions of the groups it depicts were logistic, delivering materials and services to the literacy centers and coordinating activities through information flowing back up to the central planners and suppliers. In addition to compiling data through these structures the Department of Adult Education sent small evaluation teams to conduct surveys in selected areas at the end of each round as a monitoring check on the sometimes uncertain data routinely collected. In addition, one outside evaluation was undertaken with support from the Canadian IDRC.[5] In addition to delivering inputs from above, peasant association and neighborhood association literacy committees were responsible

for building or supplying shelters for the literacy center classes and reading rooms, housing and feeding volunteers, and identifying participants and ensuring that they attended class. To accomplish all this, these organizations often resorted to various forms of coercion.

It is essential to remember, in considering the costs of the campaign, that many of them fell, unregistered, on the shoulders of local residents throughout the country. The members of local peasant and neighborhood associations were obligated to build or supply the classroom space and reading room for their local literacy center and also to pay an annual tax or levy to support the campaign. They had to house and feed the literacy campaigners who came to teach during the rainy season. Since these directives came from higher administrative levels, local "participants" had little choice in the matter.[6] Donor support, on the other hand, was never high for Ethiopia's late and prolonged literacy and basic education activities, which trailed those of Tanzania or Mali by over a decade and those of Somalia by half a dozen years.[7] Yet coming in their wake, Ethiopia's elaborate, long-term planning heeded the lessons of its forerunners about promulgating and sustaining literacy.

Results

The over-all results of Ethiopia's twelve-year campaign reflect its complexity. It took about five years to coordinate the different government agencies involved in materials production and implementation. It probably took about the same amount of time to get instructor recruitment and supervision or materials distribution operating more or less acceptably - and to reach the majority of illiterates eager to profit from the campaign. After that point, though the campaign was better institutionalized, its spirit flagged. In the first years campaign documents list unanticipated "over-enrollments" as a major problem, but it was sometimes necessary to use sanctions to keep teachers "volunteering;" in the later years sanctions were required to keep students in class.

Successes: There is no doubt that the campaign had considerable positive impact on the amount and climate of literacy in Ethiopia. Even though the official before-and-after statistics are exaggerated both ways, claiming a rise from seven to 76 percent literacy (based on the number of literates registered and certificates granted) over an eleven-year period, there can be no doubt that, particularly in the growing urban areas, literacy has risen considerably. The use of written Amharic has extended in consequence. Even the smallest towns are full of hand-lettered signs on shops, streets, posters, buses and jitneys, and government buildings, where formerly there were either none or rare bilingual ones in Amharic and English. In non-Amhara areas many of these signs and notices are in the local language. Literacy is now among the job requirements for even the most menial of government jobs. The postal service, once confined to provincial capitals, now has simple offices in district and subdistrict towns, where each rural peasant association has its postal box.

Developing orthographies in Ethiopic script for thirteen languages - Amharic and Tigrinya needed no script planning - was an important activity and accomplishment of the campaign. A few missionaries had ventured to write an occasional tract in local languages, sometimes in Latin script, sometimes in Ethiopic script, but there had been little attempt to standardize different transcriptions. By the end of the campaign, there was, at least, concensus on how to represent the campaign languages in the national script. Which dialect variants to use, and whether anyone found it worthwhile to learn to read most of them remained open questions. In the case of at least one language, Oromo, some of the complaints about dialect choice appear in reality to be veiled objections to using Ethiopic rather than Latin script. Still, the first block of a foundation was laid; it remains to be seen whether anything will be built upon it.

Problems: Any development activity that runs as long a course as the Ethiopian campaign changes over time. The problems it faces also change. As difficulties that presented themselves in the early years were dealt with, new ones emerged. An interesting feature of the Ethiopian effort is that it went on long enough for us to observe this process and identify underlying problems.

I have mentioned difficulties in coordinating activities between the Ministries of Education and of Culture and the university, which led to much replication of effort, reportedly resulting in first drafts of some primers that were unreadable even by their authors. But by 1991, communication between the language experts in the Ministry of Culture, the language coordinators in the Ministry of Education who wrote the texts, and technical experts in the Ministries of Agriculture and of Health were routine. The text writers were familiar with the script, and primers and readers were in their fourth and fifth revisions, The main problem on the minds of this staff was lack of personnel to deal with this ambitious coordination effort adequately - the agriculture "panel," for instance, consisted of one person with other responsibilities as well.

Language problems also changed character over time. At first the main concern was to ready the scripts in time for their planned use. Because the experts recruited for the task also had other full-time duties, scripting fell behind schedule. It was not until 1986 that all thirteen of the new scripts were useable. It was mainly after this point that the underlying issue of acceptability of the written form of "nationality languages" became evident. Many of these had considerable dialect variation but no one accepted standard, a situation characteristic of some of the most widely spoken languages in the country. Despite the language coordinators' best efforts to consult with speakers of different dialects in order to "harmonize" the readers or, in some cases even to write glossaries of dialect variants at the back of the books, complaints about primers in the "nationality" languages never ceased.[8]

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Up to the very end, some communities returned the books, asserting, "This is not our language - maybe it's the way they speak it over in the next district, but not here!" It is not clear, in retrospect, to what extent this objection was also the only acceptable way to reject mother tongue materials completely.

The language question was further complicated because the decision to teach in fifteen languages was tightly linked to political principles held by the central government. As a result, policy emanated from the capitol rather than responding directly to local demand, and crucial research questions - how many Ethiopians speak Amharic as a second language, and which language would they choose to read - were politically unaskable. Toward the end sets of Amharic primers and local language primers were both sent to non-Amhara areas, based on the request of the local organizers, but no data were ever recorded about how many people studied in each language or how many learned in their mother tongue.

Defining an appropriate learner population also posed problems that shifted over time. Understandably, not every illiterate in the country was likely to benefit to the same degree from three-month intensive courses in reading. At first, the upper and lower ages of those required to attend were adjusted - downward from 60 to under 49, and downward, too, from ten to eight, to make campaign classes available to the out-of-school children - who proved in the end most apt to profit from instruction. No one who wanted to study was excluded by these changes; it was merely that people outside the limits, along with the handicapped and visually impaired, were not required to attend. But after five years or so, most people who really wanted to learn to read but had never had the opportunity before the campaign had had their chance. By the end, peasant associations were reduced to herding the same "hard-core" illiterates into class, round after round, a situation that both learners and instructors found dispiriting. In the final years national campaign administrators were hoping, in fact, to reorient their efforts toward unschooled youth, the most teachable and enthusiastic group.

The inability of the formal schools to expand enough to accommodate more than a third of the school-age population virtually guaranteed a group large enough to keep a program running for years.

Some problems remained with the campaign for its whole course, improving over time but never disappearing. One was the timing of the "attack" rounds, in which students served as instructors. These rounds were mounted during the rainy season, since that was the time of school summer vacation. The weather made living and teaching conditions unpleasant and supervision difficult at best. Though the problem was recognized early on, over twelve years no alternative was found.

Lastly, the attempt to sustain literacy through establishing reading rooms set up within the campaign structure proved too expensive to undertake successfully. These places were often unpleasant to sit in, rarely open, poorly lit and poorly stocked. The exceptions were generally previously existing libraries, in schools, for example, that were converted to the campaign's use. Paradoxically, the very government that promoted literacy also imposed censorship, clamping a lid on publication during much of the campaign's course. By the end of the campaign fewer books were being published than in its early years.

Lessons and issues: Because the Ethiopian literacy campaign was so carefully planned and of such long duration, reviewing its course highlights contradictions inherent in it.

The first of these pits sustained and thorough planning against a campaign ethos. Ethiopian planners clearly took seriously the lessons of earlier literacy work, designing staged use of the mother tongues of nearly 90 percent of the population and incorporating ways of following up initial learning to sustain literacy in their over-all plan. Mounting this activity as a campaign allowed them to mobilize internal and local resources without which costs

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could never have been met. Yet the will and enthusiasm that makes campaigns such effective vehicles for nationwide development efforts has to be considered a short-term phenomenon. Despite the fact that nothing was quite working right yet, the first years saw classes flooded with men and women who had waited all their lives for this chance. Their eagerness energized the young instructors sent out to teach them, armed only with a few days' training, a primer, and memories of their own schooling. Ex-campaigners from early rounds recalled all sorts of tribulations but brought back a keen sense of excitement and accomplishment. A decade later, the memory of trying teach bored, unwilling, and unruly adults left instructors bitter.

A second contradiction lies in central planning for individual or local empowerment, exemplified, in this case, by the "right" to use one's mother tongue for literacy. The kind of Marxism espoused by the regime underlay both the assertion of nationalities' rights to self-determination and the top-down planning by decree and by experts that set about providing literacy for them. The amount of high-level effort that went into preparing scripts and primers that nobody wanted and nobody claimed is daunting. What if the central committee had simply identified the resources and let it be known that any group wishing to use their mother tongue should make their wants known - first come, first served? Clearly there would have been several ethnic groups (one of which already had a script) that would have signed on. But not fifteen! Such a strategy would also have permitted planners to engage communities in writing, producing and disseminating reading materials in their own language to reinforce literacy, in return for getting their script and primers. But, under the prevailing political circumstances, such a suggestion was inconceivable. At all events, by the last stages of the campaign it was clear that the groups for which all this scripting was intended disavowed ownership of much of it, and many still strongly preferred to learn to read Amharic.[9]

Thirdly, there is a strange disjunction between the government's attempts to seize control of all printing and publication, to impose censorship which further suppressed publishing, and to promote literacy at the same time. If this campaign's lessons about sustaining literacy teach us anything, it is that a campaign restricted to the resources of government ministries cannot do the whole job of reinforcing literacy. Ethiopia does not lack authors and would-be publishers keenly aware of the potential market and capable of meeting its demands. But these people were silenced by economic and political decisions of the central government. Greater freedom of speech and subsidization of publishing would have created a far more enduring climate for literacy than reading rooms that could not be properly supported.

Fourthly, looking back at the amount of effort and resources poured into this campaign and comparing it with the state of formal education, we must ask whether some of these resources might not have been better spent on expanding and improving primary schools. This study can only raise the question, not answer it.

Finally, looking beyond education to national development, there is the broader issue of the impact of this attempt to foster ethnic pride and self-determination. Has it weakened the sense of nationality, of Ethiopian-ness that had been developing under Haile Selassie? Will it contribute to a stronger sense of pride in origin or to an eventual fragmentation of Ethiopia. Now that the regime responsible for this campaign has ended, the future will reveal its political and social impact.

Notes

1.　　Known as the Development through Cooperation Campaign (Amhr: *Idjet beHibret Zemecha*).

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2.   Cf. M. L. Bender, et. al. <u>Language in Ethiopia</u>, London: Oxford University Press, p. 13. 1976.

3.   Hans Zell and Carol Bundy, <u>The African Book World and Press: A Directory</u>, p. 486. Oxford: Hans Zell Publishers. 1983.

4.   Thought to number 32 million in 1979, Ethiopia's population was found by the 1984 census to be, in fact, at least 42 million.

5.   Three parts were planned for this evaluation: a rural study, an urban study, and a study of post-literacy participants. Only the first two were actually done, leaving the study incomplete regarding the most successful literacy learners. The Ministry of Education, calling the study "too negative," never approved or released the two completed reports.

6.   Cf. Last, G. C., 1989. The Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign: Retrospect and Prospects 1979-1989. Addis Ababa: Ministry of Education/NLCCC.

7.   UNESCO supported initial planning and study tours for officials involved in the campaign. UNICEF, SIDA, and Canadian donors were the main outside contributers, but the total amount of support was still very small compared to the national resources dedicated to the effort.

8.   This situation was particularly characteristic of Oromo, the mother tongue of approximately a third of the population of Ethiopia. Language and dialect difficulties are the subject of an excellent paper by Mammo Kebede Shenkut. "Some Impacts of Dialectical Differences on the National Literacy Campaign of Ethiopia (A Sociolinguistic Approach)," Addis Ababa, January 1988.

9.   Trying to find out how many people were actually bilingual in their own language and Amharic meant asking a politically unaskable question, so the appropriateness of teaching other speakers to read Amharic is impossible to determine.

Table 1: The Ethiopic Syllabary Script (*Fidel*)

Basic character	Order							Labialized					
	1st ε	2nd u	3rd i	4th a	5th e	6th ɨ	7th o	-wε	-wi	-wa	-we	-wɨ	-y
h	ሀ	ሁ	ሂ	ሃ	ሄ	ህ	ሆ						
l	ለ	ሉ	ሊ	ላ	ሌ	ል	ሎ			ሏ			
h	ሐ	ሑ	ሒ	ሓ	ሔ	ሕ	ሖ						
m	መ	ሙ	ሚ	ማ	ሜ	ም	ሞ			ሟ ⶀ			
s	ሠ	ሡ	ሢ	ሣ	ሤ	ሥ	ሦ			ሧ			
r	ረ	ሩ	ሪ	ራ	ሬ	ር	ሮ			ሯ ⶂ			Z
s	ሰ	ሱ	ሲ	ሳ	ሴ	ስ	ሶ			ሷ			
š	ሸ	ሹ	ሺ	ሻ	ሼ	ሽ	ሾ			ሿ			
k'	ቀ	ቁ	ቂ	ቃ	ቄ	ቅ	ቆ	ቈ	ቊ	ቋ	ቌ	ቍ	
b	በ	ቡ	ቢ	ባ	ቤ	ብ	ቦ			ቧ			
t	ተ	ቱ	ቲ	ታ	ቴ	ት	ቶ			ቷ			
c	ቸ	ቹ	ቺ	ቻ	ቼ	ች	ቾ			ቿ			
h	ኀ	ኁ	ኂ	ኃ	ኄ	ኅ	ኆ	ኈ	ኊ	ኋ	ኌ	ኍ	
n	ነ	ኑ	ኒ	ና	ኔ	ን	ኖ			ኗ			
ñ	ኘ	ኙ	ኚ	ኛ	ኜ	ኝ	ኞ			ኟ			
(a)	አ	ኡ	ኢ	ኣ	ኤ	እ	ኦ						
k	ከ	ኩ	ኪ	ካ	ኬ	ክ	ኮ	ኰ	ኲ	ኳ	ኴ	ኵ	
h	ኸ	ኹ	ኺ	ኻ	ኼ	ኽ	ኾ			ዃ			
w	ወ	ዉ	ዊ	ዋ	ዌ	ው	ዎ						
(a)	ዐ	ዑ	ዒ	ዓ	ዔ	ዕ	ዖ						
z	ዘ	ዙ	ዚ	ዛ	ዜ	ዝ	ዞ			ዟ			
ž	ዠ	ዡ	ዢ	ዣ	ዤ	ዥ	ዦ			ዧ			
y	የ	ዩ	ዪ	ያ	ዬ	ይ	ዮ						
d	ደ	ዱ	ዲ	ዳ	ዴ	ድ	ዶ			ዷ			
j	ጀ	ጁ	ጂ	ጃ	ጄ	ጅ	ጆ			ጇ			
g	ገ	ጉ	ጊ	ጋ	ጌ	ግ	ጎ	ጐ	ጒ	ጓ	ጔ	ጕ	
t'	ጠ	ጡ	ጢ	ጣ	ጤ	ጥ	ጦ			ጧ			
c'	ጨ	ጩ	ጪ	ጫ	ጬ	ጭ	ጮ			ጯ			
p'	ጰ	ጱ	ጲ	ጳ	ጴ	ጵ	ጶ						
s'	ጸ	ጹ	ጺ	ጻ	ጼ	ጽ	ጾ			ጿ			
s'	ፀ	ፁ	ፂ	ፃ	ፄ	ፅ	ፆ						
f	ፈ	ፉ	ፊ	ፋ	ፌ	ፍ	ፎ			ፏ ⶈ			
p	ፐ	ፑ	ፒ	ፓ	ፔ	ፕ	ፖ						

Punctuation marks				Numerals							
:	word/divider	?	question mark (?)	1	፩	6	፮	20	፳	70	፸
÷	comma (,)	!	exclamation point (!)	2	፪	7	፯	30	፴	80	፹
፤	semi-colon (;)	« »	quotes (" ")	3	፫	8	፰	40	፵	90	፺
::	end of a sentence	( )	parentheses ( )	4	፬	9	፱	50	፶	100	፻
፧	old form of question mark, rare (?)			5	፭	10	፲	60	፷	1,000	፼

Figure 1: The Structure of the National Literacy Campaign

THE NATIONAL LITERACY CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
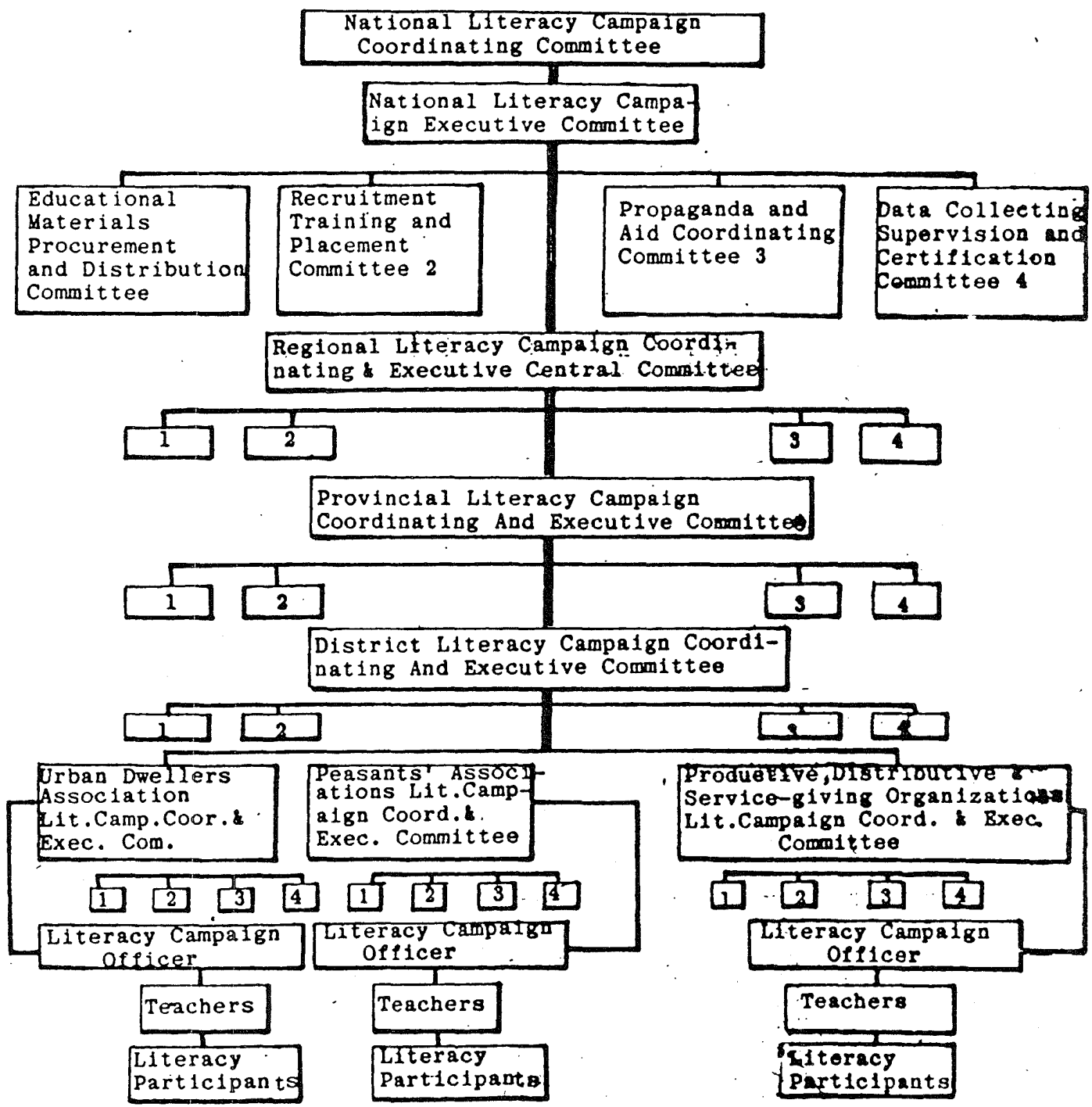
THE CHALLENGE OF FINDING EFFECTIVE
EDUCATION SYSTEM
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

- CASE OF NEPAL -

Jeetendra R. Joshee
Doctoral Candidate
Center for International Education
School of Education
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

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INTRODUCTION OF THE COUNTRY

Without some basic knowledge about the country's geography, economy, and the people, it is very difficult to talk about the development and education in Nepal. Nepal has one of the most complex geographical features in the world. Within a distance of 120 miles from south to north, the elevation rises from 300 feet to over 29000 feet from the sea level. As the topography changes, so does the economy, people's lifestyles, and the development activities. Fo this reason, I have provided below, a brief introduction of Nepal.

Nepal, the only Hindu country in the world, is located in the South Asia sub-continent, south of the Tibet province of the People's Republic of China, and surrounded by India on the east, west, and the south. It is about 500 miles long and 120 miles wide covering nearly 55000 square miles in total area. Nepal is a mountainous country with almost 80% of its territory covered by mountains. The other 20% is plains in the south and river valleys in the middle mountain ranges. Nepal can be divided into three major ecological and topographical zones. They include the Himalayan mountain region in the north, hills in the central, and the plains in the south. The great Himalayan range runs through the northern part of Nepal. Eight of the world's ten highest mountain peaks are in Nepal. The world's highest mountain, Mt. Everest, lies on the border of Nepal and Tibet. The Himalayan region is very sparsely populated. People there depend on basic agriculture and animal husbandry.

The central part of Nepal is covered with the mid range mountains which go up to three thousand meters. Almost 60% of the country's rural population live in this region, where only 30% of the land is cultivable (Seddon, 1987). This has caused a high dependency ratio on these cultivable lands. There are many fertile river valleys found in this region and the majority of the mountain populations concentrate around these valleys. One of them is the Kathmandu valley, which is also the capital city of Nepal.

The southern plain, called the Terai[1] region, is very densely populated, concentrated more on the eastern part of the country. The southern border with India is almost completely open from both sides. People from both countries are allowed to travel back and forth without any government documents. It is very common to find Indian nationals living permanently on the Nepal side and vice-versa. Although the open border situation is almost unavoidable because of the historical, social, and religious relationships between the people of the two countries, it has caused problems to both sides in terms of immigration, employment, and land ownership. The problems seem to hurt India less than Nepal because of the huge difference in the size of the two countries.

Nepal is predominantly an agricultural country. More than 93 percent of the population depend on agriculture, which contributes 65 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

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[1]Terai region is the low land similar to the plains of the Ganges river in India. The land is very fertile and most of the country's big industries are located in this region.

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and accounts for 85 percent of the export trade (Poudyal, 1983, p.2). Being a land locked country and having the giant neighbor of India on three sides, Nepal's import and export trade is mainly dominated by India. Until recently, about two thirds of Nepal's trade was with India alone and the current figure stands at about 50%. Land locked countries face problems in terms of transit facility, but Nepal's situation is unique and of a different nature than other land locked countries in the world. The only alternative Nepal has in this case is to negotiate with India, even if the negotiated conditions are not fair.

Nepal has been one of the poorest countries in the world for a long time. In 1971, the United Nations declared Nepal as one of the 'least developed' countries in the world, and since then it has remained in the same category. The situation shifted towards improvement, but the improvement primarily depends on foreign aid and loans received through multinational institutions like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Every year the national budget has a deficit causing more and more dependency on foreign aid and a higher debt. Nepal's total external debt in 1970 was only 3 million dollars and that amount reached 902 million dollars in 1987. In terms of official development assistance, Nepal received 181 million dollars in 1981. That assistance increased to 345 million dollars in 1987 (World Development Report, World Bank, 1989).

When the national budget of a country remains deficit-ridden for many years, the government becomes unable to provide basic services like health, housing, and education. Although the Nepal government has stated in various development plans that its main goal is to increase the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and provide basic services to its people, the goal has yet to be met.

There has been a tremendous change in Nepal within this last two years. The Panchayat System[2], which ruled the country for about thirty years, has been thrown out of power by a people's revolution. The monopoly and stronghold of the King and his family has been considerably diminished. Under the new constitution passed after the revolution, the King is only a constitutional monarch and political power has been given to the elected Prime Minister. Less than a year ago, Nepal held a free election for the first time in about three decades. The Nepali Congress Party, which is based on democratic principles won the election and have formed the government. This new government is currently going through major changes to remedy the situations created by the past political system.

There was also a big dispute between Nepal and India about two and a half year ago regarding their trade and transit treaty. The two countries could not reach to an agreement which caused straneous situation in their relationship. This situation continued for about nine months, which caused high consumer goods inflation. Even before this situation, the annual inflation rate was going up every year. During 1965-80 the average inflation rate was 7.8

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[2]Panchayat System was a brainchild of the late King Mahendra Shah, who banned all political parties in the country and took all powers into his own hands. Although he called it a democracy, freedom was very limited under this system.

percent, which went up to 8.8 percent during 1980-87 (World Development Repor 1989). Timber, a substitute for daily fuel, has been extensively destroyed. Nepal was already facing a serious deforestation problem and the recent cutting of trees has worsened the situation. Experts believe that the recent destruction of forests is going to adversely affect Nepal for a long time. After the revolution, the transition government of Nepal and India were able to reach to an agreement regarding their trade and transit treaty, but the inflation has not gone down.

THE EARLY DAYS OF EDUCATION IN NEPAL

Nepal was in the hands of the Rana Dynasty[3] for 104 years until 1950. During this period, a limited number of educational facilities were available, but they were strictly reserved for a very few selected group of people. Expansion of education was considered as a threat to the people in power. There were strict regulations for opening schools and the establishment of other forms of educational institutions. At times, people who demanded education and tried to work as teachers were jailed and punished. Until 1950 Nepal did not have any organized system of education. The country was in total darkness.

The Rana Dynasty was overthrown in 1950 and democracy emerged as an uncertain system of government. People were uneducated, so the meaning of democracy was unclear and confusing. The intellectuals at the central level strongly realized that until people were educated and informed, any form of government was not going to work. With this strong realization, the government of Nepal established an Education Board in 1952. At that time, the immediate responsibility of the board was to do some research, and supervise and expand the existing educational facilities in the country.

During the 1950s, education in Nepal was poorly organized under the supervision of the Ministry of Education headquartered in the capital city. No scientific, specific data were found about the status of education in the countryside. The only available data were about the institutions in the capital city of Kathmandu. The curriculum of some schools were under the supervision of the University of Patna in North India. Nepal didn't have a University of its own.

THE NEPAL NATIONAL EDUCATION PLANNING COMMISION (NNEPC)

In a November 1953 meeting, the board suggested to the government that a National Education Planning Commission be formed. The members and the chairperson of the board realized that a uniform education system for the whole country was needed and that without

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[3]Rana family ruled Nepal for 104 years. They had a hereditary system of becoming Prime Ministers of the country. The total and ultimate power was with the Prime Minister and his family. No development projects were initiated and the capital was out of touch with the rest of the country.

careful planning, such uniformity could not be provided. The suggestion was taken very seriously by the government and they moved into action very quickly. After lots of consulting with educators and leaders from various walks of life in the country, the government appointed a Nepal National Education Planning Commission in 1954. The commission had a serious and difficult task ahead. Since the country was just freed from more than a century long dynastic rule, and people were totally uneducated, to find an education system that would meet the needs of the whole country was not easy.

The commission demonstrated integrity right away. It created and assigned tasks to several sub-committees, mainly to deal with administration, curriculum design and development of teacher training programs. The commission also sent questionnaires to educators all over the country asking for suggestions. In summary, the task of the commission was seen as two-fold. One was to complete a survey of the existing status of education in the country and the second was to come up with a scheme for a national system of education to be implemented in the country.

After a year of hard work, the National Education Planning Commission submitted its report to the Ministry of Education in March of 1955. The report included extensive research on how people felt about education and the kind of system the country needed. It came up with about 14 recommendations. The commission submitted some very specific schemes, for how primary, secondary, and higher education needed to be planned and managed. It pointed out that scientific data collection in the country was needed in order to plan and provide necessary educational services in the country. Without accurate data it was very difficult to assume what kind of services existed and what other kinds of services needed to be planned.

The commission also stressed the need for universal primary education and the opportunity for adults to become literate. A free, tax supported, single system of education throughout the country was recommended. It recommended that a five year curriculum for primary and another five year curriculum for secondary education be developed in order to serve the educational needs of the country. The recommendation also included the need for vocational education to fulfill the necessity of technical manpower in the country. One other important suggestion of the commission was to create a national university for the country. Until 1959, Nepal was without a university in the whole country. Most people went to India for higher education.

The commission realized that the problem not only lay in the formal sector of education. Although unscientific, an estimate in 1950 showed that only 2 percent of Nepalese people were literate. It was evident that there was a huge crowd of illiterate adults in the country. Parents had to be informed first about the need of schooling in order to send their children to the schools. In a society like Nepal, where traditional values are always important and they play a major role in all walks of life, the parents had to agree to what the educational planners were going to say. For this purpose, the commission also recommended a strong adult education program.

The commission also realized that community participation in educational activities was absolutely necessary in order to successfully achieve the goal of the education system. For financial purposes also, community involvement was a must. A recently emerging country like Nepal was in no position to afford education all by itself. Another reason to bring in communities to the educational environment was to offer them the opportunity to participate as insiders in the educational process.

Among other important recommendations, the commission pointed out the need for a teacher training institution, establishment of an instructional materials development center, and better administrative organization of the Ministry of Education. Most important of all, the report of this commission was the first detailed official document in the history of education in Nepal.

During and after the submission of the commission's report, many innovative educational activities were launched in many parts of the country. In the early stages, the United States Operations Mission (USOM) played an important role in providing financial and technical assistance to the Ministry of Education. Several groups of Nepali educators were sent to the United States for training and professional education. During these years, the University of Oregon contracted with USOM for most of the educational activities in Nepal.

By the time the commission completed its report, there were quite a number of schools opened throughout the country. The need of education for development was being realized by both the political leaders and the people. The following figure shows the growth of education during this time.

Figure 1
Growth of Education in Nepal 1954-1961

Levels of Education	Number of Institutions		Student Enrollment	
	1954	1961	1954	1961
Primary	921	4165	26186	240000
Lower Secondary	316	**	33408	**
Secondary	83	590	12697	62000
Higher	13	33	1316	5143
Total	1333	4788	73607	307143

Source: Ministry of Education, The first five year plan 1956-60, and second three year plan 1962-65.
Nepal National Education Planning Commission Report.

** Combined with primary and secondary levels.

As we can see, the number of schools and student enrollment were growing rapidly, but there were no formal teacher training colleges in Nepal until 1956. Before this, the only institution which provided short term training to teachers was the National Teacher Training Center established in 1954. This center was providing 2-3 months of training to teachers and sending them out to different parts of the country to open new primary schools. But the majority of teachers were running the schools without necessary job training. A major step toward strengthening teacher education was taken in September of 1956 when the College of Education was established under the Ministry of Education. The college was authorized to grant a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree. The process of establishing a National University was also underway and the College of Education was to be part of the National University at a later date.

THE TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY

Although the idea of a National University was initiated for the first time in 1948, by the Rana Prime Minister Mohan Sumsher, the idea never materialized into action. The strong proposal of the National Education Planning Commission then played an important role in the emergence of a University system in Nepal. In 1956, a University Commission was appointed under the chairwomanship of The Senior Queen Mother. The name for the university was selected after the name of the late King Tribhuvan. In the developmental stage, the University Commission worked closely with its own government, the USOM, and other related agencies like UNESCO, Indian Aid Mission (IAM) and Great Britain. The Tribhuvan University Act was drafted by the commission and the act was approved by the King on May 29, 1959. Finally, the Tribhuvan University was born with the promise of providing quality higher education in the country.

It should be noted here that a university system in Asian countries is somewhat different than it is in western countries. In Nepal, Tribhuvan University controls all the other colleges and campuses in the country. Although a student might be educated on a certain campus, the degree is awarded from the University. In other words, higher education is highly nationalized in Nepal, making one university an umbrella institution.

THE POLITICAL CHANGE OF 1960 AND ARNCE

Although all these educational activities were happening between the period of 1955 to 1960, the country was going through stressful political turmoil. Different governments changed in a short period of time. The disagreement between the several political parties created instability and disorganization in the country. The educational activities were affected and occasionally disrupted by this political scene (Wood, 1987, p.161). As a result of this, the Nepal National Education Planning Commission's report, which was considered an important step towards the development of education in Nepal, was never implemented. There is no doubt that many educational developments in the country were influenced by this report, but there was no government agency which undertook responsibility to plan the education system as recommended by the commission.

A major change in the structure of government occurred in December of 1960, when the king utilized his constitutional power to dissolve the 18 month-old government which was the first ever elected government in the history of Nepal. A year after that he introduced the partyless political system called "Panchayat".

The evolution of Panchayat democracy in the country brought a new spirit of development in all areas. Strong promises were made by the political leaders, and the king introduced many development projects. The government formed a new educational planning committee in 1961, called All-Round National Committee on Education (ARNCE), which acted independently and started its work from scratch. But this new committee did not do anything spectacular. Some of its suggestions were utilized in some sectors of education but no major initiative was introduced. The committee's recommendation of a new education structure was never implemented.

Later in 1962, a two person UNESCO mission was formed which took some of the recommendations from the 1956 National Education Planning Commission's report. The nation was introduced to a centralized system of education. The education structure consisted of 5 years of primary education, 3 years of lower-secondary education, and 2 years of secondary education. The university had already set up its system of 2 years of Intermediate Degree after high school graduation, another 2 years to earn a Bachelor's and an additional 2 years for the Master's Degree. Many educators were educated in India so the system in Nepal was very much influenced by the Indian system of education. Also, the Nepalese education system had to be similar to that of the Indian system for accreditation purposes. Many Nepali school graduates had to go to an Indian institution for higher education. In particular, engineers, and medical professionals were educated in India. The Tribhuvan University in Nepal was still in the preliminary stage and there weren't that many colleges established under it.

Significant progress was made during the sixties in terms of enrollment and the building of new schools throughout the country. Educational developments in the urban areas were more rapid than in the rural areas. Although accurate and scientific data is not available from year to year, some data was collected by the Ministry of Education. Statistics showed that during the five year period 1964-69 student enrollment went up by 33.5 percent at the primary level, 69.7 percent at the secondary level, and 134.4 percent at the tertiary level (Gurung, 1972 p.13). The tremendous increase of enrollment at the higher education level indicates the government's goal to produce more highly educated citizens.

There was also a considerable increase in the number of high school (SLC)' graduates.

'School Leaving Certificate (SLC) is the national examination conducted by an examination board at the central level. Every student in Nepal must pass this examination in order to graduate from the high school. The examination is conducted once a year throughout the country.

The number increased from 1,811 graduates in 1963 to 8,387 in 1969, an increase of 463 percent in a seven-year period. This increase in high school graduates put a lot of pressure on the higher education institutions for accomodating increasing enrollment. This also resulted in an increase in the number of college graduates. A total of 6,063 students graduated from colleges in 1967 and that number reached 10,887 in 1969, which was a 64.8 percent increase in two years, or 16.2 percent annually (Gurung, 1972, p.13).

All kinds of development thrived after the liberation from the Rana dynasty in 1950, growth in education sector was also very rapid. The figure below indicates the increase in student enrollment and number of educational institutions between the period of 1961 - 1970.

Figure 2
Growth of Education in Nepal 1961-1970

Level of Education	Number of Institutions			Student Enrollment		
	1961	1965	1970	1961	1965	1970
Primary	4165	5696	7256	240000	386104	449141
Lower Secon.	*	*	*	*	*	*
Secondary	590	687	1065	62175	58207	96704
Higher	33	34	49	5043	8081	17200
Total	4788	6417	8370	307143	452392	563045

Source: Ministry of Education.
        National Planning Commission.

    * Combined with primary and secondary levels.

The country's school curriculum was centralized but the administration of schools was decentralized through local units of government and community participation. The local communities also played an important role in the financing of school buildings. In fact, land for the school buildings and materials to build the buildings was the responsibility of the community. Each school had a School Coordination Committee which was a very powerful body in the administration of the schools. The committee could hire and fire school teachers and also approved the salary scale of the teachers. The committee was usually made up of local political leaders, social activists, parents, the Headmaster of the school, and a representative from the teaching staff. The power of this committee was often criticized by educators because it brought unnecessary local politics into the schools. The Headmaster, who was responsible for academic aspects of the school, had no power to do anything to his/her teachers. In many instances, the teachers were loyal to the Coordination Committee rather than to the Headmaster, thus neglecting their teaching quality. Often, teachers were hired based on their local political alliance rather than their teaching qualification.

Although student enrollment and the number of schools were increasing in the country, Nepal was not able to produce the mid-level technicians that it needed for many development

Although student enrollment and the number of schools were increasing in the country, Nepal was not able to produce the mid-level technicians that it needed for many development projects. The curriculum in the schools and colleges were dominated by general subjects and were similar to that of Indian institutions, which also was derived from the British education system. The country was lacking technicians while college graduates with general education majors were unable to find adequate jobs. Unemployment problems for these graduates had begun to appear.

In summary, the decade of 1960 was a time for grassroots development for education in Nepal. Planners and educators throughout the country had learned many lessons from their first hand experience. Expansion of education seemed rapid in total numbers, but many remote areas in the country lacked educational facilities. Government officials, political leaders, and educators, were looking for a change in the education system which would provide more equitable education for all in the country. Also, the system had to produce much needed manpower for the country, especially mid-level technicians. A massive change was anticipated in the education system of Nepal.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM PLAN (NESP)

In 1971, the NESP was introduced in Nepal. The main notion of this plan was that education should work for nation building. This new education plan was designed to bring about change and progress in education, which the previous education system ('Old Education' as educators called it) was not able to do. This new plan also came with concrete national curriculum for schools, which the planners said were relevant to the developmental needs of the country. In the Preface of NESP, it stated that:

> The Plan is primarily aimed at counter-acting the elitist bias of the inherited system of education by linking it more effectively to productive enterprise and egalitarian principles .... The Plan calls for unifying education into the one productive system that serves the country's needs and aspirations. The concept of education as an end to white-collar jobs is being replaced by a new concept that regards education as an investment in human resources for the development of the country. (National Education System Plan, 1971).

NESP came up with some clear goals and objectives for the education sector. They can be summed up as following:

1. To produce loyal citizens to the nation, monarchy, and national independence. To make citizens aware of their rights and responsibilities under the Panchayat Democracy System.

2. To develop, preserve, expand, and extend the learning of science and technology and provide skills that are necessary to address the needs of the country.

3. To reverse the present inverted ratio of manpower through a planned approach, bringing

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all technical, vocational, and general education and training programs under one integrated structure for concerted and coordinated effort.

4. To preserve, develop, and promulgate the national language and literature, culture and arts.

5. To rationalize education into a productive system that meets the needs and aspirations of the country.

6. To inspire citizens for moral integrity, creativity, awareness, self-reliance, discipline, a scientific approach, and appreciation.

Clearly, NESP was an answer to the imbalance of general education graduates from schools and colleges during the sixties. The system was a total turnaround in terms of school curriculum. The major focus of the system was on vocational and technical education. The Human Resources division of National Planning Commission' always identified a shortage of middle and high-level technicians in the country. NESP's main focus was to expand the vocational and technical schools along with general education.

Along with the regulation of NESP, the National Education Committee (NEC) was formed as a policy formulating body for the education sector as a whole. In the initial stage of NESP, NEC was the highest government agency monitoring the new system. This committee's chairman is the Minister of Education. The Vice-Chancellor of Tribhuvan University and the Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture are ex-officio members. A full-time member Secretary is nominated by the king to head the secretariat. Although this is an autonomous body, most of the staff members in the committee are members of the Ministry. From the beginning of it's inception, NEC's main responsibility has been to monitor, implement, and evaluate the education policies in the country. Although there have been several changes in the education system, the NEC still plays an important role to the Ministry of Education and Culture in guiding national education policy.

Quantitatively, the growth of education in Nepal since the regulation of NESP has been remarkable. The number of schools at all levels and the enrollment rate have gone up very sharply. Although the National Education System Plan has gone through numerous changes over the years, and may look very different now than the original plan, it has certainly raised a wide spread consciousness about education among the general public. The following figure illustrates the rapid expansion of education during 1970-80 period.

'The National Planning Commission is the central body for all kinds of development planning in the country. The commission is headed by the king himself.

	Figure 3 Growth of Education in Nepal 1970-80					
Levels of Education	Number of Institutions			Student Enrollment		
	1970	1975	1980	1970	1975	1980
Primary	7256	8314	10136	449141	458516	1043332
Lower Sec.	*	1893	3261	*	174143	408907
Secondary	1065*	479	704	96704*	62214	120838
Higher	49	79	94	17200	23504	39863

Source: Ministry of Education.
        National Planning Commission Reports.

        * Combined with Primary and Secondary Levels.

NESP placed emphasis on producing more trained teachers in the country. In the beginning there were very few trained teachers and the plan provided in-service training opportunities to teachers and some pre-service opportunities to people who wanted to become teachers. But without enough teacher training institutions and facilities, it was beyond the scope of NESP to fulfill the demand for trained teachers in the country. There were enough people who were qualified to become teachers with their education degree, but they were not adequately trained to become teachers. The following table shows the status of trained/untrained teachers in various levels of education in Nepal.

Figure 4
Teachers in Nepal

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Primary										
Total #	20775	23395	24652	26384	27805	29134	32259	38131	46484	51286
% Qualified	58	61	63	63	65	67	68	69	71	73
% Trained	39	38	39	37	36	36	36	34	32	32
Lower Secondary										
Total #	7930	8774	9416	10536	11693	12245	10820	10146	10602	11120
% Qualified	67.7	71.5	67.1	70.2	72.7	75.8	81.9	83.2	82.4	83.8
% Trained	38.3	39.1	41.0	39.4	39.2	39.5	42.0	42.6	43.7	41.9
Secondary										
Total #	3449	3665	3948	4265	4683	4909	5634	5764	6467	7242
% Qualified	96.6	97.4	98.0	98.0	98.5	98.1	95.5	95.6	95.7	95.7
% Trained	50.0	56.4	63.0	63.0	62.3	62.5	62.4	58.6	55.0	53.0

Sources: MOEC, Educational Statistical Report of Nepal 1976-85.

According to the table above, the supply of trained teachers in primary and lower-secondary levels has been below 50 percent for many years. The situation seems to improve little at the secondary level, but after 1981 the percentage of trained teachers went down every year. At all levels, the percentage of trained teachers went down after 1981. The reason for this pattern might be that during 1977-81, when the NESP was still in effect, teacher training activity was proceeding rapidly, so the number of trained teachers was growing. When NESP began to fade, the production of trained teachers also went down.

When I reflect on my own experience as a teacher during this period under the NESP, they were years of confusion for me. As a teacher, I assumed that my main responsibilities were effective teaching and making sure that learning was happening in the classrooms. There was no way to evaluate this and assure myself that I was doing an effective job. I was expected to do a job which I was not trained for. I can remember, for instance, I was teaching English language without any training in English teaching. Another example is even worse. I was asked and assigned to teach Science in a lower secondary grade, although I did not come from a Science background and knew very little about the subject. During the three years of my tenure as a teacher, I remember the School Supervisor coming to my school only twice, and never into my classroom. I was completely unfamiliar with the only teaching materials I had, the textbooks.

The spirit and promise NESP had in the beginning years could not continue after its first phase of implementation 1971-76. It was mainly because the system had too many flaws and the expectations were unrealistically high. The government could not keep up with the promise to finance education, as the system demanded more and more funds every year. As a result, the main objective of the NESP, expansion of vocational/technical education was cut dramatically. Later, in 1981, the government decided to eliminate the compulsory vocational curriculum from secondary education. They were kept as an optional subject in some schools. This was done because there was a scarcity of qualified and trained teachers to teach these subjects, and also the high cost involved in instructional materials.

NESP could have been a successful program if it was carefully planned and implemented. It provided a new avenue in the field of Education in Nepal, but the overly unrealistic expectations and unpreparedness of the government to carry out such a large scale program could not take that avenue very far. It was lost before it could provide some good results. The government estimate in terms of cost, and the instructional methods used, was wrong. Necessary trained teachers were not available and the government was not able to continue the teacher training program fast enough. This caused the internal efficiency and the quality of education to be very low. Critics say that the average performance of high school graduates under the NESP was far below that of graduates from the old system. Although students came out of the schools with vocational degrees, their lack of skill did not help them to get a good job. Because of this, the quality of the labor force was also going down.

EDUCATION AFTER 1980 AND THE CURRENT SITUATION

Beginning of the eighties was a continuation of what was left of the failing National Education System Plan. The main ingredient, vocational education, was no longer the focus of the education system. All vocational subjects were made optional in schools. However, NESP still remained as a changing force in the development of education in the country, just because there was no other alternative. The government did not have resources, and so, was not able to come up with another large scale program to fix the problems of NESP.

As the NESP's objective to produce low-level technicians through vocational schools failed, the National Education Committee developed a new scheme called the "Technical School Plan". The main objective of this plan was to establish specific technical schools in various parts of the country. In order to formulate short and long term policies in this area, a national committee was formed under the chairmanship of the Minister of State for Education and Culture. The members in the committee included representatives from the National Education Committee, Ministry of Education, Department of Labor, Cottage and Rural Industry, Health, Agriculture, and Livestock.

There were at least 6 technical schools opened under this plan. The main difference between these schools and the previous vocational schools were that previously the vocational schools were not totally independent. Previously, General Education courses were also taught in the same school, but the new technical schools were designed specifically to train people in the areas of health, agriculture, mechanical training, and electrician training. Although these schools helped a little to produce technical manpower, the plan could not expand throughout the country.

One of the noticeable events of this decade for the Education sector was the King's announcement of Basic Needs Program in December of 1985. The King, in his announcement, said:

Let us pledge that we in the remaining years of this century will be able to shake off the poverty imposed on us by our less developed economy and that by the year 2000 A.D. we will be able to achieve a standard of living which is adequate to lead a life with human dignity from Asian standards. It is true that the objective of providing for all Nepalese the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, health, education, and security is a difficult goal to achieve but no matter how awesome the task is, let us ensure a firm political commitment through a systematic planning, programming and follow-up. In this context, my government will create working groups in the government and in the National Planning Commission to realize these goals. (King Birendra of Nepal, December 16, 1985).

The Basic Needs program identified universal primary education as a basic need for the people. The program has targeted a 100 percent enrollment of school aged children in the primary schools by the year 2000 A.D.

The Ministry of Education and Culture has prepared a comprehensive program guide on

how to achieve this goal. However, looking at the resources available, the ambitious goal of universal primary education by the year 2000 seems to be unrealistic. It is projected that the number of 6-10 year old children will be 292,8984 by the end of this century. In order to achieve the 100 percent enrollment goal, the enrollment of boys must increase by 21 percent and girls by 157 percent (IEES, Nepal Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment, 1988).

The Ministry has launched some incentives to attract children to the schools, such as free education up to grade five and free textbooks up to grade three. In order to promote girls' education, the Ministry also provides free textbooks to girls up to grade five in remote areas. In addition, the Ministry of Education has been promoting privatization of primary schools. But, these small incentives will not be sufficient to achieve the goal of universal primary education.

There is also a big problem in training the teachers necessary for primary schools. The Basic Needs document projects that a total of 88,565 teachers will be needed by the year 2000 A.D., of which 63,765 will need to be trained. This means that about 5000 teachers per year need to be trained. Currently, the teacher training colleges and other projects have a capacity to train only about 2000 teachers (IEES, Nepal Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment 1988). The Radio Education Teacher Training (RETT) project can reach about 1000 teachers a year through distant teacher training, but this number has to be increased in the future.

With the current changes in the political picture of Nepal, most of these planned activities have been either halted or being reviewed by the new government. The role of the King has been reduced drastically, so the future of the Basic Needs program is uncertain. The desire to provide basic needs to every citizen in the country is a noble one, but without necessary resources, careful planning, and effective implementation, the desire is becoming just another political slogan. As a matter of fact, it is questionable whether the King was aware of all the consequences before he made the announcement of the Basic Needs program.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

The development of education in Nepal since its conception in 1951 to toady is considered as rapid growth. Nepal has made considerable investments in education, allocating 9.5% of total government expenditure to education in 1980/81, which increased to 9.7% in 1981/82 and 10.5% in 1982/83. The expenditure increased even to 11.0% in 1983/84 (National Planning Commission, Government of Nepal) but decreased slightly in recent years with an average of 10%.

There is no question that Nepal has come a long way in terms of education development. The quantitative progress of education since 1950 to today should be considered significant. However, the quality of education is questionable. This also has been true in many other developing countries, that quantity has been emphasized more than the quality.

The following table should be helpful in order to understand how the country's education has come to today's situation. The figure shows the progress in the number of schools, enrollment, and teachers.

Figure 5 Progress of Education in Nepal (In Actual Numbers) 1953-1985				
Education Level	1953-54	1974-75	1979-80	1984-85
1. Primary				
Schools	921	8,314	10,404	11,704
Enrollment	26,186	458,516	1,317,068	1,833,655
Teachers	1,278	18,874	28,353	49,305
2. Lower Secondary				
Schools	316	1,893	2,223	3,502
Enrollment	33,408	174,143	142,271	266,639
Teachers	1,325	6,496	11,145	11,037
3. Secondary				
Schools	83	479	785	1,280
Enrollment	12,697	62,214	121,007	228,502
Teachers	921	3,451	4,683	7,882
4. Total (Lines 1+2+3)				
Schools	1320	10,686	13,412	16,486
Enrollment	72291	699,873	1,580,346	2,328,796
Teachers	3524	28,821	44,181	68,224

Sources: For 1953-54 : Report of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission, 1956.
For Other years: National Planning Commission, The Sixth Plan, 1980 -85 and The Seventh Plan, 1985-90.

The achievement in student enrollment and the increase in the number of schools is remarkable. The enrollment ratio in primary, lower-secondary and secondary levels by 1984-85 had reached 78 percent, 34.5 percent, and 24 percent respectively (IEES, Education and Human Resource Sector Assessment, 1988, p.2-34). Looking at the number, only about 72 thousand students in the country were enrolled in the secondary and primary levels in 1953-54, which reached to more than 2.3 million by 1984-85. The number of schools at all levels were increased from about 13 hundred to more than 16 thousand in the same period.

The literacy rate in Nepal was only 2% in 1951, which went up to 23.26% in 1981 and is estimated to be about 33% today. There is a big gap between the male and female literacy rate. According to the 1981 census in Nepal, 33.9% of males were literate, whereas the figure was only 12.04% for female (Planning Division, Ministry of Education and Culture, Nepal, 1987). Although the literacy rate is going up in total numbers, two thirds of the population still remain illiterate.

As schools are growing, the number of teachers are also increasing every year, but the heavy bulk of untrained teachers remains a serious problem in the system. Student enrollment has increased considerably, but only 25% or less of those taking the SLC pass the examination. Drop-out rates are high, especially in the primary and early secondary levels. Financing of schools has always been a big problem in the rural areas. The equity between male and female enrollment is still a problem and this problem is even bigger in the rural areas. There are some continuing serious problems in the system.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION

The administrative structure for all levels of education is the same. Policy making, implementation strategy, and decision making are highly centralized. However, school operation at the unit levels are decentralized, providing management power to local authorities. The following chart illustrates the administrative structure of education in Nepal.

Figure 6
Current Administrative Structure

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                    +-------------------------------+
                    | NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE  |
                    +-------------------------------+
                                   |
+----------------------------------+        +---------------------------+
| MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE |------| TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY      |
+----------------------------------+        +---------------------------+
                                   |
                    +-------------------------------+
                    | REGIONAL DIRECTORATES (5)     |
                    +-------------------------------+
                                   |
+-------------+      +-------------------------+      +-------------+
| DISTRICT    |------| DISTRICT EDUCATION      |------| TEACHER     |
| EDUCATION   |      | OFFICES (75)            |      | SELECTION   |
| COMMITTEES  |      +-------------------------+      | COMMITTEES  |
+-------------+                   |                   +-------------+
                    +-------------------------------+
                    | SCHOOL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES  |
                    | (ONE FOR EACH SCHOOL)         |
                    +-------------------------------+
```
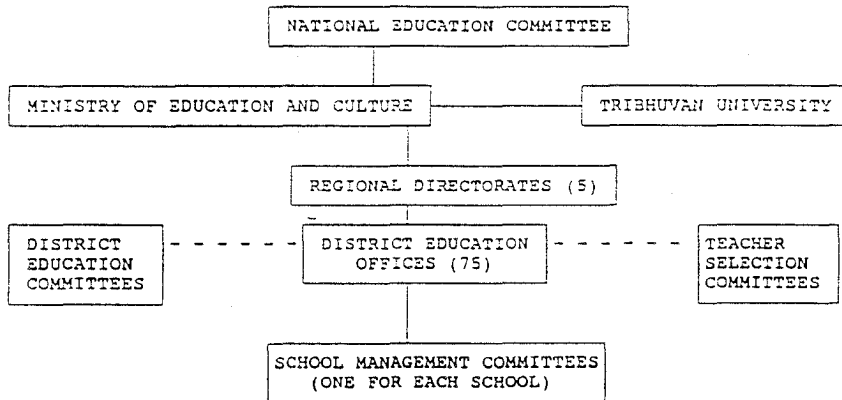
National Education Committee (NEC) is responsible for policy making and advising Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) in other education-related matters in the country. MOEC implements the policy devised by NEC and controls the education system as a whole. It provides direction to 5 regional directorates which are responsible for coordinating the educational activities in their respective regions. Each district has a District Education Office which oversees and carries out the educational programs set forth by the Ministry. Also at the district level is a District Education Committee which is responsible for planning and organizing school operation in the district. The committee also decides on the site for new schools in the district. Recent change in the system has created the Teacher Selection Committees (TSC) on an ad hoc basis, which looks for potential teacher candidates. This creation of TSCs has eliminated the previously existing District Education Commissions.

Each school has a School Management Committee, which is a powerful administrative body. The committee used to be headed by the local Pradhan Panch[c] until very recently. But the current change in the political system has eliminated the post of Pradhan Panch. There should be some more changes coming forth in the near future. The SMCs also included social workers, a teacher representative, and parents. The school Headmaster served as ex-officio member secretary. This Committee handled the selection and evaluation of teachers. The Committee was also responsible for gathering funds from the community to run the school.

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[c]Pradhan Panch is an elected political leader in the village level.

Tribhuvan University (TU) is responsible for providing higher education in the country. Although technically part of MOEC, T.U has its own management structure and is autonomous in practice. The King himself is the Chancellor of the university and he appoints a Vice-Chancellor who is officially the highest ranking person at the university. The university controls all colleges and campuses across the nation.

The Ministry of Education and Culture is another part of government bureaucracy. The government policy of transferring its employees from one ministry to another, without considering the educational background of the person, creates problems in finding suitable educational administrators and educators. Many administrators do not have related background training and experience in education.

Below, I have tried to summarize the current status of primary, secondary, and higher education in Nepal. Some opinions reflect my own experience in the country and some are based on discussions with MOEC officials who have visited the United States from time to time. Some recent data are presented which officially comes from the Ministry of Education and Culture.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

Primary Education is a major area of emphasis for the Ministry of Education and Culture. Nepal has set a goal of providing universal primary education by the year 2000 and the government is working hard to achieve this goal. When primary education was made free in 1975, the growth in student enrollment between the period 1975-81 was remarkable. There was an annual growth rate of 11% in this period. In recent years, the growth rate has slowed down to a seven percent average. The reason for this might be the absence of new incentives by the government.

The primary education sector receives a comparatively larger share of the education budget. Of its overall education budget, the Ministry allocated 35.26% in 1984-85, 34.65% in 1985-86, 36.32% in 1986-87, 38.37% in 1987-88, and 43.6% in 1988-89 to primary education. It will require more funding in the coming years as the government has set the goal of providing universal primary education by the year 2000 A.D.

In the seventh plan (1985-90), MOEC has a target of opening 1000 more primary schools and adding about 13000 more teachers. The government will continue to provide free education up to 5th grade and distribute free textbooks to 3 grades. The plan is to enroll 87 percent of the school-aged children (6-10) by the end of 1990 (National Planning Commission, The Seventh Plan).

Recently, the government has been promoting the opening of private primary schools. Private schools are operated and managed by local resources only and recognized by the government. This new incentive of the government seems to be working mainly in the urban areas. The data show that there was a 93% increase in private primary schools from 1984 to

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1985 and the student enrollment was increased by 233% for that year alone. Also, there was a 402% increase in teachers of private primary schools for that period (IEES, Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment, 1988).

Private schools are getting popularity because of their English medium of instruction. English is introduced in the first grade and parents have a certain attraction to that. Private schools do have to follow the government set curriculum to some extent but are also allowed to add their own.

Although girls' enrollment has increased remarkably over the past years, it is still a challenge for the government. By 1985, 30 percent of the total primary enrollment was girls. The percentage was slightly better in the urban areas, which was 34%, but considerably low in the mountain and hill areas coming down to 13%. The government has introduced several incentives to promote girls' enrollment. For instance, girls receive completely free primary education, including textbooks, in the rural areas. The government also plans to increase the number of female teachers.

If the government is to enroll 100% of the primary school age children by the year 2000, the annual enrollment growth rate has to remain at about 3.26 percent over that period (IEES, Education and Human Resource Sector Assessment, 1988). The annual enrollment growth rate has been declining in recent years. In 1982-83 the enrollment growth rate was 8.0%, which declined to 4.3% in 1985-86. The drop-out and retention rate also has to decrease significantly. The government's goal might be overly optimistic and may not be achieved by the targeted time.

To raise the quality of primary education, the government needs to provide more trained teachers. In 1985, only 32% percent of the total primary teachers were trained and 27% percent weren't even qualified (MOEC, Educational Statistical Report, 1986). Although the government policy requires all primary education teachers to hold a minimum of the SLC degree, there are still many teachers without the minimum requirement. When candidates with the SLC degree are not found, schools are still hiring underqualified teachers. In order to decrease the repetition rate in the first grade, the government also has to think about developing pre-primary education.

The aim of providing universal primary education is admirable, but the task has yet to be done. Given the present situation and the pace of progress in the country, it is almost certain that the project will fall behind schedule. Strategic planning and some careful implementation criterion should be established in order to achieve this great goal.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education in Nepal has grown very rapidly and gone through many changes over the past two or three decades. Since the regulation of NESP in 1971, there have been four structural changes, including the recent one. Until very recently, the lower-secondary

level of two grades (6-7) existed, in which a student had to attend before enrolling in the secondary level. In fact, the merging process of lower-secondary grades into secondary schools is still in progress at the present time. With this new change in the system, secondary education will have five years of schooling.

By definition, the main objective of secondary education is to prepare the students for higher education. It also has to provide some base knowledge and a solid ground work for people who are planning to enter the institutions which produce mid- level professionals. The NESP in 1971 had not mentioned any specific objectives for the secondary sector. About fourteen years later, on 1985 Education Day, the National Education Committee presented nine objectives for secondary education. They are following as stated in the IEES, Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment:

* to generate respect for labor
* to prepare productive citizens for national development
* to develop faith in God, loyalty to the country and King
* to develop a sense of discipline
* to enable students to opt for a higher education major with the provisio of a wide variety of subjects to choose from
* to lay the foundation for higher education
* to develop high level qualities like self-reliance, honesty, cooperativeness, world brotherhood, and responsibility
* to bring about national integration by harmonizing different economic and social interests
* to strengthen national solidarity by integrating multi-cultural traditions and by bringing about uniformity in the intellectual tradition (CERID, 1985, NEC, p.24)

Although the number of secondary schools has gone up remarkably over the past several years, the pressure in terms of space in this sector is still very high. The announcement of the government to provide universal primary education by the year 2000 will put even more pressure on secondary enrollment in the coming years. After the completion of five years in primary school, secondary schools have to be ready to take on the overwhelming number of students. Therefore, the government must start thinking about increasing secondary education facilities, in coordination together with the universalization of primary education.

The share of the education budget that secondary education receives seems to be decreasing in recent years. Secondary education was allocated 15.93% of the total education budget in 1984-85, which decreased to 15.22% in 1985-86, 15.30% in 1986-87, 13.27% in 1987-88 and an even lower 12.9% in 1988-89. Budget allocations need to be carefully examined.

The problems in secondary education are similar to the ones in other sectors of education. Although the growth of secondary education is seen in terms of numbers, quality is still a very big issues. Whether it's the defect of the evaluation process or the poor quality of

teaching in schools, three quarters of the students who take the national examination (SLC) do not pass the secondary level. Students completing the 10th grade curriculum are not just passed on to take the SLC examination. They also have to pass a pre-SLC test in their own schools. The standard of the pre-SLC test is believed to be comparable to that of the SLC. So, the students are screened out as much as possible before they take the SLC examination, but still the passing rate is only about 25% average. Critics say that it's the defect of the SLC examination process rather than the students. There has been some discussion lately about the credibility of SLC. The recommendations include that SLC should be a screening device for entry to higher education. Thus, it should be taken as an entrance examination into higher education, rather than a graduating requirement for secondary level. Some suggest that the pre-SLC examination should be enough criteria to complete the secondary level. The pre-SLC examination may need some coordination, but that can be done on the district or the regional level.

Normally, secondary schools are provided 50% of their operating cost as grant-in-aid by the government. But the result of the SLC examination has a direct impact on this aid. If a secondary school fails for three consecutive years, to pass at least 15 percent of its students taking the SLC examination, then the school does not receive any government funding. This condition is exempted for schools in the remote regions. The government made this policy hoping to improve teaching in the secondary schools. As a result, schools are taking some very strict measures in their pre-SLC tests and sending only a few students for the SLC.

Quality of teaching in secondary schools has always been a major problem in Nepal. Without proper supervision it is very difficult to say how teaching is going on and what kind of teaching methods are being applied in the classrooms. The other major problem lies in the overwhelming number of untrained teachers. In 1985, only 53% of the total teachers had some kind of training.

In the very near future, secondary education will have another major change in its structure. The proposal of the 10+2 system has already been approved and is in the final stages for implementation. That system will create 2 more years of higher secondary schooling. How and who will teach those +2 grades is still not clear and there are numerous issues with this new plan. Teacher qualification, curriculum, funding, and availability of facilities are some of the major issues.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education in Nepal is the sole responsibility of Tribhuvan University which is located in Kathmandu. The main objective of higher education is to produce middle, upper, and highly specialized manpower for the country. The university has ten different institutes, 5 in technical, 3 in professional, and 2 in general fields. Technical institutions contain 5 fields of studies, which include engineering, medicine, agriculture, forestry, and science and technology. The professional institutions are comprised of education, management, and law.

The general institutions have two fields, humanities and social science, and sanskrit[7].

Under these different institutions, there are 122 campuses in the country and all those campuses follow the same centralized curriculum. At present, the University offers 4 different degrees; a 2-year Intermediate certificate, 2 years of Bachelor's, 2 years of Master's, and the Doctorate degree. The two-year Intermediate Certificate will be replaced after the regulation of the 10+2 system in secondary education.

There is also a proposal that the Bachelor's degree be a required 3 years of education. This proposal is part of the 10+2 system making it 10+2+3. So it is likely that the Bachelor's degree will require 3 years in the near future. After the NESP regulation in 1971, the Master's degree required 2 years of course work and one year of field experience (National Development Service), essentially making it a three year degree. After the suspension of the NDS program in 1979-80, again the Master's degree became a two year degree. In the recent restructuring proposal it is suggested that the Master's degree be made 10+2+3+3.

The university shares a major portion of the government expenditure in the education sector. There has always been controversy regarding the university share of the education budget and the equity issue in education. The university accounts for less than 3% of the total education sector enrollment but still shares more than a quarter of the whole education budget. Until very recently, the university used to use one third of the country's education budget. In 1984-85, 33.74% of the total education budget was allocated to Tribhuvan University, which continued to be 33.41% in 1985-86, 28.42% in 1986-87, 23.37% in 1987-88 and 21.3% in 1988-89 (Educational Statistics of Nepal at a Glance, MOEC, 1987). The other equity issue is that the University fees are just slightly more than the secondary school fees in the rural areas. It is also notable here that on top of the school fees that parents have to pay, secondary schools are funded by the communities in the form of building construction, fund raising, and other activities. If the government wants to distribute the limited resources to other sectors of education, it has to seriously think about cutting the size of the university.

CONCLUSION

If a new structure of education is designed just because the previous one is not working, then the new system needs to be carefully planned and effectively implemented. In the recent history of Nepal's education system, most changes have been made in order to confront the problems of the old system. But in the recent past, the new changes seem to deteriorate the situation even more. Educational policy makers in Nepal need to learn a hard lesson from what happened with the National Education System Plan of 1971. The plan was

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[7]Sanskrit is one of the oldest languages in the world. The national language Nepali comes from sanskrit. There is also a separate Sanskrit University in Nepal.

a risky experiment, an overly optimistic and unrealistic scheme.

For many years, like other developing countries, Nepal also has struggled around the issues of quantity versus quality of education. The issue is not that one is less important than the other. Rather, an educational challenge to acquire both. Educational opportunity should be available to all school-aged children. Expansions of schools needs to be promoted. Additionally, the quality of education should be maintained with high standards in order to produce skilled manpower needed for the development of the country.

The Basic Needs Program introduced in 1985 seems like just another political slogan. In order to achieve the goal it has set, the program will need strategic long range planning and careful implementation techniques. So far, the program has not achieved the goal it should have achieved by now. Since the introduction of the program, the country has been facing very hard financial and political crises.

The country's political system also plays an important role in the development of education. Although the Panchayat System seemed dedicated to expand the education in the country, many flaws of this system were reflected in the education sector also. Under this political system, the education sector was not free of government bureaucracy, and increasing corruption.

If examined critically, the structural changes that have taken place in the education system of Nepal have flip-flopped many times. The recent decision of the government to make 5 years of primary and another 5 years of secondary education takes the country back to 1955 when the Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) had recommended the same structure. The recent approval of the 10+2 system reminds one of the report of the All-Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) of 1961, which had identified and recommended more than 10 years of secondary education.

NESP, in it's first phase during 1971-1976, introduced a semester system in the higher education sector, which did not last long. Since the semester is demolished, the structure of higher education is once again very similar to what it used to be during the sixties.

It would be harsh to say that education in Nepal has gone backward, but if the facts are carefully examined, the country has wasted and lost many years. The education sector is still struggling through the same issues that are similar to those of the fifties and the sixties. Issues like the need of a good teacher training institution, development of a curriculum suitable to produce the needed manpower, and raising the quality of education have always been there. After 40 years, today the country is still looking for an education system which will serve the needs of the people and the country. The new political system, which is less than a year old, will not be able to turn around everything overnight, but if political stability is maintained and the economic conditions are improved, education development may well move in a successful direction.

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COMBINING VIDEO FIELD PRODUCTION AND
POPULAR THEATER
IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION:
THE VILLAGE PRODUCTION OF "MTENGO WA MOYO"

by
David S. McCurry

Introduction

Video is hardly a *new* technology in education nor has its use been restricted to industrialized countries (Alvarado, 1988). It is well known to many educators since 1969 when the first EIAJ standard, black and white "porta-pak" video tape recorders and cameras became available on the mass market. Recent advances in design and falling prices have again pushed video into the mainstream current of educational technologies along with computers, another technology influencing program designers. Video, as recordable videotape and as digital interactive laser disc media, is certainly a key player in the "information revolution".

Coincidental with the evolution of video technology as a communications tool in education are participatory communication strategies in education and extension programs. A desire to not let technology dominate the expression of indigenous knowledge - and the constraints of limited funding - has also led practitioners to use decidedly non-technologically dependent forms of media such as traditional drama, dance, music, and visual the arts. Experience with these media forms have generated much interest over the past two decades and have shown great potential for involving community audiences in development activities.

Partly due to trends in the electronics industry, particularly the falling prices offered to non-professional markets and the increasingly simplified design characteristics of the technology itself, video is now a common component to be found in many existing and proposed educational development projects. As with computer technology and other audio visual aids however, knowledge about the actual use of the hardware has not kept pace with its inclusion in new educational activities. Characteristics of the media suggest certain possibilities which must be explored if a larger understanding about the effects of such technology on educational projects and their participants are to emerge. One such possibility involves the combination of video as a recordable media with more immediate, event-oriented popular media such as village drama. This paper describes one such attempt to combine two forms of communication; Video field production of a scripted "movie" and popular participatory village drama. Preceding the case example is an exploration of relevant issues on the use of technology in education and development communication.

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Media, education and development.

The past two decades have seen the introduction and growth of many types of education and extension projects aimed at fostering more participation in development. Development educators working in extension based sectors such as agriculture and health have recognized that simple diffusion models which sought to disseminate technical information from research centers and laboratories to the rural or urban recipient were not being effective (Davis-Case/FAO, 1989). Models of participatory education and extension broadly hold that education and development processes directed at rural or urban populations require their participation in a two-way exchange of knowledge and information. Such involvement, while legitimizing resulting actions aimed at pro-social development, empower community members to resolve conflicts inherent in traditional and modern aspects of their societies.

The use of various types of media hardware to facilitate communication has a lengthy history and wide geographic application. In general, the use of audio visual devices has followed practices based on well-known models of communication. While development communicators were concerned in the 1960s and 1970s with the appropriateness of various media technology and "locus of control" (Evans, 1976), the style of communication remained basically one-way or "limited interactive" in the sense that communicators focused more intently on effective ways of using the media to present knowledge through pre-packaged and designed software. As new approaches to communication emerged in tandem with participatory models of rural development, communicators began using the available media and searching for new media forms which would help facilitate development efforts; Forms which would basically hand over the process of change to those most immediately involved.

Included in some of the newly discovered, or rediscovered, media forms were popular and indigenous folk media such as song, dance, story-telling or "oral literature", and drama. Folk media, or traditional media as it is sometimes known, is one type of media form which blends well with participatory approaches since the media comes from indigenous and already understood forms of communication. The use of performance oriented folk media in development efforts is becoming an accepted communication component in many projects. The

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participatory nature of these media re-inforce the communication goals which aim at involving rural (and urban) people in "self-determined change" (Davis-Case, 1989). "Theatre for Development" is an example of an approach which uses improvised drama and community discussion to raise awareness and stimulate action plans for specific development outcomes such as improving community sanitation (Kamlongera, 1988). Such popular theater activities with pro-social development messages are already being used in numerous projects and communities around the globe. In Malawi this approach is well known in the health sector.

Photography, film, and video in particular are other media forms which have lent themselves, with various degrees of success, to field based communication and development activities. Falling prices in video technology has re-introduced video to budget minded development planners as they learn about easier to use, less expensive models of video cameras and recorders. This increased availability with improved and proven adaptation to rugged field conditions in many rural areas (Calvelo Rios, 1989) has led also to the emergence of this medium in many development communication activities.

Linking Drama and Video Production

As early TV broadcasting was live, theatrical productions were a natural target for programming. They were rehearsed and could be easily controlled in the studio. With the advent of videotape recording, set location and studio acting became a mainstay of video programs. Long established routines for cinema film production remained part of the television broadcast industry. At the other end of a media continuum from such controlled and rehearsed productions are "process" events where final performances are not an end unto themselves but a means of achieving certain patterns of communication with an intended audience. At this far outpost of communications strategies the line between "performer" and "audience" is often blurred; the curtain between the performed story and immediate reality dissolves.

Because the issue of control is central to the use of the technology, video has tended to gravitate towards both ends of this continuum. Typically it is either used as a tool for acquiring visual images and sound for finished stories with closed endings or it is used as a participatory communications tool,

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allowing the expression of unknown realities through visual and audio content. If such approaches are not mutually exclusive then there ought to be a region somewhere in-between where popular theatre, or any participatory communications activity, can work along-side of a more traditional media production process; An area where the advantages of both approaches can be realized to the benefit of those involved.

The following case example begins to explore this area. It describes what happens when you try to bring these two different approaches to communications together in a single production. One approach employs well known techniques for film production - with a hierarchical arrangement of participants - while the other draws on participatory drama techniques characterized by open-ended dialogue coupled with community action. The first approach typically focuses on the final product as the goal of the activity while the second engages a process as a means of involving participants in communication about their own surroundings and community life.

POPULAR DRAMA AND VIDEO PRODUCTION IN MALAWI
The Country of Malawi

Malawi is a land-locked country in the south-central region of Africa. It is a long narrow country running north to south along the western shore of lake Malawi, the southern most of the three great lakes in Africa's rift valley. Dependant on overland trade routes to seaports, Malawi has suffered economically in the past decade as a result of the prolonged civil war between rightist RENAMO rebel forces and the formerly quasi-Marxist FRELIMO government army in neighboring Mozambique. The conflict has disrupted overland travel by train or road to the nearest harbors forcing overland trade long distances up from South Africa through Zimbabwe and Zambia or down from Tanzania. The added transportation cost and the influx of massive numbers of Mozambique refugees has crippled the economy which relies primarily on the foreign exchange earnings of the country's tobacco and tea crops.

Education in Malawi is fairly typical of most countries in Africa being comprised of primary, secondary and tertiary systems heavily dependant on exam based matriculation. The government supports a University which is composed of

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four constituent colleges; Bunda College of Agriculture; Chancellor College - which offers a Liberal Arts and Science curriculum and is the sole secondary teacher training college as well; The Polytechnic in Blantyre; and Kamuzu College of Nursing - which maintains a number of campuses and training centers around the country. In addition to these there are a number of primary teacher training colleges, a College of Natural Resources, College of Forestry, and the Malawi Institute of Education which is a primary teacher training and curriculum development center. Most of the above institutions have been either built completely or are heavily subsidized through World Bank loans, UNESCO project grants, or through bi-lateral aid programs.

Video in Malawian Education.

Although the nation has no broadcast television system as of this writing, video technology is known through the ubiquitous VCR found in many homes of the well to do and through video cameras and recorders which have been provided to numerous institutions and organizations throughout the country. Video was first brought into the education system in 1974 through a grant from a tobacco industry foundation which has supported a number of education activities since independence in 1965. This early equipment was comprised of portable, black and white, reel to reel video tape recorders, cameras and related cables, monitors and switching gear.

In a period of expansion of the tertiary education system, more sophisticated video technology was added to be housed in a purpose built facility. The generalized rationale for this input at the time was "to improve the quantity and quality of secondary teacher training". The Audio Visual Centre at Chancellor College was completed in 1984 as part of the third IDA education sector credit. A small complement of audio and visual teaching aids were included in the initial equipment package. Far outweighing these however both in cost and quantity are an inventory of video production equipment. The building design is based on commonly accepted TV and video studio specifications. There is little doubt, based on documents from the International Development Association and correspondence between the Estates Development Officer for the University and a UNESCO advisor that what was desired and eventually built at the current site was a video production facility (McCurry, 1991).

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While video was intended and had been used to support particular exercises in the teacher training program, other uses began to emerge. By 1988 video had become a familiar tool in various development activities around the country. Such uses as documenting village community development activities and production of simple training materials for extension work are becoming well known parts of the education and development landscape of Malawi. At the center of much of this activity was the Audio Visual Centre at Chancellor College which offered training to participants from various non-government organizations and housed the equipment necessary for producing professional quality video material.

FAO/UNDP Project MLW/86/020 "Assistance to Forestry Sector - Malawi"

Under a joint agreement signed in 1986 the government of Malawi and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN have worked to strengthen the forestry sector of the nation. Inputs into the sector have included numerous overseas training opportunities for Malawi Department of Forestry officials, custom designed database and management software, computers, a Community Forestry component which exemplifies good community forestry practice through a number of model village projects, and inputs to strengthen the training of the forestry field extension staff. In this latter input, audio visual equipment, including some video gear and two expensive, audio visual equipped Toyota Land Cruisers were donated to the department.

A Video Approach to Forestry Extension

The chief project officer initiated a "media approach" to extension which would involve the development of what came to be viewed by project administrators as a "feature film" on the effects of rapid deforestation which is taking place in Malawi. The project developed a script described in the following brief synopsis:

> A rural farmer, who is also headman of his village, and his family
> are visited by a wealthy uncle from one of the urban areas. The
> uncle persuades the farmer to turn the surrounding woods into quick
> profit to better himself and his family by cutting available forest
> land and selling the trees to him to be re-sold (at even greater
> profit) as fuelwood in the city. Years of this practice results in

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the devastation of available woodlands surrounding the village. When a group of hungry, desperate tree cutters approach one of the remaining "sacred" trees in the village, a retired school teacher is killed as he struggles to protect the tree from the axe. In a state of mourning the villagers seek the advice of an elder who advises the making of a ritual sacrifice to appease the spirits. After this fails, and the village is at the point of starvation, Forestry Department extension agents, having heard of the dilemma, arrive to advise the villagers on proper extension methods to conserve and re-generate their woodlands.

Project officers from the forestry sector approached the Audio Visual Centre at Chancellor College to seek their assistance in the production of the movie, utilizing the video production facilities and student actors and actresses from the college's Fine and Performing Arts department. After initial agreements were reached, rehearsals began and preparation for the field production began.

Selection of the village location.

The village which became the scene of the video production was also one of nine pilot villages in the Community Forestry Project scheme managed under the FAO sector assistance program. The village was chosen primarily due to its nearby location to the college. Although this provided the production crew of a convenient location, there were numerous limitations latent in the location choice. First, the story line of the original script dictated that the village appear desolate after years of destructive cutting of its forests. The village used as a location, as well as Malawi in general, is actuality rather well forested although the rate of cutting and population growth could change that in the next few decades. Secondly, as was learned much later, the village members posed something of a "problem" for project administrators. Some resistance to the project had developed over the practice of payment for productivity involved in the "self-help" portion of the community forest nursery and woodlot. Whatever the reasons, the village was to some degree hostile to the project, cooperating with the production activities mostly out of curiosity and because the project represented a higher authority government to which they had little choice but to cooperate.

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Although the production of the film was conceived as a feature film, shot against the natural backdrop of an African village, the student actors and actress to be involved in the production, and their faculty leader, had from the beginning a somewhat different notion of what their involvement was to be. Students at the college who take drama do so mostly as an elective course. Most of the senior students involved in drama are also part of the Theatre for Development program which trains participants in participatory drama techniques. This program has been highly successful and has been coopted by other aid agencies in the country, particularly in the health sector, both to communicate specific development messages and to train other drama groups using this technique. While a feature film approach would have required professional actors and actresses to memorize, verbatim, the provided script, the production of Mtengo Wa Moyo from the beginning started to take on more characteristics of a popular drama for development approach. This divergent approach resulted in some contradictions in the production process and became evident in the course of the production.

Although there were many, the central contradiction broke forth around the issue of how the story was to end. The provided script indicated a "closed" ending where the extension agents represented in the film were to be the providers of necessary knowledge by which the village members in the story - who by assumption did not have the knowledge - would be able to correct their lamentable situation. This clearly reflected an approach to extension communication which contradicted the participatory approach promoted in the popular drama activities of the college group. Although attempts were made to resolve this issue before the actual production, no final decision was made on the ending until shooting had actually started.

The production of "Mtengo Wa Moyo"

Before the actual recording had started the story was presented to the village headmen in a shortened, "Theatre for Development" format. At this particular event, one of the village members raised an issue about the forestry project. Under the impression that the project would not allow him to cut the trees which he had planted as part of the village woodlot program, the village man directed questions about who controlled the wood towards some project

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officers attending the drama presentation. Such an outburst, usually encouraged by the actors in participatory theatre, was thought to be a confrontational challenge to authority in this context and was quickly quieted by the village headman. This initial presentation revealed some uncertainty about the ending and purpose of the story itself. Agreement over the necessity of conserving woodlands was easy to reach. Resolving issues of control of the woodlands and the pilot village woodlot was not going to be easy.

Preparation for the action to be filmed turned out to be another area which deviated from known video field production techniques for dramatic productions. The students had memorized the basic dialogue and action for each scene to provide a framework for what became largely an improvised performance once on location. The chief project officer and author of the script, who was not fluent in the local language which was being used the film dialogue, was largely unaware of the improvised nature of each scene. The action largely reflected the story line of the original script but included additional, ad lib dialogue. The Malawian student actors and their faculty director maintained that these inclusions were in the interest of "cultural appropriateness", suggesting that the original script was somehow less than appropriate to the intended audience.

In retrospect, what at first appeared to be mis-communication surrounding expectations over how the production was to proceed and what the final product should look like, the entire production process began to resemble a struggle of wills, each with a determined outlook affecting the process. The project director was mainly concerned with the completion of a finished mini-drama. Details of how the finished material was to be used in the extension program were always unclear. The students, long used to a particular technique learned through their Theatre for Development program, had a difficult time adapting to the motions of what one American technical advisor termed "Hollywood goes to Mangochi". The author of this paper, playing the role of production supervisor, was interested in the dynamics of participatory media used in a village location and was continuously frustrated in the role of unwilling negotiator between the forestry project staff and the college video production crew. Reconciling the two camps forced the question about the feasibility of merging participatory drama with more common approaches to video production.

Several examples of what can be only described as *de facto participation* occurred during the production. Initially it was thought that some of the actors would fill dual roles. On reviewing the day's shoot however, it became clear that this would not work. Two of the needed characters in the story, a "wise elder in the village" and a wife to one of the principal characters, were developed into roles to be filled by willing volunteers from the village. The young woman who played the wife's part in one scene did so with remarkable talent and authenticity. An elderly man who volunteered at the request of some village members played the part of a *Gogo* (wizened older person).

In his scene, a group of actors approach to seek his counsel regarding the (fictional) bad times on which the village has fallen after cutting nearby timberlands. The old man proceeds to offer an oral history of the village which points out, among other things, that such drought and bad times (in reality, actual events) had hit the village before. He goes on to tell them about a sacrificial ceremony that they must make if they are to restore good order to the village. The details of the ceremony were incorporated into a new scene which was shot later, again with village "extras" filling in the crowd scenes.

The director of the student group, having himself conducted research into oral history in his country, was amazed at playing back the tape during editing. The information offered by the old man was previously undocumented. The videotaping, intended to capture only a fictional scene for the movie, inadvertently recorded the recollections and cultural knowledge of an older generation in that region of Malawi. Fiction and reality, for that one moment, blurred beyond easy description.

Lessons learned.

The main lesson should be obvious. That there should be absolute clarity at the beginning of such a production as to what type of production process is being employed as well as what the ultimate use of the finished product will be. In this case it was agreed early on that the eventual use of the finished production tape would have a larger role to play in extension communication. The use of the tape appears now to have been less of a concern than its completion as a "showpiece" for project administrators. The quality of the final product

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also reflected both the production process and the limitations inherent in the equipment available and therefore fell short of the expectations surrounding a "feature film". It has been noted elsewhere that participatory media processes often result in productions which have a different quality about them (Stuart, 1988).

If the desired production was to be strictly a dramatic film shot on location in the field then the technical limitations of the available media should have been considered more carefully. Funding for a professional film production company should have been secured before the initiation of the field activities. As a piece of locally produced extension media the video certainly meets requisite technical standards for local re-play on available VHS machines. As a 'feature film' on forestry however, with an expected international audience, the video failed to meet commonly accepted technical standards.

The most positive characteristic of the exercise was the potential in linking popular theater with video production. Theatre for Development offers an appropriate folk media for two-way communication of a wide variety of issues. The process is noted for exciting audiences, animating discussions regarding the themes presented in the drama, and assisting in the formation of village action groups or plans responding to the raised issues. Video media has recently been noted for its ability to stimulate discussion and as a 'cross-transfer' medium, showing village participants at one location what those of another area are thinking and articulating about similar issues and concerns (Stuart, 1988). While Theatre for Development is an immediate process involving a communications event as it happens, video as a *recorded* medium has some degree of permanence. Combining these two approaches opens larger potentials if the essential characteristics of each can be fully utilized.

Had this production been truly 'participatory', along the lines of other such experiences in southern Africa as noted by Tomaselli (1989) and Criticos (1989), the village participants would have played a larger, or at least more integrated role in what are usually termed 'post-production' activities such as editing, titles, distribution etc. Like most development situations however, there were many outstanding circumstances which combine to form the overall

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communication strategy taken towards the production. The involvement of the chosen village, the availability of a video production facility, the terms under which each of these entities would work together, all played integral part in forming the eventual whole of the project.

Certainly there were differing opinions about the role of the media itself in completion of the project. On one side it appeared as a straight-forward film production using the village as a convenient (although remote) backdrop. On the other side there was the use of a student theater group trained in Theatre for Development techniques and a production director with a strong participatory communication bias. As the project was planned from the outset as a straight-forward film production, elements of participation were gradually introduced during the pre- and post-production processes. This meant that the execution of the project itself was coopted by "key players" in attempts to steer the production process in the direction of a participatory community development activity. What transpired produced a final product, the 75 minute video, which reflects some degree of village participation, use of local production facilities and talent, and the struggle to eliminate a "finished" ending to a story.

Conclusion.

Although this is more than just a 'process vs. product' story, this may be the best way to characterize what actually happened as a result of the whole effort. Clearly there were the goals from the beginning of the production that the end product would be a finished 'feature film' on Community Forestry. Cable traffic between Rome and the project office verify this perception. How that product was to be eventually used however remained largely unexplored at the time of pre-planning and after the field production itself. On the other hand the student actors, their faculty director, the college AV crew members, and the FAO audiovisual consultant were interested in the process of launching such a village based production and what its possible effect on communicating forestry issues to the village participants might be. This bias definitely fueled the desire to begin the production. The process, in this latter view, was definitively more interesting to the students and video production crew and necessary in their minds to the creation of a useful *and locally appropriate* final product.

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While the production efforts yielded a 75 minute video drama in the local language, much more was gained in the process of engaging in a village communications project of this nature. The technical aspects of the production proved the efficacy of using the available production facilities and equipment for creating locally produced media. Drama, as a truly indigenous form of expression, is a very appropriate media to use in Malawi for a variety of educational and development messages. Participatory involvement of the village audience in the video production at this level is limited by following standard production techniques, although the members of the "local set" added greatly to the value of the product. This could be seen during viewings of the finished video which occurred about six months later at the village production site. At the production village and at other villages it was often the performances of the true village actors that brought the most animated response from the crowds who came to view the video and discuss the message. For while the video production did not get the local distribution it deserved, it was far better received by the local population, who's taste for reality outweighed their expectations of technical quality.

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Towards a Model of Collaborative Development: Issues and Practice in Malawian Literacy Instructor Training Curriculum Development

by Bonnie B. Mullinix

The following pages contain a model of a process of collaborative development that has been developed over the last 5-6 years and refined and field-tested for the last three years during its use for 5 different purposes in the Southern African country of Malawi. It has been used to develop project proposals, training curricula, resource handbooks, evaluation models and instruments, and other products which benefit from multiple individual inputs and team development strategies. This model is followed by a description of a project that involved application of the model in three separate but related series of workshops designed to develop and support a National Training Curriculum and Support Materials for Functional Literacy Instructors in Malawi.

PHASES AND STEPS IN THE COLLABORATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS	GROUPING AND *SUPPORT* STRATEGIES TRANSITIONAL FOCUS CHECKPOINTS

PHASE ONE: Deciding What is to be Done

This phase may be carried out by pre-established planners or funders, an ad hoc group of interested individuals, or the actual group of individuals who will participate in the collaborative development project (the latter being preferable but occasionally impractical during early stages). Regardless of the composition of the planning group, facilitation of the collaborative development process should begin by helping the group to:

1)	**Identify Goals and Participants for the Collaborative Effort** – Key individuals should meet and design the activity (set initial goals, objectives, time frame, etc.), identify resources/individuals interested/needed.	Large group or small initial planning group
2)	**Plan the Background for the Collaboration** – Decide when, where and how the key portion of the collaborative activity will take place.	Large group or small initial planning group

PHASE TWO: Developing the Idea

Large group

3)	**Get People Together** – Bring everyone identified as part of the team physically together to be oriented to and agree to participate in the project.	*Agreement*
4)	**Generate Initial Topics/Information Relevant to the Task** – Encourage all members of the project team to contribute ideas and topics. Beginning with a brainstorming activity helps members begin to realize how individuals will contribute to the collaborative development of the product.	Large group—small group

5)   **Collectively Organize the Information –**
       Group the information/topics into related   Large group---small group
       clusters or similar categories. Develop
       descriptive titles for each category that
       encompass all topics within the category.

6)   **Create an Overview of the Project** – Use the   small group--individuals
       topics and categories to outline goals
       objectives, general sections of the product   *Commitment*
       or project.

PHASE THREE: Detailing the Product   Transitional Checkpoint –
                                                           Expand Focus – verify

7)   **Upgrade Group Skills** – Provide theoretical
       background, sills and practical guidelines   small group
       to team members where necessary to support   /   \
       their productive and meaningful   individual--large group
       participation in activities new to them
       (planning, writing, evaluating, editing,   *Networking*
       curriculum design, materials development,
       research, etc.)

8)   **Begin to Detail the Project** – Produce an   small group
       outline of the main points using what ever   /   \
       format seems most appropriate (actual   individual--large group
       detailed outline, design summary, primary
       and implementing questions, initial   Transitional Checkpoint –
       sketches, story board, etc.)   Expand Focus – verify

9)   **Create a Detailed First Draft** – Develop the   small group
       detailed version of the actual product   /   \
       (session plans, project proposal,   individual--large group
       research/evaluation instruments and   *Agreement, Commitment,*
       guidelines, detailed drawings and text,   *Networking*
       video, etc.).
                                                           Transitional Checkpoint –
PHASE FOUR: Field-based Testing and Evaluation   Compact Focus – edit

10)   **Develop Guidelines for the Pre-testing of**
       the Product – Identify who should be looking   small group
       for what, when, where and how. Develop   /   \
       simple instruments to be used during the   individual--large group
       pre-testing (evaluation sheets, observation
       forms, questionnaires, reading and comment   Transitional Checkpoint –
       guides, etc.)   Expand Focus – verify

11)   **Field Test of the Product** – Pre-test the
       product. Subject it to the basic field   small group
       conditions it will encounter and observe   /   \
       what happens. Record observations on a   individual--large group
       regular basis.

12)   **Collect and Analyze Results** – Organize and   small group
        analyze the results from the pre-testing   /   \
        activity. Prepare presentation of the   individual––large group
        results in a form and format that is
        informative and easily used to support   Transitional Checkpoint –
        modification.   Compact Focus – analyze

PHASE FIVE: Finalize the Product

13)   **Modify the Product based on the Results of**   small group
        the Pre-Test – Use results from pre-testing   /   \
        as a basis for changing sections of the   (individual)––large group
        product that were ill received or
        ineffective.   Transitional Checkpoint –
                                                         Compact Focus – edit

14)   **Get Group Consensus on Worth of Activity and**
        Quality of the Final Product – Conclude   Large group
        project by reviewing steps taken and product
        produced allowing team members to comment on
        both activity and product.

Grouping Strategies

        For collaborative development to progress productively, there must be a
creative balance between individual, small group and large group activities.
Each grouping strategy is particularly effective at key points in the process,
as shown above. The use of grouping strategies can be best understood in
terms of tasks that are most suited to different group sizes.

Individual – Detailed production tasks: writing drafts, complex idea
Team Member   development or detailing.

Small Group – Networking and General Production Tasks: generating general
/Sub Team   ideas, sharing information, keeping
                                          individuals on track and simple
                                          writing.

Large Group – Consensus and Approval Tasks: generating main themes, checking
/Team   that individual and small group work
                                          is correct and complete.

Supporting Collaboration

        As indicated in the model shown above, at key points throughout the
process, the following activities should be carried out to support
collaboration among team members.

   ◆   Agreement – Get agreement from participants as to how steps in the
        process will proceed; although basic assumptions and goals should be
        clear from the start, the details of how the collaborative development
        will be carried out should as well be a collective process (large group
        provides agreement).

♦   Commitment – Get specific commitment for individual contributions at key
     points (individual makes commitment to large group).

♦   Networking – Network individuals to encourage collective development of
     sections, ideas, etc. (facilitated through formation of small groups and
     development of individual skills/knowledge/interest networking charts).

Transitional Focus Checkpoints

At key points throughout the process there is often a need to either
expand or compress the input in to the product. Periodically, at these
transitional checkpoints, input should be either expanded beyond the basic
development team or narrowed to a single team member or small sub team.

Expanded Focus –   However wide the representation on the project team, it is
                   important to have individuals who are knowledgeable of the
                   content and issues but are outside the process review what
                   has been done.

Compacted Focus – If a written product is a goal of the process, then it is
                   important for an editor or small editing sub team to review
                   and edit the writing of the team to ensure consistency in
                   style and clarity in presentation.

Key Tasks and Roles of the Facilitator(s)

The facilitator will most likely be an active participant in the
development of the desired product and may actually contribute content and
individual work along with other participants. In general, however, the
facilitator's role is to organize the collaborative development activities so
that the group can work together in the most productive manner. They should
be responsible, at a minimum for performing the following tasks:

Task	Question Answered
Providing an Organizing Framework (The Model)	How will we reach our goal?
Providing Basic Information (Training/Technical Assistance)	What information do we need in order to complete the task at hand?
Organizing Communication Channels (Collaborative Networking)	How will we work together to exchange information and reduce redundancy as we produce our product?

Collaborative Development of Training Curricula and Handbooks for Malawian Functional Literacy Instructors

The model described above was implemented three times during 1990-1991 working
with teams from the Malawi Government Ministry of Community Services to
develop training programs, support and materials for Functional Literacy
Instructors throughout the country. Two of the products were developed in an

overlapping and integrated series of workshops to support the collaboration
between teams that would allow the materials to be complementary and
integrated in design and content. The following pages describe the products
and processes that were used in this collaborative development activity.

The end result of 10-12 workshops and 22 phases of project activity over a
period of 16 months were three major publications to be used in the
preparation for and training of Functional Literacy Instructors on a National
level. These books, printed at the Malawi Ministry of Community Services'
National Centre for Literacy and Adult Education in early 1991, include:

1.   *Training Manual for Trainers of Functional Literacy Instructors* - a
        detailed guide for use by trainers of Functional Literacy Instructors
        containing 11 content areas and 36 session plans, an introduction to the
        Functional Literacy Instructor National (FLIN) Training Curriculum and
        an Appendix with reference notes for the trainers. The comprehensive
        session plans provide titles, times, purposes and objectives, details
        regarding techniques and content as well as attachments for use during
        the training course. This book is designed to be used in conjunction
        with the Instructors Handbook (*Uphunzitsi M'Sukulu Zakwacna*) which
        contains all handouts and relevant materials needed by instructors
        during the course of the training (182 pages, text in English - designed
        to be implemented in Chichewa).

2.   *Uphunzitsi M'Sukulu Zakwacha: Buku Lothandiza Mphunzitsi wa Sukulu
        Zakwacha (Teaching in the Functional Literacy Programme: an
        Instructor's Handbook)* - a comprehensive illustrated handbook for use by
        Functional Literacy Instructors during their 2 week training orientation
        and as a field guide when they return to their village. This handbook
        is broken into 13 chapters with sections corresponding to particular
        portions of the *Training Manual* (100 pages, text in Chichewa).

3.   *Training of Trainer's Guide* - a guide for use by master trainers when
        orienting trainer/supervisors to the FLINT Curriculum (*Training Manual
        and Instructor's Handbook*). This guide contains 11 content areas and 26
        session plans with detailed descriptions of how each session should be
        presented over the two-week Training of Trainer's course. The guide was
        designed to support a training which modeled nonformal training
        techniques used in the *Training Manual*, provided skills and information
        needed by any trainer, and familiarized trainers with each and every
        session of the *Training Manual*. This guide was designed to be used with
        both the *Training Manual* and *Instructor's Handbook* (143 pages, text in
        English - designed to be implemented in English and Chichewa).

Background on the Process

The Training Manual was developed to help improve the training of Functional
Literacy Instructors throughout Malawi. It was designed, developed, pre-
tested and modified over a period of 9 months from March - November 1990 as a
special project and part a cooperative agreement between the Ministry of
Community Services and the German Foundation for International Development.
Building on the original Course Outline for the Training of Instructors and
nine years of experience training literacy instructors, a project team of 16

people worked to develop a detailed training curriculum and handbook for functional literacy instructors. This team, drawn from all levels of the Ministry and all parts of the country, participated in a series of eight workshops during which they collaboratively outlined, designed, wrote and modified the training curriculum and handbook. Primary responsibility for the development of the Training Manual fell to 11 individuals who formed the core of the curriculum team, the team responsible for writing the Instructor Handbook designed to accompany the Training Manual consisted of 4-6 individuals, and the Training of Trainers team of 6 was pulled selected from both teams based on demonstrated training expertise, regional representation and knowledge of the existing materials.

The *Training Manual* and *Instructors Handbook* were designed, developed, pre-tested and modified over a period of 9 months from March to November, 1990. Because of knowledge of the process and acquired writing and curriculum development skills, the development of the *Training of Trainer's Guide* and support materials was completed in 2 workshops within a period of 10 weeks. The overall development process used consisted of the following phases:

Phases of Collaborative Development of Functional Literacy Instructor Materials

Instructor Curriculum development phases have a coded prefix of "C". the handbook development phases use "H" as their prefix code, and the Training of Trainer's Curriculum development phases can be identified by the prefix "TC".

The overall development process used consisted of the phases indicated. Within each phase there was a key activity (*.1 – generally a step(s) in the model) that involved a gathering of all team members for collective work usually in the form of workshops or pre-testing/implementation of the curricula and at least one follow-up activity (*.2 – a transitional checkpoint in the model) that involved individual work on the part of all or some of the team.

C(H)-1.   Planning and Outlining the Curriculum

C(H)-1.1   Curriculum Planning Meeting   (3 days)   26-28 March
Both teams (curriculum and handbook) met for a period of three days. During this time they reviewed the existing curricular outline, brainstormed new topic areas, grouped and ordered topics into content areas, estimated time of the proposed training, allocated approximate training times to various content areas, proposed specific session titles, and developed an overall description of the training course (synopsis of goals, objectives, content, etc.). Topics that were not given sufficient priority to be included in the training curriculum (due to lack of training time) received recommendations as to importance for inclusion in the Instructor Handbook. Team members also developed guidelines for conducting an informal training needs assessment with and collecting feedback on the initial description of the proposed training course from colleagues, instructors and learners.

C(H)-1.2   Informal Needs Assessment   April
            Curriculum Team members spent approximately 4 weeks collecting
            information on training needs from colleagues, instructors and
            learners. They used the information to develop recommendations
            for affirmation or adaptation of the curriculum as outlined in the
            initial planning meeting. They also collected relevant reference
            materials on the topics identified in the draft outline.

C-2. Designing and Drafting the Curriculum

C-2.1   Curriculum Design Workshop   (5-6 days)   30 April- 5 May
            The curriculum team reviewed findings from the field and modified
            content areas, topics, session plan titles and overall description
            based on these field findings. Team members received orientation
            to a variety of Nonformal Training Techniques and basic session
            plan format and content, identified goals, objectives and authors
            for individual session plans, and discussed and outlined sample
            session plans utilizing a variety of techniques.

C-2.2   Individual preparation period   May
            Team members developed draft versions of the session plans they
            were responsible for, making attempts to try out certain sessions
            and determine how well they might work and how long each might
            take. They also collected any information that might aid them in
            the development of session detail (including lecturette notes),
            handouts and other training materials during the next workshop.

H-2. Designing the Handbooks

H-2.1   First Writer's Workshop   (4 days)   5-9 May
            The Handbook Team met to review the general design of the
            curriculum (as laid out in the C-2.1 curriculum design workshop)
            and developed a detailed outline of the handbook for instructors
            and a general outline of the handbook for supervisor/trainers.
            Individual team members took responsibility for handbook topics
            and sections to research, write and organize.

H-2.2   Individual Writing Period   May
            Writers worked individually to draft sections of the handbook and
            collect any material that they needed for their sections.

C-3. Writing the Curriculum

C-3.1   Curriculum Writing Workshop   (10 days)   11-22 June
            Curriculum Team finalized training curriculum goals and
            objectives, reviewed draft session plans, worked in small groups
            to modify session plans to ensure the use of a variety of
            techniques, develop a training schedule, prepared all handouts,
            trainer's notes and training materials needed, and planned for the
            pre-testing of the curriculum.

C-3.2   Preparation/Duplication of Draft Curriculum   June-July
             Coordinator reviewed and edited the curriculum (*Training Manual*
             for consistency. Ministry duplicated sufficient copies of draft
             version for field testing.

H-3 Writing the Instructor's Handbook

H-3.1   Second Writer's Workshop   (7-11 days)   18-30 June
             This workshop focussed on producing a draft version of the
             Instructor's Handbook that could be used during the pre-testing of
             the training curriculum. This workshop overlapped the Curriculum
             Writing Workshop by one week (as requested by participants) to
             allow both teams to meet and share materials and information.
             Thus, handbook team members received and reviewed handouts
             developed in the C-3.1 curriculum writing workshop and met with
             appropriate curriculum team members to determine how these might
             best be integrated into the *Instructor's Handbook*. Team members
             completed their detailed English outlines and drafted initial
             Chichewa versions of chapters for pre-testing. They also
             developed suggestions for contents of a general evaluation
             instrument, cover letter and general review sampling strategy for
             evaluation of the first draft of the *Handbook*.

H-3.2   Pre-testing and Evaluation of Draft Handbook   July-August
             Copies of the draft *Instructor's Handbook* were produced and
             circulated for reading, comment and review by appropriate
             individuals throughout the country. Team members collect comments
             and evaluation results for use in modification of the draft.

C(H)-4. Testing the Curriculum and Handbook

C(H)-4.1   Pretesting the Curriculum and Handbook   (2 weeks)   6-17 August
             Team members implemented the training curriculum in actual
             training situations. 3 Regional courses were held that
             incorporated representative instructor-participants from each
             district of the country. Project team members (from both teams)
             were divided into 3 regional sub-teams and implemented and pre-
             tested the *Manual* and *Handbook* in Karonga (N), Lilongwe (C) and
             Limbe (S). During the pre-testing trainers met each day to
             discuss and modify the session plans implemented and comment on
             usefulness/appropriateness of instructor handbook within the
             training context.

C-5. Modification and Revision of the Curriculum

C-5.1   Curriculum Finalization Workshop   (8 days)   10-19 September
             Project Team members reviewed the feedback and evaluation
             information gathered during the pre-testing of the Curriculum,
             modified the training schedule, session plans, and other aspects
             of the curriculum as needed; drafted guidelines for use of
             curriculum and reviewed and modified the proposed Training of

Trainers curriculum.

C-5.2   Editing of the Curriculum   October-November
Coordinator edited Curriculum based on recommendations made during
the Curriculum Finalization Workshop in preparation for the Final
Review Workshop.

H-5   Modifying and Finalizing the Instructor Handbook

H-5.1   Third Writer's Workshop   (10 days)   1-12 October
Handbook Team members worked together to review evaluation
results, edit, rewrite and modify the *Instructor's Handbook*.

H-5.2   Editing of Instructor's Handbook   November
The Instructor's Handbook was organized by the coordinator and
edited by the Chichewa editor and copies were duplicated in
preparation for the Final Review Workshop.

C-6. Final Review and Acceptance of Curriculum and Handbook

C-6.1   Final Review Workshop   (5 days)   19-23 November
Ministry personnel join Project Team to review final draft of FLIN
Training curriculum/Trainer's Manual and Instructor's Handbook and
propose final adjustments on content.

C-6.2   Final Editing and Printing of the Training Manual   December 1990
and Instructor's Handbook- March 1991
Coordinator (with assistance) finalizes editing of Training Manual
(curriculum) and Instructor's Handbook based on input from Final
Review Workshop and prepares final copies for printing.

C-6.3   Outline of Training of Trainers Curriculum   December 1990
                                                                    - January 1991
Coordinator drafted an outline for a Training of Trainers
(including goals, objectives, session topics and training
schedule) based on input from Project Team.

TC-7 Training of Trainers to Implement the Curriculum - Preparation

TC-7.1   Training of Trainers Curriculum Preparation Workshop
                          (8 days)   January 9-18, 1991
Training Team members (a subteam chosen from the curriculum and
handbook teams based on their training expertise) reviewed the
outline of the Training of Trainers Course and designed basic
sessions to cover in two-weeks the training skills needed by
trainers of Instructors and how to use the *Training Manual* to
train Functional Literacy Instructors. Also, the team produced
all necessary support materials needed for the training.

TC-7.2   Printing of Training of Trainer Curriculum   January, 1991
Draft version of the ToT Curriculum was prepared for use during
the first regional ToT workshop.

TC-8   Pre-Testing and Implementing the Training of Trainers Curriculum

TC-8.1   Regional Training of Trainers Workshops   February–June 1991
           Training Team members met for three days to review, adjust and
           plan for the implementation of the two-week Training of Trainers
           course at regional levels to orient district level training teams
           (5 per district including District Literacy Coordinators,
           CDA/Literacy Supervisors) to the *Training Manual, Instructor's
           Handbook* and the training skills they need to effectively
           implement the curriculum as designed. The first Central Region
           ToT course served as a practical field-based pretesting of the
           curriculum and during this time the training team met each evening
           to review the day's activities and comment on individual
           performance as trainers and modifications needed in session
           design. The coordinator assisted trainers in recognizing,
           discussing and improving their training styles and approaches.
           Following this first ToT course, all remaining courses were left
           in the hands of the Training Team to carry out according to the
           design and the schedule below (note: the project Coordinator
           discontinued participation following this first ToT course).
           1. 1st Central Region ToT course   February 18 – March 1
                (pre-test, field implementation)
           2. 1st Southern Region ToT course   March 25 – April 5
           3. Northern Region ToT course   April 15 – 26
           4. 2nd Southern Region ToT course   May 20 – 31
           5. 2nd Central Region ToT course   June 17 – 28

TC-8.2   Modification and Finalization of   February–March 1991
           Training of Trainers Curriculum
           Coordinator and Training team met for 2–3 days immediately
           following the first ToT workshop to complete review and
           modification of the ToT Curriculum and Trainers Reference
           Handbook. Coordinator produced final versions based on this
           input.

From Theoretical Model to Practical Application

By matching the descriptions of the workshops and activities above with the
model presented at the beginning of this paper it should be possible to see
how the same model changed implementation format when applied to different,
yet related, challenges. This not only indicates the application flexibility
of the model, but also highlights the fact each context, product and group of
constraints will affect the form its application should take. Whether the
task is completed within a few weeks or requires several months will depend on
factors ranging from the familiarity of participants with relevant content and
process to the trust and power interactions of participant team members. In
the end, the effectiveness of this model as a process mechanism for
collaborative development activities is inextricably linked to the ability of
the facilitator(s) to design appropriate implementation strategies based on
the model and informed by contextual factors.

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND LANGUAGE POLICY
IN SOUTH AFRICA:
ISSUES OF EQUITY AND EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

Timothy G. Reagan
Department of Educational Leadership
The University of Connecticut

> As literacy increases, ideas subversive
> of state authority may reach wider
> audiences. As education becomes a
> social right . . . the choice of the
> language(s) in which such instruction
> may occur become politically charged.
>
> — Michael Hechter

As Hechter (1975: 165) suggests, language policies tend, by their
nature, to be politically and ideologically controversial. This is
especially true in the case of contemporary South Africa, where government
polcies of apartheid have not only influenced the development of specific
language policies, but have actually established the parameters within
which discussions of language issues take place.

Supporters of existing language policies in South Africa tend to
share the underlying assumptions about language, culture and race of the
Afrikaner establishment, as well as its concern with "group" rights.
Critics of existing language policies generally reject these same
assumptions, often positing in their place class-based models of cultural
and linguistic difference, and stressing individual rather than group
rights. In short, it has become increasingly difficult to sort out
positions on specific language policies in South African society without
recognizing the sociopolitical context in which they occur. This is, to

an extent, a very valuable development, since a thorough understanding of
any social policy requires that we have contextualized the policy.
However, where the discussion of policy is allowed to become primarily a
political and ideological discussion, we risk serious distortions in our
understanding of the policy. As Kloss noted a decade ago in his study of
language policy in South Africa:

> Approval or disapproval of a nation's racial, religious or
> socioeconomic attitudes and policies must not, in the minds of
> sober men, be confounded with its achievements in the realm of
> language policy. (Kloss, 1978: 10)

In my presentation today, I will provide an examination of
contemporary language policies in the educational sphere in South African
society, keeping Kloss' observation in mind. This examination will begin
with an overview of the contemporary linguistic situation in South Africa
generally, followed by a brief discussion of the historical development of
educational language policies in both white and black education in the
country. I will then turn to a discussion and analysis of current
language policies and proposals for new language policies in South Africa
that relate to education.

The Language Situation in Contemporary South Africa: An Overview

South Africa is, by western standards if not by African ones, a very
diverse society in many ways, and this diversity is nowhere manifested
more clearly than in the case of language. In addition to the country's
two official languages (Afrikaans and English), eleven indigenous
languages, five Indian languages, and a unique variety of other "imported"

languages are spoken. Figures 1 and 2 present some indication of the extent of this diversity, at least insofar as the relative dominance of various home languages in the country is concerned. This picture is further complicated by the presence of a number of koine languages used in the black townships, the continued use of Fanakalo in the mines, and the existence of a number of distinct natural sign languages used by different groups of deaf people. Although it is not possible to provide a complete survey of the linguistic situation in contemporary South Africa here, it is appropriate for this diversity to be briefly discussed at this point.

Afrikaans and English are the two official languages of the Republic of South Africa, and are constitutionally guaranteed equality of treatment in the country. Afrikaans, a Germanic language derived largely from Dutch,[1] is the native language of some 2.6 million whites. It is also the native language of more than 2.3 million so-called "Coloured" South Africans,[2] though the Afrikaans that is generally spoken by members of this group is quite distinct from Standard Afrikaans (Esterhuyse, 1986). English is spoken as a first language by some 2.6 million people, the overwhelming majority of whom are whites. Both languages are widely understood and spoken as second languages throughout South Africa, and there is a remarkably high degree of bilingualism in the two official languages among educated South Africans. The relationship between the two official languages appears to be that Afrikaans is far more established as a home language in South Africa, while English is important as a second, socially, economically and internationally useful language (Kloss, 1978).

It is important to note here that the affective, or attitudinal,
status of the two official languages, especially among the black
population, differs significantly. While Afrikaans is commonly referred
to as the "language of the oppressor," and is closely identified with the
Afrikaner establishment and the detested policies of apartheid (as the
1976 Soweto uprising made clear), English is generally seen as the
"language of liberation." Despite this characterization of the two
languages, however, it is important to stress that both views have been
under increasing attack in recent years as far too simplistic (Reagan,
1986a). For example, many so-called "Coloured" writers and acadmeics
(especially at the University of the Western Cape) have been attempting to
reclaim Afrikaans as an anti-establishment language (Smith et al., 1985),
and the noted author Andre Brink has called for the development of an
Afrikaans "literature of dissent" (Brink, 1984). Similarly, some writers
have challenged the perceived primacy of English in the liberation
struggle. As Njabulo Ndebele has noted,

> Basically, I think that we cannot afford to be uncritically
> complacent about the role and future of English in South Africa,
> for there are many reasons why it cannot be considered an
> innocent langauge. The problems of society will also be the
> problems of the predominant language of the society, since it is
> the carrier of a range of social perceptions, attitudes and
> goals. Through it, the speakers absorb entrenched attitudes.
> In this regard, the guilt of English then must be recognized and
> appreciated before its continued use can be advocated.
> (Ndebele, 1987: 11)

In addition to the two official langauges, there are some eleven
different African languages spoken in South Africa, subdivided

linguistically into four groups. The Nguni group, which is the largest single language group in South Africa, includes Zulu, Xhosa, Northern and Southern Ndebele, and Swazi. Altogether, well in excess of ten million people in South Africa speak a Nguni language, and the percentage of the total population of South Africa that speak a Nguni language as their first language is increasing. In fact, Zulu and Xhosa are, after Swahili, the two largest languages in terms of number of speakers in subequatorial Africa (see Alexander, 1972: 15; Schuring, 1982: 17-18). Both Zulu and Xhosa are reasonably developed literary languages, and all of the Nguni languages, except Northern Ndebele, are codified (see Schuring, 1982) -- though Swazi was codified only in 1975, and an orthography for Southern Ndebele was not introduced until 1982 (Educamus, 1982; Schuring, 1982: 17). Zulu is spoken in KwaZulu, Natal, southeastern Transvaal, and in most of the urban centers of the Transvaal, as well as functioning as something of a _lingua franca_ in many parts of the country as a result of the dispersion of migrant laborers (van Wyk, 1978: 33). Xhosa is used in Transkei, Ciskei, and parts of eastern Cape Province, as well as in the larger towns and cities of Cape Province. Speakers of Southern Ndebele are found primarily in KwaNdebele, while speakers of Northern Ndebele are concentrated in Lebowa, Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele.

The Sotho languages include Tswana, Northern Sotho (Pedi) and Southern Sotho (van Wyk, 1966: 21-25). Alexander (1972: 4-15) estimated that of the 52 African languages with more than one million seakers, Sotho speakers constituted the eighth largest group. In southern Africa,

somewhere in excess of five and half million persons speak a Sotho language natively. All three Sotho languages have established written norms, and all are in the process of developing literary traditions. Tswana is spoken in Bophuthatswana, western Transvaal, the northeastern part of Cape Province, and in parts of the Orange Free State. Southern Sotho is used in Qwaqwa, the Orange Free State, southern Transvaal, and parts of both Natal and Transkei. It is also, of course, spoken in Lesotho. Northern Sotho (Pedi) is spoken primarily in the northern and northeastern Transvaal.

Tsonga is a member of the southeastern group of Bantu languages, and is related to a number of dialects spoken in Mozambique (see Schuring, 1982; van Wyk, 1978). It is spoken by nearly 900,000 in South Africa, and its speakers are concentrated in Gazankulu and parts of northern and eastern Transvaal. Last, Venda is found primarily in Venda itself, and in the neighboring parts of the northern Transvaal. It is spoken by some 170,000 people in the Republic of South Africa, and by an additional 370,000 in Venda. Of the eleven African languages discussed thus far, all but Northern Ndebele are used in educational settings and in the media in the Republic of South Africa, and thus may be said to have semi-official status in the country.

It is important to note that while there are very significant linguistic differences between the various African languages spoken in southern Africa, these differences are not necessarily those which are reflected in the various orthographies used to represent the languages.

The orthographic systems used to codify the various African languages, in some cases dating back to the nineteenth century missionaries in southern Africa, are in many ways highly problematic. It is not unusual for similar linguistic features in closely related languages to be obscured by radically different written forms — a situation which serves to maintain ethnic boundaries and to re-emphasize tribal divisions. This kind of forced linguistic differentiation takes place even within single languages in some instances, reflecting the fragmented political situation in Southern Africa (see Esterhuyse, 1974). It is interesting to note in this regard that some scholars have advocated the "harmonization" of closely related African languages into single standardized languages. Dalby, for instance, has suggested that the unification of Sotho/Tswana and Nguni might be a step toward the de-emphasis of apartheid (see Prinsloo and Malan, 1988: 259), and Alexander's (1989) recent work appears to offer similar suggestions, as we shall see.

Knowledge of one or more additional African languages is very common in the black community, with many South African blacks speaking not only their own native language, English and Afrikaans, but also speaking additional African languages. However, despite recently introduced mandatory school instruction, competence in an African language on the part of whites and Indians appears to be fairly uncommon (Lanham, 1978; von Staden, 1976). Further, Lanham's (1978) claim to the contrary notwithstanding, this also appears to be the case for the so-called "Coloured" community, in which well over 90% of the population do not report knowing any African language.

As indicated above, there are also a number of immigrant languages currently in use in South Africa, including: Tamil, Hindi, Telegu, Gudjarati, and Urdu in the Indian community; Chinese; and a variety of languages used by European immigrant groups, including Dutch, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese and French, among others. Although not used as native languages in South Africa, both Arabic and Hebrew are also used in specific religious contexts.

Schuring (1983, 1984, 1985) has shown that in the black townships there have also emerged, as a result of on-going cultural and linguistic contact, distinct _koine_ languages, such as Pretoria Sotho. Such _koine_ languages are characterized by the following features:

1. they are colloquial languages;

2. they are dynamic, expanding languages;

3. they are mixed languages, consisting of a base language to which familiar elements from other languages are added;

4. they may (but need not) have regional variations;

5. they function as _lingua francas_;

6. they are cosmopolitan languages (that is, they are used in urban settings in which there is a high degree of inter-ethnic contact and marriage); and

7. they are autonomous popular languages with lower social status than that of the related standard languages. (Schuring, 1984: 133-144)

The existence of such _koine_ languages is significant not only for linguistic reasons, but for social, political and educational ones as well, as Schuring himself notes:

An important corollary of the findings in this study is that a
koine speaking cosmopolitan community cannot be regarded as a
loose grouping of various ethnic groups. This has implications
for the policy of ethnic zoning and for the political
dispensation regarding black urban communities. Further
implications relate to issues such as the study of language
change, black language instruction and Bible translation.
(Schuring, 1985: xi)

Fanakalo, perhaps the "industrial pidgin" par excellence (Gilbert,

1979), continues to function in the mining industry as a lingua franca

between blacks and whites, and among blacks from different language groups

(see Hanekom, 1988; Ngcongwane, 1983; Wilkes, 1968). Of its origin,

little is known for certain. Cole (1953a, 1953b) has argued that Fanakalo

emerged as a result of contact between the Zulus and Indians in Natal —

an argument supported by the fact that one of the names by which Fanakalo

is sometimes identified ("Isikula") means "Coolie language" in Zulu.

Duncan (1954), however, has attempted to refute this analysis on

historical grounds, noting that there is evidence to suggest that Fanakalo

was in existence considerably before the arrival of the Indians in Natal.

In any event, it is clear that Fanakalo was well established in Natal by

the 1860s, and that the Indians played an important role in its

dispersion, if not in its actual creation (see Heine, 1970: 49). Despite

its limited utility, Fanakalo is widely disliked by blacks for

understandable reasons, and its long-term prospects for survival are not

good.

Last, recent research efforts have indicated that there may be a

number of distinct natural sign languages used by the different deaf

communities in South Africa (Human Sciences Research Council, 1983; Penn and Reagan, 1990; Penn et al., 1991; Reagan, 1986b). Such languages appear to share many characteristics with other natural sign languages, including British Sign Language, Irish Sign Language, and American Sign Language, among others, while at the same time possessing a number of unique features. One interesting aspect of the sign language diversity present in South Africa is that while both ethnicity and geography play important roles in the choice of sign language utilized by a given deaf community, significant overlaps from one ethinic and racial group to another do seem to occur.

In short, South Africa is linguistically, as well as in many other ways, a highly complex society, in which language, ethnicity, race and ideology interact in interesting and unique ways. With our overview of the South African linguistic situation completed, we can now turn to an analysis of the historical development of language policies in South African education.

The Historical Development of the "Language Question" in South African Education

The taalstryd, or "language struggle," has been a central point of disagreement and debate throughout the history of South African education (see, for example, Malherbe, 1977; Nel, 1959: 13-32; Potgieter and Swanepoel, 1968: 98-109). In contemporary South Africa, the language medium question has been most controversial in black education, where the government's policy of initial mother tongue instruction has been widely

denounced as an attempt to retribalize black South Africans (Bunting, 1986; Dunja-Blajberg, 1980; Hirson, 1981; Troup, 1976: 34-35). An adequate understanding and analysis of contemporary language policies in South African education, however, requires a familiarity with and sensitivity to the historical "language struggle" which took place in the white community of South Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, since that struggle has deeply influenced both white perceptions and government policy with regard to language policies in education.

Originally a Dutch possession under the control of the Dutch East India Company, the Cape gradually came under British control in the early years of the nineteenth century. The objective of the British was to turn the colony into a British colony in spirit as well as in law (Davenport, 1978: 31), and an important element of this transformation was to be the anglicization of the Boers, the colony's Dutch-speaking inhabitants. As early as 1809, General Collin had advised, "Import English teachers and the next generation will be Englishmen," and by 1814 efforts were already underway to encourage the teaching of English by offering higher pay to teachers who spoke the language. The British policy of anglicization was most closely associated with Lord Charles Somerset (Cilliers, 1953; Malherbe, 1975: 56-58). Somerset, though, was merely carrying out a policy that had widespread support in Britain. As the South African historian George Theal commented in his Progress of South Africa,

> They [the Boers] were only a little over thirty thousand in
> number, and it seemed [to the British] absurd that such a small
> body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and
> customs that were not English in a country that had become part
> of the British Empire.

Taken as a whole, however, British efforts to anglicize the Boers
were not especially successful. Rather, the policy resulted in the
further alienation of the vast majority of the white population from the
government, and provided more tinder for the growing antagonism toward the
British among the Boers (Malherbe, 1975: 69). This antagonism, which
would ultimately lead to the "Great Trek" and later to the two Anglo-Boer
wars, was further complicated by the emergence in the latter part of the
nineteenth century of a growing nationalist movement among the Afrikaners
(as the Boers had come to be known), closely associated with and tied to
the movement for the recognition of Afrikaans. The recognition of
Afrikaans as a language distinct from Dutch was relatively late in coming,
since the "kitchen Dutch" of the Boers had been noticeably different from
High Dutch through much of the colony's history (Combrink, 1978: 69-95;
Botha, 1983: 213-237). Once begun, however, the movement for the
recognition and support of Afrikaans rapidly came to be a central feature
of emergent Afrikaner nationalism (Moodie, 1975: 39-51). Afrikaans was
seen as a divinely inspired gift, as the Afrikaner Bond leader S. J. du
Toit emphasized when he suggested that, "God gave us the Afrikaans
language" -- a view quite in accord with the common belief that the
Afrikaners were a new Chosen People, the "Elect of God" (Templin, 1984:

243-247). It was contrasted to and compared with English, the language of
the British overloads, and, needless to say, English did not fare well in
the comparison. M. T. Steyn, President of the Orange Free State,
dismissed English by recalling to mind Tacitus' concern with language
imposition:

> Die taal van die verowcraar in die mond van die verowerde is die
> taal van slawe [The languate of the conqueror in the mouth of
> the conquered is the language of slaves]. (Quoted in Steyn,
> n.d.,: i)

The Afrikaans language movement has been well-documented elsewhere
(see Boshoff, 1921; Botha, 1945; du Plessis, 1986; Jordaan, 1974; Steyn,
1980, 1987; Valkoff, 1971), and so we will concentrate only on its
educational aspects and implications here.

At the forefront of the Afrikaans language movement was the push for
mother tongue instruction for Afrikaans-speaking children (Botha, 1945;
Potgieter and Swanepoel, 1968). Up to this time, Afrikaner children had
been presented with at best a choice between two "semi-opaque" media,
English and High Dutch, neither of which was in any meaningful sense
native to them (Malherbe, 1977: 12). As Afrikaans increasingly came to be
accepted as a distinct language in its own right, calls for its use as an
educational medium increased, though it was not until some four years
after the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 that formal
efforts were made to employ Afrikaans as an educational medium (see Kroes,
1978: 169-186).

The toleration of the use of Afrikaans as an educational medium was
not the end of the language struggle undertaken by the Afrikaner
nationalists, however. During the years between the Act of Union and the
electoral victory of the National Party in 1948, the debate in South
Africa was fundamentally one of monolingual versus bilingual schooling.
At issue were two pedagogical concerns: first, whether Afrikaans and
English-speaking children were to be integrated in the school, and second,
whether both official languages were to be used as educational media for
every child (Malherbe, 1946: 37-38). Beginning in the 1920s, Afrikaner
nationalists brought increasing pressure for the segregation of Afrikaner
and English children into separate, monolingual schools. Their efforts
were supported by both the powerful Dutch Reformed Church and the
Afrikaner Broederbond, a semi-secret organization devoted to Afrikaner
political, economic and cultural ascendancy in South African society (de
Villiers, 1971: 365-423; Moodie, 1975: 96-115; O'Meara, 1983: 73-77,
245). One finds, for example, a Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church
writing in Die Kerkbode (5 March 1941) that:

> There are indications that our Church must get ready to fight
> again for the preservation of our separate schools and thereby
> to assure the continued existence of our Church. It is the firm
> policy of the Church, strongly reiterated at our last Synod,
> that our children must be educated in separate schools with
> Afrikaans as medium...not only the salvation of our volk but the
> preservation of our Church depends in large measure on separate
> schools.

Such a view was shared by Dr. P. J. Meyer, a leader of the Broederbond and
later the head of the state-run South African Broadcasting Corporation,

who extended the critique of dual-medium instruction even to its effects
on morality:

> ...all researchers in this field are agreed that bilingual
> children show backwardness in development as compared with
> monolingual children . . . bilingualism leads to moral
> relativism which reaches right into the religious life of the
> individual. It is definitely certain that Godlessness is more
> prevalent among bilingual people than among monolinguals.
> (Meyer, 1945: 41, 43)

In the political arena, the Afrikaner nationalists were represented
by the National Party, while those favoring dual-medium schooling
identified with the United Party. The 1943 elections in South Africa were
fought largely on the language medium question (Malherbe, 1977: 82), and
proved to be a temporary setback for the Afrikaner nationalists. The
electoral defeat, however, only served to increase tensions and the
propaganda war against dual-medium schools soon gained momentum (Malherbe,
1977: 82-92). With the National Party's victory in 1948, separate medium
schools, as one component of "Christian National Education" (Behr, 1984;
see also Morrow, 1984a, 1984b), became not merely one of a number of
competing alternatives, but rather the strongest of the options, and
indeed, the ideal favored by the state.

Following the 1948 election, there has been a decline in the use of
dual-medium schooling in South Africa, and such schooling can be said to
have ended completely with the passage of the National Educational Policy
Act of 1967 and the implementation of relevant parts of the Act with
Proclamation E309 on 16 May 1969 (Human Sciences Research Council, 1981:

37). The Act, which ordered that "the mother tongue . . . be the medium of instruction," was actually the culmination of a series of related legislative efforts undertaken by the National Party during its first two decades in power. For example, as early as 1949 a language ordinance had been promulgated which made mother tongue instruction through Standard VIII (the tenth year of schooling) mandatory (Behr, 1984: 24). This had been followed by the Consolidated Education Ordinance of 1953, which had in effect eliminated parallel-medium schooling in South Africa (Behr, 1984). In short, what had been accomplished was the segregation of Afrikaans and English-speaking whitesin South Africa, largely as a way of ensuring the maintenance of the Afrikaans language and culture.[3]

The "language struggle" in white education in South Africa is now largely settled, at least for the immediate future, with the Afrikaner nationalists emerging as the victors, as English and Afrikaans-speakers attend their own-medium schools throughout their educations. Language remains a highly controversial issue in black education, however (Bunting, 1986; Dunja-Blajberg, 1980; Hirson, 1981; Reagan, 1984, 1986a, 1986c). Somewhat ironically, it has been the Afrikaner government which has supported mother tongue schooling for blacks, while blacks themselves have, for the most part, opposed such schooling. It is this irony that provides a key to understanding the current debate on language policy in black education. The government has consistently favored mother tongue schooling for blacks (and, in fact, for almost all children in the country), but for arguably quite different reasons than those used to

defend mother tongue instruction for white children. It is clear that
mother tongue programs for blacks are not only consistent with the
"ideology of apartheid," but that they function as one of the pillars of
apartheid in perpetuating both racial and ethnolinguistic divisions in
modern South African society (see Reagan, 1987).

Mother tongue schooling for blacks has been employed from the passage
of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 to the present to support
Verwoerdian-style apartheid.[4] The government has used such programs to
reinforce ethnic and tribal identity among black schoolchildren, seeking
to "divide and conquer" by encouraging ethnolinguistic divisions within
the balck community (see Hartshorne, 1987; Heugh, 1985). As Barnard has
perceptively noted,

> Moedertaalonderwys . . . is not the Afrikaans term for
> mother-tongue instruction. It is a political concept which has
> its roots in the dogma of Christian National Education.
> According to this dogma, each "race" or "volk" has its own
> identity which sets it apart from all others . . . Surely one
> has to wonder and become suspicious when there is this
> insistence on the part of the authorities to force upon all
> children, against the wishes of their parents, a particular
> language . . . What is being attempted is certainly not
> mother-tongue education in the interests of the children but the
> enforement of "moedertaalonderwys" as an instrument of social
> control and subjugation, as a means to an end . . . (Quoted in
> Heugh, 1987: 143-144)

Given this historical background, it is easy to understand the
resistance to mother tongue education found in the black community. The
Congress of South African Students (COSAS) has made clear the basic
problem with contemporary education -- black and white -- in South Africa:

> The education we receive is meant to keep the South African
> people apart from one another, to breed suspicion, hatred and
> violence, and to keep us backward . . . Education is formulated
> so as to reproduce this society of racism and exploitation.
> (Quoted in Christie, 1985: 14)

Indeed, schooling designed to emphasize ethnic and cultural differences all too often falls prey to this sort of "pluralist dilemma." As the Australian scholar Brian Bullivant has observed, programs designed and intended to encourage ethnic identification, including various kinds of multicultural education programs in many western societies,

> . . . are ideal methods of controlling knowledge/power, while appearing through symbolic political language to be acting solely from the best of motives in the interests of the ethnic groups themselves. (Bullivant, 1981: 291)

This has clearly been the case in the South African instance, and while few blacks have been taken in by the rhetoric of pluralism, the same cannot be said for much of the South African educational establishment, which continues to utilize the language of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism (van Zijl, 1987). The real problem which confronts educators and language planners alike in the South African context is how the realities of cultural and linguistic diversity can be dealt with in a equitable and just manner. At the core of this dilemma is the challenge of ethnicity, which is, in the minds of many South Africans, closely linked to past and present policies of apartheid. In fact, in the South African context, "ethnicity" is less a descriptive term than a normative one. As Heugh has observed,

> Ethnicity is regarded by the government's extra-parliamentary critics as a euphemism for racism and a policy not only inimical to black unity but also part of the government's grand apartheid scheme of divide and rule. (Heugh, 1987: 208)

The continuing resistance in the black community not only to
Afrikaans, but to the use of the various black languages as media of
instruction in black schools, is somewhat more comprehensible given such
concerns. At this point, we can turn to a discussion of contemporary
language policies in South African education.

Contemporary Language Policies in South African Education

There are a number of overlapping language policies with important
implications for education currently being implemented in the Republic of
South Africa. Among the most significant of these policies are the
on-going lexical development (corpus planning) taking place in both
Afrikaans and the various black languages, the mother tongue policy in
both black and white education, the recently implemented efforts to
introduce the study of black languages as mandatory subjects in white
schools, the effort to create a core sign lexicon for use in schools for
the deaf by the South African National Council for the Deaf, and recent
discussions about the possibility of introducing third, regionally-based
official languages in the country. I have discussed all of these policies
in considerable detail elsewhere (Penn and Reagan, 1990; Reagan, 1986c,
1987; Reagan, 1990; Reagan and Ntshoe, 1987), and so will focus here only
on the features which they share as educational policies.

Each of these policies is a clear example of language planning, and
each is defensible on a number of linguistic, psychological and
pedagogical grounds. Further, taken together these language policies are

an impressive demonstration of the South African government's concern with

and faith in social engineering in general and language planning in

particular. As Kloss has noted,

> In South Africa, more qualified scholars, White and Black, are
> working on . . . 'linguistic engineering' than in all the rest
> of Africa. Even Swahili is well behind the South African
> languages in educational development, in spite of its easy lead
> in political status . . . (Kloss, 1978: 21)

These language policies are also, however, very questionable on

ethical, normative and political grounds. The policies are all

characterized by the top-down nature in which they were formulated and

implemented. What ties these policies together is that each has been

imposed on its target group, for the group's perceived good as determined

by civil servants in Pretoria (see Reagan, 1990). This has led to an

essentially technicist approach to the resolution of social problems,

coupled with an absurd reliance on "experts" rather than on consultation

with the individuals and groups most directly affected by and concerned

with the policies. As the African National Congress has asserted,

> The languages of the people are not permitted to be developed by
> them in their own way. Ignorant and officious White professors
> sit on education committees as arbiters of African languages and
> books without consultation with the people concerned. The
> grotesque spectacle is seen of the White government of South
> Africa posing as a "protector" of so-called Bantu culture and
> traditions of which they know nothing . . . (Quoted in Heugh,
> 1987: 269)

Further, the process by which these policies have been determined,

developed and implemented was, and remains, fundamentally undemocratic.

In a society as highly politicized as that of contemporary South Africa,

such policies are doomed almost from the start. The end result, regardless of any objective merits that they might possess, is that the policies will be either accepted (as in the case of the lexical development and expansion of Afrikaans) or rejected (as in the other cases mentioned) on political and ideological grounds alone.

The challenge which remains in South Africa is that of utilizing language policy as a tool of empowerment, rather than as one of oppression. Language planning activities in general, and educational language policies in particular, have the potential to play an important role in the struggle for liberation, but they can only do so when they have been determined in a democratic manner and implemented with the support of those to be affected. This is the task which remains before those in South Africa concerned with language policy, both for education and in other spheres, for the "new" South Africa.

Notes

1. Afrikaans is a member of the Nederlands group of Germanic languages, which includes Dutch, Flemish, and the extinct Dutch Creole of the Virgin Islands (Valkoff, 1971: 455). The nature of its evolution is, perhaps, among the more controversial aspects of Afrikaans linguistics. The general view found among Afrikaner linguists (see Valkoff, 1971: 469) is the "spontaneous," or "internal development," theory, which "considers present-day Afrikaans as a modification or evolution due to internal causes in the language [i.e., Dutch] itself, and not to any sudden clash with any outside idiom" (Smith, 1952: 9). This view of the emergence of modern Afrikaans, which Jordaan (1974: 462) has termed "albocentric," looks to Middle Dutch, seventeenth century varieties of Dutch, Flemish and Low German for explanations of the differences between Dutch and Afrikaans (see Boshoff, 1921; Jordaan, 1974, 462-463; Smith, 1952).

The competing view, commonly known as the "Malayo-Portuguese" theory, has its roots in the work of Hesseling (1899). The central idea on this account is that Afrikaans is, in effect, the result of creolization, similar to that which occurred to Dutch in Ceylon, Surinam and the Virgin Islands (see Jordaan, 1974: 462). Such a view, which carries with it overtones of miscegenation as well, is, as one might expect, "abhorent to most Afrikaner scholars, who want to see their language white and pure like their race." (Valkoff, 1971: 467).

2. Terminology presents difficult problems when discussing South Africa. Individuals of historically mixed racial backgrounds are legally classified "Coloured" in South Africa. The term is widely regarded as offensive; unfortunately, the alternative use of "black" leads to a conflation of the so-called "Coloured" community with other non-whites. Similarly, the indigenous Bantu languages of South Africa are commonly called "African" languages, as has been done in this paper, but this, too, can be confusing and misleading, since Afrikaans is, in a certain sense, an African language, just as are the various sign languages which have developed in the country. My intent here has been to use the terminology that seems to me to be most precise; I do not wish to indicate any acceptance of the legal categories they represent in South Africa.

3. The future of Afrikaans has become, in recent years, of growing concern to many Afrikaner intellectuals, and, given its status in the black community, for good reason (see Brink, 1984: du Plessis and du Plessis, 1987; Prinsloo and van Rensburg, 1984; Steyn, 1980).

4. The term "apartheid" is no longer used officially; indeed, the South African government maintains that apartheid has been, or at least is being, eliminated. In its place we find such terms and concepts as "separate development," "multinational development," "multiculturalism," and the like. Further, it is actually somewhat misleading to speak of

"apartheid" as a single entity, since there are actually different kinds of apartheid in South Africa. For instance, one can distinguish between "grand apartheid" (the sort of total separation of groups envisioned by Verwoerd) and "petty apartheid" (the traditional discrimination and segregation patterns experienced by non-whites in South African society). Of interest here are Adam (1971), Giliomee and Adam (1981: 27-61), and van den Berghe (1967: 96-111).

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DOMINANT LANGUAGE:

- Afrikaans
- English
- Northern Sotho
- Southern Sotho
- Siswati
- Tsonga
- Tswana
- Venda
- Xhosa
- Zulu
- Southern Ndebele

Census 1980

Map 17

WITWATERSRAND

ZIMBABWE

VENDA

MOZAMBIQUE

Pietersburg

SOPHUTHATSWANA

BOP.

BOTSWANA

SOPHUTHATSWANA

BOP.

Pretoria

SWAZILAND

BOP.

Welkom

S.W.A. (Namibia)

Upington

Kimberley

Bloemfontein

BOP.

LESOTHO

Pietermaritzburg

Durban

Calvinia

TRANS.

TRANS.

INDIAN OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

TRANSKEI

CISKEI

East London

CAPE PENINSULA
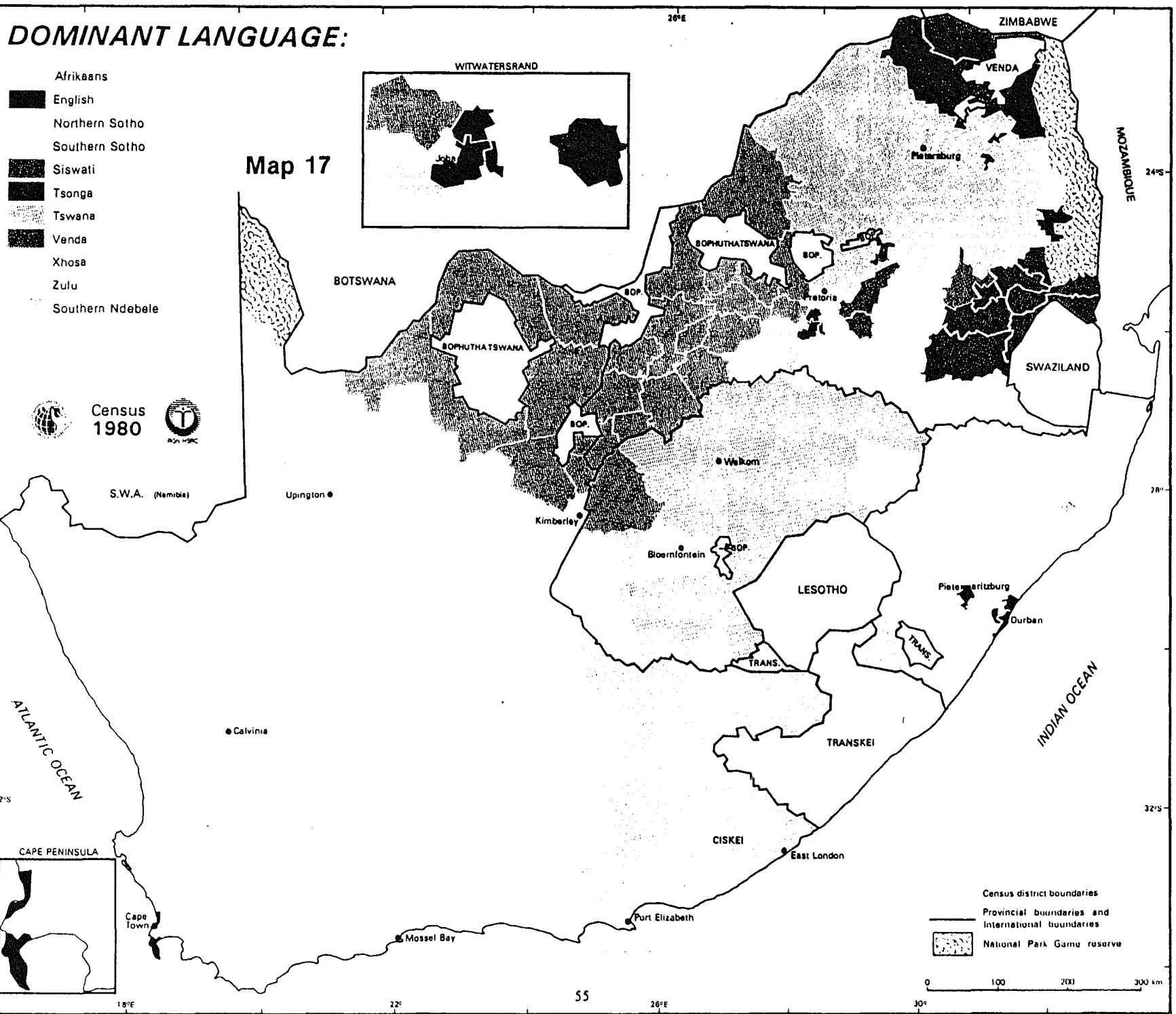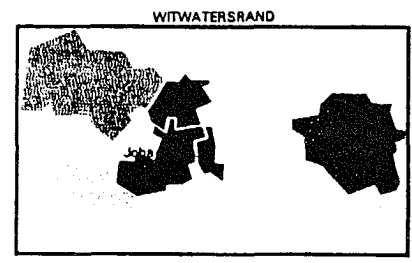
Census district boundaries

Provincial boundaries and
International boundaries

National Park Game reserve

Cape
Town

Port Elizabeth

Mossel Bay

0   100   200   300 km

55

Figure 1: Dominant Language, By District (RSA)

RELATIVE LANGUAGE CONCENTRATION:

Afrikaans
English
Northern Sotho
Southern Sotho
Swazi
Tsonga
Tswana
Venda
Xhosa
Zulu
Southern Ndebele
Northern Ndebele
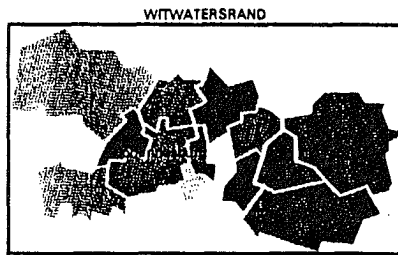Oriental languages
European immigrant

Census 1980

Map 18
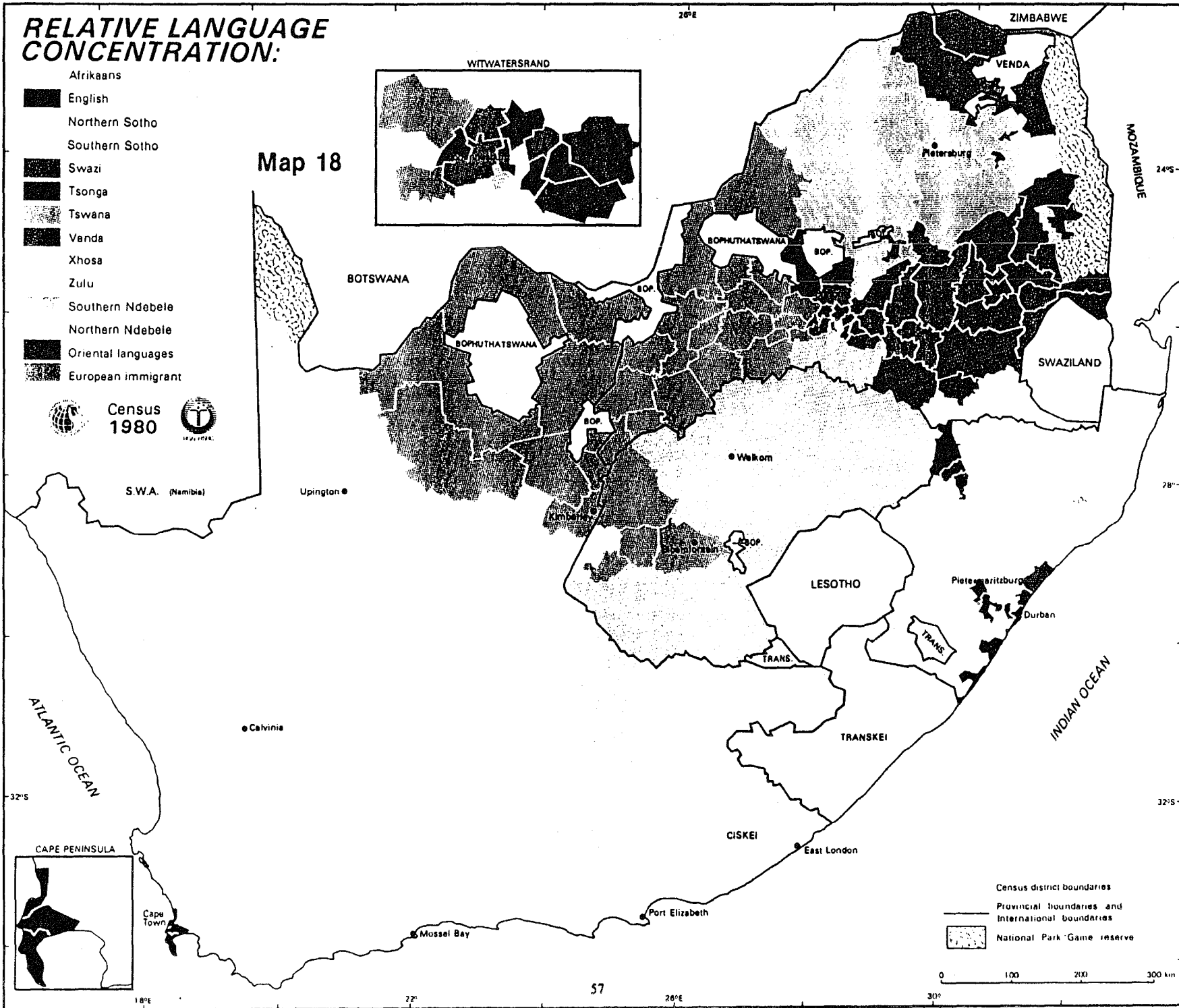
Figure 2: Relative Language Concentration, By District (RSA)

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DON ROBISHAW
DOCTORAL STUDENT
REDUCING THE ODDS:
A BOARD GAME TO HELP
CAMBODIAN REFUGEES
TO REPATRIATE

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how a boardgame can be an effective tool for the education of Cambodian refugees (displaced Khmer) living in Thai border camps. The goals of this product are:

* To help eliminate the educational gap and the informational void that prevails in the border camps.
* To better help displaced Khmer critically look at their own problems.
* To help displaced Khmer prepare for the perilous journey back to Cambodia.

The gap and void are a result of the limited amount of information the displaced Khmer receive about their chances of a successful repatriation.

Just what is an effective educational tool to use with Southeast Asians, (SEA) and specifically displaced Khmer? What works well and why does it work well?

There are various educational philosophies in the field of adult education. Which ones are most applicable? In the development of "Reducing the Odds" (the game) the author/designer of the game states his philosophy of education and recognizes other educational thinkers who may be in agreement with him. The author is a proponent of dialogical education and problem posing. In Thailand an NFE philosophy of problem solving (Khit Pen) was developed in 1971 by the Ministry of Education. The author intends to discuss this philosophy and its applicability towards his product. Traditional Cambodians have adhered to Buddhism and an educational philosophy should be flexible and attempt to adapt to traditions.

CLIENTELE
Today, 350,000 displaced Khmer are waiting in camps along the Cambodian/Thai border. Children eight, nine and ten years old have known no other life outside of the camps. Half of the displaced Khmer are under age 16. There are limited educational opportunities

available in these camps.   These people are earmarked for repatriation since the recent signing of the UN peace treaty.

RATIONALE

In addition to the game's primary clientele, it will obviously be important for the program staff to learn as fast as possible about the issues the displaced Khmer face when they are repatriated.   If the staff plays the game, it will help them (in some small way) to be able to empathize with the displaced Khmer.   Just what are some of the critical incidents that might occur in the process of repatriation? ...cultural issues?   ... political issues?   ...basic human needs?   What needs to be known about the culture of the refugee camps?   Who holds power... ?   How are things done... ?   Through whom should you work...?

Research would be necessary to determine refugees present needs, as well as to determine what it will take to rebuild Cambodia.   Our representatives in the field (Tom Petocz & Phylis Robinson) have tested the game several times in various camps to determine some of the needs of the displaced Khmer repatriating back to Cambodia. Two of those reports are included in this paper.

Prior to using the game to collect data, our field consultants can determine whether or not the game is a culturally appropriate educational/research tool to be used with SEA, by first conducting a survey.   To see the survey please refer to the author's master's thesis.

This survey has been conducted with twenty five former Cambodian refugees in Western Massachusetts.   All agreed that Cambodians in the camps can effectively use a boardgame as a way to gain useful information.

Based on field tests here in the United States Reducing The Odds can be an effective educational/research tool.   Our perceptions of the needs of the refugees are probably as close as we can come without implementing the game in the border camps.

The rationale for developing the game as a research tool is based on previous successes of NFE techniques and methods with SEAs.   These methods can later be used to help participants at least become aware of what the content of their problems are.   Later new

information can be interspersed and knowledge created or recreated through various NFE methodologies.

This method follows a philosophy that allows insiders to participate in the research and development of their own educational program. It also utilizes their prior knowledge and helps refugees become aware of what their present situation is like. If their experiences and reflections are given opportunities to flourish and if the facilitator can provide guidance through questions, new knowledge can be created and useful data and needs assessment information can be collected.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE GAME

"Reducing The Odds" can be made from basic low cost materials. Gather together some poster paper, tape, magic markers and 3x5 cards.

Type the sixty five questions in English and Khmer. Cut and tape each question to a separate 3x5 card. Stack each card into the appropriate deck. Label the top three cards:

1. **Against the Odds**
2. **Playing the Odds.**
3. **Reducing the Odds.**

Key: R = Reducing The Odds   A = Against The Odds   P = Playing The Odds

Next, on your white poster board draw a snake like road that begins at one of the Thai camp and ends in Cambodia. Next section off the road into thirty squares (see figure one). Label each square with one of the following phrases:

1. Playing the odds (4).
2. Reducing the odds (4).
3. Against the odds (4).
4. Go back three spaces (4).
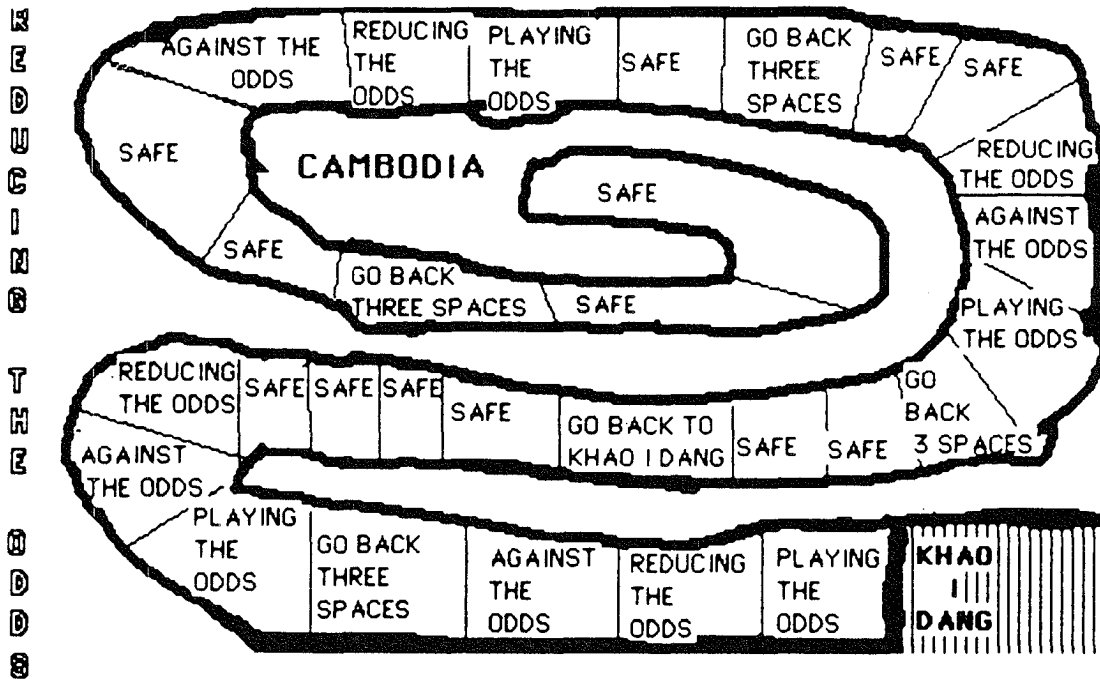5. Go Back to Khao I Dang (1).
6. Safe (13).

FIGURE 1

DIRECTIONS

There is a problem of over crowding in the Cambodian border camps. The peace treaty has been signed and the exiled Cambodian coalition and the Vietnamese established Hun Sen regime have drawn a truce. It is still somewhat dangerous to go back to Cambodia. The 350,000 refugees who live in the border camps have been offered the opportunity to repatriate to rural Cambodia by the UN. A repatriation program is in the process of being set up to help with repatriation. Imagine, if you will, you are in their situation or that you are part of a team to help in the process of setting up a repatriation plan.

Scenario: The Repatriation of Sokhoum and His Family

Sokhoum, Phanna and their family came from Battambong Province in Cambodia. They have lived in Khao I Dang refugee camp for 10 years. All four of their children were born in the camp. Life was very hard for them in the refugee camps. Life was also hard for them in Cambodia. Because life was so difficult, they went to the camps in 1981.

There is now an opportunity (dangerous as it is) for people to go back to rural Cambodia. Sokhoum and Phanna want to do whatever they can to "Reduce the Odds" of failure.

Materials

Gameboard, tokens, dice, cards representing reducing the odds, playing the odds and against the odds, newsprint, tape recorder, audio tapes, VCR, camera, video casettes and TV.

Game cards

1. Reducing The Odds - Questions and/or activities that will help to improve the chances of success for repatriation. Things they need to know and do before they leave the camps.

2. Against The Odds - Questions and/or activities that will help to improve the chances of success for repatriation. (things they need to know and do during the trip).

3. Playing The Odds - Questions and/or activities that will help improve the chances of success for repatriation. (Things they need to know and do after arrival).

The game

At one time or another (in life) everyone tries something new and takes a risk. It is peoples' attitudes that influence the process of change or prevents them from changing. The rural poor are very skeptical about taking risks with what little they have. Many people around the world are not willing to take risks.

But in a simulation or a boardgame people may be willing to take risks or at least discuss why they would not be so willing. Perhaps through a boardgame simulation people can learn about risks and ways to reduce risks or "reduce the odds".

The game (see figure one) represents the route from a refugee camp to Cambodia. Sokhoum and Phanna are leaving the camp and it is your objective to help them along the "road to success". When a player lands on a square he/she turns over one of the three cards (playing the odds, against the odds or reducing the odds) and initiates a discussion between the other player(s) and observers. Each player is attempting to give advice to the family in order to improve their chances of success.

Step 1. Players select one icon to represent progress. Next toss the die to determine how many spaces to move your icon.

Step 2. If the icon lands on one of the three "ODDs" squares, that player must turn over one card and read it aloud. Players and observers can now attempt to answer the question on the card. When a question is answered sufficiently and to the approval of all players and observers (no time limit) the next player or team may begin by tossing the die.

Step 3. If a player lands on any other square, that player should simply follow the directions on that square.

Step 4. Play continues until players have helped the family to reach Cambodia safely.

FIELD TEST/EVALUATION

The author has field tested the product using politically astute Cambodian Americans who live in New England. Several useful ideas for improving the game were obtained from field tests on November 24, 1989, May 12, 1990 and also from several presentations at the

Center for International Education. Ideas for possible amelioration include the following suggestions:

1. To speed up the game use one die instead of a spinning wheel.
2. To obtain broader participation the game's creator should not take part in discussions but only serve to explain and clarify the rules.
3. To make the game move at a faster pace the questions should
    a. Be written in Khmer language.
    b. Be giving to the participants beforehand.
    c. Be simplified and made more specific, (You are in Cambodia...) have an issue, offer fewer choices and/or ask why questions.
    d . Do not try to get too much into one question.
4. Use only one icon (game piece) to represent the family and try to get the family safely back to Cambodia. Using several icons prolongs the game.

Additional suggested questions:

- Why do you want to leave the camp?
- If you are on your way back to Cambodia and have no more food what will you do? Why?
- If you get back to Cambodia and can not find family or friends what will you do? Why?

Questions for use with the displaced Khmer in the border camps need to be simplified, more direct and specific. Questions pertaining to problems have to be more specific. . . everything in their life is a problem. Why questions are appropriate or questions like. . . If this scenario happened . . . . what would you do and Why?

Besides field testing the boardgame with Cambodian American participants it was also important to address issues that related to the subsequent strengths and weaknesses of the project? An evaluation was conducted after every demonstration and/or presentation. Some questions that were asked after the completion of the game included:

1. Was it useful for getting at some serious information in a non-threatening manner?

2. Were the directions easy to understand?
3. Was it a good method and how could it be improved?
4. What were the strengths of the gameboard?
5. Are the goals and objectives being accomplished?
6. How did you feel about the product?
7. Are the questions effective and do they stimulate discussion?
8. Is the design of the board culturally acceptable? Should any changes be made?

Reports from the camps

The following game questions and responses are based on actual field reports from the camps. Tom Petocz is one of our representative in the camps.

Aug. 31, 1991

P. What are specific questions they should ask about repatriation?

1. How much money will they receive?
2. Who will sponsor and plan the repatriation?
3. What about security/safety and a place to live?
4. What can they bring?
5. How can things such as schools and communities be organized?

P. What will be some of their problems?
  What can be done about these problems?

1. The trip back will require several stops. What will be the situation at these stops?
2. What will the living situation be during the trip?
3. What about security at temporary sites? (Khmer police of the particular faction, UN "police", and DPPU while in Thailand.)
4. What about personal belongings? (Everything should be allowed under UNHCR guidelines)
5. What about physical needs, i. e. food, medicine. (UNHCR should provide)
6. What about shelter? (UNHCR)
7. Where will they go? Who decides? selves? UN? other?
    Can small communities such as Sokh Sann go as a group?
8. What about conflict of ownership?

P. When Cambodians have a problem in Cambodia, where do they go for help?

1. Where there is a department or organization.
2. UN assistance for one year.
3. Need an international army until elections . . . but after?

A. Who will help on the way?

1. UNHCR
2. Other agencies

P. What are some of the most important survival issues the family will face when they get to Cambodia?

1. Self sufficiency or family units.
2. No land.
3. Shyness in seeking help.
4. It was noted that they should start to prepare now with assistance of agencies.

P. What do they expect to happen in Cambodia?

1. Robbery and killing like in Site 2.
2. Four groups veying for elections - chaos.
3. Hospital/education directors - on merit or political appointees?
4. Many camp services will be dropped.
5. Insufficient medical help.
6. Aid from UNHCR for one year.
7. Education salaries - will they reflect the cost of living?
8. UNHCR should also think of middle class needs; in 1967 the standard of living was good (7,000 R at that time).
9. Civil war - what if we don't go?

R. How does the family feel about repatriation?

1. Adults are happy but uncertain about war, security, shelter.
2. Adolescent students - anxious to see; haven't really experienced Cambodia
3. Little ones - Thailand is our country".
4. Fear return of DK.

A. Do they need a leader on the trip? Who will take on the leadership role? What style of leadership is needed?

1. Definitely needed.
2. UNHCR . . . don't forget the agencies that know us here . . . old agencies as well as new.

A. What do they expect to happen on the way to Cambodia?

1. Landmines
2. Will miss medicine
3. Security?
4. Temporary shelter?
5. Transportation
6. Status of belongings? Space allotment? Animals? tvs, bikes?

SEPTEMBER 5, 1991 IN SOKH SANN CAMP, TRAT PROVINCE, THAILAND

NOTE: "R" refers to Reducing the Odds questions (things needed to know before leaving the camps; "A" refers to Against the Odds questions (things they need to know and do during the trip: "P" refers to Playing the Odds (things they need to know and do after arrival).

A. How do they stay healthy?

Medical care, exercise, security, food, sanitation, shelter, basic health principles, hygiene and proper rest.

P. Who will help them when they get there?

UNHCR, agencies, Khmer government, self - assistance e.g. need farm materials such as animals

UNHCR comment: need to think of how to buy animals for yourself; reverse the order for help . . . self, agencies, UN.

R. What information do they need and where do they get it? What information is needed to answer their questions? From who can the necessary information be gathered?

Radio, newspaper, UNHCR - Need information about negotiations, transportation, security, food and supplies.

UNHCR comment - Do you get any information from Cambodia? (No) Are you familiar with ICRC tracing service for relatives? (YES) . . . START NOW

P. How do repatriation problems relate to other problems?

People don't know if they should make an investment to get money in camp if they might be leaving soon, i.e. pig raising

UNHCR comment - trying to arrange for Thai businessmen to purchase poultry and livestock

Living in a different family book . . . how to change if going back alone?

UNHCR - note this during pre-registration

P. Do they still have friends and families in Cambodia?

(The group of 15 Grade 5 teacher trainees said no.) They also noted that if they could find relatives, they would like to live nearby, but not with them as this would cause problems.

UNHCR; begin tracing service NOW

P. What skills do they need?

Want to study so they can teach

UNHCR: How can you study if you need to work? Civil servants' salaries are low. UNHCR and the SNC are trying to formulate an accreditation policy for those who have studied on the border.

(What skills do they need?)

UNHCR - SOMETIMES EDUCATION IS BETTER ON THE BORDER THAN IN CAMBODIA.

KHMER: development will be slow if salaries are low most good land near water is occupied

UNHCR: true around Battambang but not everywhere. Border population is small compared to the size of Cambodia.

A. Do they need a map?

Yes to locate a new home and for mines.

UNHCR: You can choose where you want to go in the reception center. Mines - ask locals; maps can be misleading

P. In Cambodia where do they go for help?

The governor and civil servants.

UNHCR - What about monks? (Monks need help too)
        What about elderly? (YES)

A. How do they get there?

UNHCR vehicles

P. How do they make repatriation easier after arrival?

Find a home.

UNHCR: seek friends help until self-sufficient; agencies won't be as close - wider area and the present population in Cambodia too, need a realistic picture of life in Cambodia - responsible for their own life. People in Cambodia are not their enemies; there will be economic opportunities after resettlement.

A. Is there any local leadership available in the camps that can help them?

Yes - Khmer admin section.

A. What is the best thing that could happen to them? . . . the worst?

See the motherland and meet relatives. (Best)
no money to build a house and having to cease studies (worst)

P. Should they have a sponsor?

No.

A. What are some of the most important survival issues the family will face on the way to Cambodia?

Safe transportation

UNHCR: we will guarantee their safe passage

P. What is repatriation? Why is it needed? Why repatriate?

Long silence . . . UNHCR - Is this your homeland (No) Do you want to go home? (YES) . . .
All! We understand

Tom Petocz is currently working in Cambodia. He is the assistant
project director for a rural development project in Pursuat,
Cambodia.

Phylis Robinson of the Center for International Education is
currently in site II in Thailand. She will be there for several months
gathering information on a project working with the Cambodian
Buddhist nuns. While there she will field test the game. We
anxiously await her reports.

AN ANALYSIS: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BOARDGAMES WITH SOUTHEAST ASIANS (SEAs)

SEAs are more laid back than Westerners and many people
develop an attitude called "Mai Pen Rai" in Thailand or "Aut Men
Dai" in Cambodian, which loosely translates to "never mind."

In 1971 a philosophy of NFE was developed by the Thai
Ministry of Education. The NFE philosophy was called the Khit Pen
Philosophy. The Khit Pen philosophy was developed to counteract
this well known and often used idiom. Some SEAs appeared rather
layed back and complacent.

Khit Pen means a skillful thinker able to solve problems? " A
man who has mastered the process of Khit Pen can analyzes his life
problems systematically" (Srinivasan, 1983 P. 26-27). A Khit Pen
person has developed the ability to think analytically and critically
towards any situation.

Many SEAs believe in a holistic and cyclical approach to
analytical thinking for decision making. On the first leg of the cycle a
person searches for information. When there is a problem a person
needs to find out the cause of the problem. An individual must
search to find out about one's own personal background in regards to
life, family, career, conduct and beliefs.

Next an individual must survey to find out more information
about one's environment. After discovering information about the
environment one must also find out about the society in which he or
she lives and the people's morales in that society.

Next one must find out about the technical knowledge available that can help in the analysis of the problem at hand. The above is the first stage within the holistic process and it is called the survey stage. The purpose of the survey stage is specifically to gather data as the base for analysis. The cause of the problem could be self, community or just ignorance.

The second stage (analysis) finds several ways to solve the problem. The best solution must include the moral aspects as a major criterion to solve the problem. Again to solve the problem the Khit Phen person must think about information about self, environment and the technical knowledge available at the time.

In the final stage the selected solution is put into practice. This stage ends when the Khit Phen person is satisfied that he or she has chosen the most appropriate solution. The completion of the final stage of the cycle depends on the Khit Pen individual's feelings towards the outcome; whether or not the solution was a good choice or not. If it was not the individual could temporarily choose a lesser solution and start the process over again.

The NFE Khit Pen philosophy is a humanistic philosophy. Buddhists and many other SEAs as well believe that harmony must exist between humans and their environment. Humans can improve their analytical skills by reflecting back on their own experiences, societies experiences and the current technical knowledge available. Cycles occur within the individual and an individual's effectiveness in problem solving depends on harmony and the energy that is created from these cycles. According to ancient Asian philosophy an individual has a four phase energy cycle; motivation, preparation, performance and completion. Two concepts recur constantly; cycles and change and cycles occur within the individual. All humans need happiness and happiness is gained through harmony. According to eastern thought change is natural and always moving. Energy flows from every person as well as all around us.

Solving problems can create a balance of opposites. Harmony exists when this balance is achieved and the suffering of the displaced Khmer can be alleviated through balance. The way to rid suffering is through harmony and harmony is gained by the balancing of antagonistic polarities. The concept of balance is most important. Individuals must be active participants in their balancing

process as well as their problem solving process. In problem solving an ideal exists calling for responsibility to make change towards balance, unity and openness.

It is possible for Asian adult learners to improve their analytical skills when using a boardgame by reflecting back on experience in order to understand the process. To get a better understanding Asian adult learners need to consider that nothing exists by itself. Nature is a balanced harmony of its antagonists. Nature or the environment can be divided into five elements; wood, fire, earth, metal and water which together represent the whole (nature). Traditional eastern healers study ways of nature in order to find disharmony. Their diagnosis starts with observation . . . the way one looks, sounds, feels and moves, and only then is the healer able to help solve the patients medical or mental problems.

The reality of the Khit Pen philosophy is that life is suffering and suffering can be healed. In order to heal suffering the origin of the suffering must be identified and only then can those who seek solutions choose the right ways that may alleviate the problem.

Cambodians are Buddhists and Buddhist thought is prevalent in Cambodia. According to Buddhist thought, suffering has its roots in poverty and underdevelopment. Once there is harmony and stability the path of development comes into being. Too many people in the world have accepted non action and thus have accepted suffering. They tend to shut out frustration and avoid responsibility.

The Khit Pen person feels responsible for using the human powers of analysis and reflection to get at the root causes of the problems and to choose the right course of action. Not accepting fate is an important characteristic of the Khit Pen philosophy of NFE and also a characteristic of critical consciousness.

Paulo Freire calls accepting one's fate as being at a magical level of awareness. J. Krishnamurti calls it accepting destiny. He describes it for a particular culture or country as,

> ...when millions of people have for centuries taken part in the development of a certain civilization or culture, they have set going a movement in which individual human beings are caught up and swept along, whether they like it or not; and this whole process of being caught up in and swept along by a particular stream of culture or civilization may be called destiny. (Krishnamurti, 1982 P. 123).

For the individual if you are born the son or daughter of the elite you are expected to comply with your parents insistence that you follow the family line. Perhaps the same can be said of a son of a peasant, carpenter, laborer or a factory worker. If you comply even though you want to do something else then you are following your destiny. It is the same for both groups and individuals. But on the other hand it is possible for an individual, culture or civilization to break away from it's destiny and step out of that stream, as Khrisnamurti calls it.

Pedagogy that truly empowers through learner centered methodologies are very important. These methodologies can help people to develop critical consciousness, move away from a magical level of awareness and defy destiny.

> That is why it is very important that we should be rightly educated-educated not to be smothered by tradition, not to fall into the destiny of a particular racial, cultural or family group, educated not to become mechanical beings moving towards a predetermined end. The man who understands this whole process, who breaks away from it and stands alone, creates his own momentum; and if his action is breaking away from the false towards the truth, then that momentum itself becomes the truth. Such men are free of destiny. (Krishnamurti, 1982 P. 125).

Adult education in Asia as well as around the world needs to focus more on the development of analytical and strategical thinking skills that help to shift the polarities and to move towards the center - towards harmony. The facilitator's role (perhaps a monk could be an appropriate facilitator) in the boardgame process, when working with Asian adults is to facilitate problem confrontation as a way of achieving inner harmony. The absence or degree that one is capable of using analytical thinking and problem solving skills is one of the fundamental if not the key element that stratifies the world.

The overall aim of the Khit Pen philosophy is to attain harmony and tranquility between the individual and the environment. There is tension between values, aspirations and the environment. Balance in the use of an educational game is reached when one overcomes game barriers, makes adjustments and finds solutions .

In rural areas of SEA it is not uncommon to find groups of people in the evening discussing the local problems of the village. Asians are familiar with these informal type of discussions. Having these types of discussions around a boardgame would take very little time for Khmer refugees to get accustomed to. The game only serves as a structure or framework for starting discussions. Many of them

are already analyzing their precarious situation in the camps. Using learner center methodologies such as a boardgame to analyze repatriation problems can strengthen the analytical process and reinforce traditional Asian values. (Kindervatter,1979 p.233)

Another important concept in Thai is "Sanook" or "Sabay Nas" in Khmer. Loosely translated it means having a lot of fun or enjoyment. SEAs enjoy having fun even in a work situation. The SEAs workplace is less structured compared to a western workplace. To an observer it may not be so readily apparent that a serious discussion is taking place.

The author in his years of experience working with SEAs has discovered that it is possible to discuss a serious topic, in a fun classroom environment, and have maximum learning going on at the same time. Learner centered activities that are fun can motivate learners to participate. (Kindervatter, 1979 p. 233) "Sanuck" combined with a "Mai Pen Rai" attitude made teaching SEAs a challenge as well as a pleasure.

Southeast Asians smile and laugh for various reasons. Sometimes it may be out of embarrassment or confusion or just not knowing what else to do. I am under the impression that they learn best when having fun. Is it possible for Cambodians to have a serious discussion and be able to have fun (not rolling on the floor type of fun) at the same time? Based on the results of a survey twenty five former Cambodian refugees here in the United States all agreed that boardgames can be an effective educational tool to use with Cambodians in the border camps.

Cambodians have historically used games as so many other cultures have as a way to relax and have fun. Games are a part of Cambodian culture and traditions. But on the other hand, games have not really been used very much as educational tools in traditional or formal schools.

There may be a slight problem if one tries to get older students to learn via a classroom game by just popping into the classroom. Some may see educational games as just a game and think they will not learn anything from playing a game. In the future I would recommend using my survey with students before hand to initiate a discussion about learner centered materials. Once learners are aware of what the facilitator is attempting to do "Reducing the Odds can serve as a bridge between tradition and problem solving.

I have created and used other games in the camps and in my work with SEAs in the United States and have always had great success. When clearly explained that the game was an educational tool and what was important was the discussion that came from playing the game, students were able to learn from educational games.

Again Cambodians have historically and traditionally used boardgames as a way to relax and have fun. So if boardgame/simulations like "Reducing The Odds" are used with refugees in the Thai border camps and if the purpose of the games is to help start discussions about some very important issues, those particular method may be very useful in helping refugees alleviate some of the many difficult problems they face.

THEORETICAL BASIC/CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE GAME

If we look around the world we discover that children and adults in all cultures learn many things differently. Besides that, these adults also see many things differently than their teachers, especially if their teachers are culturally different. Adult learners have their own needs and problems and have their own cultural ways of dealing with these needs and problems. They do not need teachers to solve their problems for them.

What adult learners can use, however is an educational framework not an educational theory, that can bring them together in order to search for solutions via their own traditional methods. There are games around that include the solutions to the problems within the game itself. If a player is skillful or lucky they find the solution to their life problems by just turning over a card or putting a puzzle together. This is fine for fun but does it really lead to discovery? Isn't discovery an important concept in education? These other kinds of educational tools are tools for banking education and do not lead to the development of critical thinking skills nor are they very empowering.

Reducing the Odds theoretical base is founded on the assumption that Southeast Asian adult learners (as well as other adults) can learn and solve their own problems through participation and interaction. In fact participation and interaction are informal cultural processes that enable Southeast Asians to find solutions to

their own problems. SEAs often come together informally to discuss issues and to develop ideas on how to solve problems.

Reducing the Odds does not impose content on the learner, it only offers a framework for discussion, thus allowing participants the opportunity to use their own cultural processes for learning, creating new knowledge and solving problems. It is conceptually broad based enough to allow learners to use and develop their own traditional informal ways of learning and problem solving. It does not offer any solutions to the numerous problems they face. The method does not impose a way of learning on the participants but offers freedom for the learners to find things out for themselves.

Displaced Khmer need opportunities to find things out through discussion and analysis. Together they can produce a process to solve some of their problems. The learners do not need to know the nature of their learning process as they have been using informal discussions to solve their own problems for many years.

But before playing the game participants could benefit from knowing that the boardgame is just that, a framework for stimulating discussion. In fact if you removed the structure of the game the learners could participate very well just by using the questions on the cards.

But the game also serves as a reminder to the participants of their overall goal of safely repatriating. As they come to find solutions to some problems, they also learn about long term problem solving, short term problem solving and the importance of planning. Playing the game may only help participants to discover ways to meet their immediate needs, but on the other hand it does not allow the participants to get totally caught up in the present. Each question and the solutions uncovered can serve as steps towards hopefully obtaining the overall goal of repatriation.

This specific educational approach views the learners as adults who are capable of finding solutions to their own problems. It gives credence to NFE adult educational practices that view participants as having important past experiences and that adults are capable of solving many of their own problems.

Compared to other methods or approaches in adult education the game has some similarities to Paulo Freire's Consciousness

Raising, in that participants may come to realize that they are victims of oppression and may be capable of changing certain things in order to improve their lives. Through discussion, participants may begin to realize that they do not have to leave all their problems to fate. Displaced Khmer have problems that they have not created, but they are victims and when things settle perhaps they can develop a critical consciousness towards change.

Reducing the Odds is different from other games and methods in the way it views learners as capable adults able to distinguish between solvable and unsolvable problems. It does not try to manipulate learners into thinking they are coming up with their own solutions when in fact solutions are being offered by outsiders. Players themselves control and initiate the discussion.

CONCLUSION

Based on my experience, several field tests in the United States used to fine tune the game and Mr. Petocz's and Ms Robinson's field tests in the camps I feel confident that Reducing The Odds and other similar NFE methodologies can go a long way in helping displaced Khmer to repatriate and to help rebuild Cambodia. The rationale for the game is based on the previous success of NFE techniques with Southeast Asians.

This learner centered methodology follows a philosophy of NFE that allows learners to utilize their prior knowledge as a base for continued learning and helps refugees become aware of what their present situation is like. If these learners experiences and reflections are given an opportunity to flourish, if these students can be motivated to understanding through using learner centered materials and if their facilitator can provide guidance through questions, new learning can occur.

The questions used in "Reducing The Odds" can help learners achieve new learning about their present situation and perhaps discover some solutions to some of their problems. New conceptual knowledge can have meaning to refugees when their links to the past are linked with the unknown. If students take their past experiences and knowledge into account and attempt to meet their present and future needs then they may learn more effectively. When refugees relate their prior experiences and knowledges to solving problems and conceptualizing future experiences via some action, they can begin to develop critical consciousness. In the camps the Khmer can

react to what is familiar and what has helped them to cope with their own present life situation.

New methodologies must be developed and adapted specifically to meet the needs of displaced Khmer, not someone else's agenda. The Khmer need to be liberated from their current situation and not have someone else's educational context imposed on them. These people are apt to accept any new information given to them in the camps. Displaced Khmer need to understand the context of their own priorities (not someone else's) in the camp and relate those priorities with past experiences and any new information they receive.

Together as equal partners in dialogue they will come to know more about their priorities and be able to integrate any new information that becomes available. "Reducing the odds" will simply be one method among many that will be designed by the CIE to help refugees on the Thai border better understand the context and content of their priorities and to integrate their immediate learnings with their previous learnings and to conceptualize some future experience.

What's needed in the border camps are NFE programs. A needs assessment is also necessary as well as research to find out more about what it will take to rebuild their country. More education may be needed in the form of education for women, community development, literacy, health, problem solving, skills training, empowerment and cultural preservation.

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"Essa grande escola que é a OMCV"[1]:
Women's Organizations as Educational Processes -
a Cape Verdean Case

While most development efforts aimed at women assume that women's
organizations of various types can and do serve as mechanisms of education and/or
development for women, this assumption is founded on superficial understanding in
most cases. This presentation, based on an in-depth qualitative case study of one
base group of the Cape Verdean women's organization, Organização das Mulheres de
Cabo Verde (OMCV), shows some of the ways this organization does serve as a site of
learning and change, both through its accomplishments and, more interestingly,
through its dilemmas.

For this study, I spent about 15 months in participation, observation and
interviews with a base group of OMCV located in a peri-urban bairro of the capital
city called Tira Chapeu. Group members' actions and voiced perceptions revealed
important dimensions of these women's lives and the life of their group. Where
these two 'lives' meet, learning of a profound, subtle, and perhaps unexpected
nature has been occurring, part of larger and profound movements and shifts which
affect women's role and Cape Verdean society as a whole. In this presentation, I'll
discuss dimensions and dilemmas of the lives of the women who participated in the
study; reflect on how they are sites of learning for the women involved, for the
women's organization, and for society; and consider remaining problematic areas.

[1] Pedro Pires, former Prime Minister of Cape Verde, often
referred to "this big school that is OMCV".

1

The dimensions are many, but today I'll present two: 1) 'I don't go out': women's place; 2) women's life of duty and the concept of rights.

In order to situate this discussion, I'd like first to provide some background on the Republic of Cape Verde, the OMCV, and the bairro where the study took place, Tira Chapeu. The cliffs, craggy valleys, and sand-stretched beaches that are Cape Verde come out of the sea at about 450 kilometers from the western tip of Senegal and present to the world an experience of vibrant life in the midst of stark and difficult beauty. A resident population of about 337,000 shifts and struggles across the islands' 4,000 square kilometers of land surface, surviving principally on subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry, revenues from emigration, and relationships with other countries.

The country's difficulties are many, but its spirit is huge, and this is only one of its many paradoxes, contradictions, strange juxtapositions and joinings. Cast on these rocks where life is so uncertain, Cape Verdeans of all economic levels give their best and maybe only food to a stranger who walks into their midst. Sprawled across the globe to make a living, at the same time they are fiercely attached to their land. And confronting the possibility of profound despair, they create humor, proverbs of wisdom, wild and melancholy music, and deep-soul poetry to fill their lives with beauty and joy. The common maxim, dipos di sabi[2], more e ka

_____

[2] The Kriolu word, sabi, does not translate directly into English, in either word or concept. Yet this word is central to understanding life in Cape Verdean communities and the women's group I will discuss in this paper, and so I spend some space explaining it here. Sabi is both an adjective and a noun. In this maxim it's used as a noun. It comes from the word, sabura, having to do with pleasure. Related words in Portuguese are: sabor (taste, flavor), saboroso (savory), and saborear (to relish, to taste, to enjoy). The word is used in many ways. It can describe good-tasting food (kumida sabi), or a really wonderful party or other event (festa staba sabi), or to say 'we had a good time' (nu pasa sabi). 'Having a good time' has to do with many elements, principally: plenty (of food, drink or whatever); good company

2

nada, underlies the ultimate paradox of their lives. Once you've really enjoyed yourself, dying is nothing.

Uninhabited when 'discovered' by explorers for King Afonso V of Portugal in 1460, the islands became the basis of flourishing trade between Portugal, the African coast, and the Americas. The principal article traded was human life: slaves. From these early times, slaves were also brought to Cape Verde to work the plantations of large landowners in a system of _donatàrios_, land grants to noblemen who ruled the land and conducted trade as they saw fit. The mixing and blending of these peoples -- a very small number of white Europeans and a large number of Africans -- through various events and epochs created the unique creole society that became Cape Verde.

The Republic of Cape Verde gained its independence in 1975, as part of the international anti-colonial, anti-fascist struggle in Portugal and its African colonies. The key politician-soldier-philosopher of this revolution was Amîlcar Cabral, a Cape Verdean with close family ties to Guine-Bissau. Although he did not live to see his country freed, his thought continues to shape the rhetoric, and sometimes the reality, of politics and economics in Cape Verde.

In this rhetoric and the economic realities that accompany it, a struggle to balance autonomy and survival can be seen, for a key issue for Cape Verde is its relationship with other nations in the effort to survive. One of Cabral's key tenets was freedom from European economic and cultural domination through association and identification with Africa. But in practice, the post-independence

(lots of laughter, close friends and family, lively and fun conversation which usually includes a lot of informal story-telling); feeling welcome where you are, getting a good reception from your hosts in terms of their behavior toward you; and music and dancing.

government[5] maintained close ties with supportive European powers in order to develop a reliable flow of food and necessary goods. The other side of the autonomy question had been isolation and Portugal's abandonment of Cape Verde to famine in times of drought and disaster. The PAICV government worked against the living memory of the famine of 1947 -- when Portugal's only "help" strategy had been to send Cape Verdeans as conscripted laborers to plantations in São Tomé e Príncipe -- to ensure that Cape Verdeans would no longer starve.

The fragility of life evident in this recent history reflects the economic and geographic marginality[4] of this nation. It is off the path and has few natural resources. In order to survive the hardships of Cape Verdean life, people connect. Isolation is the enemy. Human links are the glue of social structure and the way to ensure survival. On a daily and local basis, various forms of mutual assistance and obligation function both practically and ritually across close ties of family, friendship, and neighborhood.

Human linking plays its role on an international scale as well, even beyond official government to government relationships. Cape Verdeans (historically,

[5] The post-independence government of the revolutionary party, PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guine e Cabo Verde), maintained federation with Guine-Bissau until the coup there in 1980. As a result of this coup, the Cape Verdeans separated from Guine-Bissau, renaming their party the Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde (PAICV) and reaffirming its continuity from Cabral's original party (PAIGC). See Davidson (1989) and PAICV (1983).

[4] I am aware that I am using the image of margin/center from the gender-class way of seeing and Marxian analysis. I believe this imagery effectively frames the issues linked to Cape Verde's economic position which I am discussing here. Of course, this image does put a certain lens on things, and another image could illuminate other facets.

4

mostly men)[5] emigrate for work and send earnings to families back home. Large

emigrant communities in Portugal, the United States, the Netherlands, France, and

Italy welcome the newcomers and continue the interdependent relationships that make

Cape Verdean life work.

Back home, women are responsible for the survival of their immediate and

extended families: they are the center of family life, the core of cultural life,

the backbone of subsistence. In a baseline socio-economic study of the island of

Santo Antão, Hemmings-Gapihan (1986) found that families on that island were

generally matrifocal. Moreover, most functioned on the basis of women's duty to

keep them going.

> Women, whether single or married, bear the burden of running the family.
> Even when both parents work, women spend a greater percentage of their
> earnings to feed the family. In case of separation, women often become
> the sole support of their children. Women bear the burden of children
> born out of wedlock.[6] (Hemmings-Gapihan, 1986:36)

While women bear this obligation, their resources for fulfilling it are weak.

"Because of emigration, women comprise nearly 60 percent of the country's potential

labor force of approximately 173,000 people. . . . Female unemployment and

underemployment rates are estimated to be twice as high as those for men. The

problem is particularly acute among female heads of households." (Clement, et al,

[5] Cape Verdeans have emigrated to many countries around the
world and continue to do so today. In general, mostly men have
gone, leaving women and families at home. Sometimes, families have
been able to join later. The one large exception to this picture
of gender-distinct emigration is the movement of young women from
the island of São Nicolau to Italy to work as maids. In current
times, the proportion of women emigrating independently has risen,
although no exact data is available at present. For further
discussion of Cape Verdean emigration and its role in social life
and structure, see Carreira (1982).

[6] Although data are not generalizable from island to island,
each island having its own social and cultural forms, I found this
situation to be generally true in the community I studied as well,
and so comfortably cite it here.

1989:1) Thus, in order to support their families and ensure them a future, women actively maintain the social bonds that constitute social security.

Women's central role -- and the fact that their numbers are far greater than men's in many places on the islands -- makes attention to women's needs, opportunities, and problems in Cape Verde more than the political rhetoric of equity; it is central to any consideration of the country's development and the establishment of a just social system.

In February 1990, the revolutionary party, PAICV, opened its one party state to a multi-party system. In January 1991, they lost the first multi-party national legislative elections. But the party now in power, MPD, Movimento para Democracia, on a wave of democratization and economic privatization, faces the same challenges that have shaped Cape Verde for centuries.

A luta continua: OMCV

Although women's "emancipation" by their own hands was a key element in Cabral's political philosophy of social justice, having a cohesive women's organization was not a PAIGC priority during the anti-colonial struggle in Guine-Bissau and Cape Verde (Fortes, 1991). However, after independence, a number of factors came together to create the Comissão Nacional Organizadora das Mulheres de Cabo Verde (CNOMCV) in 1978. Through the work of a core of about 16 women, the CNOMCV put together the structure and activities that would officially become the Organizacão das Mulheres de Cabo Verde (OMCV) on March 27, 1981 (OMCV, 1981:31-37).

From its inception, two threads ran through the stated raison d'être of this organization. An 'emancipation' thread appeared in the words of the third Congress

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of the Comité Nacional de Cabo Verde (CNCV) of PAIGC which gave an official push to

the formation of OMCV. In PAIGC doctrine, women deserved just and equal treatment

in society, but they had to liberate themselves. Thus, a national women's

organization would have to have mobilization for "liquidação da injustiça" as a

principal goal.

The other thread -- about 'integration into development' -- was expressed in

the CNOMCV's and the OMCV's earliest statutes:

> OMCV fights for the full integration of Cape Verdean women into the
> process of economic, social and cultural development of our country, in
> which our people are engaged under the direction of PAICV, with a view
> toward the construction of a homeland of progress and social justice,
> free of exploitation of man by his fellow man. (OMCV, 1981:85)

Embedded in this second thread was the assumption that liquidation of injustice was

in line with PAICV's plans for the country's socio-economic development, that these

two went hand in hand in both process and final objective. In addition, this

statement contained the idea that women were somehow isolated from this process and

needed to be 'integrated' into it. Other organization documents supported this view

of integrating women into a development process already underway, and emphasized

that removing blocks to women's equality would increase their participation,

quantitatively and qualitatively, in that process.

In practice, OMCV carried out both these threads of purpose, however sometimes

contradictory, as well as many more implicit objectives. The Comité Nacional's

report to the first Congress in July 1990 included accounts of activities in the

areas of education and training, information and culture, literacy education,

productive activities, construction and programming of Centros de Promoção Feminina,

construction and staffing of preschools, studies and documentation, and external

relations (OMCV, 1990a). ºRelatorio do comite nacionalş To implement these

programs, OMCV operated a structure that reflected the bottom-to-top premise.[7] The root of the tree was the grupo de base. In each residential community or workplace where women were mobilized, a grupo de base[8] formed and elected its own comité[9] and primeira secretária.[10] Three or more grupos de base in a geographical area joined together to form a secção[11], and all of the secções in each of the country's 15 concelhos joined to form the sector[12] of that concelho. At the national level, the congresso[13] was considered the órgão máximo, to meet regularly every five years or convoked by the comité nacional or by two-thirds of OMCV's members. Between congressos, OMCV was directed by the comité nacional[14], which was elected by the congresso and met twice a year. The daily operation of OMCV was assured by the secretariado executivo[15], made up of the Secretária-Geral, the Secretária-Geral Adjunta, and various Secretárias Nacionais[16] to cover the various domains of the organization's work.[17]

[7] This structure is almost identical to that of PAICV.

[8] base group

[9] committee

[10] First Secretary

[11] section

[12] sector

[13] congress

[14] national committee

[15] executive secretariat

[16] General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary, and National Secretaries, respectively

[17] See OMCV, 1981, pp. 88-95; OMCV, n.d., pp. 9-17; OMCV, 1990a.

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OMCV was greatly affected by the political changes that took place in Cape Verde during 1990 and 1991, because of its creation by and association with the party, PAICV. When PAICV lost the January elections, the organization managed to stay afloat, reorganize, and reaffirm its dedication to working for women's needs. Still involved in a soul-searching, readjusting and redefining phase when I left in May 1991, and greatly reduced in paid staff, OMCV was still working, still getting funding to build preschools, still doing a family planning project here and there, still holding international women's day events.

This paper is neither a history nor an analysis of OMCV as a whole. What it is is a look at some issues in the life of one group, and some thoughts about what that group's life might mean for the members of that group, and for the organization as a whole. The group that shared its life with me was the group of Tira Chapeu.

Generative themes in Tira Chapeu life

As soon as I turned the corner into Tira Chapeu, I always felt as if I was going into a different world, a world of dust and piles of cement block and crumbling walls, of shouting and raucous laughter and the edge between joy and pain. Entering Tira Chapeu felt a little like walking into uncertainty, into volatility. And now that I look back on it, it seems that all this was because I was walking into poverty.

But then it became also the world I knew, where people knew me, like going home, going to a place where I felt comfort and care, where I couldn't get two steps down a street without someone calling out to me or greeting me or teasing me into banter and laughter, much more my "home" than the neighborhood where I lived. It was a place of peace and comfort -- the safety of close ties -- and a place of life

and liveliness -- where people knew how to deal with what life handed out to them, where another baby was still a God-given blessing even when there was nothing to feed it, where small occasions were reason for dancing even when there was no wine, and where friends, neighbors and relatives were mourned deeply and intensely and then life went on. It had to go on.

Tira Chapeu is one of a network of peripheral urban bairros[18] ringing the central plateau of Praia up and down a series of bluffs (tchada) and dry riverbeds (rubera) edged by the sea. Once, the central plateau was the city of Praia. Now the plateau is merely the microscopic center of a sprawling metropolis, created mostly through rural-urban migration due to the extended drought and its effect on agricultural conditions in the interior. Even government offices and businesses have spilled over into the areas surrounding the plateau whereas once they were all located there.[19]

Tira Chapeu is one of the oldest areas of this type.[20] It's nestled at the

[18] Bairro doesn't have a direct translation. A bairro might be called a neighborhood, but its boundaries are a little more distinct than those of a neighborhood and it has a name. Bairros like Tira Chapeu are as commonly referred to as zonas, a more general word meaning zone or area.

[19] Tira Chapeu residents tell the meaning of the name of the bairro: "take off your hat", and thus bear witness to Praia's expansion. When people first settled in Tira Chapeu, so many years ago, they say, you could see the church in Praia's main square from here. As is the tradition of travelers in Cape Verde, when they first catch sight of a church, men take off their hats and everyone crosses himself or herself. And so it was that when travelers coming into Praia on the Cidade Velha road crested the hill where they could first see the central city, they took off their hats. Tira Chapeu.

[20] Some of the women participating in my study had come to Tira Chapeu as long ago as the 1940's, many in the late part of that decade during the 1947 famine. That famine stimulated a good deal of urban migration because emergency food was given out at centers in Praia. Other families had settled in Tira Chapeu even earlier. One woman in her sixties had come with her family when

side of the road leaving the city to the west toward Cidade Velha, the ancient capital. It spreads out across the rubera from the rambling bairro of Achada Santo Antônio, a city in itself, between Palmareijo, the bairro of embassies and their upper middle class neighbors, and Terra Branca, the "bairro the government built" (as people say), with its schools, three-story houses and apartment complexes for civil servants. Tira Chapeu has also become the industrial zone of Praia, a series of factories lining the side of the Cidade Velha road opposite to the residential section. Its people are working class, when they have work: former farmers transplanted to the city, skilled and unskilled laborers (stonemasons, carpenters, drivers, construction workers) working privately or on the government workfronts, lower to mid-range civil servants, small business people, domestic workers, street vendors, fishermen and women fish vendors.

Since 1970, Tira Chapeu has grown beyond its own proportions. The feel of Tira Chapeu -- and its residents' stories and impressions -- speaks of growth, busting out of its seams, in terms of both occupation of land area and infrastructures no longer adequate for its many people's needs. In spite of its growing population and expanding land area, it has few formal infrastructures of its own. Where government infrastructures don't exist, residents find their own ways to solve their problems. In fact, most residents' background is rural. They are accustomed to creating their own communities, their own systems, their own problem-solving methods. Yet, with residence in the capital comes an awareness of other kinds of support systems -- and an expectation that their community should have them.

she was still a young girl.

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In these terms, Tira Chapeu's infrastructures are inadequate for its needs.
To serve this population in water, two _chafaris_[21] exist. There is one public
bathhouse/toilet. There is no sewage system, no waste disposal site. The roads are
dirt.[22] The nearest open market is at the crossroads of Terra Branca and Achada
Santo Antônio, a very small market. The only schools within the community are two
rented rooms of houses, used as classrooms. The rest of Tira Chapeu's
schoolchildren walk to schools in Achada Santo Antônio or Terra Branca or Várzea.
The nearest medical center is a 15-minute walk into Achada Santo Antônio, the
nearest pharmacy another 10 minutes down the same way. A nurse who lives in Tira
Chapeu moonlights to serve many people's health needs for payment.[23] Practitioners
of traditional medicine also prescribe and heal. There are small private shops in
Tira Chapeu, some of which also serve as bars. No restaurants exist, although women
make snackfood and sweets at home and sell them door to door. A consumer
cooperative, which had been years in the planning, started to function in 1991.

People live outside their houses in Tira Chapeu, the roads filled with
laughter, shouting, talking, children playing. On a typical day, a woman cleans
fish in a small round plastic pan, gutting it, scraping the fins, washing it with

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[21] Water fountain - in Tira Chapeu, the main _chafaris_ was a
small cement building with a locked iron grate door, housing three
spigots. The building would be unlocked at the time the water
flowed each day, for about an hour just after sunrise, then locked
up again. This _chafaris_ was fed by a city water main. A second
chafaris existed in Tira Chapeu, in another part of the
neighborhood, this one supplied by a water truck, and opened for a
brief time in the afternoon.

[22] The one cobblestoned road is the road to Cidade Velha
running beside Tira Chapeu, between the residential zone and the
factory zone on the other side of this road.

[23] As a resident and neighbor, the nurse had a payment system
that was real but flexible.

water. Children scramble and cavort on the piles of jora[24] and sand left in front of houses under construction. Men appear in the unfinished windows on first and second stories wearing the grime and grit of building. Half-built stone and cement block houses announce the election campaign: Viva PAICV!, Fora P. Pires!, MPD e nhaco![25] scrawled over them in white paint. Women pass by at their work, one going home from a neighbor's house, another coming by with her tray of bananas and vegetables on her head to sell. "Es atun!"[26] a common cry of women fish vendors selling tuna, they painstakingly cut this big fish into small 25 or 50-escudo pieces, which the woman or girl buying will put into that day's pot of rice or katchupa, the staple dish.

And all around, the presence of women. They make up the market at the Terra Branca crossroads, sit at each other's houses tending children, wander the streets selling this or that food item or article of clothing. Men are there too, and boys, but peripherally. They seem to be not there, out working or emigrated, or no permanent man there in the first place, or just out. And even when they are there, they are on the fringes, in the courtyards combing their hair to go out, resting having just come in from work, listening to sports on the radio, sitting around outside playing cards with friends. The women are the center, with their children

[24]   Jora is a kind of volcanic rock used in construction.

[25]   Various slogans of the 1990-1991 legislative election campaign: "Long live PAICV!" (the formerly single party), "Out with P. Pires!" (the former prime minister), "MPD is great!" (MPD was the opposition party newly created in 1990, which swept the elections in 1991) Slogans like these plastered all available public space during the campaign.

[26]   "Tuna here!" Tuna is a prevalent and favored fish in the local diet. Its price fluctuates according to availability, which varies by the time of year and the weather.

around them, they are the visible presence in Tira Chapeu, keeping things going: laughter, loving, and life itself.

And amidst the cacaphony that is Tira Chapeu's daily life and spirit, some women are members of the Tira Chapeu OMCV group. Joana, the group's leader, claimed that some 80 women were official members, signed-up on paper, although that number had diminished, she said, because of women moving away, emigrating, dying, marrying or building houses outside the bairro. Maybe about 50 were active at the time of this study, according to her calculations. From my experience, about 30 showed up at meetings regularly, with a more solid core of about 10 to 20 to help Joana more consistently. Most of the women involved were women without wage jobs, though most worked in the informal sector in some way, a few rather successfully. One woman who participated in the study owned a small shop/tavern and spent a vacation almost every year with her grown children in Lisbon. But most lived on a sharper edge of survival. Some were maids, some did a little selling house to house or at markets. Most had little or no schooling. The majority were not formally married, although all except the two youngest[27] and one older woman were or had been in unions with men and had children. They ranged in age from 20 to about 70, either migrated from rural areas by one means or another, or born and raised in Tira Chapeu. Several had spent some years in São Tomé e Príncipe as contracted laborers as a result of the 1947 famine.

Initially, 28 of the 30 women who attended the organizing meeting for the study formally signed up to participate.[28] I ended up doing tape-recorded

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[27] This number was three, but one of these had her first child while I was carrying out the study.

[28] Although, in order to abide by the ethical standards of my study, I wanted to have participation from those who had been at the meeting, had understood and agreed to the terms of the study, this was impossible to control. After this initial meeting, many

interviews with 24 of these; one moved away about a month after I'd begun the study and I was unable to schedule interviews with the other three. Of these 24, one emigrated to Lisbon and one died during the course of the study. But my informal talks and daily experience, much more important than the formal interviews, were with a broader range of women. And some women who had never been involved in the previous phases of the study showed up during its last phase, the small group discussions on themes in the history of the group.

'I don't go out': women's place

Not so very long ago -- and to a large extent, even now -- women were closed in, both literally and figuratively. Their movements were largely restricted, via actual control by family and mates and via their desire to maintain a good social reputation, with the exception of activities related to their survival duties. Thus, the small ways in which they are breaking out of this control, perhaps insignificant in another society, are extremely important for the women in Tira Chapeu. Women's membership in the OM group represents breaking out. At the same time, it means conforming to new standards and group norms.

For the sake of time, I will present just a few examples of how this theme appeared in women's personal lives, and then move to discussing how it affected the women's group.

other women heard about the study and asked to participate. In addition, at group events, women other than those who signed up formally also participated. I did formal tape-recorded conversations only with women who had signed letters of consent that day, but other women's lives inescapably entered into the 'data' I collected.

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As my understanding of women's lives in Tira Chapeu began to rise up out of the mist of confusion, in the early months of my stay there, I began to hear more loudly women's words picturing their spheres of movement as relatively small. As my experience with the women and their group expanded, this picture took on importance because it was very different than the one I'd imagined. On the surface, women looked free to go wherever they wanted, but as I listened more closely, it became clear that they did not feel this way, and in their life stories, had known a great deal of restriction via social norms and their desire to fit the image of "good woman", as well as actual control by family and mates.

In many realms, men clearly had "say" over what their women did, although women did not always listen. Using birth control was one of these realms. In Antonia's case, it was her pai-di-fidju[28] who determined that she would go to see about birth control. "In fact, he sent me. I didn't want to. He says we're poor, he is the only one with a job, it's not good to have lots of kids." She did in fact use the pill for some time, but after it started causing her physical problems, her mate agreed that she should stop.

But control of women's sexuality went beyond this direct control by spouses. Many of the women were raised "almost locked up", as Rita recounted. "Our father raised us to stay in the house. 7 pm and we were in bed, we never went anywhere." As an adult, by herself she only went back and forth to Praia, she said, but never anywhere else. Toka also had this experience, and cites it as the reason she never had children.

> It's not that I didn't want any ´childrenS, but there was no way. My
> uncle kept me under lock and key. When the woman (my grandmother) who
> raised me died, every night he would come tap on the window here. When

[28] father-of-child/children - describes the man a woman is connected to through common law marriage, or who is simply the father of her children

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I asked who it was, he would answer: 'Ah, you've gone to bed?' Then he left. If he came by in the evening and found me sitting here, he would tell me to go to bed. If I wanted to go or not, I went. They loved me a lot.

Toka associated this control with love and proper behavior. Aldira illustrated how a more general norm and the image of a good woman controlled women's behavior in this realm.

> If a woman "has more than one man§, it's not right. It's not pretty. Even if a man does it, men and woman are not the same. If a woman does it, her name is changed, she's called bad things. It's ugly for the families. If I hear that, if I have a child that did that, it wouldn't be good, it would be shameful, there would be a lot of gossip. It's not good. They say women have the same rights as men, but it's not true. The thing is not pretty. If women did the same as men, the world would be different. It wouldn't be good.

Tina lived a similar story. Her grandmother and father controlled how she could dress -- and thus her image as a good woman -- because her father paid for her clothes.

> When I was a girl, my grandmother made me wear long skirts. I wanted to earn money so I could wear what I liked. When I got older, I became a mudjer di nagosiu "woman of business§ -- made pastel, sold fish. One day I worked selling fish and earned 80 or so escudos. I went to buy cloth and have a dress made -- a pretty cloth -- 13 escudos per meter. I also made a slip that was in style then. I bought underpants and kunbinason and went to show my father: "I've bought this!" My father's rapariga sewed the dress for me. . . . Our grandmother wanted us to wear long dresses, but we would cry and ask for a style called "pockets and belt." Our father didn't like shorter skirts -- he said girls who wore them didn't get consideration - he paid only for long skirts.

Her father sought to preserve the image of good woman for his young daughter, an image that forcefully influenced women's ideas and actions in the realm of sexuality and fertility.

Spouses' direct control also played an important role in women's working outside the home. Many women who had worked outside the home before living with a man, stopped working when their man was around. In some cases, this was in part

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because they no longer had to work to survive. But for the most part, as Nisia told, it was because their mates wanted their women at home.

> He didn't like me to work. He didn't want me to leave the house! He didn't like it if he would come home and there would be no one there.

Sandra also told this tale.

> After the work with the Chinese ended, I didn't work any more. I managed to work for a month and a half in someone's house, but that was it. I didn't stay there because I was with this pai-di-fidju and he would come home for lunch at noon, and there was no one to do that work, make lunch, and all that. He wanted me to quit the job because when he came home for lunch, there was no lunch.

Her mate's expectation that she should be responsible for putting meals on the table -- those things related to survival -- kept her from working as a servant. Since he provided their income, she went along. Antonia's pai-di-fidju also did not want her to leave her home duties to go to work as a servant. His concern was that there would be no one to stay with their children.

Interestingly, work outside the home for the purposes of survival was often the one detour acceptable -- because necessary -- in the rather small circle of movement that made up most of the women's lives.

The issues of control and breaking out were perhaps some of the most important themes that emerged from women's words about how they saw their group. On the one hand, men exercised control in the realm of the group by giving or denying permission to their mates to join. In addition, social reputation and the image of the good woman played a role in determiningwhether women participated in the group. On the other hand, many women defied these controls to join the group because the group represented breaking out, opening their horizons, and going places. Moreover, the activities of the women's organization as a whole emphasized the idea of women learning, expanding, finding valid alternative life choices. Its rhetoric contained

the idea of changing the image of women as well as their reality, bringing them into

contact with other women, new ideas, and into new relationship with their partners.

Some men exercised direct control over women's decisions in the domain of the

OM group, as they did in other domains. Many women talked about asking their mates

for permission or approval to join the group. Sinta waited until she was free of

her mate and child-raising duties to become really involved in the group. She

explained that her husband would not have let her go to that or any other activity.

> He wouldn't have let me, he would say: you're going out to all these
> places, you'll do this and that. So I just sat. I didn't go anywhere.
> Well, I went to church but not regularly. Because, you see, he would
> say: oh, you're going to church? You would go to church, you wouldn't
> want to . . . because "he would think" you had someone on the side. But
> after I threw him out, I went to church, I went to mass every Sunday, we
> held rosary at Nhu Filipe's house, we held rosary at the chapel, every
> week.

So many of the women in the group were not living with men that they had no need to

ask. Yet others were controlled by more general forces of social image.

Because women got out and about with the OM group, an activity that didn't fit

the picture of the good woman, the group had a less than spotless reputation with

many people in the community, among both men and women. Rita linked husbands'

refusal to let their women join to this problem of social reputation.

> Some, their husbands won't let them. Because at one time, we were
> called whores — if we went out people would say: look at those whores
> there, where are they going? Here they come, etc. Everyone mistreated
> us. Now it's better, but there are still some who say these things —
> men and women both. So some men don't like their wives to go. Because
> we go out and about at any hour, with Joana. Wherever there's a party
> or a meeting, we go at the hour it occurs. Lots of husbands don't like
> it -- say that we're whores. Even today, there are many women who don't
> join because of that. They want to join, but they can't because their
> husbands won't let them. This is the reason I've heard most.

The women who participated in the study clearly identified the group's

activities that got them out and about as a big part of what they liked about the

group. To these women, breaking out was a big part of what it was all about. Joana

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explained how in the beginning, women's relatively sheltered situation made many

hesitant to join.

> . . . a lot of women were afraid to join. They didn't know what it was,
> they weren't familiar . . . we did more and more activities . . . we did
> campaigns, we went to Terra Branca, we came to Tira Chapeu, we went to
> Achada . . . we went and mobilized, mobilized people . . .

Thus, getting a group started required active mobilization, literally getting women

out.

For Joana personally, joining OM and PAICV was an act of breaking away from

the despair of her troubles. The contact with other people and the activity outside

her small realm of daily survival brought her joy and new life.

> I joined OM in '81, no, in '79. . . . At the time that I joined the OM
> group - actually I became . . . a militant of the Party - it was despair
> because of my husband that caused me to do this. To the extent that I
> really am obliged to that husband now, because if it hadn't been for
> that despair I probably wouldn't have joined. It made me happy because
> it was a lot of activity, very animated, made me animated.

Maria Fatima too cited this very personal reason as one of those that brought her

into OM activities.

> The education, the social contact, and also I was a bit isolated, you
> could say, so I thought, let me join this organization of women with
> these trainings that they have and those other things. And we will
> organize, because I always like organized things.

Sinta talked about getting out and going places with Joana.

> I went with Joana, we would go to the interior. We went on a passeio to
> Tarrafal twice. I never don't go, once I had had and raised my kids.
> Once I got off that road though --- People tease me and say that after
> I got rid of my man, I started going everyplace. And I say: I have my
> free will now, and I don't have to justify myself to anyone. I say:
> should I just sit around and wait for death to take me?! I won't know
> anything, I'll just stay the way I am?! No, I'll go wherever I can go.
> Suffice Joana to say, let's go, if my feet will take me, I go with her.

Rita talked about getting out in two ways. The first was the chance to get

out literally, visiting places and seeing events.

> I've gone lots of places, I've learned lots of things, I've gotten to
> know lots of places I didn't know before, lots of people that I didn't

know. Before I would have been shy to approach them, but now -- . . .
We've gone to the Assembly, we went to the airport to meet those people
who came "the presidents of "os cinco"§, we went down below to the
gymnasium, we went to that other place in Fazenda "Centro Social§, we
went to Assomada, we wandered around everyplace in Assomada, we were
shown "everything§, we went to Tarrafal and were shown all those places.
. . . I think it's good because you get to know a lot of things you
didn't know, you go to meetings and you understand a lot of things. If
you don't understand something, you ask. . . . Saturday we went to the
gymnasium . . . I was really amazed by all those things they did there
"a gymnastics exposition§. . . I had never been there before.[30] Me, I
just go back and forth to Praia.

The second was getting out of shyness, widening her horizons, that is, learning how

to do new things.

You learn to talk to people, you learn to start a friendship with
someone, you learn how to enter someone's house and say 'good morning'
or 'good afternoon', you learn how to be among those people, calm,
feeling relaxed. If there's a <u>batuku</u> and you want to learn to dance,
you can learn. . . . The first time I went "to a meeting§ I felt
afraid. When those people came from Praia to hold meetings with us we
were embarassed, timid. We didn't speak for a long time because we
weren't used to it. "check with original tape§

The goals and activities of OMCV as a whole supported the women's image of

their group as a way of breaking out. OMCV implemented efforts at educating women

in a number of realms. Up to the time of the study, their principal activities in

education had been for literacy education and health and family planning education.

They also did civic education through information-sharing about what was happening

in the political life of the country, teaching women about their rights,

disseminating information about the family code and the abortion law. They provided

scholarships for women to continue schooling both in Cape Verde and abroad. They

conducted various types of training for their own staff and members at various

levels. They organized exchanges among women from different parts of the islands.

They encouraged the practice of traditional music and culture. They organized trips

[30] This gymnasium is a ten-minute walk down the hill from
Tira Chapeu and was built several years ago.

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for women to go places, see the national assembly, the new port, the television station.

In their rhetoric, too, this element was emphasized, especially since in the Cape Verdean social context, communication and contact was seen as so important. Getting out, getting to know, learning were all key words in OMCV life.

But there were contradictions involved in learning new ways. For although the OM group represented breaking out of certain social norms, it also meant reinforcing others or conforming to new ones. The women's stories about the crisis of the abortion law meetings illustrated aspects of this dilemma. Around the time that the abortion law was being considered and then passed, OMCV held meetings to inform people about it and discuss the issue. In this largely Catholic country, abortion is a complex issue. The law legalized abortion during the first trimester, when performed by a doctor in the hospital, on demand by the pregnant woman. Clandestine abortion, and abortion performed by unqualified persons, continued to be heavily punished. Most people, including women, disagreed with abortion and felt it should not be legalized. Some felt that it should be legal in order to save a mother's life but not otherwise. In spite of this overwhelming voice against abortion, expressed aloud and in public, clandestine abortion had been widely practiced, and in fact continues to be practiced today.

It was in the process as much as in the content of the abortion law meetings that crisis was provoked. Many women felt that their voices against the law were not heard, that they had to go along with it because it had already been decided. Some left the group altogether as a result. Others' participation diminished. Maria Fatima, who stayed with the group even though she disagreed, spoke about these meetings in her interview, articulating views similar to those of many women who left the group.

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I don't know if they were unhappy or what. But from that time, I felt
this problem "with OM§. Then I began to not participate much in
meetings because I found that it's not an open meeting for one to bring
one's problems to it, because if it's an open meeting for one to bring
one's problems, I even think we here would be more developed[31]. Because
I might bring up my problem and be given ideas. But clearly so that I
can understand concretely. It's not right to hide things from me when I
am seeing those things. For example, those people "the OM leaders§-- I
might have some knowledge of that thing but not too much, there might be
people who have more knowledge than me. But there are also people who
have less knowledge than me. And they will stay ignorant. We have to
proceed with things clearly. My conscience tells me to go and I go,
another's tells her to go and she goes, but if it doesn't she shouldn't
go. Because if I orient/lead a group of people, I have to proceed
clearly. I can't go deceiving the people I'm leading. Wherever I go
and people bring up problems or issues, they should be dealt with
clearly. For me to be oriented too. If it gets to being falsities, I
can't . . . . Neither that girl "who led the meeting§, nor those people
who were there, none of them agreed with what I said, they were all
against it. . . . Everyone showed that they thought the thing was good,
because there are so many people in the world . . . We have ways to
avoid "pregnancy§ that everyone should know about, everyone should know
how to avoid, as individuals. Because our country is poor, they don't
have means. Even to have one after the other "isn't good§, one just
walking and the other in the hand, and so on. But we have to look for a
way. We shouldn't do this contrary thing. But everyone was against
this. . . . Even other women. Some who didn't go against me, didn't
support me either. It was only me and Nha Veninha. But others showed
their discontent "with me§ very clearly. . . . I was shocked, upset by
that. So I really don't go much anymore; even if I go I don't
participate a lot. I don't give my opinion, because it's not an open
meeting where one can put forth her idea. I have to go with the idea of
someone else?! I should be able to put forth my idea, clarify . . .

Later in the research, Maria Fatima spoke at more length about what was behind the

problem of conforming. One day, she listened again to her original interview and on

hearing the part about the abortion meeting, she laughed. I asked her why. She

responded:

I was courageous to say that -- at one time it was a dictatorship, those
things weren't said -- at that meeting, I spoke out, but if you spoke
out, at the headquarters they'd put a mark against your name if you
didn't agree with something. I speak out but even the women around here
don't agree with me, think I should just go along. That's the way
people are educated here, to just follow what one person says; they
don't have a voice. That's Tira Chapeu and Cape Verdean tradition.

[31]   desenvolvidu - also means: educated, advanced

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Always one person saying what to do and others following. Maybe because
of the slavery tradition -- people were always afraid of being hit or
killed, and that stayed until now. Maybe that will change with time
now. . . . In OM, they sometimes say something's black when I see it's
white. They don't say: well, it's white but there's this and this and
this.

Obviously, the question of 'breaking out' reflected the complexity of

processes of change. The women in the Tira Chapeu group and the national

organization were still learning from the abortion law phase, struggling to break

out in fact and not just in form. Was the organization a way to break out, or just

another set of rules to which they had to conform?

Women's life of duty and the concept of rights

The concept of women's rights has been a key element of women's movements

worldwide. Yet in Cape Verde, where women and men see their lives as a collection

of duties, the concept of rights can be problematic. OMCV itself demonstrated this

problematic. An organization whose main objectives incorporated the 'emancipation'

of women, its statutes listed 11 duties and 5 rights of members. From my American

1990's perspective, I was initially surprised to find "to fight for the integration

and promotion of women in Cape Verdean society" listed under duties; I might have

expected to see some other phrasing of the same idea included instead under rights.

In addition, OMCV members had the duty "to make an effort to improve their level of

education and political training." I thought to see, rather, the right to education

and information. Yet the naming of learning as a duty to society, rather than as a

right, went beyond OMCV. It was common to adult literacy organizations as well.

The crucial life issue of legal access to child support illustrated the

dilemma of 'women's rights'. OMCV as a national organization helped fight to change

the family code in order to make it possible for women to obtain child support

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through legal means. Although both single and married women were entitled to go to court to claim child support from the fathers of their children, few women actually took advantage of this right. Many explained their reasons why in terms of pride. Nisia, separated from a pai-di-fidju who also had another family, seemed to see such a claim almost on a par with begging.

> If he wants to give his kids food, he can give. If he doesn't want to, fine. The eight years in prison, I made do for those years. I was the one who worked to provide for them. Now, God will continue to help us. . . . I won't complain. I don't like it. Suppose they would go and [sanction him; check - unclear]. I don't like that. For me, if a man wants to give to his kids, he gives. If he doesn't want to, for me to go complain, to oblige him to give because it's his kid -- that's obligating him! I won't complain.

[Several overlapping lines between Nisia's and Suzana's explanations] both strstrong complain about anybody if he can't give to his child because he already knows he should give. I won't go. I will work whatever I find and provide for them. I won't complain for anyone to give his child food. If he finds that it's kid and he wants to give, he'll give. If he thinks he doesn't have to give, that's his problem. . . . He [a former pai-di-fidju] gives to them. But he didn't give before. Later he started to give to them. But I didn't complain about him; he gave of his own free will. 1000 escudos per kid per month. Sometimes 750, sometimes 1500. According to what he can give, he gives. If he has more, he gives more. If he has less, he gives less.

For Suzana, it appeared that "giving of his own free will" was more important than any material benefit she might obtain by going to court.

Evidently, a law on the books was not enough, even when that law could ease a woman's economic burden and improve her family's life. In this situation, issues of pride and norms of social interaction proved stronger than either legal right or material advantage. Although the organization had done well to make this child support possible, it did not deal with the issues that prevented women from acting to obtain it. Thus, the 'right' women had lay largely untouched, and many women continued to struggle to feed their children without the fathers' support. Still, the issue of the right to child support too, like the abortion law, was a point in a long process of change. Many women have been using this right, and the organization is still learning, still seeking other alternatives.

OMCV was also active in the area of providing maternal-child health education in communities, and promoting women's use of services which would protect their health and that of their children. Women's right to health and health care was promoted and worked on. In Tira Chapeu, maternal-child health and family planning education sessions had been held at various intervals. But the challenge the organization faced in really protecting women's health was vast. Fifteen years after independence, they were still only at the beginning.

The story of Nisia's death illustrated another aspect of the gap between women's rights and women's practices, as well as the complex problems women faced in protecting themselves. The why's and wherefore's of Nisia's behavior remained a mystery, but her story made a lesson Joana taught to the women's group. Nisia was a feisty woman, the one who quit her job when her boss refused to give her a day off, not one to take things lying down. In September of 1990, I learned that she was pregnant again at 41, with a long history of difficulty in pregnancy and many children dead from infant diseases. Joana and I were passing by her house. She was washing clothes. Joana called to her and teased her, and then called to my attention that Nisia was pregnant. In fact, it was very obvious. "Didn't you notice?" Nisia asked me. "Well," I said, feeling stupid, "I don't notice these things; I thought you were just healthy, but now that I really look I can see it's true." Knowing that she was no longer with her old pai-di-fidju, and hadn't been for many years, I wondered if he were again her pai-di-fidju now that he'd gotten out of prison and although living with someone else, or whether Nisia had got herself a new man.

In October, I learned more about Nisia's situation. Gossiping with Joana, she told me about Nisia's pai di fidju. "So it's that same man?" I asked. "Yes, the

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same one," said Joana. "That baby — what for?" exclaims Joana. I wondered the same.

About a week later, on my way to Maria Jose's, I stopped to talk to Nisia who was again washing clothes in front of her house, under the tree there. I asked her how long until the baby. "Awhile," she said, "two and a half months." But she was about to go into the hospital. Whenever she has a baby, she said, she goes into the hospital about two months before delivery, because she has physical problems, high blood pressure primarily, and it's dangerous. In a little while, she'd be going to the hospital until the baby was born. I supposed her concerns were even greater now that she was older. Nonetheless, there she was washing and washing clothes. Her usual chipper and joking self.

A few weeks later, I ran into Malvina and Nisia's daughter at the bus stop in Terra Branca, on their way to the hospital to visit Nisia. I chatted with them for a minute, briefly mentioning I'd like to go see her one of these days too.

But a week later it was too late. On November 27, at about 8:00 in the morning, Nisia died. I was at OMCV to have my appointment with the new General Secretary. Isabel told me, "A woman in the Tira Chapeu group died." "No," I said, "not Nisia." "Yes," she said, "in the hospital this morning." I felt a huge crash. Nisia with her spirit and spunk, saying to me: "Me, if I get mad I just leave. I won't stay." Maybe she just got mad and decided to leave for one last time.

I went directly to Tira Chapeu. I found Joana at home, getting ready to go to Nisia's house where her body was laid out. "O Joana," I cried out, "how did it happen?" They delivered the baby last week, she told me, because Nisia's body couldn't support it anymore. It was dead? I asked. No, she said, but it was too small to stay alive once delivered, and died. And then Nisia had problems with her

kidneys, and her liquid was not coming out, and so they extracted the liquid from her and it was black and bloody. And this morning she died.

A few weeks after the funeral, I visited Nisia's 21-year-old daughter. The front room of the house had been rearranged again a bit since Nisia was laid out there. But as on that day, the customary table that stood in the center of the room, the one Nisia ironed on, was gone. And dominating everything was the huge poster of the woman and baby which had always captured my eye there. It had a particularly ambivalent look to me that day. Before I saw it just as a beautiful young (white) mother, her long black hair and large dark eyes, painted with eyeliner a la 1960's, making her look older than she was, happily clutching her new child to her chest. It was an anonymous photo in black and white, maybe a yard high. A kind of Mona Lisa with child, but without the smile. A study in beauty, milkiness. But today the woman's eyes looked out over that room, where Nisia died trying to bear a child like hers, and wondered. The suggestion of a smile, of peace, was gone from this picture for me. And her gaze was far away from the baby nuzzling her neck. She was wondering. The baby was there, she had borne it, but she was wondering. And I was thinking too, how interesting that this beautiful and haunting image of mother and child should so loom over this room of a woman who had so much trouble, who struggled to survive, every time she was with child. Joana said to me when we were talking about Nisia after my return from Dakar: "It's the woman's fault. The doctor told her to avoid having any more children."

And I wondered, as maybe that woman in the photo wondered, how did it happen? Why? The complex issues of responsibility, need, self-protection and power that circled Nisia's story represented the what needed to be understood in order to work to protect women's health.

For Tira Chapeu women, 'rights' were not enough. Demands on their lives were great: the duty to have children, to be a good woman, to take care of the daily survival of their families. Needs were great too: to have a mate, to have providers, to have respect for oneself and from others. These demands and needs forced open a gap between 'rights' and what women would or could actually do. Here, too, the women involved in OMCV were making a start. They were struggling and learning.

Women's Literacy and Social Change in Bangladesh
Mainus Sultan

In this paper I would like to elaborate on the socio-economic status of women as well as literacy programs and their potential for social change in Bangladesh. Efforts will be made to explain the developmental changes currently occurring among the female population of the country. I'll focus on the literacy program which is being used as a vital tool for the purpose of women's liberation. NGOs, (non governmental organizations), that have been contributing an important role for more than a decade to organize rural, poor women in literacy programs will be also included in this discussion.

Available data on health, nutrition, education and economic performance indicate that the status of women in Bangladesh remains considerably inferior to that of men. The nature of Bangladeshi families are patriarchal. Women have no access to the decision-making process at both family and societal levels. Women, in custom and practice, remain subordinate to men in all aspects of their lives. Most women's lives remain centered on their traditional roles as wives and mothers. They have very limited access to markets, productive services, education, health care and local government.

About 82% of women live in rural areas. The majority of rural women, perhaps 70%, work as an agricultural laborers. Most of them are landless. They work for land owners or support their father or husbands in cultivating land. Many of them work parttime or seasonally, usually in post harvest activities, and receive payment in kind or cash wages. According to the wage law of Bangladesh, women are expected to get the same wages as men. But in practice they are offered a lower rate of wages.One prevalent custom existing in Bangladeshi culture that is women usually submit wages to their male partner or father. Most of the women perform 80% to 90% household works including child rearing, cooking and keeping livestock and poultry. The economic contribution of women is substantial but largely unacknowledged.

Education:

The data mentioned below shows the poor participation of women in education.

Male Literacy rate in 1988- 29%
Female literacy rate in 1988- 13.2%
Total enrollment in the 7 universities in 1986 was 27,487 of which 20% were female.

Women in Politics:

Although a woman was elected as a prime minister in 1991 through a democratic process and the leader of the opposition in the parliament is also a woman, these two example do not indicate the greater participation of women in politics. These examples rather imply the leadership vacuum created in the country after the assassination of the women's relatives, (husband and father), who were the two major political leaders. The election of the two women leaders is a direct result of their relationship to their prominent relatives rather than their own political abilities. These two exceptions do not erase the fact that the vast majority of women in Bangladesh have no access to the political process.

The following data will help to explain the poor participation of women in the politics of Bangladesh. In the 1979 parliamentary election, only 17 women were among 2,125 candidates for 300 seats. None of the women won the election. Female participation in politics is labeled anti-Islamic by conservative men throughout the country. According to the scholars and researchers involved in women's development issues, the nature of the women's oppression in Bangladesh is two dimensional. This is that a) the whole population, both men and women, is being exploited by an oppressor class and the women suffer the worst of it and b) the male members of the society directly oppress the female.

In my opinion, I would like add one more dimension. It is the oppression of the mother-in-law. The new bride's relationship with her mother-in-law is culturally considered more important than her relationship with her husband. New brides never enjoy access to the decision-making process of the family. Mother-in-laws often harass the new brides for late payment of the dowry. A large number of young brides commit suicide each year because of in law's tyranny. The vicious circle continues when the new bride becomes a mother-in-law and she also harasses the newcomer.

The Role of NGOs in Development

Since the mid 70s, the NGO has emerged as a vital force in the area of social development. Approximately 500 small and large national and international NGOs work throughout Bangladesh. Many of them organize non-formal adult literacy programs in rural areas. A large number of NGOs emphasize women's development and women's literacy as a priority. BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee), FIVDB (Friends In Village Development Bangladesh), RDRS (Ranpur Dinaspur Rural Service) and others have developed non-formal adult literacy materials. These materials focus on women's development issues.

There are a few NGOs dedicated to working only with the female
population but still have a principally male administrative
staff. Three other NGOs are committed to administrative
participation by women as well as identifying women as their sole
target group. These are Nari Paska (The Party of the Women),
Mohila Somity (Association of the Women), and Usha (The Morning).
Nari Paksha organizes workshops, arranges protest meetings and
street demonstrations. They also provide legal assistance.
Mohila Somity has a network among the urban women. Usha
organizes workshops and seminars on gender relationships.

NGOs are utilizing non-formal literacy approach as a tool for
women's awareness and social change. They organize women in
literacy classes, facilitate critical issues, and lead them
towards social change. Grameen Bank, FIVDB, BRAC and some other
NGOs assist the rural poor women to form income generation
groups. They also provide loans. A few NGOs provide legal
assistance in order to help women establish their rights.

In Bangladesh, literacy programs and their related materials are
key factors that contribute to positive social change for women.
The following outline of programs and materials are taken from
the FIVDB functional literacy package. FIVDB provides its
functional literacy package to over 75 NGOs operating within
Bangladesh.

Objectives of FIVDB Literacy Program: Women's Development Issues

-To organize the women and develop their institutions.
-To develop income generation projects for the improvement of
their economic status.
-To make the women confident and aware so that they can confront
the oppression.
-To make women aware of their legal rights and provide legal
assistance.

Contents of Women's Development In Literacy Materials

-Women and development
-Equality of sexes
-Legal right to women
-Employment of women
-Wages of women's work
-Need to fight injustice
-Income generation and small businesses
-Planning, co-operatives and saving groups

The following summary of key sentences in Book One, Two and Three
of the FIVDB literacy package illustrates the social change focus
of the materials. The starred sentences are designed especially
for women learners.

Book One

*(name,man,woman) is working...labor,wage
*(name,woman)is working...discrimination
-We are cultivating our land...landlessness
*(name,woman) is working for rich people
*They don't get proper wages
-The family is very poor with endless want
*Unity means consensus
-Almost the whole year we live on loans...moneylender

Book Two

*We are not united, that's why we can't protest against exploitation
*Forming a group is the only way to survive
-Organization means united strength
-Disease and poverty go together
-If you want to keep your health, you need to eat essential foods
-Medicine is not always essential for health
*Women's health is very important for the baby and the family
-Today I will write my first letter
-Germs can be the cause of various diseases
*Farmer, sharecropper, laboror and women need their own newspaper
*Dowry is creating alot of problems in our society
-Now we can write letters to our friends and office applications

Book Three

*Farmer, laborer and women jointly produce all the resources of the country but don't get enjoyment out of it
*Women contribute alot to production but don't get to enjoy
-We achieved our independence through a bloody revolution
-If we try, we can drink safe water
-Open latrine is dangerous for health
-Saline, (rehydration), is medicine for diarrhea
*Men and women should take effort to develop our own environment/ecology
-If you save some money, it will be useful in lean times
*If you want to bring change in life or society, we need to discuss the problems jointly
-We need training to improve our situation
-The right of getting government land lease belongs to the landless and the homeless
-We can resolve our own problems without depending on rich people
*Emotional and physical abuse of women is bad for development of society
*Husband and wife should be each other's companions
-In the class, no one is student and no one is teacher
-Literate people demand a library in the village
-We don't want quarrel or contradiction, we want peace

The following points are the primary obstacles and positive
support to women's liberation and the implementation of literacy
programs for social change in Bangladesh:

Obstacles

Islamic fundamentalism
Patriarchal attitudes
Reactionary tradition and customs
Lack of women's participation in power structure and decision
   making
The practice of purdah (the traditional seclusion of women)
Polygamy

Positive Support:

Emergence of women's organization
Increasing participation of women in educational, cultural and
   political arenas
Constitutional approval of equal rights
Emergence of family court
Movement against dowry
Males participation in the support of women's liberation movement
Employment scope in urban areas
Emergence of organized non-formal educational programs for women

In Bangladesh, there are causes for frustration and hope in the
struggle to assist women towards equality. The largest
frustrations are centered in the age-old customs that are
important to many members of the society. Social development for
women directly threatens well establish power structures. In the
short term, men and some women will be challenged to give up
dominating positions of power. Changes will be met with
resistance.

Literacy programs expose women to other ways of thinking about
their situation. Support services exist but can't protect women
when they receive the backlash from their challenge. One unhappy
story from FIVDB is about a woman who was inspired to argue with
her abusive husband. She sought help for a divorce from FIVDB
staff. They could help her up to a point. Money, time and
patience was required. Meanwhile the woman needed shelter and
food. Sadly, the woman's new found bravery was not enough to
allow her to escape the tyranny of her abusive marriage.

Despite some unsuccessful outcomes, the literacy programs serve
other women to improve their lives. The effect of the NGOs
staff's efforts are small. If 1000 women need assistance,
perhaps 5 will be aided in their struggle. The advancement
towards positive social change will come incrementally. Literacy
programs are the principal tool to affect this change.

COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING IN AMERICA AND INDIA

Dr. T.M. Thomas
University of Bridgeport

Martin Luther King, Jr, the civil rights leader of America, once said, "Everyone can be great because everyone can serve." The United States recognized his service to the country by declaring his birthday as a national holiday. "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.", were the words of Horace Mann, the 19th century founder of public schools in America. Great men and women throughout history showed the worth of service to humanity through their words and actions. An educated person is expected to be great by dedicating his or her life to service in community.

While we praise service and call people to serve, we cannot close our eyes to the strong urge in us to be selfish when we give priority to our own interests. The debate on human nature as selfish or altruistic is an academic one because in real life all people express both these tendencies. Instead of justifying self interest motive, however "natural" it is, we shall try to strengthen altruistic motive by opening up opportunities to serve others. Both these motives are forceful, as we raise the questions, "What do I get?", and "What do I give?" Since we receive several "blessings" we should share them with others.

If educated persons are expected to serve, service should be incorporated with learning. Modern education while becoming too formal is being cut off from work, service and other aspects of its social context. At the beginning of the 20th century some educators, such as John Dewey, strongly advocated a stronger-relationship between formal education in schools and the surrounding community. The Progressive Education Movement in America of the 1920's & 1930's. achieved much in school community relationships. By about the middle of the present century this movement, though small, spread to other parts of the world, especially Japan, India and England through the association called World Education Fellowship. There are some achievements for work-service learning in the United States and India as noted below.

America is known for its individualism, a phenomenon of the modern period. However, this country is also known for its voluntary work. The self-love rooted in individualism should be balanced by a concern of public well-being implied in volunteerism. Alexis De Tocqueville, the famous French observer of early America strongly advocated this balancing of individualism and volunteerism about 150 years ago. The recent sociological study of Robert Bellah (1985) gives some warning and strongly advocates a spirit of community for America. The social dimension of education advocated by Dewey received new emphasis and scope through the writings of George Counts and his book "Dare the School Build a New Social Order", as well as, Theodore Brameld who stood for world citizenship in a new world order. During the 1960's, different from other decades, young people in America challenged the self-centered outlook of the culture in favour of "community."

Always, we find some students in schools and colleges doing voluntary work. But recently, there are organized efforts in educational institutions to arrange community service. A few reports on education published in the 1980's advocated a program of community service learning (CSL). The Carnegie Foundation presented a unit in community service with 120 hours in the field under school supervision during the high school years. In the last four or five years a large number of schools have incorporated this unit with 60 to 120 hours. As part of the program, students do volunteer work; they clean the premises, visit nursing homes, distribute food for the homeless, tutor children in lower classes and do other work. Last year the Federal government enacted legislation, "The National and Community Service Act of 1990." This act will fund programs enabling students from kindergarten through college to serve their communities, as well as, older Americans to do volunteer work. Several educational journals including "Phi Delta Kappan" of June 1991 have published articles and special issues on community service during the last couple of years.

While individualism dominates American life, a sense of community prevails in the Indian culture though modernization changes its traditional character in India and other developing countries. This sense of community goes hand in hand with cooperation, not competition, and with human relationship, not isolation. Traditional village life, with its focus on religion and family, preserved such a sense of oneness and unity in India over centuries. In the future the spirit of community should be maintained through the institutions of family and religion. Another institution, the education, can also play a central role in the future for the creation of an ideal social life that we aim at.

Community service was introduced in the schools and colleges of India about two or three decades ago as an All-India scheme. There were social service activities at many educational institutions prior to the national scheme. But to introduce a new plan all over the country, was a real achievement. Educators wanted to modify the British system of education in order to suit the needs of an independent India. There were many efforts to this end and one among them was the National Service Scheme (NSS). After long discussions and planning, this scheme was introduced all over India. The "Labour Day" or "week" started even in 1950's continued all these years with various work activities organized every year. The central government took the lead through NSS and by 1970's there were a large number of colleges and school all over India introducing service projects in a formal way supported by government grant. With ups and downs, they are continued today.

In India, those who receive higher education, are expected to keep off from manual work. We can blame the British and the Indian caste system for such a situation. It is good that we challenged this attitude on work or labour by introducing the above mentioned scheme. The socially productive work which is the focus of this plan has modified the attitude of students and teachers on manual labour. Several types of useful activities have been organized and they include home repairs, as well as, construction for the poor, road improvement, cleaning the premises, teaching in literacy programme and other work. The idea of a camp is attractive, because students and teachers are given facilities, very simple ones, to stay at a place for a few days for doing specific work. It can be regarded as a celebration of work. The spirit of community developed at these camps adds a new dimension to formal education, the social aspect.

We have mentioned two national schemes for community services in their cultural context. These new efforts show that schools can extend beyond its academic realm to a larger one by establishing bonds with the community. The alienation and fragmentation of our contemporary culture demand such innovative programmes in our educational institutions. People are disturbed by the social evils exerting its force on society. The culture ignores the cry for moral and spiritual values because of its preoccupation with other priorities. In this situation, the community service learning,as organized in two different count-ries may be considered as one answer to the problems we face in our modern living. The major religion in India, Hinduism, places great value on action that is not for any reward (niskama Karma). The Judeo-Christian tradition of America highlights the value of self-sacrifice. The cross, the central Chris-tian symbol, represents this great value. Both India and America can learn from its heritage and introduce educational innovations that may help to over-come the negative forces of modern or post-modern living.

Examples of Dependence and Independence in Educational Processes
in Germany, Japan and the United States.

Gerda Walz-Michaels

Doctoral Student

The University of Connecticut

School of Education

Department of Educational Leadership

Note: This presentation is a short version of an eighty page
paper, written in the spring of 1991 for a course in "Comparative
Education and Society" taught by Prof. P. Weibust.

In this study I examine relationships between high standards
of living and educational excellence and effectiveness. The
three countries with the highest standards of living today are
Japan, Germany and the United States. In these countries, I
investigate the relationship between processes of dependence and
independence in groups and individuals in the light of
historical, geographical and cultural development and link them
to education. I discuss the connection between these factors and
space-time phenomena. Together, they are seen as crucial factors
for educational excellence and effectiveness in these countries.
The results of twenty interviews are included. They were done
during the time of the course with people connected with one or
more of the countries under examination. They all discussed with
me their experience of the educational process.

To do research in this area is a risky task with many
unknown factors. As an introduction the words of the Viennese
philosopher Wittgenstein (1889-1951) might help. In his
Philosophical Investigations he shed new light on ways of
thinking, the way we say what and how we think. He said: "So
you are saying that human agreement decides what is true and
false? -- It is what human beings say that is true and false:
and they agree in the language they use" (Wittgenstein, 1958,
paragraph 241).

First, consider some general geographic and historic facts
about the three countries. Germany, Japan and the United States
offer certain "samenesses". They are all democratic countries
with capitalistic outlooks, a basic factor for this study. But
differences among them are not less obvious. Some examples are
worth mentioning. The United States and Germany are called
"Western" countries, while Japan is called "Eastern". Germany
and Japan are relatively small countries, while the United States
is one of the largest countries in the world. Japan is a set of
islands in the Pacific Ocean. It has no affiliation to other
countries. Germany, in the middle of the European continent, has
many independent neighbors. It is an important member of the
European community. The United States with its fifty states
takes up a great part of the American continent. Japan is an old
country whose history goes back to the year 660 BC. Germany also
has a relatively long past, beginning with Charlemagne in 800 AD.
The United States, on the other hand, is a relatively "young"
country, in a relatively "new" world, if we put the date of 1492

in consideration, keeping in mind the original Native American population. All these examples deal in one way or another with space and time phenomena and with the situation of dependence and independence in the special setting of the three countries. We ask: How does the educational system fit in with the system of each country?

Now I will turn to some details about each country, focusing briefly on early childhood education, with an emphasis on the special mother-child relationship in this presentation, as one example where dependent or independent behavior in individuals and groups shows up.

Germany's special chance in education

After World War II, Germany had to start from the beginning. It had done much damage to the world, but as part of this world it had to exist. Despite, or actually because of its situation after the war, it had a special chance. The United States, as a leading democratic country was in a certain way a model that Germany tried to live up to. But having taken over its own educational system from the Weimarer Republik, in the period before World War II, Germany kept to it at this time. For early childhood education, this means, the home is the dominant place for a child to be in the first six years. In the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) from 1947, Article 6 stipulates that parents have the natural responsibility for the care and upbringing of their children. This is particularly important today at the preschool level (including Kindergarten) where Germany remains committed to

the traditional ideal that children remain at home, rather than in an institution, during their early years (Kurian, 1988). The home dependence of the child and the mother is stressed extremely. The famous "mother ideology", having reached its peak in Nazi Germany, can not be changed so easily. Even the Witschaftswunder (miracle economy), with a rapid growth of women working outside of the home, kept the line home-mother-child very much fixed. Learning reading, writing and arithmetic before compulsory school started was not and still is not seen as a necessity or even as preferable. On the other side, the child is expected very early to show independent behaviour. This particular approach to dependent and independent behavior of the child goes on through all stages of its development and education.

Learning to shift processes of dependence and independence carefully in a new perspective, by reflecting on and understanding what has been done in the past, will eventually be Germany's chance in maintaining its high standard in education.

Japan's priority in education

After World War II, Japan's Constitution was modelled after that of the United States. It also took over the American educational system. It was not only a priority in education which was set, but also a dependence on education in respect to each individual which has not been done before in this constellation. At the same time the dependence on the family kept over centuries had been "touched" and put into question although values of

family life were still preserved as much as possible. "The

Educational Law", article 26, of the Constitution, regards the

individual and not the family as the basic unit of society. When

the Constitution made special references to education, saying

that it is the "right" of the people, not a gift from the state,

a priority for education was set from then on.

The early childhood education and mother-child relationship

again needs special consideration in this new setting. I quote

from the book The Japanese Educational Challenge (White, 1987):

"The closeness, physical and psychological, of the relationship

with a child is the measure of success of Japanese mothering. In

other words, to develop in the child a need to be dependent, the

capacity to reciprocate dependency, and an ability to read subtle

emotional cues to others' moods is the mother's most important

responsibility." Learning reading, writing and arithmetic before

compulsory school begins is seen as good, even as important.

Kindergarten -- including preschool and nursery schools and day

care -- modelled, as in the United States, at first after the

German founder, Friedrich Froebel, accepts children at the ages

of three, four and five. After the occupation, the enrolment in

the pre=primary school institutions increased remarkably. In

this setting, nevertheless Japanese mothers had and still have a

decisive role. The Confucian ideal concerning the relationship

between sexes, where women have to be submissive to men is still

part of the Japanese way of life, But interestingly enough, in

an article in the New York Times of February 17, 1991, a Japanese

physician, Yuroko Marimoto, called the low birth-rate and its

effects a "silent resistance" of the Japanese women. A high
Japanese MITI official recently said: "If there was a coming
Japanese crisis . . . it was likely in the area of values and
individual purpose. . . . Perhaps Japan's greatest flexibility
had been in economic matters and America would turn out to be
more flexible in social and political matters" (Halberstam,
1991). There is no doubt that old dependencies in the set of the
family have been put into question in Japan. Early childhood
education gives decisive hints. Time and space are no more dealt
with in the traditional way. They are westernized. The
excellent educational system is westernized as well. A careful
reflecting on the interests of groups and individuals in Japan
might be necessary to keep the priority of education in place.

The risks and possibilities of the United States

     The United States is a multicultural nation. This is part
of its history. In this respect it is different from Japan and
Germany. This difference might be the most central difference of
all. Early childhood education has to be seen also in this
light. It is a fact that despite difficulties of all sorts, a
constant growth of pre-primary, including day care, enrolment has
occured, obviously due to the fact that more and more women work
and that parents wish to give young children earlier quality
education, if possible. One may think at this point of Germany's
concept with a delaying attitude and Japan's concept of including
and combining home and school quality education. Interestingly,
the percentage of women in the labor force is very similar in all

countries. The low birth-rate is similar as well. But it is a fact that early childhood education in the United States today can be given by a professional and is then seen as equivalent or better than home education. This was not so after the Second World War. Home was then also still the dominant place in early childhood education. But the United States, unlike Germany and Japan, was not a loser, but a winner nation after World War II and could pursue interests of groups and individuals as well without questioning its past. It is in this difference where I see the risks and the possibilities of the United States. "A Nation at Risk," the well known report of the National Committee of Excellence in 1983, is "A Nation still at Risk," as the educational analyst Doyle writes in The Atlantic (March, 1991). "Americans are overwhelmingly concerned about the quality of the nation's schools. But the majority of Americans continue to give their own schools high marks. The problem is someone else's school. Misplaced optimism. A fool's paradise, because it keeps the incentive and resourceful few at the mercy of those who fear change. The outcome is institutional paralysis." But there is the risk and possibility in education in America in that it is mass education for both individual and group, that is, multicultural education. The opportunity, so it seems to me, is to find the difficult paradoxical way between the risk and possibility. Risks and possibilities are correlated in educational processes as well as dependence and independence in the light of space-time phenomena which we turn to now.

Conclusion and results

Discoveries in this century in modern physics have changed our common world view. In 1926, Werner Heisenberg discovered the "Uncertainty Principle". It includes the scientist's influence when measuring the properties of the observed object. In 1916, Albert Einstein developed the "Relativity Theory". It brought a drastic change in our concept of space and time. In this new framework space and time are intimately connected and form a four-dimensional Continuum called Space-time. (Capra, The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising Culture, 1982).

I believe that in education the same thing is happening as in the discoveries in modern physics and in recent investigations in the "New Science". We can not talk about any phenomena in education without including the space-time continuum (principle) combined with the uncertainty principle. Dependence and independence in the light of the space-time continuum are not separate entities which stand apart from each other in the world, but are always correlated in some special way.

Japan

Whatever Japan took over in education from the West has its own words and meanings in Japan for space and time defined through its history, geography and culture. Its dependence and independence from family and institutions in the educational processes, its strength and weaknesses there are related to it. Excellence and effectiveness in education might in the last analysis only be a priority as long as it serves the group and

not the individual with respect to the space-time continuum in
Japan.

Germany

Germany, like Japan, in having dealt with authoritative rule
over centuries, but unlike Japan in having a role in a new
community of nations, has a greater chance than Japan to apply
the space-time continuum for its educational processes in present
times. Danger is still around, if you look for example at the
problem of the refugees and asylum-seekers coming into Germany.
Both individuals and groups have to find a place in the
historical, geographical and cultural setting where old
dependencies have to be given up and new attitudes towards
dependence to and independence from family and institutions have
to be determined with respect to the new European community and
the world. Therefore effectiveness in the educational system has
to undergo constant change.

The United States

The United States gave the world a new insight into
dependence to and independence from family and institution and
with it of space and time as a multicultural nation. Its history,
geography and culture are indicators for it. Educational
processes have to be seen in this light, as well. The
educational system is "at risk" and will "still be at risk," but
hopefully it will use the possibilities of its different
perspectives to give both individuals and groups of whatever kind

a place to live and with it to give democracy a place to survive. By doing this, the quality, effectiveness and excellence of education will get a different place value than recently seen in Japan or in Germany and even in the United States. It might be less quality from the traditional point of view, but more quality if you keep the world perspective in mind. Applying the space-time principle in education might help decisively.

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ADMISSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE COUNTRIES

PINGPING ZHU

Dept. of Educational Leadership

University of Connecticut

Storrs, Connecticut

Higher education admission is an intermedium between school and university, and an important part of the school system. Under given conditions---political, economical and cultural---there are mainly four kinds of admission systems.

1) European Model: admit those who have the secondary school certificates. In this model, the secondary school certificate has double functions of both graduation examination and entrance examination, which is called certificate system.

2) Japan Model: admit those who pass the national university entrance examination which is composed of two parts---basic and specialized knowledge. The admission requirements are unified in the whole country.

3) Soviet Union Model: admit those who get medals or who are excellent in sciences, social sciences, physical education and language, or those young workers and farmers who pass the preparatory courses. In this model, moral excellence is part of consideration for admission.

4) The United States Model: admit the qualified students in many ways with many aspects of considertions---open-door policy of community college, screening policy of general university and selecting policy of key university, considering the grades of both in high school and university entrance examinations, recommendations and some other factors(Youxin

Cheng, 1987).

In addition to these macro-differences, there are some micro-differences among various admission systems. First, some assessments are conducted at the end of a semester, of a year, or of a major segment of the schooling hierarchy; some at the beginning of certain period of study, which determine, in varying degrees, if students could go into higher education. Second, some examinations test students' general aptitudes, others check on academic achievements. Third, some examinations emphasize on written style, others both written and oral. And further, there are different emphasises between essay questions and multipul choices.

Admission system in higher education assumes diverse forms, but it serves only two major purposes. First, it is a procedure of evaluating: whether the schools' learning goals are the ones most suitable for the society and for the learner's aptitudes; whether the schools' administrative system promotes educational outcomes efficiently; but mainly, how much students know and how effectively teachers perform. Second, it is a procedure of selection and choosing--society selecting its manpower, students choosing their careers. Though there are differences among times, contents and forms of examinatons, all over the world, competitive examinations so determine statuses and careers that in many countries practically most people are involved in one or another examination system in their lives.

In this article, we will do a comparative study of

admission systems of France, the United States and China

whose admission system, in my opinion, is a mix-up of those of

Japan and Soviet Union.

France

As William K. Cummings wrote in his article, " the

French system is viewed as highly competitive and singularly

shaped by the series of selective examinations devised by the

Central Ministry of Education."(1990) In France, there had been

only one way to go on higher education, that was successfully

passing the baccalaureat which was the required exit

examination taken at the end of Lycee after twelve years of

schooling. However, a special act adopted on July 2, 1969 by

Ministry of Education, providing that those without

baccalaureat certificates could enter universities if they

worked two years and passed the special examinations. Still,

there are 99 percent of students accepted by universities with

baccalaureat certificates.

In secondary education, seven years of very hard work in

the basic disciplines of classic and modern languages, science

and mathematics, and history and social sciences leads to the

baccalaureat examinations. In June, the baccalaureat is given

by the university of the region in two sections as very

difficult sets of external examinations. It covers both

required and elective courses of secondary education in both

written and oral styles. Each subject, including physical

education which considered as a required couse, is accounted
as average value. Before the last year, every student has to take
language examination to get French baccalaureat. The next year,
they will take the other baccalaureat examinations.

There are basically eight different baccalaureats:

A focuses on literature, linguistics, and philosophy;

B stresses economics and social sciences;

C emphasizes mathematics and physical sciences;

D focuses on natural sciences and mathematics;

E demands specific knowledge in industrial science and
technology;

F is a technical examination;

G emphasizes secretariat and accountary studies; and

H stresses computer science.

To pass this examination, an average mark of 10 out 20 is
required. Successful completion of the baccalaureat permits
students to go on the universities or to the school of
engineering or Grandes ecoles. Students with baccalaureat C
and a grade point average of 14 or above have the most choices in
terms of their direction of studies.

French higher education is characterized by separation
into the university with the traditional great faculties and
the school of engineering or Grandes ecoles which concentrate
upon such professions as engineering, public administration, and
education, while the universities emphasize the more traditional
faculties. Admission to the school of engineering or Grandes
ecoles is doubly selective. Students must pass both the

baccalaureat and the competitive examination after two years of preparatory classes. The school of engineering and Grandes ecoles only admit less than 5 percent of the total age group. Altogether, 28.02 percent of the 18--20 year old population entered higher education in 1982 (Robert F. Shambaugh, 1986).

The French so-called certificate system has its several prerequisites. First, the rapid extension of elementary education with 99.9 percent literate has been a basic comprehension of the complete life (.culture generale) and a broad basis of secondary and higher education.

Second, a highly competitive secondary education ensure those really talented to make full use of their abilities so that they could have the opportunities to get academic achievements. In France, there are frequent exams at every stage over many subject-matter areas, and many pupils fail. The grade repeating used to be the first hurdle between school and university. In his article, Guy Neave pointed out that " Follow-up studies of students born in 1962 have shown that by the time they reached upper secondary education, 3.4 percent were ahead of their class, 21.9 percent had not repeated at all, and 32.6 percent of the age group had repeated at least once (the residual 42.1 percent having left at that point)."(1985) Another factor affecting the high quality of secondary school in France is the pass rate. " The highest chances of success are associated with option C, mathematics and physical sciences (a 77.4 percent pass rate) and the lowest with option G, secretariat and accountary studies (a

58.3 percent pass rate)."(Burton R Clark, 1985) Besides, everyone has a student file since elementary school which can be an important consideration of admission in some situation.

Third, the national system of education in France can be taken as a typical example of centralization. The departments, or administrative subdivisions of France are organized into 22 educational regions or academies, each with a university whose rector controls all education from the university down to the elementary school, where the department prefect takes over. The prefect himself is still responsible through the rector to the Ministry of Education in Paris. The rector takes charge in assigning, reading and grading the examination papers and issues the baccalaureats. The whole system is well organized that it guarantees the quality of its graduates to a great extent.

In France, all children of eleven years are admitted into the first "orientation classes" where the curriculum is devided into branches with a common core. When children are sixteen years, they will take the second "orientation classes" and choose one of options among manual work, Latin & Greek, Modern Language, Science and so on, which largely determine the direction of students' university studies and later professional lives. There are several factors affecting students' selecting into a particular track: family aspirations, cultural capital, teachers' reports, etc., the major determination should be the estimate by the student of how far he is likely to succeed. But, with no role models, few students have motivations and rationalities for such early

decisions. For those whose great minds mature slowly,
premature tracking can be worse, as Conant claimed that early
choosing of careers was a kind of talent waste(1958). The
baccalaureat system has been changed so that students
specializing in certain scientific fields can take another,
specialized, type of examination, still, there exists talent
waste in some extent. Many students will not change the track
even though they are in the wrong track. They might think that
they already did much work in this track. However, in order to be
consistent with other countries of European Community, French
education will have some changes in the near future.

United States

The admissions of higher education in the United States
are the most flexible in the world. Nearly every student in this
country fulfills at least one basic college entrance requirement.
The United States possesses numerous entrance procedures to its
universities. Among the entrance examinations are the Scholastic
Aptitude Test (SAT), Achievement Test (AT) and American
College Test (ACT). Students can take one of them or all of
them, and the universities usually take the highest score into
consideration. In addition to examination scores, universities
employ other criteria for admission including following:
Students' grades in secondary school, students' ranks in their
classes, application letters, recommendations of high school
teachers and interviews with college admissions officers. In

University Admissions, Fred Zuoke claims that there are three very important criteria for universities to determine the enrollment. Grades of secondary school amount to 30 percent, grades of SAT, AT or ACT 27 percent, recommendations 10 percent, other criteria 28 percent. That is to say that none of them is the decisive factor of admission(Youxin Cheng, 1987).

Besides various criteria, there are four different patterns of enrollment: Early decision; early admission; midyear admission and deferred admission. In many institutions, students are given the opportunity to prove their ability in the college classroom, without having taken any prior examinations.

There are several reasons why higher education admission is flexible in the United States. First, as evidenced historically, mobility is a major characteristic of America. According to the Constitution, education is supervised by individual states. Each of the fifty states controls its own system of education instead of being directed by a central ministry. Furthermore, within each state there is local community responsibility through school boards made up of elected citizens. There are different school systems among the fifty states: such as " 6:3:3 ", " 8:4 " and " 4:4:4 ". Some schools put junior and senior high schools together, others seperate them. There is no unified curriculum of elementary and secondary schools. The tracking system in senior high school causes the curriculum to become more diverse. Some high schools actually offer more than 200 elective courses. As a result of school's influence, the higher education system is diverse and complex too. There are a wide variety of vocational

programs, four year colleges and universities. There are two year colleges offering an associate degree. Also these first two years of study can be applied toward the bachelor degree. According to Carol Stocking, " In the United States, the relationship between the school and the university is complex and ambiguous... The connections between these two levels of education vary from the public to the private sector, from one state to another, within states from one school district to another, and nationally from one type of college to another. It becomes a major enterprise to describe the variety that exists in student section, training, certification, and ideology, the mechanisms through which the school is considered to shape the university. It is similarly difficult to describe the variety that exists in teacher training, curricular requirements, educational ideology, and educational research, through which the university shapes the school." (1985)

Second, every requirement of higher education is a historical heritage. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the University of Michigan pioneered in reliance on their recommendations as a basis for admitting students. Eventually this approach was modified to take account of grade point average (GPA). Meanwhile, Nicholas Marray Butler of Columbia University was particularly firm in pressing for some form of entrance exams. Eventually this led him in 1901 to take the lead in forming a small consortium known as the College Entrance Examination Board.(R. Murray Thomas, 1990). During 1950s and 1960s, there had been a reform focusing on fostering students' ability and aptitude to study. The Westward Movement not

only had tremendous influences on the American system, but also on education--equal opportunity, taxation for public school and so on. Offering more equal opportunities through various criteria of admission and different levels of institutions has been a tradition of educational reforms in the United States.

Third, there are many mediators trying to link the school to the university, but none of them has a centralized authority. Counselors in high schools interpret the system for students; school boards take an interest in issues; private organizations give the entrance examinations and collect money to award students; college admissions officers and recruiters select students according to requirements; finally, the universities try to get as many students as possible into higher education, amounting to 70 to 80 percent though only about half of them receive Bachelor degrees.

Last, as a result of pragmatism, American education has been attaching importance to students' practical ability and motivation. The entrance examination attempts to assess general aptitude rather than achievement. It does not regard grades as the only standard of students' intellegence. Application letters, statements of purpose and recommendations are among the considerations of admission. Sometimes, a recommendation showing student's special ability can make him an exception being admitted.

Although American higher education admission has its traits of mobility and equality, it also has some disadvantages. First, because of different school systems among school

districts and states, it is impossible to have an unified federal-wide entrance examination. This follows an ununified curriculum of elementary and high schools and vice versa. Because the structure of knowledge has its inner logic, we should and could set a common curriculum covering all general and neccessary knowledge. However, this does not mean that details of the curriculum must follow the same pattern.

Second, the three entrance examinations (i.e.,SAT, AT, ACT) do not require students to have specific preparation in foreign languages or in the sciences. Therefore,it is possible that those who pass the SAT have a poor foreign language or science background. Furthermore, those who pass the AT could have a very narrow range of knowledge by taking only three examinations and missing math, the sciences or foreign languages, and even English itself. The SRI International Study (1982) reports that " In grades 10 - 12, the most frequently offered courses are biology, chemistry and advanced biology. However, only a few students take chemistry and very few of only the most able students take physics. " (Shambaugh, 1986) American high schools offer the least amount of foreign language studies and colleges require the lowest level of foreign language proficiency; this is incompatible with America's economical and social development and international standing.

Third, if undue emphasis is put on fostering students' practical ability, students' basic knowledge would be neglected. This kind of cultural parochialism could prevent students from

obtaining a well-rounded development.. We could not imagine an able student without knowledge or a good education only bestowing on students with aptitude, since aptitude can not be without knowledge. In sum, achievement, if not the most important element, still is as important as aptitude. Neither can be neglected.

In recent years, America's education has paid more attention to achievement and excellence. The SAT now requires an additional essay. President Bush proposes that students meet basic competency requirements in core subjects. He would like to see America set national standards for voluntary exams in English, math, science, history and geography. Ideally, America should rank first in the world in mathematics and science achievement. Actually President Bush does not do nearly enough; competitive science and mathematical exams should be mandatory. This is essential if America wishes to compete with other nations in the world.

China

The relationship between the school and the university in China is a mix-up of Japanese and Soviet Union's patterns which is conditioned most strongly by the university entrance examination. Also, unversity would evaluate a candidate's model bahavior, political attitudes, grades in middle school and health in addition to the entrance exam scores. Examination candidates in China are divided into two major groups: liberal arts, and science and engineering (including

agriculture and medicine). Each candidate takes six or seven examinations in politics, Chinese, foreign language and mathematics, and history and geography for liberal arts candidates, and physics, chemistry and biology for science and engineering candidates. Held once a year, entrance examinations help determine which of the students are able to enter each higher level of education. The university diploma has been considered an "iron rice bowl", lifework and it guarantees assignment to the most desirable jobs by the state. So, the competition among students is tight and success in this earns the student, the teacher and the school a high reputation. And schools devote most their energies to those students more likely to advance through the educational ladder, so do the parents. In addition to university entrance examinations, there are exit examinations in major subjects during the last two years of secondary school.

The admission system in China attached great importance to centralization, the subjects of politics, foreign language, mathematics and sciences, and schools' promotion rates to universities. China has its long history of examination system which started in 587 of Sui Dynasty. The examinations played a large part in determing the composition of the elite, by molding as well as selecting the men who operated the political system and dominated the society(Ichisada Miyazaki, 1976). The general aims of education in China have been the development of a peaceful social being and the maintenance of national stability, and Chinese education system has been highly centralized and

followed the political line. This can find expression in admission requirements of higher education. Politics as a part of entrance examination mainly includes " Four Basic Principles " of the Communist Party, Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, and the History of International Communist Movements, and current events, especially in graduate level, the test paper of politics is national unified. These who can not pass politics will not be accepted by graduate schools. In recent years, things have been changed. Some who failed in politics could be admitted with high grades in their fields as exceptions.

Since Confucius Age, education in China has emphasized on achievement. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the education system still had performed both ideopolitical and academic functions which can go back to Confucius. But during the Cultural Revolution, it almost lost its academic function. There was no examination at every educational level. No academic requirement was needed to enter the unversities but recommendations from one's workmates and approvals by political authorities. An extreme case was that a student named Zhang Tiesheng became a national hero because of handing in a blank examination paper. Yet, the academic (expert) values were back again with the ideopolitical (Rad) values in 1977, and they have been determinants of entering the university since then. Those keypoint schools and keypoint classes of average school spent most of time to instill as many difficult exercises as possible into students' mind.

There was a saying that if you are master of mathematics, physics and chemistry, you can go all over the world. Yet, in recent years, the focus has been transfered from mathematics, physics and chemistry to foreign language and business administration. Students used to choose foreign languages between Russian and English, however, English has been the most popular one since 1977. With the open-door policy, Chinese people and government pay more and more attention to foreign language and business administration, which is opposite to the traditional value of regarding agriculture as superior to trade.

Moreover, recall has been the most frequent trait tested. Students in ancient time had to be able to recite the Four Books (i.e.,the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Analects of Confucius, and Mencius) and the Five Classics (i.e., the Book of Songs, the Book of History, the Book of Changes, the Book of Rites, and the Spring and Autumn Annals). Nowadays students still have to answer the questions according to the doctrines and books if they want to get the high grades. So, an imbecile with high scores could be admitted to the university sometimes.

As a mix-up of Japan and Soviet Union education system in a highly centralized communist country and a native place of Confucius, centralization, achievement and memorizing have been the three traits of admission system in China which bring their three weak points. First, the highly centralized educational system has a hand in the admissions of higher education. The whole system is lack of flexibility. Every decision is from top to bottom. This is apt to engender a kind of

bureaucracy and detrimental to mobilize the enthusiasm of the
students and the classroom teachers. And also this is the major
reason that there have been very few innovations in the history
of Chinese education. Second, the admission system in China
stresses students' achievements on one hand, on the other, it
neglects students' practical abilities. Furthermore, many schools
put undue emphasis on proportion of students entering
universities, and thus ignore the great majority of the average
students. Third, the emphasis on memorizing in exams, which had
been a tradition of imperial examination system since the sixth
century, overlooks students' creativities. Sometimes, marginal
students gain the entrances, and bright students can not get
into universities because of their failure in the entrance exams,
though they can try again the next year.

University admissions in China, France and the United
States all require the successful passing of some kinds of
upper-secondary school examinations. China has both school
leaving exam and university entrance exam which are closely
tied to the academic achievement required of middle school
students. In France, lycee graduates who pass the
baccalaureat examinations are officially eligible to enter
all universities. In the United States, the university
entrance examinations---SAT, AT and ACT---are different from
those in China, especially SAT whose aim is to test students'
aptitudes.

In both China and France, with highly centralized

education systems, every major decision, such as school administration, the curriculum and personnel policies, is made at the national level, and access to higher education is controlled by national examinations based upon national academic standards, in China by entrance exams while in Frnce by school exit exams. Both China and France evaluate selected subject-matter areas—mathematics, sciences and foreign languages and so on—which are considered as the criteria of excellence. Whereas in the United States, school and university operate as a decentralized system. Educational decisions vary from state to state, district to district, and university to university. Higher education is more accessible by many factors and different kinds of entrance tests and which, focusing on a broad range, are not closely linked to the curriculum and are not disigned to be taught. And these entrance examinations are held by some private agencies, which does not serve as an incentive to perform better in school. American secondary education does not stress on mathematics, sciences and foreign language, as James Bryont Conant said in his The American High School Today: In the history of American education, people never recognized that having a good command of a foreign language was a sign of a well-educated person(F32).

Both in America and China, universities are officially accessible to every graduate of secondary schools when they pass the entrance examinations. In the United States, people value this as equity, individualism and diversity, while in China as equality, deference to authority and unification of

society. But with limited universities, and because higher
education in China as well as in France is free, so the
competition is tight and stressful, while in the United
States, high percentage of high school graduates can get the
opportunities to higher education, because much more
universities, especially in comparison with the populations, are
available for students than those in China, though it is very
hard to get into these keypoint universities.

In my opinion, each country should attempt to avoid its
own weaknesses and dwell on the strong points of others, yet,
it is a long way to assimilate the ingredients of different
admission systems based on various social structures and
cultural backgrounds. When we are considering the university
entrance requirements, we probably should focus on how these
examinations affect the educational standards of the secondary
school rather than how to select the candidates and how many
they are. If we could have an admission system synthesized the
good qualities of all three countries mentioned above, it
would be the best one in the world, which integrates the high
qualities of secondary school and its exit exams in France,
high standards of entrance exams in China and,
recommendations, personal letters and the stress on students'
aptitudes of tests in the United States. Thus, we would have
an ideal secondary education which could bring up more world-
rate citizens and provide more graduates up to standards.

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CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Sabuur Abdul Kareem
University of Massachusetts

Thomas Bernard
Springfield College

Graeme Bloch
University of Pittsburgh

George Bothelo
University of Massachusetts

Barbara Burn
University of Massachusetts

Patrick Burns
University of Massachusetts

Xiangming Chen
Harvard University

Tai Bom Chung
University of Connecticut

Kabba Colley
Harvard University

Sara Deturk
University of Massachusetts

Joan Dixon
University of Massachusetts

Paul Englesberg
University of Massachusetts

Almaz Eshete
The Bunting Institute

Liz Fabel
Clark University

Abouali Farmaian
Harvard University

Dorian Fliegel
Harvard University

Brunhilda Forlemu
Harvard University

Wangui Gitan-Mwangi
Harvard University

Vincent Gondwe
Harvard University

Lynroy Grant
University of Connecticut

Edward Graybill
University of Massachusetts

Yu Hasegawa
Harvard University

Catherine Hill
Harvard University

Susan Hoeben
The Bunting Institute

Jeetendra Joshee
University of Massachusetts

David Kinsey
University of Massachusetts

Florence Kiragu
Harvard University

Yuri Kumagai
University of Massachusetts

Sri Kurniati Pooroe
Harvard University

Kumiko Magome
University of Massachusetts

David McCurry
University of Massachusetts

Rosalind Michahelles
Harvard University

Bob Miltz
University of Massachusetts

Tim Mitchell
University of Massachusetts

Layton Montgomery
University of Massachusetts

Menzi Mthwecu
University of Massachusetts

Bonnie Mullinix
University of Massachusetts

Meria Nowa-Phiri
University of Massachusetts

Roseline Ntshingila
Harvard University

Saeed Fahia Osman
University of Massachusetts

Ian Palmer
LASPAU

Timothy Reagan
University of Connecticut

Phyllis Robinson
University of Massachusetts

Don Robishaw
University of Massachusetts

A. Siren Rolst
Harvard University

Baboucarr Sarr
Harvard University

Jennifer Schultz
Harvard University

Marla Solomon
University of Massachusetts

Peter Sroka
Harvard University

Carl Stecker
University of Massachusetts

Frank Stone
University of Connecticut

Mainus Sultan
University of Massachusetts

Judy Sylvester
University of Pittsburgh

Sean Tate
Harvard University

William Theummel
University of Massachusetts

T.M. Thomas
University of Bridgeport

George Urch
University of Massachusetts

Gerda Walz-Michaels
University of Connecticut

Patricia Weibust
University of Connecticut

Steven Winter
Tufts University

Danny Yatim
Harvard University

Byung-hwa Yoo
University of Connecticut

Laura Zanim
Harvard University

Pingping Zhu
University of Connecticut