The Politics of Education Reforms

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The book series complements the *International Handbook of Globalisation and Education Policy Research*. The volumes focus on comparative education themes and case studies in much greater scope and depth than is possible in the Handbook.

The series includes volumes on both empirical and qualitative studies of policy initiatives and developments in comparative education research in elementary, secondary and post-compulsory sectors. Case studies may include changes and education reforms around the world, curriculum reforms, trends in evaluation and assessment, decentralisation and privatisation in education, technical and vocational education, early childhood education, excellence and quality in education. Above all, the series offers the latest findings on critical issues in comparative education and policy directions, such as:

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- Overcoming ‘unacceptable’ socio-economic educational disparities and inequalities
- Improving educational quality
- Harmonizing education and culture
- International cooperation in education and policy directions in each country

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The Politics of Education Reforms

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To Rea, Nikolai and Dorothy

Preface

The Politics of Education Reforms, which is the ninth volume in the 12-volume book series *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, presents scholarly research on major discourses concerning the politics of education reforms globally. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about recent developments in globalisation, comparative education and education reforms. Above all, the book offers the latest findings to the critical issues concerning major discourses surrounding education reforms in the global culture. It is a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in education, and schooling around the world. It offers a timely overview of current policy issues affecting research in comparative education of education reforms. It provides directions in education, and policy research, relevant to progressive pedagogy, social change and transformational educational reforms in the twenty-first century.

The book critically examines the overall interplay between the state, ideology and current discourses of education reforms in the global culture. It draws upon recent studies in the areas of globalisation, academic achievement, standards, equity and the role of the State (Carnoy 1999; Zajda 2008a, b). It explores conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches applicable in the research covering the State, globalisation, and quality-driven education reforms. It demonstrates the neo-liberal ideological imperatives of education and policy reform, affecting schooling globally (see also Zajda 2005). Various book chapters critique the dominant discourses and debates pertaining to comparative education discourses on reforms and neo-liberal ideology in education. Using a number of diverse paradigms in comparative education research, ranging from critical theory to globalisation, the authors, by focusing on globalisation, ideology and democracy, attempt to examine critically existing inequalities in education, due to social inequality and social stratification (see also Apple 2004; McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005).

The volume provides a more informed critique on the Western-driven models of education, and existing dimensions of inequality, defined by cultural capital and SES. The book draws upon recent studies in the areas of dominant ideologies, power and stratification in education and society globally (Zajda and Rust 2009). The general intention is to make The Politics of Education Reforms available to a

broad spectrum of users among policy makers, academics, graduate students, education policy researchers, administrators and practitioners in the education and related professions. The book is unique in that it:

- Examines central discourses surrounding the politics of education reforms globally
- Explores conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches applicable in the research of education and policy reforms , with reference to the State, ideology and globalisation
- Demonstrates ideological imperatives of globalisation, neo-liberal ideology and the state, affecting the nature and direction of reforms globally
- Provides strategic education policy analysis on recent developments in education reforms
- Offers suggestions for directions in education and policy changes, relevant to democratic and empowering pedagogy in the twenty-first century

We hope that you will find *The Politics of Education Reforms* useful in your teaching, future research and discourses concerning schooling, social justice and policy reforms in the global culture.

Melbourne, Australia Joseph Zajda

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Contents

Globalisation and the Politics of Education Reform

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The term 'globalisation' is a complex construct and a convenient euphemism concealing contested meanings and dominant ideologies, ranging from Wallerstein's (1979, 1998) ambitious 'world-systems' model, Giddens' (1990, 2000) notion of 'time-space distantiation' (highlighting the 'disembeddedness' of social relations – their effective removal from the immediacies of local contexts), and Castells' (1989) approaches, to globalisation by way of networking, proposing that the power of flows of capital, technology and information, constitutes the fundamental paradigm of an emerging 'network society', to a view of globalisation as a neo-liberal and bourgeois hegemony, which legitimates an 'exploitative system' (see McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Ritzer 2005; Zajda 2008a, 2009a). The term 'globalisation', like post-modernism, is used so widely today in social theory, policy and education research, that it has become a cliché (Held et al. 1999; Zajda 2005).

Globalisation, Marketisation and Quality/Efficiency Driven Reforms

Globalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world since the 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the "lifelong learning for all", or a "cradle-to-grave" vision of learning and the "knowledge economy" in the global culture. Today, economic rationalism and neo-conservative ideology has become a dominant ideology, in which education is seen as a producer of goods and services that foster economic growth. Ideals of human rights, social justice, ethnic tolerance and collectivity are exchanged for key concepts from the discourse of global economy, including productivity, competitiveness, efficiency and maximization of profit.

Governments, in their quest for excellence, quality and accountability in education, increasingly turn to international and comparative education data analysis. All agree that the major goal of education is to enhance the individual's social and economic prospects. This can only be achieved by providing quality education for all. Students' academic achievement is now regularly monitored and measured

within the 'internationally agreed framework' of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). This was done in response to the growing demand for international comparisons of educational outcomes (OECD 2001, 2008, Education Policy Analysis, p. 8). To measure levels of academic performance in the global culture, the OECD, in co-operation with UNESCO, is using World Education Indicators (WEI) programme, covering a broad range of comparative indicators, which report on the resource invested in education and their returns to individuals (OECD 2002, 2008, Education at a Glance – OECD Indicators, p. 6).

There is a trend in educational systems around the world of shifting the emphasis from the progressive child-centred curriculum to 'economy-centred' vocational training. This was discovered in a comparative study of education in China, Japan, the USA, Great Britain, Germany, Russia and the Scandinavian countries (Walters 1997, p. 18). Although these nations are vastly different in terms of politics, history and culture, and dominant ideologies, they are united in their pursuit for international competition in the global market. Hence, curriculum reforms and school policies increasingly address the totalising imperatives of the global economy discourse-competition, productivity, and quality.

The Role of the State in Education

An ambivalent relationship exists between the state and education. The importance of the role of the state in public education has been aptly discussed by numerous scholars, including Bowles and Gintis (1976), Carnoy (1999), Apple (2004), Giroux and McLaren (1989), Torres (1998), Ginsburg (1991), Stromquist (2002), Levin (2001), Daun (2002), Zajda (2009a) and others. Understanding the multifaceted role of the state in education and society is a precondition for critically analysing educational institutions as a site for the production and reproduction of knowledge, ideology, skills, values and behaviours in the global culture.

The Politics of Education Reforms: Russia

A dramatic example of the politics of education reforms is Russia. Forced re-education from above, based on a top-down and centralist approach, has been a characteristic of Russian models of education policy, and schooling, commencing with the modernising, Enlightenment-inspired reforms of Peter the Great and continued by Catherine the Great. Since Peter the Great's enforced modernization of his nobles, beginning with the cutting of their traditionally long hair, and his introduction of science, mathematics and technology, as a basis for building Russia's future military strengths, 'forced re-education has been a strong Russian institution' (Zajda 1999).

It is not the first time that education had been used for the total transformation of societies. Japan used it from 1868 until Pearl Harbour, to transform its society from medieval feudalism to a global power. Edmund King (1965) believed that

Japanese educational transformation was the 'first wholesale (I would like to add and *modern*) educational revolution that the earth has known' (King 1965, p. 88). Similarly, education in Russia had always played a key role in social change. The October 1917 revolution, which put Lenin and the Bolsheviks in power, was followed by the complete rejection of most political and educational assumptions, and the formation of a communist education system – the Russian version of the planned Leviathan state. Within less than 30 years the USSR, by means of compulsory schooling for the masses, and ideology, power and control, had transformed a rather backward agrarian nation, which the Tsarist Russia was back in 1914 – to a position of world hegemony and a global super power after 1945.

A similar political and social transformation had to take place again in 1992, after the collapse of the USSR, and the rejection of communism and the state-planned economy, in favour of democracy and the market economy. During the early 1990s in post-Soviet Russia, the sudden and radical policy shift towards the market economy and privatisation, first announced in the media in October 1990, was going to influence ex-Soviet youth and their future attitude change towards education, vocational training and work. Increasingly, many students and their parents were viewing education as a means of making a 'quick buck' or as a necessary means of rapid upward social mobility in the newly emerging businessmen world of post-Soviet Russia. Business became the single most visible 'shaper' of the needs and desires of the more entrepreneurial ex-Soviet youth and young adults.

The rejection of the ex-Soviet system of education, with its communist ideology and values, and the downgrading of its achievements by the media, had quickly altered public opinion and the perception of education and significantly affected students' and parents' attitudes towards the economic value of post-compulsory education. Students from the more privileged backgrounds opted out to study in prestigious universities abroad. In a 1995 sociological survey it was revealed that 83% of students preferred to study in the USA and Europe (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, April 1995). One of the main reasons why the new post-Soviet generation so readily accepted the market economy and private enterprise and the culture of the new entrepreneurs was largely due to their values of the newly discovered delights of bourgeois individualism and consumerism, and their new visions of the future.

Education Reforms in the Global Economy

Education in the global economy, espousing neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology, is likely to produce a great deal of discontent and conflict. We are reminded of the much-quoted words 'All history is the history of class struggle' (Marx and Engels 1848). Globalisation too, with its evolving and growing complexity of a new dimension of social stratification of nations, technology and education systems during the twenty-first century, has a potential to affect social conflict.

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions. As the UNESCO's humanistic, social justice and human rights tradition, so influential in the 1960s, was weakening, the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the IMF, the World Bank and the OECD was gaining in prominence. In short, neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology, which has redefined education and training as an investment in 'human capital' and 'human resource development' – familiar social indicators in the global economy discourse, has also influenced the thinking of policy makers in many countries.

Forces of globalisation, particularly marketisation and privatisation have contributed to the ongoing globalisation of schooling and higher education curricula, together with the accompanying global standards of excellence, globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank) and global academic elitism and league tables – the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity. Finally, global marketing of education in terms of excellence and quality in academic achievement and prestige has increased global competition for desirable students.

Shannon Calderone and Robert A. Rhoads (University of California, Los Angeles) in 'Neoliberalism, the New Imperialism, and the 'Disappearing' Nation State: A Case Study', discuss the nexus between neo-liberalism and policy change in higher education. They argue that nation-states have hardly disappeared and universities are far from neutral sites of knowledge and knowledge construction. The authors also suggest that economic and political elites within the USA have cleverly articulated and propelled a new model of the university and this new model is firmly entrenched within the exploitative logic of advanced capitalism, and more specifically, the logic of neo-liberalism (see also McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Ritzer 2005; Zajda 2009b). The authors conclude that the reduction in public support for higher education in the USA may be directly linked to a strategic design to enlist universities in the endless expansion of global capitalism at the expense of the economic, cultural, and political spheres of peripheral and semi-peripheral countries.

William K. Cummings (The George Washington University), on the other hand, focuses on three areas where the state has sought to shape education: through establishment and finance, through examinations and through employment. He concludes that major educational reforms in the core societies were usually stimulated by associated ideological, political and economic change. He also suggests that in analyzing the prospects for reform in a particular environment, it is essential to look beyond education to the broader societal context.

Jennifer Chan-Tiberghien (University of British Columbia, Vancouver) in 'Academic Capitalism in Japan: National University Incorporation and Special Zones for Structural Reform' examines the way Japanese national universities have become battlegrounds for new missions, innovative governance structures, decreased funding, flexible personnel arrangements and heightened performance and global competitiveness. Kingsley Banya (Florida International University discusses further the policy changes in higher education due to globalisation, in particular – new institutions, new players, new pedagogies and shifts in new paradigms are changing

higher education. He argues that the focus is no longer on institutions and their needs. Instead, rising tuition and user-fee charges, the massification of higher education, the increased enrollment of students, and a shift in political/social philosophy that sways the paradigm of responsibility away from the public sector toward the individual are trends that may be with us for a while.

Haim H. Gaziel (Bar-Ilan University) analyses from a political perspective the emergence of the self-managing schools in Israel, known as local management of schools (LMS). In his 'The Emergence of the Local Management of Schools (LMS) in Israel: A Political Perspective, he argues that politics play an important role in shaping educational policies. He concludes that the central government argument that the main purpose of the LMS enactment is for its educational utilities, namely, improving schools and ameliorating pupils' achievement is convenient policy rhetoric.

Oscar Espinoza (Programa Interdisciplinario De Investigaciones En Educacion (PIIE) in his 'Alternative Approaches on Society, State, Educational Reform, and Educational Policy' examines dominant paradigms employed in critiquing education reforms and concludes that educational reforms and policies serve the dominant privileged class by providing for the social reproduction of the economic and political status quo in a manner that gives the illusion of objectivity, neutrality, and opportunity.

Macleans A. Geo-JaJa (Brigham Young University) focuses on a case study in Nigeria. In his 'Social Exclusion, Poverty and Educational Inequity in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: Which Development Framework' he suggests that quality education and social transformation and non-market approaches, rather than neoliberal market economy to development are the best responses to problems of dehumanization, poverty and exclusion as well as to the need for sustainable development. In another case study of the nexus between ideology and political reforms, this time in Cuba, Mark Ginsburg, Carolina Belalcazar, Simona Popa and Orlando Pacheco (University of Pittsburgh) examine education in Cuban and how teacher education was shaped by dynamics occurring with the national and global political economy. The authors note in 'Constructing Worker-Citizens in/through Teacher Education in Cuba: Curricular Goals in the Changing Political Economic Context' that although the conception of "good" worker-citizens and the nature of the political economy differed across historical periods, there remained a focus on socializing teachers as worker-citizens and preparing them for the job to educate the next generation of worker-citizens.

The crucial policy issues and the biggest challenges facing CCET in the context of globalisation, are discussed by Zhang Xiaoqing and Holger Daun (Stockholm University). In 'The Reform of Chinese College English Teaching (CCET) in the Context of Globalisation' the authors outline the reform in Chinese College English Teaching (CCET) and consider some of the major changes of CCET policies relating to the expansion of Chinese higher education.

Global Teacher Recruitment as a Challenge to the Goal of Universal Primary Education is analysed by Madeleine Mattarozzi Laming, and the notion of power and Indigenous teacher assistants in remote Australian schools are evaluated by Elizabeth Warren, Annette R Baturo and Tom J Cooper (Queensland University of

Technology), where as the concept of 'deliberative pedagogy' is examined by Klas Roth (Stockholm University).

Evaluation

The above critique of globalisation, policy and the politics of education reforms suggests new economic, and political dimensions of cultural imperialism. Such hegemonic shifts in ideology and policy are likely to have significant economic and cultural implications for national education systems, reforms and policy implementations. For instance, in view of GATS constrains, and the continuing domination of multinational educational corporations and organisations in a global marketplace, the "basis of a national policy for knowledge production may be eroded in a free-market context of a knowledge-driven economy" (Robertson et al. 2002, p. 494). This erosion signifies the corresponding weakening of the traditional role of the university, being the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake (intrinsic):

> … the heart of the academic dogma is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Knowledge and the processes of coming to know are good in themselves, and the university, above all institutions, is – or used to be – devoted to them. To investigate, to find out, to organise and contemplate knowledge, these are what the university is about… (Nisbet 1971, p. vi).

In short, 'forces of globalisation' and have contributed to the ongoing globalisation of schooling and higher education curricula, together with the accompanying global standards of excellence, globalisation of academic assessment (OECD, PISA), global academic achievement syndrome (OECD, World Bank), and global academic elitism and league tables – the positioning of distinction, privilege, excellence and exclusivity. Finally, global marketing of education in terms of excellence and quality in academic achievement and prestige has increased global competition for desirable students.

It has been argued that the politics of education reforms surrounding national curricula, standards, excellence and quality, as well as outcomes-based curriculum reforms have "largely come from Northern, often World Bank, ideologies" (Watson 2000, p. 140). Despite the rhetoric of cooperation and partnership in education reforms – especially in the discourse of privatisation and decentralisation of schooling, in reality economic and political pressures and policies are keeping many developing countries in the state of symbiotic dependency. In short, privatisation and decentralisation policy initiatives in education should be viewed in the context of economic recessions, budget cuts, and shrinking funds for the public sector.

Diversity and uniformity need to be considered with reference to equality of opportunity. New evidence suggests that these have been ignored in the market-driven neo-liberal and neo-conservative policy drive for privatisation and decentralisation in education. For instance, having examined the impact of SAP on Africa, Geo-JaJa and Mangum conclude that such policies make it difficult for sub-Saharan Africa to provide quality education for all. Together with globalisation and marketisation of education they have created a "fourth world" (Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2002b, p. 24).

What globalisation has failed to create, in the case of the Russian Federation, China and many other nations, who are emerging as major players in this economic system, however, is a robust dialog about the nature, effects, and alternatives associated with its growth:

> Relying on what is narrowly *true*, in particular the principles of unsustainable market economics, globalisation has jeopardized social stability, such as a safe environment, equitable access to resources, and protection of human labour, in the quest for greater profits. What is perhaps most disconcerting about this trend is not the effects that such obedience to often implicit principles has caused, as if these were not disturbing enough, but the concomitant subverting of free, open, and diverse discourse about the processes at work and their aims. As meetings such as the G-8 Summit and World Trade Organization occur in locations isolated from the din of protest and discourse, those committed to the free and fair interplay of another marketplace, that of ideas, cannot help but be alarmed (Biraimah et al. 2008).

Conclusion

In evaluating current research on globalisation, policy and the politics of education reforms it needs to be concluded that education and societies are under constant pressure from the forces of globalisation, dominant ideologies, and the ubiquitous competitive market forces. It is a paradox that cultural globalisation is unleashing forces that tend to standardise lifestyles, desires and needs through commodities, and commodification of the self, information technology and the mass media. Consumer-based social identities are dependent on commodities and commodified forms of selfhood (Langman and Morris 2002). Yet, at the same time, globalisation creates opportunities for cultural resistance by 'powerfully entrenched local cultures' (Smolicz 2006, p. 118), where both the 'old' (traditional) and/or indigenous historical minorities and the 'new' migrant communities, which are growing as a result of economic globalisation and job mobility. One could argue that the state's very autonomy and its regulatory role have been eroded by forces of globalisation and decentralisation and privatisation in particular (Zajda 2004, 2006). However, globalisation, with its seemingly ubiquitous dimension of cosmopolitanism, while it impacts on nation-states, does not necessarily transcend or supersede them (Smith 1991, p. 175).

Globalisation and the competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in the knowledge industries that are having profound differential effects on educational institutions and nations in general. One of the effects of globalisation is that educational organisations, having modelled its goals and strategies on the entrepreneurial business model, are compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of the efficiency, accountability and profit-driven managerialism. Hence, the politics of education reforms reflect this new emerging paradigm of standards-driven policy change (Zajda 2009b). Globalisation, with its evolving and growing in complexity social stratification of nations, technology and education systems, has a potential to generate further polarisation and socio-economic divisions in society, that are likely to create discontent and social conflict.

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Neoliberalism, the New Imperialism, and the "Disappearing" Nation-State: A Case Study

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Globalisation, Nation-States, and Neoliberalism

The logic of modern economic development has redirected critical discourse on globalisation from a critique of the self-regulating nation-state to a more intensified focus on the role of transnational and multinational entities (MNEs) in promoting global economic disequilibrium (Rhoads and Torres 2005b). International economic integration through regionally based trading blocks, migratory patterns of a new mobile labor force, expansion of technological capabilities that place international transactions in real time, and elevated levels of foreign investment all serve as prima facie evidence of a new economic world order that positions multinational corporate interests above those of the nation-state (Castells 1997; Chomsky 1998; Stiglitz 2002). Similarly, the rise in prominence of influential regional economic centers, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Pacific Northwest in the USA, offer powerful evidence of the declining role and importance of the nation-state. These regional centers are often characterized as high-density urban areas comprising interdependent, autonomous networks of private enterprise, operating as regional hubs for the importation and exportation of capital and information-based expertise (Sassen 2001; Scott 2001). According to Ohmae (1995), the regulative impotence of the nation-state serves to reorganize existing power arrangements so that sovereignty over economic activity is localized within regional economic centers, thus resulting in a new and evolving sense of "borderlessness." This, combined with the nation-state's diminishing capacity to regulate exchange rate and currency protections, has led to what Ohmae and others view the "real economic activity" as the state's wholesale forfeiture.

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With the increasing prominence of global and regional markets and transnational organizations created to monitor and control global economic exchange, including organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), there is a general sense that nation-states, as well as the nationalism that they inspire, have become somewhat obsolete. Indeed, globalisation suggests to some a rejection of nationalistic identities in favor of more cosmopolitan or global notions of citizenship (Heater 2000; Held 1995, 2002). Similarly, the globalisation of human rights also poses a challenge to nationalistic conceptions of rights and responsibilities (Torres 1998, 2002; Torres and Rhoads 2005; Soysal 1994). Hence, as notions of citizenship become increasingly defined within the context of global economics, as well as by the growing strength of global rights and responsibilities, to what extent do nation-states retain the ability to define on their own terms the essence of national identity? Of course, when one considers matters related to globalisation and national identity or citizenship, the contested arena of education becomes of central importance.

Observers of the relationship between globalisation and state-guided social policy in the USA have pointed to recent shifts within education as additional evidence of the state's declining role in shaping a national democratic project. More specifically, Apple (2000) and Giroux (2002) have argued that the global context, in which education is now firmly entrenched, has pushed education policy toward an ideologically conservative bent or what Apple termed as a "conservative restoration." Nationalistic fears over the loss of competitive strength within international markets, combined with the growing influence of private business interests, have emerged to shift US education policy from one based upon egalitarian norms to one largely grounded in the economic rationality of neoliberalism. Reflecting these sentiments, Giroux argued that neoliberalism has altogether eliminated possibilities for civic discourse within higher education. Instead, commercialization, privatization, and deregulation – the hallmarks of neoliberalism – serve as appropriate descriptors for the cultural logic of the university, as new forms of economic rationality replace the university's former responsibility to serve the broader "public good," including the charge to advance democratic forms of citizenship. For Apple, the conservative turn includes demonizing the "public" for the sake of the "private" and reinventing individual motivation as a purely economic decision. In the end, the university's place in advancing the public good, defined within the context of a democratic nation-state, is replaced by market-driven interests favoring corporations and capital (Rhoads and Torres 2005a).

To a certain extent, we agree with the arguments that nation-states have, to some degree, faded to the background, while permitting and indeed encouraging corporations and private interests to direct public policy. Clearly, as Castells (1997) astutely noted, the kind of markets and complex social networks emerging within the context of globalisation at times have a destabilizing effect on nation-states. But, by the same token, we see claims of a "disappearing nation-state" as somewhat overstated, fundamentally reductionistic, and lacking any recognition of the historical legitimacy of the nation-state in all matters that are global. Consequently, we speak of the "disappearing nation-state" as a mythology, not because such a description is

totally removed from reality, but because added complexity is needed in explaining and deciphering the relationship of the nation-state with globalisation. The central task of our paper therefore is to challenge the all-too-common portrayal of the nation-state as powerless, redundant, and hopelessly susceptible to the claims of corporate, transnational, and regionalized interests. We argue that the nation-state, in particular the USA, has in fact transcended the concept of borders (whenever convenient) and actively retained its ability to manipulate advantages within the international marketplace through policy making that actuates competitive economic agendas. What we suggest then is that the nation-state, while fading to the background in certain contexts, appears front and center in others. But, the fundamental logic to both the disappearance and the appearance (or reappearance) is the economic rationality of neoliberalism and its role in shaping global processes. In seeking to add a degree of complexity to the "disappearing nation-state" mythology, we also look at the changing relationship between the state and higher education and the way in which the US government has utilized the intellectual resources of postsecondary institutions to advance its national position within the global marketplace.

In an effort to contextualize our argument, we introduce a case study that focuses upon the long-standing collaboration between one postsecondary institution – Global University (GU)[1] – and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). By recounting the conditions under which this relationship was established, the instrumentality to which GU's intellectual, financial, and personnel resources are utilized to actuate the mission and goals of USAID in Latin America and the Caribbean, and the programmatic goals and outcomes generated by the GU-USAID program, our intent is to offer a powerful example of the ways in which the USA develops and maintains economic advantages within strategic regions of interest.

State Power Within the Global Order

At the core of any discussion of globalisation is a desire to make sense of the rapid changes in factors of economic production and the ways in which the exchange of commodities and information has resulted in a new logic of accumulation and profit. To explain such logic requires a framing of globalisation in theoretical terms, taking into account the enabling factors which promote economic action at the macro and micro levels (Rhoads and Torres 2005b). Yet, efforts to make sense of the forces which shape global economic arrangements have been largely contested. Nowhere is this more evident than in the existing dialogue over the role of the state.

[1] "Global University" is a pseudonym for a private research university located in the eastern region of the United States.

By all indicators, the growing power of the market suggests a specific vision of the state in which formerly public interests are subordinated for the sake of the private. Governance is inextricably linked to advancing the free market and directing capital from public to private domains. The deregulation of education, health, welfare, and penal adjudication assures that the exercising of profit motive takes precedence over benefits and programs previously rendered through actions of the state.

Yet, to explain that the state's withdrawal from enumerable public domains is a sign of deference to private capital and multinational and transnational governance seems all too simple a claim. As Holten (1998) posited in his book, *Globalisation and the Nation-State*, the two dialectical challenges to the vitality of the nation-state, global capitalism and the power of multinational enterprises (MNEs), fail to unsettle the sovereignty of the state. He suggested that arguments supporting a neoliberal state are largely based upon a mythical notion of the "golden age of sovereignty," when, in fact, national sovereignty has never been absolute. The history of political science demonstrates that nation-state viability has always been measured by the degree to which other nations are willing to recognize another's sovereignty and interact accordingly. Consequently, the history of the nation-state is more accurately seen as a history of conditional control within the transnational and global arenas.

Holten (1998) went on to argue that the nation-state has in many ways played an integral role in the advancement of global capital. He based this claim upon the rationale that global capitalism is fundamentally anarchic in nature. As such, global capitalism requires the legitimacy of the nation-state to ensure it does not devolve into chaos. Consequently, states serve an important function in the policing of global financial transactions and the development of regulatory standards that assure basic ethical considerations are maintained within the market context. This is evidenced most dramatically through the signatory power maintained by economically advantaged nation-states over transnational organizations such as the IMF and World Bank. Holten maintained that although transnational and multinational enterprises have become immensely powerful new actors within the global context, their control of capital, technology, and information does not constitute a subordination of nation-state regulatory controls. On the contrary, the nation-state operates as a stabilizing effect against the volatility of the market, and as such, becomes implicated in an unprecedented network of transactions and relationships. Such a stabilizing effect speaks to nation-state legitimacy as a mechanism of control over transnational and multinational interests.

Carnoy (2001) also suggested that the nation-state remains undiminished by its continued influence in the territorial, temporal space of global capitalism. Carnoy argued that economies that have transitioned from a largely industrial base to one focused upon knowledge and information must include "efficient state apparatuses with well-developed civil societies that provide growing markets, stable political conditions, and stead public investment in human capital" (70). Therefore, it is the presence of a well-organized, efficient state apparatus that assures the relative stability of essential infrastructures designed to support

global capitalism. The very basis of this new knowledge and information society, therefore, rests upon the continued presence of the nation-state and not its "disappearance." Carnoy (2001) also looked at the evolutionary changes to labor as evidence of the role that the nation-state plays in sustaining global capitalism. Rapid changes in technology, the organization of the global economy, and thus discourse surrounding global markets, is moving outside of the nation-state into a new virtual context. In this new knowledge-based economy, the training of labor is ultimately tied to an accessible higher education system. While the push for access has redirected state efforts toward privatization, state functioning in the educational sphere has not diminished but been redefined. Where once the state served as a key source of knowledge and knowledge distribution, it is now reconstituted primarily to organize the dissemination of knowledge to its citizenry and the application of knowledge to economic development.

Globalisation Reconsidered

By forwarding an argument that reframes the relationship between global capitalism and the nation-state, a conceptual redefinition of globalisation is in order. We must now advance an understanding of globalisation that takes into account the transcendent nature of the nation-state in both role and function. Scholte (1997) argued against the dissolution of the nation-state, based upon the numerical frequency of cross- or open-border flows of capital between nation-states. Such flows, he claimed, are historically evidenced from the instance in which nations first began to interact with one another. These "trends" in economic integration across borders are, in fact, reflective of a historical legacy of interaction between nations.

Accordingly, Scholte (1997) posited that the nation-state serves as a transcendent influence on global relations. Localized encounters with the tangible/physical effects of globalisation are shaped through the incursion of real-time communications, regulatory and transborder organizations, global finance, and markets. As a consequence, individuals fail to acknowledge the macro-organizational efforts of the nation-state. Yet, it is this transcendent function which assures the worldwide stability of global capitalism.

If, as we have argued thus far, the nation-state continues to retain legitimacy within the current set of global power arrangements, the question then becomes one of sustainability. How does the state maintain influence despite direct challenges to sovereignty as a result of globalisation? Here, intellectual work on colonialism and post-colonialism is helpful. Said (1994), for example, noted that powerful Western countries such as the USA have maintained a colonial posture, despite the demise of classical imperialism: "A whole range of people in the so-called Western or metropolitan world, as well as their counterparts in the third or formerly colonized world, share a sense that the era of high or classical imperialism, which … more or less formally ended with the dismantling of the great colonial structures after World War Two, has in one way or another continued to exert considerable cultural influence

in the present" (7). Along these lines, Tikly (2004) indicated that state influence, and more specifically US influence, over global processes is largely maintained through a form of "new imperialism." He argued that throughout the post-World War II period there has been a qualitative change in the global arrangements of power, networks, and flows of capital: The post-World War II arrangements support a "re-territorialization" of power that creates a definite set of winners and losers within the larger configuration of nation-states. Those considered winners are the USA and its Western allies, while the losers tend to be peripheral and semi-peripheral countries formerly subject to European colonization. This new form of Western hegemonic control largely is sustained through what Tikly referred to as "illiberal" forms of interaction. Rather than dominant displays of military might, as was often demonstrated under classical colonialism, Western nation-states now more often engage in political, cultural, and economic acts of coercion (we are not ignoring the fact that the use of military force also continues to take place, as in the case of the US invasion of Iraq); such acts of coercion decisively and powerfully reinforce the interests of the West within the borders of less-developed countries. From such a perspective it is not hard to understand why countries such as Brazil and Argentina recently resisted global economic initiatives largely advanced by the USA and its Western allies. Perhaps Fanon (1961) said it best some 40 years ago: "We should flatly refuse the situation to which the Western countries wish to condemn us. Colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdrew their flags and their police forces from our territories. For centuries, the capitalists have behaved in the underdeveloped world like nothing more than criminals" (p. 101).

The State and the University

One way in which the "new imperialism" is advanced is through education. In particular, development aid agencies are well situated to transfer forms of culture and ideology from core to peripheral states. Education aid, just like all foreign aid, represents the exportation not only of resources and technologies, but of Western thought (Stokke 1995). Clayton (1998) conceptualized the effects of educational assistance on peripheral states in terms of ideological effects, which take place through "intellectual socialization" (Samoff 1993). This form of socialization most often occurs through the practices of "core teachers," attending "core institutions," and through reading books and curricular materials produced by "core enterprises."

For developing countries, evidence of "democratization" has become the conditionality for receiving overseas aid from developed countries (Crawford 1995). More specifically, international aid agencies and transnational organizations have publicly declared their preference and support for a form of Western liberal democracy that emphasizes political accountability to a robust free-market system. Thus, the promotion of liberal democracy is necessarily the promotion of competitive capitalism, as far as aid agencies are concerned. In fact, the very idea of democracy,

under the corporate-driven values advanced by Western trade and banking organizations, is turned on its head: "Essentially, corporatization annihilates democracy as the defining project of education. In the end, capitalism taken to the extreme introduces new definitions of democracy and freedom: the pursuit of free markets and the practice of free enterprise" (Rhoads 2003, 232). For development aid agencies, education is seen as a pivotal institution for advancing a market-oriented vision of democracy.

There is a rather large body of literature on the role of educational institutions, mostly schools, in advancing dominant ideology (Apple 1979, 2000; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Giroux 1983; MacLeod 1987; Willis 1977). Indeed, Althusser (1971) once noted that education serves as the "dominant ideological state apparatus," thus becoming an important vehicle by which to actuate new forms of coercion. But coercive educational forms are not limited to the K-12 sector; colleges and universities also play primary roles in advancing ideology (Giroux 2002; Rhoads and Torres 2005a). Consequently, development aid agencies have not limited their interests only to schools; they also have utilized the higher education context as a vehicle for advancing neoliberal economic views.

The introduction of a state-promoted profit motive into higher education policy-making has been met by an equally compelling thirst for money and status on the part of research universities (Hackett 1990; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Increased entrepreneurialism, transnational cooperation and competition, global-market fascination, linkages with industry, and development work all characterize the new revenue-producing activities of research universities, driven to some extent by the growing influence of the USA and its model of the research university (Torres and Rhoads 2005).

The destabilizing effects of decreased public funding for higher education has resulted in a fundamental shift in the work of the university. Research has addressed how this shift has materially altered the university. For example, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) examined state-wide educational policies and strategies in the USA, Great Britain, and Australia, concluding that a convergence between higher education and national research agendas reflected a nationally strategic response to maintaining economic viability in an increasingly competitive, global environment. On the one hand, research universities were forced to alter their modes of operation in response to dwindling public financial support. On the other hand, research universities became enticed by the lucrative interests of the private sector, thus choosing, to some extent, the degree to which they would be driven by the generation of revenue. The latter aspect of the contemporary research university and its quest for power and prestige is clearly articulated by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) in their book, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State and Higher Education*.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) draw upon the theoretical work of Foucault (1977, 1980) and his contribution to understanding the positive function of power and the role of discursive regimes of power. In particular, Slaughter and Rhoades identify the increasing influence of "knowledge/learning/consumption regimes of power" as part of the general advance of what they describe as "academic

capitalism" – the increasing engagement of higher education institutions in market-driven behaviors, as a means of introducing research and education as basic commodities of university work. Although it is certainly true that the push toward entrepreneurialism within the research university has coincided with relative decreases in publicly generated revenue, the strategic institutional response has been to heavily emphasize aggressive participation in the marketplace.

Academic capitalism manifests itself in the daily work of university professors and scientists. For example, Hackett (1990) points to mounting pressures placed upon faculty, and more specifically academic scientists, to increase grant-getting in the face of diminishing financial resources. Consideration of a professor's funding record in decisions about raises, promotions, tenure, and the allocation of internal resources illustrate the increasing push to generate revenue. The cultural shift resulting from the quest for revenue has resulted in increased stature for professors who are able to generate large grants and other forms of financial incentives for their institutions. Hence, in addition to punitive pressures – such as the fear of being rejected for promotion and/or tenure – academic capitalism also is manifested in what Foucault (1980) describes as the positive function of power, in terms of the thirst for status and prestige that drives faculty toward revenue-generating work.

Up to now we have situated our argument within what is largely a theoretical context. What may be helpful at this point is to situate our basic argument within a real-life example. Hence, we consider the case of Global University and its collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). We intend to demonstrate that far from disappearing into the background, the US government plays a pivotal role in the new imperialism by advancing a neoliberal economic agenda throughout other regions of the world, through its utilization and enticement of Global University. And, of course, within the context of academic capitalism, Global University is more than a willing participant in this new imperialism.

Case Study: The USAID–Global University Collaboration

USAID was formed on September 4, 1961, following the passage of the Foreign Assistance Act by Congress. This act was passed in order to reorganize US foreign assistance programs, including the separation of military and nonmilitary aid. The Act mandated the creation of an agency to administer economic assistance programs. And so, on November 3, 1961, President John F. Kennedy established the US Agency for International Development (USAID 2003).

USAID became the first US foreign assistance organization whose primary emphasis was to undertake long-range economic and social development efforts intended to ensure security and stability in so-called failing countries. Without political or military obligations, USAID was able to offer direct support to developing countries. The agency was established to combine the economic and technical assistance operations of the International Cooperation Agency, the loan activities of

the Development Loan Fund, currency functions of the Export-Import Bank, and the agricultural distribution functions of the Food for Peace program of the Department of Agriculture. USAID positions itself as offering a cohesive, holistic approach to developmental efforts. To this end, USAID claims that the agency was established to unify national assistance programs to enhance the quality of support directed to countries in need of maintaining independence and becoming self-supporting. In the absence of political or military obligations, USAID has been able to offer development support to lower developed countries (LDCs) with programs in areas such as agriculture, democracy and governance, economic growth and trade, education and universities, environment, and global health (USAID 2003).

Critical to the global mission of USAID is the concept of "sustainable development." Strategic goals such as advancing democracy and human rights, ensuring regional economic prosperity and security, and promoting social and environmental programs are part of a broader global project that seeks to reinforce and stabilize US interests abroad. Yet, as is often demonstrated in the USAID literature, this strategic role is often complicit with the larger economic interests of the US government and the corporate enterprises most served by international ties and transactions. A notable example of this is the intentional development of human capital through the targeting of disenfranchised populations within politically unstable regions.

The scope and range of collaboration between USAID and higher education institutions is indicative of the increasing role universities play in the implementation of USAID development initiatives worldwide. The Agency's Higher Education and Workforce Development (HEWD) Office serves as the proverbial hub through which USAID actively solicits university involvement in development projects. Through competitively awarded grants, USAID's HEWD Office is strategically designed to maximize US colleges and universities as key partners in international development in the nation's interests. Based upon cooperative agreements between USAID and the nation's six major higher education associations, representing more than 4,000 institutions from all sectors of US higher education, USAID has established successful agreements with over 140 institutions (USAID 2005a, b).

Global University represents one of the oldest private research universities in the USA and is located within a highly urbanized context. GU has evolved into one of the most prestigious universities in the country and is well situated to attract highly respected faculty in a wide range of disciplinary fields. The university currently employs over 1,100 full-time and 400 part-time faculty within its undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools. In terms of students, GU enrolls over 6,000 undergraduates, over 3,000 graduate students, and approximately 3,000 additional students within its professional schools of law and medicine. According to *U.S. News & World Reports*, the university's undergraduate program is consistently ranked among the top 25 universities in the country and nearly 20 Rhodes scholarships have been awarded to its undergraduates since 1984.

Global University has a strong international focus, offering one of the top programs in the country in the field of international relations; the mission statement

for GU references the university's long-standing commitment to maintaining an "international identity." Accordingly, the university actively encourages faculty and departmental collaboration with foreign and stateside partners in order to sustain its global presence and reputation. Toward this end, GU has established a special office to coordinate, initiate, and sustain international initiatives across the university's various schools and programs. Since 2001, this office has coordinated over 150 projects ranging from academic research collaborations, faculty involvement in intergovernmental organization (IGO) governing boards, international student exchanges, and full-scale resource partnering on various development projects.

Formation of the CCDN Program

In 1985, USAID and Global University established a cooperative agreement that solidified ongoing collaboration between the two entities in technical training and human resource development work within Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. The outcome of this agreement was the creation of the Collaboration of Colleges for Developing Nations (CCDN) program.[2] The CCDN Program provides technical education, job training, and leadership skills development to young adults and leaders from communities within the targeted geographic regions.

Creation of the Program was a direct response by USAID to civil unrest and economic hardship that was believed to undermine democratic initiatives within the regions. In an effort to improve upon the fragile political stability and limited economic development of the regions in question, the CCDN program provides US-based educational scholarships to disadvantaged populations. The stated purpose behind these scholarships is to offer a quality educational experience that will provide selected individuals with the necessary tools to improve their individual productivity in the economies of their nations and to ensure political stability for the future.

Through active recruitment of disadvantaged youth in countries such as the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Mexico, the CCDN program has fully supported 5,000 two-year technical training scholarships over the last 19 years. The CCDN program focuses primarily upon recruiting youth (17–25 years old) who have successfully completed high school and have had little employment experience outside of their immediate household. CCDN recruits must be unmarried and demonstrate evidence of their leadership capabilities, community spirit, academic potential, and likelihood of becoming a successful cultural "friendship" ambassador at least once in the USA. Final selection of candidates is conducted with the assistance of CCDN's in-country staff, as well as by an extensive network of representatives from local IGOs, government agencies, community and volunteer organizations, and USAID.

[2] Collaboration of Colleges for Developing Nations (CCDN) is a pseudonym.

Program Goals and Expected Outcomes

According to the Program Coordinator's Manual, CCDN's goals are to reach out and uplift "socio-economically disadvantaged Central American and Caribbean youth in an effort to increase the number of current and future leaders in these nations who are versed in American processes." CCDN staff seek to achieve the organization's mission by offering "an ongoing home-country support system, a positive learning experience in the United States, and an alumni network that supports the reintegration of each trainee upon return home." This includes the strengthening of ties "of understanding and friendship" between the countries of the Americas, providing educational training that is relevant to the development needs of a participant's home country, and helping US educational institutions to deliver educational training that serves to "support disadvantaged students from abroad." By focusing upon strategic, country-specific, technical skills such as solid waste management, business administration, food technology, and construction management, CCDN staff seek to foster the development of people who will become individual agents of change by using and sharing their knowledge and skills to positively impact their communities and countries.

All components of the program are intended to reinforce the objective of developing "agents of change," defined by USAID as "individuals who have the capacity and motivation to initiate – or effectively support – sustainable development through their action and by the influence of their action on the actions of others." In essence, graduates of the CCDN Program are expected to be catalysts for regional development and promotion of "US ways of knowing."

Once chosen, participants must complete a month-long "Academic Upgrading" program prior to US placement; upgrading serves to orient students, provide basic English as a second language instruction, and encourage participants to take seriously the charge of serving their country and improving their communities upon their return home. Such commitments are further reinforced at the US colleges and community colleges, where they eventually are placed. Under contractual obligation to Global University and CCDN, these US-based institutions are expected to deliver ESL and technical instruction in a given field of study as well as carry out an additional component called, "Experience America."

"Experience America" is designed to foster within students an understanding and appreciation of democracy as well as sharpen leadership skills, leading to students becoming agents of change. Students are obligated to volunteer for community service projects, participate in field trips to local courts, hospitals, government offices, schools, businesses, and industries in order to encounter US democratic practices at work. Particular attention is given to understanding the structures undergirding the social and civic institutions visited. For example, students visiting a business site specific to their field of study are provided with opportunities to learn how the business is structured, how work is organized, what kinds of attributes make for a good manager, and the importance of networking within the particular business arena. Likewise, students visiting a US court learn the importance

of due process, the inner-workings of the penal system, and the various processes supporting the US system of adjudication.

In addition to site visits, students are required to engage in community service. Such activities are defined as teachable moments, whereby students learn the importance of civic duty and a commitment to community and country. This is further reinforced in the classroom, where students are required to take an ongoing "leadership development" seminar throughout their 2-year scholarship period. The leadership curriculum emphasizes the following: developing sound problem-solving skills (particularly in work settings), being productive and efficient in their fields of study, developing individual capacities for taking on additional responsibilities, cultivating within students an openness to sharing their training with others upon return to their country, and building a commitment to development within their home countries. Toward this end, CCDN has identified five programmatic outcomes anticipated for students upon completion of the program: being responsible, educated, multicultural, professional, and committed.

Analysis

At first glance, the USAID-GU collaboration seems reasonable and consistent with a just vision of economic cooperation and individual educational attainment. However, underlying the mission of CCDN is a deliberate set of strategies intended to support the political and economic agenda of the US government, the strategic initiatives of USAID, and by extension the US State Department. Quite clearly, embedded in the program is a desire by the USA to build and sustain strong relations within a set of resource-rich regions in order to advance a particular form of governance and economic policy consistent with and beneficial to the interests of US companies.

By offering training opportunities to economically disadvantaged and politically disenfranchised Latin American and Caribbean youth, the CCDN program purports to reverse a process of marginalization and instead advance democratic development. At the core of this ideologically driven process is the notion of individual agency and the role participants in the CCDN Program eventually are expected to play in their home countries, as advocates of the "American experience." And yet, the tools provided to them to actuate this mission are produced through an intense engagement with "American" culture, "American" values, and "American" ways of knowing.

Nowhere is the role of ideology more powerful than in the experiences generated through that portion of the program called "Experience America." Here, students are provided with a unique "American" message: US democratic practices and capitalism work hand-in-hand and that democracy without capitalism is not democracy at all. Directly engaging in the inner-workings of a successful business and learning to appreciate the ways in which such businesses are organized and managed, including understanding the importance of profit motive in achieving "success," serve as important pedagogical opportunities, as students are expected to replicate what they see and experience in the USA once they return to their home countries. Such knowledge is at the core of CCDN's notion of agency. Students are

expected to be able to apply their training in their home settings, formulate and initiate improved procedures within their workplace, and through volunteerism work to meet the social demands of their countries (the latter making it quite clear that "social demands" should not be met by governments!). Clearly, individual agency gets defined as the reproduction of "American" ideology and "American" ways of knowing, as the "new imperialism" incorporates a peripheral country's own citizens to spread the gospel of neoliberalism.

The existence of the CCDN Program reflects an ongoing scramble for a capitalistic monopoly over resources within Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean by the US government and the many corporations it so faithfully serves. Through Global University, and its contribution to human resource development, USAID perpetuates the global influence of the USA by training individuals who in turn act within their own localized contexts. Similar to a line of argumentation advanced by Carnoy (1974), in which he pointed to the instrumentality of education as an imperialistic tool for protecting and advancing national interests, the CCDN program represents one effort to limit individual self-definition as well as societal self-definition. Through a national agenda that places US global interests at the forefront, CCDN, along with similar types of development programs, operate directly on behalf of US economic interests. This form of cooperative relationship is fairly typical of the kind of linkages established between state agencies and postsecondary institutions, as both organizational sectors seek to be players in the global marketplace.

To the surprise of no one, Global University was and continues to be an "excited" partner in CCDN. At the expense of US tax payers, GU's faculty and staff help to coordinate the program, and in turn they and the university receive enumerable benefits (in addition to financial benefits, the program generates status and prestige for the university as well as enhanced governmental connections). Indeed, such collaborations are at the core of the university's mission. By organizationally and structurally positioning themselves to encourage faculty and departmental engagement in international work, the university seeks to become a viable player on the global front. The prestige generated from such involvements reproduces GU's ability to maintain a record of international participation and strengthens the university's position as a purveyor of quality postsecondary training, as a viable pathway to accessing the high reaches of governmental power, and as an organization that is complicit with the larger interests of the nation. Ultimately, academic capitalism's "knowledge/learning/consumption regime" is too enticing to resist, and so GU is caught within the same machinery that it helps to produce and reproduce by advancing the neoliberal project at a global level.

Conclusion

The relationship between USAID and GU cogently illustrates the ways in which a nation-state attempts to maintain capitalistic monopoly over developing countries through its utilization of research universities and the environment of academic capitalism that the nation-state so successfully brought into existence. In so doing, the USAID–GU collaboration assures the sustainability of US economic interests

and unfettered access to various regions of the world, including Latin America and the Caribbean. The intellectual expertise of academics thus is focused more than ever on the advance of exploitative relationships associated with unchecked capitalism, as opposed to the basic values of social justice and the ideals of progressive international relations. Ultimately, the research university becomes an extension of the nation-state that far from disappearing has commandeered the university's "public-good" mission to serve the new "public good" and the "new imperialism," defined at the beginning of the twenty-first century as the neoliberal project. In the end, corporate interests and free-market enterprise combine to redefine democracy and democratic hope.

Clearly, nation-states have hardly disappeared and universities are far from neutral sites of knowledge and knowledge construction. Economic and political elites within the USA have cleverly articulated and propelled a new model of the university and this new model is firmly entrenched within the exploitative logic of advanced capitalism, and more specifically, the logic of neoliberalism. Hence, the reduction in public support for higher education in the USA may be directly linked to a strategic design to enlist universities in the endless expansion of global capitalism at the expense of the economic, cultural, and political spheres of peripheral and semi-peripheral countries.

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How Educational Systems Form and Reform

William K. Cummings

The Origins of Basic Education

The first steps toward the development of mass systems of basic education are generally believed to have occurred in the Nordic countries. For example, in Sweden, the national church, with the urging of the king, exhorted parents and communities to foster popular literacy, and the literacy rate is believed to have increased from 20% in the seventeenth century to 80% by the early nineteenth century (Johansson 1981). But, this was largely accomplished through home education stimulated by church examinations of each family's progress; in other words, the literacy improvement was not accompanied by the development of an elaborated educational system, and partly for that reason, it did not gain as much international recognition as subsequent reforms in Germany and France. Table 1 shows that the respective year's basic education was made compulsory in selected states.

Six Core Ideas Lead to Six Distinctive Patterns

The first attempts to systematize modern education occurred in the European continent (which is best broken into the Prussian and French variants, with the Lowlands as a third possibility), then by the English, the American, the Japanese, and the Russian socialist patterns. The distinctive characteristics of each of these patterns can be summarized with an ideal typical schema (Table 2).

Each modern pattern was unified by a core set of ideals (much like the genotype of biology) that can be at least partially captured in a slogan such as nineteenth-century aristocratic England's ideal of the educated gentleman or, in the American case, the continuous development of the individual. Over subsequent decades, these

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Table 1 Dates of the establishment of compulsory education in selected states

State	Year compulsory schooling established
German states	1724–1806
Massachusetts (USA)	1852
Japan	1872
France	1882
England	1870
Russia	1919

national ideals were continually refined, but in the six cases under consideration, they were never fundamentally altered. These ideals thus had an enduring influence on various structural features of the respective systems, including the type of school that is most esteemed, the range of subjects covered, the prevailing theory of learning, and preferred teaching methods. In other words, there is a gentle degree of determinism implied (Muller et al. 1987), with the ideal placing some constraints on curriculum, learning theory, and so on. For example, to realize the comprehensive educational goals implied in the English concept of the educated gentleman, a boarding school is essential along with close monitoring by tutors, and as a gentleman is expected to dabble in everything, the curriculum is highly valued. A contrast might be made with France, where formal education was intended to train experts, outstanding in a particular intellectual area but with no expectation that they play such games as cricket or football.

The core patterns emerged at different periods in the global process of modernization. In each instance, there were unique confluences of internal and external forces, necessarily inviting distinctive responses. Several generalizations about the nature of educational reform can be derived from these accounts:

- Educational reform is closely associated with political shifts; economic forces are an important contextual factor.
- The magnitude and abruptness of the political shift influences the extent of the educational reform.
- Political shifts are closely associated with major class realignments, and these in turn influence the focus of the educational reform;
- Educational reform, while bold on rhetoric, tends to focus on a limited set of changes concerning a particular level of schooling at least in the short run.
- Educational reform, while often mentioning foreign examples in its rhetoric, tends to draw extensively on indigenous resources, indigenous ideals, and indigenous educational practices (both past and present).
- Even after a seemingly dramatic educational reform, the memory of past ideals and practices will persist to exert influence on the new and even possibly at some later date to replace the new.
- Thus, educational reform, in its particulars, tends to turn inward reproducing and creating indigenous patterns, rather than outward, converging on internationally celebrated patterns.

Table 2 Core educational patterns

	Prussia	France	England	USA	Japan	Russia
Period of genesis	1742–1820	1791–1870	1820–1904	1840–1910	1868–1890	1917–1935
Ideal	Loyal mandarin	Technical elite	Educated gentleman	Continuous development of the individual	Competent contribution to the group	Socialist achievement
Representative school	Primary schools	Lycée/grande école	Public school	Comprehensive high, liberal arts college	Primary school	General schools
Scope	Whole person, many subjects, humanistic bias	Cognitive growth in academic subjects arts/science	Academic subjects, civic and religious values, culture and curriculum	Cognitive development, civic values, social skills	Whole person, wide range of subjects, moral values, physical and aesthetic skills	Whole person, broad curriculum, technical bias
School and classroom technology	Lectures & self-study	Lectures and exams	Tutors, co-curriculum boarding school	Individualized courses and instruction	Teacher-centered, groups, school as units	Collective learning
Learning theory	Natural unfolding	Mental discipline	Hereditary brilliance	Aptitude and growth	Effort	Interactive
Administration	Quasi-decentralized	Centralized	Private	Decentralized	Quasi-decentralized	Centralized
Admin. Style	Autocratic	Authoritarian	Leadership	Management	Cooperation	Collective control
Unit costs	Moderate	Moderate	High	Variable	Moderate	Moderate to high
Source of finance	Local state	State (church)	Fees	Local taxes	State	State

These patterns were developed in the core nations of the world system and later diffused by their respective colonial and/or ideological systems. Thus, the French variant became influential in Africa, Indochina, and Latin America; the English pattern was widely diffused through Asia and Africa; the American pattern had some early influence in Asia; since World War II has had global influence, the Japanese pattern had a profound impact on Korea and Taiwan and more limited influence elsewhere; and the Russian Socialist pattern influenced China, Eastern Europe, Cuba, and many other developing societies.

The First Steps to Systematizing Education

Modern Education is one among several projects launched by the modernizing states. It is essentially a new venture, and at least for the first states embarking on the project, there was no clear design or master plan. How many different types of schools would be required? What should be the mix of academic and technical training? Who should be allowed to attend these schools? Who should pay for them – the state, the students, or private benefactors? These were some of the design issues for which there were no ready answers. And so in the early years, especially for the first modernizing societies, there was much trial and error.

The first steps focused on the design of a particular "representative" school that best reflected the most pressing needs of the modernizers. Building on this first venture these same modernizers and their successors added other schools to respond to other needs – for different skills, regions, and interested groups. As new schools were established, the elites had to make decisions about the relations between the respective schools. The decisions they made led gradually to an overall design for the emerging modern educational system. Germany was the pioneer in these endeavors and France followed in Germany's footsteps; Victor Cousin, for example, prepared a detailed report on German education which played a critical role in the reforms of the 1830s promoted by Guizot. Numerous American travelled to Germany and France in the 1830s and 1840s to gather the insights that were later expressed in the US Common Schools Movement. And, following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan sent several missions to observe educational practice on the European continent, Great Britain, and the USA. Those states that began later drew extensively from the lessons learned by the pioneers, and this helped the latecomers to complete their task of systematization in a briefer time span. Thus Japan completed its major systemic decisions within the first two decades of the Meiji Revolution and the Bolsheviks took less than 15 years to draw up the decisive educational law of 1931.

The shape of the emerging systems can be compared in terms of two dimensions: the differentiation/integration of various educational opportunities both through vertical and horizontal divisions and the segregation/inclusion of different social groups in the various educational opportunities primarily through horizontal segmentation/tracking. We suggest there are distinctive differences both in

the structure of the respective systems and in the means the respective states relied on to establish direction. Among the means available to the state for influencing direction were establishment standards, accreditation, finance, admissions, and examinations.

Once the state is satisfied with the direction of modern education, it may delegate most educational decisions to boards or other decision-making bodies composed primarily of educators. But now and again the state is likely to intervene with a new wave of reform in an apparent effort to get education back on track. These waves of reform symbolize the reality that the processes of systematization and expansion are never complete. Yet while these later reforms generate much interest and concern, some observers suggest they amount at most to fine-tuning. Ravitch (1983) finds that later reform often involves a mere recycling of old practices and thus only creates the illusion of reform.

The Political and Administrative Settings

Some of the modern states were more centralized than others and some were more inclusive or "democratic." In centralized systems, according to Margaret Archer (1977), the flow of educational decisions is likely to reflect the pattern for other sectors such as the judiciary, the police, and public health. In decentralized societies, educational decision-making may vary between locales. Thus, in the UK, local educational authorities were established that often had no overlap with other government offices. In the USA, some states decided to assume a primary role in educational decision-making while others left this task to local communities.

To the extent that a polity is more inclusive, it is likely that a greater array of stakeholders will be offered a role in the systematizing decisions. It is common in the USA and the UK, when considering major educational reforms, to create consultative bodies that include representatives from the various political parties, the different levels of education, and the different working groups involved in educational practice such as the principals' association, the teachers' union. To the extent the polity is more narrowly constituted, it is more likely the state will consult with a small group of interests such as corporate leaders, the military, and religious elites.

The priority that the polities of the core societies assigned to their educational projects also varied. Especially from the early nineteenth century, Prussia/Germany became concerned with its national identity and increased its emphasis on the educational project. The educational project also received exceptionally high priority in the late developing cases of Meiji Japan and Bolshevik Russia, as both of these centralized states were determined to make radical departures from their immediate past and looked to education as a prime asset for the new nation-building agenda. In the USA, the federal government was constituted in such a manner that it could not assume responsibility for education; however, in several states of USA, local governments came to stress the importance of education as a means for cultivating an informed citizenry. In the other core nations, education was assigned a lower priority.

Vertical Differentiation

The first modern schools were established for a specific need that was high on the agenda of the modernizing elite. Tracing a couple of examples may suggest the way the architects approached the establishment of the first schools and how those first steps then shaped second steps and so on.

In the long-established nations of Germany, France, and the UK there was already a precedent of schools that the children of aristocratic and middle-class families had become familiar with. Early education was often provided in the homes by tutors and parents. When a child had reached a certain level of competence, they entered appropriate preparatory schools and thereafter in France gained entrance to the lycée, in Germany to the gymnasium, and in the UK to public schools and/or grammar schools. Thus in these societies a system was already partially established, and what remained was to develop a more formal approach to the primary level for the children from ordinary homes whose parents lacked the cultural or financial resources to provide tutors and home schooling. Also, in both France and Germany, the modernizing educational leaders took steps to transform the structure and curriculum of higher educational educations. In France the grandes écoles were diversified and strengthened. In Germany, new support was provided to the universities and new rigor introduced to the process of selecting students.

While a system was already in place in these long-established societies, there was ample room for clarification. One of Napoleon's many notable administrative accomplishments was the drafting of the law of the university. While the term university normally refers to a tertiary level institution, Napoleon used the concept in its literal sense as the organization for the promotion of all learning. For him this meant learning from infancy to adulthood. Thus, his university specified that there be several vertically differentiated levels of education, the école primaire, the lower secondary boarding schools, the colleges and lycées, and the grandes écoles; and that these respective levels of schools be provided by the corresponding administrative units of the commune, department, academy, and university. Each administrative level was to provide the physical plans for the schools at the respective educational levels while the academic program was to be the responsibility of the university rector. The rector was to be appointed by the emperor as were the members of the Oversight Board; those responsible for administering, operating, and supervising lower levels of the system were to be appointed by the rector or his delegates. This law was exceptional for its administrative clarity and has had a major influence on much subsequent thinking in the field of educational administration.

In Japan the Meiji elite had no prior experience with an elaborate multilevel education system; samurai simply came to schools that consisted of several grades with a provision for further individual tutelage. The Meiji leaders were keenly aware of their technological backwardness and thus declared their intent "to seek knowledge throughout the world." To gain access to this knowledge, they recognized

that their emissaries would require a command of foreign languages and thus one of their earliest acts was to establish a translation bureau that was essentially a small college. Given their technical focus, they also established several engineering schools. Several of these early colleges later were consolidated into Tokyo University which was recognized as the first Imperial University in 1886. At the same time, the Meiji elites declared their intention of developing a new post-feudal social structure that would enable the entire population to contribute to national development. Moreover, they established a national army that would be staffed by conscripts from all social groups, including the offspring not only of the former samurai class but also those from the peasant and commercial classes. To prepare youth for their roles both in national development and national defense, they looked to the primary school as an important agent of initial socialization. Thus in early Meiji Japan, both the primary school and the university were given high priority in the first decade of the design period.

The first recruits for the early Japanese "universities" were the legions of bright samurai who had received a Confucian education in the old feudal system that they balanced with self-education in foreign languages and books. But once this cohort had entered the new higher educational institutions, the Meiji leaders had to decide what would be required to prepare the new wave of primary school students for tertiary education. Their first step was to establish several middle schools to provide further training for the primary school graduates. In the late seventies, there was only one place in the middle schools for every 20 graduates of the primary schools. Yet the curriculum they formulated for the middle school did not provide sufficient preparation for the new higher educational institutions. To fill this gap, numerous private specialized schools (*senmon gakko*) were rapidly established, specializing in foreign languages and the study of selected foreign books. The government response was slower, depending on the discussion in various official committees. Finally in 1886, with the establishment of the Imperial University, the central government decided to establish a number of higher schools, modelled on the German gymnasium and the French lycée, to complete the transition from the middle school to the university. Reflecting the orderly thinking of that era, these higher schools were given the names "No. 1 Higher School," No. 2 Higher School," and so on. Meanwhile, the government decided to distinguish between higher educational institutions focused on higher learning on the one hand and those focused on specialized learning on the other. With this distinction various new regulations were issued outlining the types of the post-primary (or secondary) level experiences appropriate for the respective higher educational courses.[1] As will be noted below, these regulations initially had the effect of devaluing the merits of enrollment in the now extensive private sector of post-primary specialized schools.

In decentralized systems, the process of filling the gaps between different levels of the system was less uniform. The UK system was highly segmented, reflecting

[1] The Ministry of Education's (1980) *Japan's Modern Educational System* provides an excellent summary of the various regulations.

class distinctions, and prominent educators were reluctant to introduce refinements out of concern that they might lower the barriers between the established classes. In the USA, first there were many colleges and underneath these was a patchwork of preparatory institutions. Most notable were the grammar schools to get most youth started in their schooling, but often lacking was an intermediary institution to bridge the gap between the grammar schools and the colleges. Partly to address this issue, grammar schools tended to have many grades, sometimes as many as ten. Then students might go to an independent preparatory school or even a preparatory school attached to one of the colleges. Over time, various intermediary arrangements were introduced, the most common being the 4-year high school. From the mid-twentieth century it became more popular to have a 5- or 6-year primary school, a 3- or 4-year middle school, and a 3-year high school.

Comparing these several approaches to vertical differentiation, it can be said that they reflect several different approaches to the "serious" business of education. In the Continental systems and to some degree in England this serious business was carried out at the secondary level in schools that were originally intended for aristocratic and middle-class families – the gymnasium in Germany, the lycée in France, the public and grammar schools in England. In contrast, in the USA, serious education began in the college. And in Japan and Russia that established modern education to break down old aristocratic traditions, serious education for all began in the primary schools. These differences in tradition are reflected in such diverse aspects as the quality of educational materials, the workload expected of educational personnel and the compensation provided to them, and finally the pace of student learning. Simply put, things get better in each system at the level where that system gets serious.

Horizontal Differentiation of Segments and Tracks

Studies of educational structure make a distinction between two principles for accommodating group differences:

- Tracking (or streaming) occurs when two more or less distinctive curriculums are offered and young people are placed in the respective curriculums based on some form of testing of their ability. Tracking may occur as early as the primary grades when students are placed into parallel tracks or streams that are more or less difficult; for example, the A stream in Malaysia for the top third-graders, the B stream for the runners-up, the C stream for the average student, and so on. At later stages in the progression of grades, the curriculums for the different tracks may become qualitatively different as for example between an academic track which prepares students for tertiary education and a vocational/technical track which prepares students for a manual labor role in the labor force.
- Segmentation is said to take place when the members of the two groups are clearly identified and explicitly routed into separate schools; these separate

schools may have ostensibly similar features as was the claim for the separate but equal schools many American states provided for white and black children, or they may vary in certain respects as was the case for the schools in the British colonies provided for members of the colonial government on the one hand that taught a rigorous academic curriculum in the English language and for the natives on the other hand that taught a more practical curriculum in the vernacular languages.

Tracking, or steaming by ability, tends to be introduced as a strategy for optimizing human resource development. With limited resources, the state asserts that it has a responsibility to provide preparation for sufficient numbers in the different spheres of the modern workplace. While tracking was evident even in the primary grades in the early modern period, most systems subsequently abandoned this practice, concluding it was difficult at that early age to truly evaluate aptitude and that the process of attempting to make these judgments placed too much pressure on young people. Hence most systems came to introduce tracking following the primary grades, with the track assignment based primarily on academic performance during the primary years and/or a primary school leaving examination. Typically, the academically more proficient were tracked to the academic schools and the less proficient were tracked to the vocational schools. This form of tracking at the secondary level was accepted in most of the early modernizing societies, though the extent of its elaboration seems to have been determined by the relative prominence of the business class in operations of the state. In Germany and France where the business classes were most prominent, the diversity of vocational/technical tracks seems to have been most extensive, whereas in the USA and Russia there were fewer tracks.[2] Indeed, in many US school systems, there were essentially no opportunities provided for vocational and technical training.

The relative centralization of a system also appears to have favored tracking. In centralized systems authorities had responsibility for the entirety of the national labor force and thus were inclined to carry out systematic studies of labor force needs. These studies naturally led to conclusions about vocational/technical areas that were both over- and under-supplied. From these inferences, the central government authorities then might propose new policies for alterations in the composition of vocational/technical education to address future needs. Decentralized governments, lacking such an overarching perspective, were less likely to make such recommendations.

In the actual practice of tracking, certain social groups – e.g., minorities or children from the lower classes – are more likely to end up in the less esteemed track, but this is said to be a function of meritocratic selection. In some cases, societies

[2] While there were relatively fewer tracks differentiated in the Soviet Russian system, at least during the early decades, the proportions of general school graduates channelled to these tracks were perhaps as large as was the case in continental Europe. In these systems, a smaller proportion went on to the academic track. In the USA, the proportion sent to the vocational-technical track was always comparatively modest.

have strong feelings about the need to preserve ascriptive differences: Girls should receive a different education from boys, aristocrats should not mix with commoners, whites and blacks should not mix. Where these sentiments have prevailed, the respective groups may be segregated in horizontally segmented educational systems that may begin from the first day of schooling. We will have more to say about segmentation below.

Horizontal Segmentation to Serve Different Groups

All of the modernizing societies were composed of young people with diverse backgrounds and gender differences. Marxist reinterpretations tend to suggest the major issue confronting the modern reformers was equality. While equality was an important issue, far more pronounced at the early stages of the modern transformation was the concern to build a new national identity that superseded separate religions, ethnicities, and racial identities. Equality of social classes was initially a lesser theme and tended to increase in salience over time. Gender equity was rarely considered – a woman's place was to help her husband. While national integration was a major concern, there was always the question of how far to go in bringing people together. The other side of this question was to ask whether the members of these diverse groups wished to mix with each other.

Religion. The German states launched the modern transformation with the reformation. While many states broke with the church others did not. For many decades, wars took place to force a common policy. Ultimately a truce was negotiated which allowed each state to go the way of its prince. And these differences were preserved as the German states consolidated (Lamberti 1989). And so religious differences were allowed to persist according to locality, and these differences were reflected in the religious areas of the school curriculum. Integration was achieved in other subjects. It should be noted that the German solution recognized two major religious groupings – Catholicism and Protestantism. Other religions were not acknowledged – notably Judaism.

France rejected the German solution by separating church and state and this was followed in the USA as well as in Japan and Russia. Of course, in each setting there were subtleties. While church and state formally separated in the USA, many schools featured religion until well into the twentieth century. And as Bellah (1975) notes, the American schools featured the Civil Religion. In Japan, the public schools were religiously secular except they allowed emperor worship. And in Soviet Russia, the schools were also religiously secular but celebrated Soviet heroes.

However, in all of these "secular" cases, powerful religious groups were discontented – and they continuously lobbied for an independent educational system. And in the USA and elsewhere, this was ultimately allowed with the conditions that religious schools could receive no support from state funds and that they would conform to basic establishment standards for the secular subjects. And so in the

USA parallel systems emerged with the main public system supported by the state, the second independent.

Major schools in England had always been religiously based, and the English leaders rejected the continental theory that the church and state could or should be separated. Influential at this date was Edmund Burke's commentary on the disastrous French Revolution. In earlier times, the English aristocracy and their schools conformed to the Catholic Church. Henry VIII replaced Catholic orthodoxy with the Anglican Church; after an awkward period, both the nation and its schools accommodated. And so England preserved the role of religion in the schools. Most schools included a chapel along with classrooms. By the mid-nineteenth century England became more relaxed about these matters, allowing different Protestant sects to practice in England. Similarly it allowed different schools to feature different religions.

Class. An emerging theme of the modern revolution was the promotion of equality. Class differences clearly troubled the German leaders, but they chose to use the educational system to preserve class differences (Mueller 1984). In the UK some mobility took place through allowing able commoners to buy a position in the upper class. But especially in France there was much tension as the bourgeoisie were largely excluded from the royal court. And the imperial government levied exceptionally heavy taxes on the commercial and peasant classes in order to carry out its policies of national defense and conquest. And so the concern with equality was increasingly articulated and became a clarion call of the French Revolution. But, as it soon became evident, the revolutionaries were interested in limited equality – for the bourgeoisie but not for the workers or peasants. And the educational reforms that followed mainly focused on opening up new opportunities for those resident in the cities and towns.

The entry-level schools in the urban areas were generally of superior quality in Germany and France, and so in this way the upper classes gained an advantage.[3] In England the upper classes were unwilling to leave their destiny to chance – and so they retained a system of independent public schools that preserved the right to select their students based on such criteria as lineage, wealth, and upbringing.

The USA was essentially a rural nation and so these issues were less salient. But ultimately it followed the continental pattern by instituting the norm of neighborhood schools. Residential class segregation led to class segregation in educational access.

Japan was somewhat unique in recognizing the threat of class segregation. The new leaders who were themselves from relatively peripheral fiefs were determined to give commoners a decent chance, especially those from peripheral rural areas. And so they set up schools throughout the nation including rural areas and they put in place financial regulations requiring the government to actually spend more on rural than on urban schools. Moreover, within an area they set up a hierarchy of

[3] Mueller (1984) pp. 143 ff argues that the Prussian King William III, following Napoleon's defeat in 1806 of the German states, intentionally favored the urban schools so as to improve the prospects for the recruitment of the urban middle classes into the Prussian civil and military services. The King felt aristocratic nepotism had weakened the quality of these services, and, moreover, he doubted the loyalty of many of the aristocrats.

middle schools and high schools and enforced strict meritocratic criteria for entrance to the best schools. As it turned out, the former samurai did better on average, but many commoners also succeeded.

The new Soviet Russia also was concerned about class equality. Indeed in the earlier stages, the revolutionary general schools actually favored children from worker families over those from upper- and middle-class good families.

Ethnicity and Race. All of the modernizing states were formed through bringing together people of diverse cultural backgrounds. This was perhaps most notable in the USA which is often depicted as a nation of immigrants. But in the European states there was also much diversity as the new nation-states were composed of numerous principalities with their distinct traditions. Similarly, Soviet Russia was composed of many nations, languages, and religions. Even in supposedly homogeneous Japan, the Tokugawa system spanned a far-flung archipelago, and there had been such diverse developments of the supposedly common Japanese language that natives of Kyushu Island in the South were unable to understand natives of central Kyoto, not to speak of those from the northeastern areas of Tohoku and Hokkaido. For most of the modernizing states, modern education was seen as a mechanism for blending ethnic differences. As long as children could do well in the official language of the state, they were included in the common school.

The USA was somewhat unique in its unwillingness to include one subgroup, the Negroes, in its conception of equality. This reluctance varied by region, but in most Southern states the Negroes were owned as slaves and provided with no social rights, including the right to education. After the Civil War the Negroes (later to refer to themselves as Blacks and African Americans) obtained citizenship and became eligible for equal education. But the response in many states was to provide "separate but equal" education. Race was not an official consideration in the other core societies – except possibly for Japan where a separate system was set up to provide education for certain "immigrant" groups (notably Koreans).[4]

Gender. Finally in virtually all of the core societies, gender was treated in a special way. German laws discuss girls in the same breath as boys, but a somewhat distinct curriculum was prepared for the two sexes. Japan was explicit about separation; girls were to become good wives and wise mothers while boys were to become productive members of the economy. And so especially after the primary school distinct tracks were established for Japanese boys and girls; through World War II girls were not admitted to the Imperial Universities. Only in Bolshevik Russia was there no separate formal provision for boys and girls.

SummaryDifferent patterns of tracking/segmentation were thus established to provide for the preservation of religious, class, racial, and gender differences as outlined in Table 3.

[4] Nations that favored segmented education at home such as the UK and the USA replicated this pattern in their empires. The British set up separate schools in English for the colonial officers and in the vernacular for the "natives." While the French and the Japanese "welcomed" everyone in the colonies to a single school system, these schools set such high linguistic (classes were only in the language of the colonial administration) and academic standards that most locals failed.

Table 3 Segmentation principle for different groups

Groups/ nations	Religion	Class	Race and ethnicity	Gender
Germany	Protestantism and Catholicism allowed by locality	Tracking	Equal as long as able in national language	Equality but implicit tracking from upper elementary
France	No religion in schools	Tracking with urban bias in school location	Equal as long as able in national language	Equality but implicit tracking from upper elementary
UK	Anglican religion featured in all schools	Elite schools use ascriptive criteria for admissions	Equal as long as able in national language	Equality but implicit tracking from upper elementary
USA	No religion in public schools, but in independent Catholic schools	None, except neighborhood admission principle	"Separate but equal" segmented schools systems for whites and blacks	Equality but implicit tracking from upper elementary
Japan	No religion in public schools, but independent private schools allowed to include religious instruction	Resources favor periphery schools	Equal as long as able in national language	Explicit girls' track after the primary grades
Soviet Russia	No religion in schools	Admissions may discriminate against descendents of old ruling class	Equal, and local languages allowed in primary schools	Gender equality

Vertical Integration of Level

Rules are created to build links between the different types of schools. The most significant are those relating to student admissions and passage from one grade or level to the next. Perhaps the most dramatic initiative of modern education was to declare that all children had the right to education. The various German states made this assertion from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century. The Revolutionary Council of France made its declaration on the right to education in 1794. England debated this question for several decades, but did not actually issue a formal declaration until 1902. Both Japan and Russia asserted every child's right to education

within a few years of their respective revolutions. The declaration of the right to education placed a responsibility on the state to provide educational opportunities for all and on parents to send their children to school (or otherwise provide for the educational needs of their children).

Whereas schools might in the past have been able to select new students from a larger group, now they were expected to accept all who applied. In some systems, this new obligation led schools to attempt to design a school atmosphere that adjusted to the needs of all of the children, regardless of their sociocultural background. In others, notably France, the approach was to accept all students but to place stiff barriers in front of those who did not adjust to the school routine. In the early modern French primary schools, children were given academic tests at the middle and end of each academic year in each subject, and those children who failed even one test were expected to take the school year over again. Thus the early French system was characterized by high repetition rates leading to frequent dropouts. In contrast, the Japanese and Russian systems from early on adopted a philosophy of automatic promotion that placed considerable pressure on the schools to find ways to reach out to their slow learners.

While the approaches for the early years varied, most systems developed procedures for measuring the academic potential of their primary school graduates. In the continental schools, summative examinations tended to be exclusively relied on. In contrast, in the USA, Japan, and Russia, the schools tended to combine course grades with summative examinations as the basis for determining academic potential. Elsewhere we go into greater detail on the examination procedures of the different systems (Cummings 2003).

As these decisions were being made, another highly contentious issue was the assignment of formal responsibility for decisions on admissions and promotion for those school levels beyond compulsory education. In that the state was paying some to all of the bill for public education, the argument was advanced that it should have this responsibility. On the other hand, educators were inclined to assert that academic matters were their responsibility. In the more centralized systems, the state tended to win out in these debates. Thus in France, the examinations came to be prepared by the center. In contrast, in the USA in most cases the teachers of the respective schools came to assume responsibility for the examinations. In the other systems, the responsibility varied depending on the level. To the extent that evaluation was the responsibility of frontline educators there was a tendency for multiple criteria to be used (and in the US case written summative examinations might be excluded from these criteria) whereas when the responsibility rested with the state the hard criteria of performance on a national examination was relied on.

In the cases of Germany and Japan (Ringer 1974; Amano 1990) schools and universities were initially invested with the responsibility for examinations. But after some time, the respective states sought to insert their authority in the process. Among the various reasons put forth was the argument that the educational institutions were training future civil servants and thus the state needed to be involved. The university counter-argued that in certain fields, such as medicine, the state lacked the competence to manage suitable examinations. The actual responsibility

for different examinations seesawed back and forth. Eventually both ran their own respective examinations.

In England, a variant of the examination system known as "payment by results" was introduced in the 1870s (Reisner 1923, p. 282) to allow individual schools considerable autonomy in the conduct of their programs but to subject their students to an annual performance test. Schools that did well in these examinations were provided with increased resources whereas those who did poorly had their allocations cut. Once schools came to understand the impact of this system, they began to dismiss low-performing students and at the same time to recruit superior students from nearby schools. The result was so disruptive to the lives of young people that it was discarded within a few years. The reader may appreciate the similarity of the English "payment by results" approach and recent reforms proposed for the USA.

As the objective of these measures was to ensure quality control, some systems also considered alternative approaches such as supervision or accreditation. In most of the centralized systems, inspectors were appointed to visit schools and evaluate their educational programs. Where these inspection systems were well staffed and considered reliable, the process of inspection of the whole school could substitute for an evaluation based on the examination performance of each student in the school.

Recognizing the possibility of the external imposition of quality control measures, educators in the USA from the late 1800s devised an alternative approach of voluntary evaluation where several educational institutions joined in an educational association, set their own standards, and carried out their own evaluation exercises (Selden 1960). The evaluation involved a statement of institutional mission and a report on the resources available to realize that mission. If peer institutions felt the resources were appropriate for the mission, the institution was accredited. In this way, the schools and universities of the decentralized American system sought to forestall opportunities for the state to intervene in their autonomous educational activities. Accreditation came to be widely practiced in the USA.

Vertical Integration of School and Economy

An important factor thought to influence equality of opportunity is the way the different systems are linked to the labor market. A major goal of modern education is to provide human resources for the various positions that are available in the economy. The salience of this goal varies across the societies. In late developing societies such as Japan and Russia, one of the strongest arguments advanced for the establishment of particular institutions was their vital importance in preparing elites for particular jobs of national importance. Indeed in Japan it was said that vocational schools were set up first and factories followed as the first cohort of graduates finished their commencement ceremonies. While the rhetoric was more muted, England looked to its top universities for recruits to join both the civil and colonial services.

The economies of the core societies varied considerably in terms of their "work systems" with some economies having a greater prevalence of daily wage and

entrepreneurial opportunities, some an emphasis on organizational jobs, and yet others an emphasis on professional jobs. To the extent that the former types of job are prevalent, employers are more likely to stress the importance of vocational–technical education and to the extent that the latter jobs are prevalent the stress will be on academic training preparing young people for first and second degrees in the higher educational system. Distinct from the demands of the labor market is the overall philosophy concerning the role of the state in preparing young people for work. In all of the core societies, lip service is given to job preparation. But in socialist societies, the state tends to guarantee every school graduate a specific job. And in corporatist societies there tends to be a relatively close alliance between employers and the educational system both at a policy level and through personnel connections. Thus, every Japanese secondary school and higher educational institution has a network of employers it works with for the placement of graduates, and in these educational institutions it is their responsibility to place every one of their graduates who seek employment.

In the socialist and corporatist systems, the educational system is expected to prepare youth for work. Thus these systems have a well-developed vocational/technical educational system for blue-collar workers. And even in their academic system, the various programs tend to be relatively specialized in nature (e.g., 3-year professional first degrees) as contrasted with the liberal arts degree prized in the USA or England. Thus in the socialist as well as the Japanese systems, young people move directly from schools into jobs and receive all of their training on-site and fully funded by their employers. In Germany, training is offered on-site and largely funded by employers. Ironically the more democratic systems build the sharpest division between schools and employers. Since these links are weaker, the public sector there spends relatively more on post-school training programs. In England training may be on the premises of (prospective) employers, but the state provides large subsidies for this training. In the USA, training is more typically provided in job training centers managed by and paid for by the state with no or minimal support from employers. And participation in these centers provides limited connections with employers and no guarantee of actual employment. The several patterns are depicted in Table 4.

Private Sector or Not

In the premodern educational systems, most schools were private and usually associated with religious organizations. Germany's folk schools were supported by local churches and communities, France's schools were provided by the Catholic Church, and most schools in England were affiliated with the Anglican Church until the 1870 Education Act.

The modern education project is normally thought of as an initiative of the new nation-state, and in this initiative the state may absorb prior private initiatives in order to realize its self-proclaimed mission. Indeed in France, the Revolutionary

Table 4 Links of schooling with human resource training programs

Country	Philosophy	School education	Secondary education	Human resource training programs	Job search
USA	Market	General	Mainly general	Pre-hire, mainly at training schools, public funding	Individual responsibility
England	Market	General, but with tracking	Mainly general but with voc-tech tracks	Pre-hire, mainly at work sites, public funding	Individual responsibility
France	Market and corporatist	General, but with tracking	Half general and half voc-tech	Pre-hire, mainly at work sites, public funding	Individual responsibility
Germany	Corporatist	General, but with tracking	Half general and half voc-tech	Pre-hire, all at work sites, corporate funding	Individual responsibility
Japan	Corporatist	General	Half general and half voc-tech	Post-hire, all at work sites, corporate funding	Schools help
Russia	Socialist	General	More voc-tech than general	Post-hire, all at work sites, public funding	State guarantees

Council sought to nationalize the Catholic educational system. Also, whereas the private system played a major role in Japanese and Russian education both prior to the respective revolutions as well as in the early years after the revolution, the new states were determined to launch major educational initiatives aimed at eliminating the private sector. In the Soviet case, all private schools were eventually closed, and in the Japanese case the state at one point indicated that no young person who had received training in a nonstate school need apply for position in the national civil service, a regulation that had the potential of severely undermining the demand for private schools.

But even in these instances, private educators played an important role. Fukuzawa Yukichi's Keio Juku is generally regarded as the first modern school in Japan, having been established in 1855, 13 years before the Meiji Revolution. There were important revolutionary private initiatives in the first days of the Russian Revolution. And while the French revolutionaries threw out the Catholic schools, they rehired the former teachers who abandoned their monastic robes to assume positions in the new revolutionary schools.

In England, the private sector provided the only response to popular needs for education, while the parliament procrastinated. Similarly, in the early decades of the American experience all educational opportunities were provided by private institutions.

While the private sector made important contributions it nevertheless was viewed as a threat by most states. These states questioned the advisability of allowing

private education. A prominent theory argues that these states were persuaded to permit private schools as they became convinced that private schools had the capability of responding to special needs that important sectors of the public wanted but that the state, with its limited resources, did not consider essential. Indeed, Estelle James (1987) has identified two distinctive ways in which private schools can serve special needs: (a) through responding to the differentiated demands or needs of particular class, religious, or gender interests that are not prioritized by the state; and (b) through responding to the excess demand for educational opportunities over and above that which the state is prepared to meet. According to this theory, private education will accordingly have two patterns – a set of differentiated schools from grade 1 through higher education for key interest groups such as the Catholics in the USA, and a set of excess schools to meet the popular demand for secondary and higher education in societies where educational expansion is still in its early stages as in nineteenth-century Japan or a contemporary developing society.

While this theory is interesting, it appears that there are numerous exceptional cases. For example, there are a number of contemporary societies where the entire educational system is provided by the private sector (Cummings and Riddell 1994). There are several societies in Africa and Latin America where the private sector is prominent at the elementary school level but less so at the secondary level. These exceptions suggest a simpler explanation for the prevalence of private schools than that proposed by the above theory. From the institutional perspective, the several core nations develop unique political solutions for the recognition of private educational institutions; later, these solutions are imitated by the newly emerging societies as they draw on the models of the core nations to develop their respective systems. The solutions of the core nations were as follows:

- In Germany the states were in control, but depended on local/private support for folk schools.
- In France, private schools were initially disallowed. But France did not have sufficient resources to develop a public system, and so it allowed the church to play a major role in primary education in the early years. Later, when the state was able to collect more resources the state policy toward Catholic schools vacillated.
- In England the private sector prevailed – the so-called public and independent schools that start from the lowest grades and go through to college/university. These schools were firmly entrenched and the state never considered the option of disbanding these institutions or interfering in their operations.
- The USA as it approached independence was increasingly influenced by French thought which placed a strong emphasis on the separation of church and state. This thinking was embodied in the US Constitution and over time had a profound impact on private education in the USA. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, young children were not allowed to attend religiously founded schools. But from the second half of the nineteenth century, religious schools were allowed as long as they provided the curriculum of public schools and independently secured adequate financial resources. These changes led to

the opening of a prominent Catholic school sector at all grade levels. And private catholic institutions also thrived at the tertiary level.

- In Japan, private schools were initially allowed without restraint, and thus many were created at all levels, but especially at the secondary and tertiary levels. But the state became nervous – perceiving some private schools as politically too liberal, and was shocked that the Christian schools taught that there was God other than the Emperor. These concerns peaked in the eighties with the proclamation of the new constitution and various educational laws that included much stiffer rules for the founding and operation of private schools. While these regulations were later relaxed, the private sector had been dealt a blow. Subsequently, private schools were able to regain an important foothold at the secondary and tertiary levels but they were not able to reestablish their prominence at the primary level.
- In Russia, private schools were closed soon after the commencement of the Revolution and they were not tolerated through the period of Soviet rule.

Evaluation

The private sector is restrained in every system, but the pattern varies. The above "systemic" solutions were first practiced in the core societies and then later exported around the world. Thus when Cummings and Riddell (1994) reviewed the prevalence of private education in 129 countries, they found that most of the countries had developed a public–private educational mix that resembled one or the other of the above patterns practiced by the core nations. Systems with a modest private sector are able to accommodate the demands of certain interest groups without significantly jeopardizing core policy objectives. In contrast, in systems with large private sectors such as Japan where over half the places in secondary and higher education are in private schools,[5] it is difficult to preserve certain policy objectives. In particular, the principles of uniform quality and equal access may be compromised.

This chapter has focused on three areas where the state has sought to shape education:

- Through establishment and finance
- Through examinations
- Through employment

Through working in these three areas, the several states have established distinctive systems. These systems vary in their complexity as indicated by their different degrees of vertical and horizontal differentiation as well as by the extent and locus

[5] See William K. Cummings, "Private Education in Asia" in Cummings and Altbach (1994) for an explanation for the very large private sectors in the educational systems of Eastern Asia.

of their integration. It is apparent that some systems took all levels of their educational systems seriously whereas others put particular emphasis on one level or other. Similarly, some systems put more effort into monitoring and or smoothing the transition from one level or segment to another, whereas others allowed these differentiated parts to stand as obstacles or challenges for the young people going through the systems. While the several states devoted most of their effort to influencing these three levers of control, they evidenced less interest in other matters such as the recruitment of teachers or framing the pedagogy – all to be taken up in the second major section of this study.

Conclusion

The review of the reform experience of the core societies has the following implications for the analysis of reform elsewhere:

- Educational systems throughout the world have been profoundly influenced by the institutional patterns developed in the core societies. Any attempt to promote reform needs to take account of that influence.
- Educational reform in the core societies was never easy; major reforms were usually stimulated by associated ideological, political, and economic change. Thus, in analyzing the prospects for reform in a particular environment, it is essential to look beyond education to the broader societal context.
- Factors such as leadership, resources, theoretical fit, and persistence are conducive to successful reform.
- Even after a reform is launched, its trajectory is likely to be shaped by residual interests such as the demands of class, ethnic, and religious groups. Thus, the reform plan is but the first step in an uncertain journey of implementation. What finally emerges from this journey may but faintly resemble what was envisioned.

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Academic Capitalism in Japan: National University Incorporation and Special Zones for Structural Reform

Jennifer Chan-Tiberghien

The Impact of Globalisation on Education: Introduction

> To support the "knowledge" infrastructure of Japan in the 21st century, with the ever-increasing expectations placed on national universities, increasingly strong demands are being placed on individual universities to clarify the mission and function expected of them, and to effectively realize these missions and functions …In order to promote reform of national universities through incorporation it is necessary to expand the discretion of universities in terms of management, by relaxing wherever possible the day-to-day regulations that hinder the smooth management of universities (*A New Image of National University Corporations,* Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology 2002: 2, 4).

In the past decade, industrialized countries have been confronted with the challenge of reforming their century-old higher education systems in order to remain competitive in the global knowledge economy. National universities face global competition on the one hand and domestic constraints such as enrollment decline and increasing demand for public accountability on the other. As Daun (2002:1) puts it, "almost everywhere in the world, educational systems are now under the pressure to produce individuals for global competition. … Although there is no consensus as to the nature and scope of globalisation, nor its beginnings, the discourse since the 1980s continues to intensify and increase, and education is expected to respond." The multiple forces from without and within have created increasing ideological as well as financial pressure for decentralization, privatization, and marketization of higher education systems (Zemsky 2005; Yano 2005; Altbach et al. 2001; Carnoy 2000; and Mok 2000). Universities across the USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada have been undergoing structural reforms, often as part of larger public sector reform in accordance with a New Public Management (NPM) framework that focuses on institutional performance

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based on leadership, entrepreneurship, and accountability (Talbot et al. 2005; Williams 2003; Jones 2003; and Harman 2001).

While the impact of globalisation on national educational restructuring has been amply documented by educational researchers in the last two decades (Stromquist and Monkman 2000; Burbules and Torres 2001; Sadlak 2000; Arnove and Torres 1999; Green 1999), few studies have looked at reforms in non-Anglo-Saxon countries and, in particular, those with traditionally strong state-controlled educational systems such as Japan. Faced with a protracted economic recession since the early 1990s, national universities in Japan have been under the same political scrutiny as their Western counterparts. In 1998, the policy advisory body University Council issued a comprehensive reform agenda entitled "A Vision for Universities in the 21st Century and Reform Measures: To Be Distinctive Universities in a Competitive Environment," which aims at the individualization, diversification, and internationalization of Japanese universities. In 2003, the Japanese government passed the Law on Special Zones for Structural Reform that allows business corporations to establish universities in deregulated "special zones" throughout Japan in order to revitalize university education for national economic growth. The following year, Japan passed the most important educational reform law since the founding of the Imperial University system in 1886 and the passing of the Fundamental Education Law in 1947: the National University Corporation Law to "develop independent universities that conform to the highest international standards in a competitive environment" (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology 2002). While falling short of outright privatizing the national university sector, this law introduces private sector concepts in the management of national universities, allowing autonomy in budgeting, non-civil-servant personnel recruitment, curriculum, external expert management, and third-party evaluations.

Why were these two reform measures taken despite opposition from both MEXT that had traditionally a strong grip on educational policy in Japan and universities that had insisted on their autonomy throughout postwar Japan? This chapter looks at the domestic political forces that shape "academic capitalism" in Japan (Slaughter and Larry 1997). Through an analysis of the National University Corporation Law and the Law on Special Zones for Structural Reform, I make a twofold argument. First, academic capitalism – "the pursuit of market and marketlike activities to generate external revenues" and the "internal embeddedness of the profit-oriented activities as a point of reorganization by higher education institutions to develop their own capacity" (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004: 11) – has emerged in its specific forms in Japan through incorporation and deregulation since the early 2000s in the larger context of administrative reforms by the leading conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Second, opposition from university faculty and staff unions has largely failed due to structural weaknesses of unions in Japan. This chapter is organized in four parts. Part II discusses the 2003 National University Corporation Law and the 2002 Law on Special Zones for Structural Reform. Part III looks at the reform process, tracing the ideological pressure from the Liberal Democratic Party since the 1980s and the bureaucratic battle between MEXT and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI). Part IV analyzes the opposi-

tion by various stakeholders, focusing in particular on faculty and staff union response. I conclude on the conflicts between academic capitalism and commitments to the postwar social contract in Japan.

The Construction of the Competitive University in Japan

The modern Japanese higher education system established in the Meiji era was modeled after the German and French system, characterized by strong state control and "immobilist politics" (Schoppa 1990). It comprises universities (national, public, and private), junior colleges, colleges of technology, and specialized training colleges. Even though private universities constitute over 70% both in terms of institution and student enrollment numbers, national and public universities established in each prefecture throughout Japan have traditionally maintained their role in ensuring access, supporting basic research, and training bureaucrats, engineers, doctors, and teachers, etc. for the nation. Until the 1990s, there was little societal or political debate on national university governance. "University autonomy" had been a taken-for-granted principle and practice in postwar Japanese higher education. There was a tacit arrangement on the role of each actor. The Ministry of Education controlled the policy and the budget. Universities were run by faculty councils and senate. Faculty members were free to pursue their research. Industries expected little from universities other than graduates with general skills to be trained by corporate in-house programs throughout the course of a lifelong career.

This tacit arrangement began to collapse after the bubble economy ended in the early 1990s. Japanese politicians began to point finger on national universities for their inefficiency, inflexibility, declining quality, and inability to help resurrect a sluggish economy. Industries, which could no longer afford the high training costs, now expect universities to produce immediately usable and highly specialized labor force. The general public debates the social and economic relevancy of university education and research. Drastic population decline (Japanese universities expect full enrollment by 2007, after which overall supply will exceed demand) on the one hand and the globalisation of higher education on the other, translate into heightened competition among universities in Japan. In a period of fiscal austerity, national universities, like many other public sectors (postal services, health, and pensions, etc.) have become a target of structural reforms.

Since the late 1990s, Japanese national university reform has become part of a larger political debate on restructuring. In 1997, the Hashimoto Cabinet decided on a 10% overall reduction of the number of civil servants over 10 years. It was then further increased to 20% by the succeeding Obuchi administration (Tabata 2005). In 1999, the General Law on Independent Administrative Institutions (IAIs) was passed. Under this scheme, many public services are now provided by independent administrative institutions. Ministries formulate 3–5-year mid-term policy objectives while the IAIs submit their plans in accordance with these objectives, maintain autonomous management and operations, and are subject to mid-term evaluation.

The national university sector, which had a 135,000-strong payroll, became an inevitable target of administrative restructuring to relieve the national personnel budget. Based on the IAI scheme, the National University Corporation Law was passed in 2003 through which all national universities were turned into individual independent corporate entities in April 2004.

The National University Corporation Law aims at increasing the autonomy and flexibility of university governance, budgeting, non-civil-servant personnel recruitment, curriculum, and third-party evaluations. Under the new governance structure, MEXT is responsible for the 6-year objectives of each university. Each university in turn submits its 6-year plan to MEXT. In addition to the evaluation at the end of each 6-year cycle, universities are also required to submit annual evaluation reports, which would determine the funding level of the next academic year. In this new scheme, the university president, who previously had a more or less symbolic status, has now increased power and autonomy vis-à-vis the traditional faculty councils and senate. Decision-making power also centers on a board of directors comprising least one external person. In terms of finance, while over half of the total operating budget of each national university continues to be provided by MEXT, it is reduced by 1% per year. Universities and individual faculty are instead encouraged to obtain various kinds of competitive research funds and external funding. Finally, all national university employees including faculty members, technicians, and nurses in the case of university hospitals are no longer public civil servants. The law has also made it legal and easier to use short-term labor contracts. The central idea of the National University Corporations Law is to introduce market principles in university governance, fund-raising, academic labor management, performance evaluation, and university–industry cooperation in order to make Japanese universities globally competitive on the one hand and locally responsive to rapidly changing social and economic needs on the other.

The incorporation of Japanese national universities was carried out in parallel to another more general development in economic restructuring. One of the perceived problems for Japan's lingering economic recession is overregulation. In the area of higher education, the rigid legal and bureaucratic requirements for university establishment and operations have long been considered as business unfriendly.[1] The 1956 University Establishment Standards, for example, require all higher education institutions to have a significant start-up capital, exclusive university premise, and nonprofit purpose, etc. In order to ease these regulations so as to stimulate business, the Minister for Trade, Economy, and Industry (METI), Takeo Hiranuma, and four private-sector members of the Council for Economic and Fiscal Policy proposed the idea of Special Zones for Structural Reform in April 2002, zones within Japan that would be deregulated to promote economic

[1] Personal interview with the president of a foreign private university in Japan, September 16, 2005.

revitalization.[2] The Headquarters for the Promotion of Special Zones for Structural Reform, with the Prime Minister as its director, was formed within the Cabinet Secretariat in July and subsequently the Law on Special Zone for Structural Reform was passed in December the same year.[3] The Cabinet Secretariat explains the rationale of the law:

> Regulatory reforms are not being implemented as planned in some sectors for a variety of reasons. … To stimulate the Japanese economy, it is necessary to elicit private-sector vitality to the maximum extent, and to expand private-sector business by implementing regulatory reforms. By setting up specified zones where regulatory exceptions are established in accordance with the zones' specific circumstances, based on voluntary plans proposed by municipal bodies, private sector enterprises, etc., we promote structural reforms in the area. By publicizing successful case examples of structural reforms in specified areas, regulatory reforms can be extended to the whole country, and we can stimulate the economy of Japan as a whole.[4]

Behind this bold initiative, competition is the key principle. Municipalities and the private sector submit project proposals for approval by the concerned ministries and the prime minister. The targeted exceptions to regulations to be implemented in special zones are compiled into a list. The projects are assessed after 1 year. In the absence of any significant problem, the exceptions to existing regulations could be extended to the whole country. In the area of education, from April 2003 to May 2005, MEXT approved a total of 186 applications of exceptions to regulations to be implemented in special zones across the country from Hokkaido to Okinawa in 19 categories from kindergarten operations to the establishment of for-profit high schools.[5] LEC Tokyo, which had been one of the four key law preparatory cram schools in Japan, became the first for-profit university in Japan in 2004 and has since been renamed as the LEC Tokyo Legal Mind University.[6] Digital Hollywood, first formed in 1994 to train students in the creative industries, also became a University that same year.[7] The distance-learning-based business graduate school, business breakthrough, established by the renowned Japanese business guru, Ohmae Kenichi, also became a university under the new special zone scheme. Six more pro-profit universities were scheduled to open in 2006 including WAO Graduate School in digital animation, TAC Graduate School in accounting, Globis MBA Graduate School, LCA

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[2] "Special Zones for Structural Reform," Cabinet Secretariat, 2003 www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/policy/kouzou2/sanko/030326setumei_e.pdf [accessed on November 18, 2005].

[3] www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kouzou2/hourei/02121 [accessed on November 18, 2005].

[4] "Special Zones for Structural Reform," Cabinet Secretariat, 2003 http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/policy/kouzou2/sanko/030326setumei_e.pdf [accessed on November 18, 2005].

[5] Documents from MEXT. Personal interview with the Unit Chief, Research Environment and Industry Promotion Division, Technology Transfer Promotion Bureau, MEXT, August 12, 2005.

[6] http://www.lec.ac.jp/campus/index.shtml

[7] http://www.dhw.co.jp/un/access/index.html

MBA Graduate School, Japan Education Graduate School, and Japan Interpretation Graduate School.[8]

Neoliberal Ideology and University Restructuring in Japan

Pressures to reform Japanese national universities dated back to the Nakasone administration two decades ago. Seen in this historical context, university reform in Japan is not only a product of government financial pinch in the post-bubble period of the 1990s but also a consistent target of the dominant conservative LDP. It is well-known that Prime Minister Nakasone was a great admirer of Ronald Reagan. In as early as 1984, the leading organization of businessmen, Committee for Economic Development (*Keizai Doyukai*) argued that Japan needed the next generation of workers to be "creative, diverse, and internationally-minded" (Schoppa 1991). That year, Nakasone established the *Daigaku Shingikai* (Ad Hoc University Council) to revise the Standards for the Establishment of Universities, "eliminating uniformity in education" and providing "regulatory relief" for universities (Schoppa 1991). Attempts to incorporatize national universities, notably under the ex-minister of education, Nagai Michio, largely failed due to opposition from the Ministry of Education.[9]

It was not until the Hashimoto administration in 1997 that the issue became a heated political debate. When the idea of writing the entire national university sector off the national budget through the independent administrative institution scheme was floated by LDP politicians, the Ministry of Education vehemently opposed it, out of the obvious concern of losing its bureaucratic power, if not part of its raison d'être.[10] In May 2000, the Policy Affairs Research Group within LDP issued a statement that while national universities should be incorporated, the general IAI scheme might not be applicable. The following month, Japan Association of National Universities, represented by national university presidents, maintained their strong opposition to the IAI idea at the annual meeting. In June 2002, as a political compromise, a Cabinet decision announced that national universities would be incorporated under a separate scheme/law, which some critics argue, fundamentally resembles the basic IAI structure (Miyoshi 1999). The National University Corporation Law was finally passed in 2003.

[8] Documents from MEXT. Personal interview with the Unit Chief, Research Environment and Industry Promotion Division, Technology Transfer Promotion Bureau, MEXT, August 12, 2005.

[9] Personal interview with a professor in the Faculty of Arts of Chiba University, September 23, 2005.

[10] Personal interview with one of the founders of Shutoken-Net (Tokyo Anti-incorporation Network), a professor in the Faculty of Arts, Chiba University, September 23, 2005.

To understand how such a sweeping reform measure changing the legal structure, governance pattern, and status of all 130,000 employees of national universities was undertaken, one needs to look at the "triumvirate" collusion of interests between the LDP, Keidanren (Japan Business Federation), and the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry. LDP politicians have been targeting Japanese national university reforms through two separate, though linked, ideologies. One, manifested in the "small government" discourse of the Koizumi administration since 2001, focuses on the fiscal dimension of Japanese national university restructuring. The other, led by conservative politicians such as Omi Koji, aims more specifically on revitalizing Japanese universities for economic growth, especially through a proactive science and technology policy.[11]

These two dominant LDP positions on national university reforms – on fiscal performance and national economic growth – have been both pushed by Keidanren. In the post-bubble period, Keidanren has issued numerous position papers arguing for university restructuring.[12] It lobbied for the passage of several important laws concerning industry–university relations. In 1995, the Basic Law on Science and Technology (S&T) was passed, which led to the establishment of the First Basic Plan on S&T in 1996 with a budget of 17 billion yen. In 1998, the Law to Promote Technology Transfer from Universities to Industry through the establishment of technology licensing offices was further promulgated. The following year, the Special Measures to Promote Industrial Revitalization (the so-called Japanese Bayh Dole Act) were passed. In 2000, the Basic Law on Intellectual Property was adopted to promote the transfer of university technology to industry, an area that has widely been criticized as underdeveloped in Japan. In 2001, Keidanren created a Sub-Committee on Industry–University Promotion within the Committee on Industrial Technology to promote research and development within universities and human resource development. The sub-committee put in place a new, more institutionalized internship system and initiatives that allow more flexible exchanges between university and corporate researchers/personnel.[13]

National university reform has also been actively promoted by the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry. In 2001, an informal policy group was created in the Industry Research Institute within METI, which targeted faculty councils and university autonomy as impediments to increasing the quantity and quality of Japanese information technology researchers.[14] On May 25, 2001, the Minister of Economy,

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[11] Personal interview with a professor at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, who was the ex-president of the Tokyo University Faculty and Staff Union, September 12, 2005.

[12] See, for example, http://www.keidanren.or.jp/japanese/policy/2000/013/index.html; http://www.keidanren.or.jp/japanese/policy/2001/048/index.html; http://www.keidanren.or.jp/japanese/policy/2005/039/honbun.html [accessed on November 18, 2005].

[13] Personal interview with the head of the Sub-Committee Industry-University Promotion in Keidanren, September 14, 2005.

[14] Personal interview with a professor at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, who was the ex-president of the Tokyo University Faculty and Staff Union, September 12, 2005.

Trade, and Industry, Takeo Hiranuma presented the "Hiranuma Plan" containing specific measures to encourage new market and job creation through wholesale university reform. The Hiranuma Plan spurred MEXT into action.[15] On June 11, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Toyama Atsuko, submitted instead the Toyama Plan to the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, which was chaired by the prime minister and whose objective was to revitalize the stagnant Japanese economy. The Toyama Plan centered on three controversial ideas: (1) to drastically promote reorganization and consolidation of national universities, the so-called Scrap and Build approach; (2) to introduce management methods used in the private sector to the management of national universities; and (3) to introduce a competitive principle to universities by means of external evaluation, or the so-called "Top 30 Universities," which have since been renamed as the Center of Excellence program, as a mechanism of competitive funding.

The National University Corporation Law and the deregulation of universities through the Law on Special Zone for Structural Reform represent a defeat of MEXT in its bureaucratic battle with the Ministry of Finance and METI.[16] The political compromise allows MEXT to retain some control of national universities through the setting of 6-year goals and evaluation. Above all, MEXT attempts to maintain the discursive control of national university corporation as university reform proper, rather than the victim of an administrative reform coup:

> The corporation of national universities, as confirmed by a cabinet decision, should be reviewed as a part of the promotion of university reform. That is to say, it is assumed that this problem will be reviewed as a part of creating dynamic universities that are internationally competitive, exceeding the perspective of the so-called administrative reform, such as outsourcing of administrative functions, and improving the efficiency of management, and promoting the flow of conventional university reform, such as upgrading education and research, creating individualistic universities, and revitalizing university administration (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology 2002: 2).

In particular, since the 1999 Cabinet decision to consider the incorporation of national universities, MEXT has insisted on framing the imposed reforms around the OECD discourse of "knowledge-based society." In its 2003 Education White Paper, MEXT articulates its vision of "Higher Education in Support of a Knowledge-Based Society Full of Creative Vitality – New Development for Higher Education Reforms:"

> In the so-called "knowledge-based society," in which new technologies and information has become the foundation for various social activities … universities bear the role of … knowledge creation … In addition, the role of universities and other institutions in Japan has come to be recognized once again as a means to strengthen industrial competitiveness and ensure employment … Responding to social structural change, universities are also at the stage where they must construct a new image for themselves, one in which they can appropriately fulfill the role that is expected of them in the new society (pp 6–7).

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[15] Personal conversation with senior specialist, International Affairs Division, MEXT, August 11, 2005.

[16] Personal interview with one of the founders of Shutoken-Net (Tokyo Anti-incorporation Network), a professor in the Faculty of Arts, Chiba University, September 23, 2005.

This new outlook for Japanese universities emphasizes competitiveness, productivity, flexibility, and efficiency. Although MEXT lost the bureaucratic battle, in the eyes of its own staff and its constituents – university employees, students, parents, and the society in general – it justifies the far-reaching reform measures by couching them in legitimate global discourse of the competitive twenty-first-century university.

Opposition to National University Reforms

Why have university faculty and staff unions failed to stop the drastic reform measures? There was opposition at all levels. From early on, the Japan Association of National Universities (JANU), which represents national university leadership, objected to national university incorporation. The main Faculty and Staff Union of Japanese Universities (*Zendaikyo*) also opposed. Throughout national universities in Japan, faculties and departments adopted resolutions against the National University Corporation Law. In particular, a dozen of professors in the fields of education, history, geography, and philosophy from the University of Tokyo, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and Chiba University formed the Shutoken Net (Tokyo Anti-incorporation Network) in 1999. It drew upon the structure and memberships of existing faculty and staff union within national universities and tried to formulate a coherent strategy against the reforms. The results of their action – information dissemination, signature petition, demonstration, media campaign, and lobbying Diet members – are reflected in the 33 resolutions that accompanied the passage of the National University Corporation Law in 2003, even though the resolutions are not legally binding. Since 1999, several graduate students from the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies have also formed a study group and mailing list to oppose university reforms that they believe curtail academic freedoms and eliminate disciplines that are not "practical." Undergraduates have also mobilized. Student unions at the Tokyo University and Tohoku University adopted resolutions opposing the law. Further, in 2002, student union members from several national universities formed a human chain around MEXT to protest against national university corporation.[17]

The inability to stop the National University Corporation Law and related reform measures reflects several structural problems faced by Japanese faculty and staff as well as student unions. Some university faculty union members pointed out the traditionally close relationship between JANU and MEXT as a key factor in their inability to mobilize against national university corporation. Although JANU had opposed initially, it "gave in" too early to the demands of MEXT, after

[17] Personal interview with a student union member at the University of Tokyo, Komaba campus, August 21, 2005.

which it became quasi impossible for individual national university to object to the proposed plan.[18] The response of the university faculty and staff unions in turn has been fragmented and weak. At the national federated level, Japanese teachers' unions are divided along ideological and political lines with the leading Japan Teachers' Union (Nikkyoso) affiliated with the opposition Democratic Party, the National Teachers Federation of Japan (Zen-Nikkyoren) affiliated with the Liberal Democratic Party, and finally All Japan Teachers and Staff Union (Zenkyo) associated with the Communist Party. University faculty and staff unions are federated under separate structures of the main Faculty and Staff Union of Japanese Universities (Zendaikyo, across political party lines) and the much smaller Japan Public University Staff Union (Zenikkyo, associated with Nikkyoso). Some faculty union members pinpoint their failure to stop the reform measures to the lack of power, if not a consensual approach, of the Faculty and Staff Union of Japanese Universities vis-à-vis MEXT.[19] In addition to the problem of ideological division and the lack of unity, all teachers and faculty unions have been suffering from declining membership rates. A fundamental question pertains to how a union structure and approach based on the industrial era can still be effective in a postindustrial society; that is, how an extremely hierarchical structure could adapt to the rapidly changing labor changes in the era of globalisation.[20] The weak linkage between teachers' unions and political parties in Japan further means that the opposition movement by the faculty and staff unions had little political leverage.

Opposition at the level of the university remained weak due to the absence of staff unions in many Japanese universities; a legacy of the 1968 university turmoil. In campuses where staff unions are present, the low membership rate on the one hand and lack of consensus concerning the merits and demerits of university corporation among faculty and staff members on the other have made organizing a challenge. Further, since the corporation impacts various faculties, departments, and even individual academics differently, there has been no uniformed response to the law. Some faculties especially in the sciences and engineering seem to favor the development from the perspective of flexibility and increased external funding possibilities while others in arts, humanities, and basic sciences find the selective support approach an infringement of university research autonomy. Many academics seem to be against the law, but few took action.[21]

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[18] Personal interview with one of the founders of Shutoken-Net (Tokyo Anti-incorporation Network), a professor in the Faculty of Arts, Chiba University, September 23, 2005

[19] Personal conversation with a member of the Japan Public University and Staff Union, a professor in the Faculty of Law at Nagasaki University during the summer seminar organized by the Japan Public University Staff Union in Yugawara, August 27–28, 2005.

[20] Comment by a union member of the Kyoto Institute of Technology during the summer seminar organized by the Japan Public University Staff Union in Yugawara, August 27–28, 2005.

[21] Personal interview with a professor at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, September 12, 2005.

Finally, despite the fact that students – graduate as well as undergraduate – have great stakes in the current trends of university incorporation and marketization, as they exert significant impact on tuition fee, academic discipline restructuring, university management, and hence their university education experience as a whole, student opposition has been marginal and ineffective. With the exception of a few student unions and graduate student networks, for example, in the Komaba campus of the University of Tokyo and Chiba University, most students remain oblivious to the recent reforms. The lack of mobilization could be attributed to the absence of student unions in most Japanese universities, a product of the Ministry of Education policy after the radical student activism of the 1960s as well as the general decline of student interest in activism in the prosperous decades of the 1970s and 1980s.[22]

Academic Capitalism and the Social Contract

Almost 2 years after the National University Corporation Law took effect, Japanese national universities have become battlegrounds for new missions, innovative governance structures, decreased funding, flexible personnel arrangements, and heightened performance and global competitiveness. Universities have responded differently to these new challenges. Faced with the budget squeeze some have chosen to freeze hiring,[23] while others experiment outsourcing in order to reduce personnel costs.[24] Faculty and staff members alike complain of the massive increase of administrative workload due to mid-term planning, annual evaluations, and competitive funding applications.[25] University presidents can now be chosen by the President Selection Committee without the traditional faculty vote. External experts now sit on university boards and could legitimately introduce market-oriented ideas and activities. One such example is the development of Tokyo University employee and student identity cards as credit cards. In the spirit of "Scrap and Build," some university management teams have begun to think the unthinkable: eliminating entire faculties that are no longer profitable or useful and replacing them with more practical and locally adapted disciplines.[26]

Although the National University Corporation Law has become a legal reality, the actual extent of changes will not only depend on university leadership which has been the active agent spearheading reforms, but also on the acceptance of the

[22] Personal interview with a student union member at the University of Tokyo, Komaba campus, August 21, 2005.

[23] Personal interview with two Vice Presidents of Hitotsubashi University, September 20, 2005.

[24] Personal interview with the Dean of Education, Tohoku University, October 13, 2005.

[25] Personal interview with three vice presidents and Trustees and the Director General of Administration of Ochanomizu University, August 30, 2005.

[26] Personal interview with the vice president of Ryukyu University, October 6, 2005.

middle management (deans, department heads, etc.) as well as individual academics. Many scholars and practitioners have pointed out the trends of marketization of Japanese higher education from funding to enrollment (Yano 2005), but faculty members on the ground continue to question the legitimacy of such top-down reforms that challenge the principles underlying postwar higher education system as well as the social fabric in Japan. These include the equality of opportunity, university autonomy, higher education as a public good, and stable employment.[27] As President Komiyama Hiroshi of the University of Tokyo affirmed in a recent gathering of undergraduates from around the world, the mission of the University of Tokyo, as stipulated in the 2003 university charter, is not only to perform world-class research and education, but also to serve the public good of the world, from an Asian perspective.[28]

Conclusion

The above analysis demonstrates that the learning, teaching, and research experience of individual students, faculty, and staff members will depend on a tug of war between a neoliberal ideology focusing on the market and commitments to the existing social contract that emphasizes university functions beyond market values. At stake is not only the ranking of Japanese universities, or but also the democratic future of Japan.

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[27] Personal interview with a professor at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, who was the ex-vice president, September 21, 2005.

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Globalisation and Higher Education Policy Changes

Kingsley Banya

Globalisation, Education and Society

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the state's role in guidance and governance was gradually replaced by a range of new academic, social, and philosophical perspectives whose central common assumptions most often referred to as "neo-liberalism" (Burchell 1996; Olssen 2001; Rose 1996); "economic rationalism" (Codd 1990; Marginston 1993); neo-conservativism/the "New Right;" monetarism/Thatcherism (in UK); and Reaganism (in the USA). The central defining characteristic of this new brand of liberalism includes:

1. Free market economics; the best way to allocate resources and opportunities is through the market. The market is seen as an efficient mechanism to create and distribute wealth.
2. "Laissez-Faire": because the free market is a self-regulating order, it regulates itself better than the government or any other outside forces.
3. Free Trade: involving the abolition of tariffs or subsidies, or any form of state-imposed protection or support and open economies.
4. "Invisible hand theory": a view that the uncoordinated self-interest of individuals correlates with the interests and harmony of the whole society.
5. The self-interested individual: a view of individuals as economically self-interested subjects. In this regard the individual is represented as a rational optimizer and the best judge of his/her own interests and needs (Olssen 2001).

The pervasiveness of globalisation is not only in education but every aspect of human endeavors. Jones (1998) refers to the various agendas of globalisation which by nature are mutually reinforcing and increasingly leave participants who refuse to participate isolated, and at a comparative disadvantage. A precise version of Jones (1998, pp. 145–146) organized patterns of globalisation are:

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Political Globalisation

1. An absence of state sovereignty and multiple centers of power at global, local, and intermediate levels
2. Local issues discussed and situated in relation to a global community
3. Powerful international organizations predominant over national organizations
4. Fluid and multicentric international relations
5. A weakening of value attached to the nation-state
6. A strengthening of common and global political values

Economic Globalisation

1. Freedom of exchange between localities
2. Production activity in a locality determined by its physical and geographical advantages
3. Minimal direct foreign investment
4. Flexible responsiveness of organizations to global markets
5. Decentralized and "stateless" financial markets
6. Free movement of labor and services

Cultural Globalisation

1. A deterritorialized religious mosaic
2. A deterritorialized cosmopolitanism and diversity
3. Widespread consumption of simulations and representations
4. Global distribution of images and information
5. Universal tourism and the "end of tourism" as we know it

Moreover, he posits that the multiplier effect of globalisation on the processes which promote it – communication, information technology (IT), and mobility, will intensify and become more dominant aspects of societies for the foreseeable future. The common language of globalisation emphasizes concepts such as "outputs," "outcomes," "quality," "accountability," "purchase," "ownership," "value for money," "contracts," "efficiency," "customers," "managers," etc. Central to such approaches is an emphasis on contract which ostensibly replaces central regulation by a new system of public administration which introduces such concepts as clarification of purpose, role clarification, task specification, reliable reporting procedures, and the freedom to manage.

Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state, neoliberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's

role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws, and institutions necessary for its operation. In classical liberalism, the individual is characterized as having an autonomous human nature and can practice freedom. In neoliberalism, the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur.

Dynamic competition is essential to understanding globalisation because it is the process that links globalisation to knowledge production. In many developing countries, higher education institutions are still the primary, sometimes the only, knowledge-producing institutions; so they are natural participants in the process of dynamic competition. They are natural participants in the sense that since they have taken on the mantle of research, higher education institutions have had to work with the imperatives of dynamic competition. Different research programs (mainly in developed countries), for example, often represent fundamentally different ways to attack a problem. Competition arises because different groups of researchers are trying to determine which paradigm, model, or approach will be the most fruitful in terms of future research opportunities.

Part of globalisation has been the shift towards capitalist political economy. The values, institutions, and modes of organization of a capitalist economy seem to be everywhere. Dunn (2000) claims for example, if the belief in the efficacy of centralized forms of control continues to erode, then governments, in one country after another will have little choice but to put in place the institutions which give expression to the belief; that is, the institutions of a market economy. This trend is seen even in what used to be Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe and China. In several regions of the world, this process is already well-advanced (Southeast Asia). The result is a gradual but nonetheless systematic shift in the context political thinking. It is becoming less and less likely that the familiar centralized institutional forms will resume the control over economic development that they once enjoyed. These changes set the context in which not only trade but also the universities will have to operate and, within which higher education institutions will have to work out their strategies for survival.

In this chapter, globalisation is taken to be the result of the processes of imitation, adaptation, and diffusion of "solutions" to problems of many different kinds – be they new technologies or organizational forms or modes of working. It is because these "solutions" are both more numerous and also that they may arise from any quarter that globalisation intensifies competition between organizations. Expressed in another form, globalisation describes the spread, internationally, of more or less continuous waves of innovation. This intensification of the innovation process can also be expressed in terms of the intensification of competition between organizations. Intensified competition and innovation are respectively the stimulus and the response to globalisation. The spur to innovation is perceived to be a matter of survival. Since the competitiveness of a nation's organizations is closely correlated with its economic development, maintaining competitiveness amounts to an imperative. The loosening up of markets for capital and labor and the intensification of communication that accompanies globalisation means that a competitive threat can now arise from many different sources. Higher education is not immune from this

globalisation competition. The centrality of knowledge to the innovation process now underpins the connection between globalisation and the emergence of a knowledge economy; hence the importance of the institution from which traditionally such knowledge has been deemed "institutions of higher education."

Higher Education's role has shifted more to supporting an economy that is knowledge-intensive at a global level. In the globalisation economy higher education has featured on the WTO agenda not for its contribution to development but more as a service to trade in or a commodity for boosting income for countries that have the ability to trade in this area and export their higher education programs. Higher education has become a multi-billion dollar market as the quantity of education is increasing rapidly. It is reported that the export of higher education service has contributed significantly to the economy of the USA. In 1999, it is estimated that the USA, being the largest provider of educational services, earned $8.5 billion of the $30 billion market from this trade alone.

We will now examine the "original" purpose of higher education in order to understand the radical changes that have taken place because of globalisation. This transformation is crucial for our understanding of the changing purposes of higher education – because modern higher education systems were established within the framework of a modern, urban, industrial, secular, and scientific society. If such a society no longer exists (or is being eroded), it follows that the purposes of higher education must then change. They must allow themselves to be shaped by the new kind of society that is emerging.

Higher Education Purposes Prior to 1970s

In this section, we shall briefly examine earlier higher education purposes in Europe, USA, and sub-Saharan Africa.

Europe

The European university tradition is often said to be divided into three strands: (1) a strand in which "scientific education" is emphasized – in essence, the Humboldtian tradition of the German University (and, by extension, the tradition of Bildung); (2) a strand in which "professional education" is emphasized, epitomized by France's grandes écoles; and (3) a strand that values "liberal education" (Gellert 1993; Rothblatt 1993; Liedman 1993). However, there are commonalities shared by all higher education systems, which have always been as important as their differences. For example, apart from Oxbridge on the one hand and on the other the so-called Shakespearean universities founded in the 1960s – Sussex and Essex, York and Lancaster – most English universities have much more down-to-earth origins – very similar, in fact, to those of land-grant universities in the USA. Their jobs were, and continue to be, to train school teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, designers, etc.

USA

Higher education institutions were treated with unusual deference by their state sponsors, who were often content to "leave the money on the stump" with few questions asked (Trow 1993). Elected officials were frequently perplexed and even intimidated by the "learned men" of academe and by their claims of a special need for autonomy and academic freedom. When political leaders concerned themselves with anything having to do with higher education, it was mostly with rather traditional political matters around the allocation of enrollments, tuition rates, location of campuses, and the size of capital budgets. Even the federal government historically paid little attention to higher education – with the notable exception of the Morrill Act land grants to the states in 1862 – until World War II and its aftermath. Even in the Morrill Act case, the federal government did nothing much to control how the grants were used. The federal government post-World War II forays into large-scale research funding and student aid imposed few conditions on the institutions for a long time (Trow 1993).

Sub-Saharan Africa

For most of the countries on the continent, higher education is a development of the twentieth century, unrelated to the Islamic centers of learning of the past. The exceptions, in time only, are Sierra Leone and Liberia, both products of colonization from the Western world. Higher education institutions in these two countries were established in the nineteenth century. In Liberia, there were Liberia College at Monrovia, formally opened in January 1862, and Cuttington College in Harper, Cape Palmas, opened in 1889. For Sierra Leone, it was the seminary founded earlier by the Church Missionary Society, which was established in 1827 at Fourah Bay for the training of ministers and catechists that in 1876 introduced courses in higher education and became affiliated with Durham University.

After World War II and the resulting postwar global situation, the African colonies began making a strong push for freedom from Europe's yoke of colonialism. The ensuing developments in these colonies plus the growing urge for higher education that had sent numbers of African students to Europe to pursue studies in higher education institutions there, and the resulting fervor of nationalism and other concerns that developed there, propelled the efforts for the establishment of higher education institutions on the continent (Ashby 1996). The higher education institutions that emerged were diverse, each patterned after the European nation of which its country was either a colony or to which it had special ties. For example, in French-speaking Africa, the university system that developed assured the "unity of the French nation in Europe and overseas" as decided at the meeting held in 1944 in Brazzaville at the instance of the Provisional French Government to determine what status French Africa should have when peace came (Ashby 1996). The model was based on the French colonial policy of political and cultural assimilation.

Accordingly, the universities that were subsequently established in French Africa were modeled after and linked to universities in France, most of them becoming a part of the French university system. They began as institutes or centers for higher studies, serving a training period in the French system, under French direction, and with assistance in money and personnel from France. For example, an Institute for Higher Studies was established in Tunis in 1945 and another one in Dakar in 1950, the latter supervised by faculties in the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux. These Institutes emerged to university status as of 1957, beginning with those at Dakar and Rabat, followed by Tunis in 1960. Studies in these universities were practically identical to studies offered by universities in France. These institutions had as objective meeting the intellectual, moral, and religious needs of their respective countries. They were, however, in the Western tradition, with studies rooted in the classics and theology. There were no offerings related to the social and cultural or the physical environment of these respective countries.

The year 1960 was a watershed in African higher education. That year 17 African countries gained independence and 13 others were to become independent states a few years later. The sudden collapse of the edifice of colonialism and emergence of the "Political Kingdom" triggered even greater expectations and demands not only for the total elimination of the vestiges of foreign rule from the rest of the continent, but also for the liberation of the masses of people from disease, poverty, and ignorance. Many of the formal governing documents designate heads of State as chancellors or presidents of universities on the assumption that the prestige and power of the top national office will take education to the forefront of nation building. Several heads of State demonstrated confidence in university education as a driving force in nationalism. For example, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere (1967, p. 82) referred to academics as the "torch bearers of our society and the protectors of the flame." African universities were portrayed as the main instruments of national progress, the chief guardians of the people's heritage, and the voice of the people in international councils of scholarship. Additionally, African universities were expected to serve national policy and public welfare in "direct, immediate and practical ways" (Court 1980, p. 5).

The African university is a product of the modern world, yet the environment which inherited it is largely traditional, preindustrial, and agrarian. It is an environment caught in change from external forces – centuries of economic exploitation, colonialism, intellectual, and cultural dominance. The small modern sector resulting from these forces has expanded over time but compared with the traditional sector it remains exceedingly small and does not integrate with it. A product of the Western world, the African university was born a stranger to its own environment, and its main links were with institutions that were strangers to this environment and with the countries to which those universities belong. Thus the African university became heir to a dual setting – the traditional African environment in which it was to be rooted, and the modern Western sector from which it received its orientation.

By the time of the founding of the Association of African Universities at Rabat, Morocco, in 1967, there were 34 universities on the continent. They were inside as

well as outside the various colonial traditions. Staffed mainly by foreigners, they were isolated from one another by tradition and geography as a result of the forces of colonialism which had dominated the continent for almost a century – an isolation which would prove intractable. The diversity they reflected was born not from strength which the institutions engendered as a result of responding to the environments that they were to serve.

Policy Changes Since Early 1980s

Today, public universities and colleges face external demands that are in many ways unprecedented. The halcyon days of academic autonomy are long gone as higher education has grown in social and economic importance and dramatically in budget since World War II. From the late 1980s, the initial phases of a historically significant sharp increment in the degree of government involvement in academic matters started. In the name of greater accountability to the taxpayers and their representatives, public higher education is being asked not only to provide more data about their operations and the results achieved from them ("outcomes" in the current jargon), but also in an increasing number of countries are finding some of their appropriations linked to their measured performance on the country's priorities (Burke and Seban 1997). Significantly, these national priorities are no longer limited to how many students are enrolled or even how much tuition is increased, but range well into the traditional realm of academic decision making about matters such as which programs are expendable, how teaching is done, and the allocation of resources between teaching and research. In some cases, countries (USA and UK) have mandated "efficiency" or performance goals such as improving student graduation rates, increasing faculty time in teaching undergraduates, and even showing improvements in graduates' scores on standardized measures of learning.

There has always been scrutiny of institutions of higher education; however, since the 1980s, there has been a clear ramp-up in this scrutiny. One of the main reasons for this questioning lies in economics. The economic pressures brought about by rapid technological change and globalisation have led to extensive corporate downsizing and closer business attention to costs, both in their own enterprises and in those supported by their taxes throughout the public sector. Extreme financial pressures on states during the economic slowdown of the late 1970s (the oil shock) and the early 1990s were followed closely by the tax revolt and right-wing electoral ascendancy in the USA of the mid-decade years. The consistent squeeze on public spending these events produced has led many countries' policymakers to look especially closely at higher education.

Thus, in virtually every country in the world, higher education has been aligned to meet the new demands of globalisation. The push to global market is not only state-mandated but international institutions (World Bank, IMF, regional development banks and donor agencies) have all joined the bandwagon of globalisation of higher education. The main elements of this move are that education shares the

main characteristics of other commodities in the marketplace and as such is a private rather than a public good. In structuring tertiary education according to a market model, it is claimed that this would provide incentives and sanctions necessary to increase efficiency and effectiveness of tertiary education institutions. Other reasons advocated include student-centered funding, contestability in research, reduced state funding of student places, increased user-charges, and a system of bank loans. It is claimed that a market model would enable each institution to operate autonomously, which would improve performance. In addition, such a model would provide incentives enabling institutions to attract greater student numbers. As funding in this model would be by government subsidies to students, rather than via bulk grants, higher education institutions that failed to meet market demands (high-quality and appropriately priced courses) would fail to attract students and hence would not attract funding. We will next examine some of the globalisation policy changes that impact higher education.

Increased User-Charges

Within the neoliberal era of minimum state regulations and the triumph of a global market by free trade, many people believe that a higher education qualification – possessed by those with a larger repertoire of skills and a greater capacity for learning– offers a means of gaining unprecedented fulfillment in the job market. Aronowitz and Giroux (2000, p. 333) assert that "colleges and universities are perceived – and perceive themselves – as training grounds for corporate berths." In keeping with the current vogue among developed countries and international development agencies to put greater stress on the marketplace, there has been a recent upsurge of interest in the implementing schemes of "cost recovery" and "user cost changes" in the social services. Higher education is one such area. As the population ages and the social demand for education continues to be buoyant, charging user fees for higher education has become necessary.

User fees take two forms: (a) the direct charging of fees for tuition, books, accommodation, and foods; and (b) a system of student loans which covers living expenses and at least some proportion of direct teaching cost. The arguments in favor of increasing student contributions are based on a series of efficiency and equity considerations. The main argument of equity considerations is that higher education leads to substantially higher earnings, and therefore, ought to be financed by those who gain. Even before their higher education programs, these students have enjoyed large amounts of public subsidy, for example, a free secondary education. Given the large differentials in earnings between college graduates and other workers, the high cost of this level of education as well as the obvious excess demand for it in most countries, makes it difficult, on the basis of economic theory, to find strong arguments against the substitution of grants by loans.

A policy of charging students tuition and/or living expenses would increase the incentives for students to make a more careful consideration of their educational options.

Essentially, it is argued that the labor market transmits signals of shortages and surpluses through wages and levels and periods of employment and unemployment to which students would be more likely to give consideration if their own level of investment in education were higher (Elu 2000). The implication is that higher education needs to produce individuals who can take responsibility for their own success and who can contribute toward shaping a democratic society. In other words, higher education needs to produce autonomous individuals who are responsible for their own actions and as individuals contribute toward enhancing economic growth and shaping a democratic citizenry. This view is part of the well-known globalized conditions that accentuate firstly the concern to develop human capital, that is, to develop the thinking and intellectual capacities of the society which is considered to be the key to economic, social, cultural, and political stability. It is taken as axiomatic that the development of human capital articulated by a demand for a more skilled and educated populace, is central to a country's capacity to purposefully, energetically, and creatively establish a democracy. This line of thought is very much attuned to the logic of globalisation which insists on investing in human capital that provides a basis for a stable society (Avis 2000, p. 186) and "important structural support for democracy" (Hyug Baeg 1999, p. 282).

This argument completely ignores the various other functions higher education could perform. For example, the threat that corporate values pose to education lies not in the services they can perform but in the values they represent. The values of justice, freedom, equality, and the rights of citizens as equal and free human beings are central to higher education's role in educating students for the demands of leadership, social citizenship, and democratic public sphere.

Indeed, the World Bank (the largest lender in education) has recently changed its view of higher education to include the social and cultural roles higher education plays. As part of the recent policy changes at the Bank in 1997, in collaboration with UNESCO, a Task Force on Higher Education and Society was convened. After extensive deliberations, the Task Force report, *Higher Education and Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* was published in March 2000. It is worth noting in particular, the report's condemnation of earlier efforts to restrict higher education as indicated:

> Since the 1980s, many national governments and international donors have assigned higher education a relatively low priority. Narrow – and, in our view, misleading – economic analysis has contributed to the view that public investment in universities and colleges brings meager returns compared to investment in primary and secondary schools, and that higher education magnifies income inequality. … As a result, higher education systems in developing countries are under great strain. They are chronically under-funded, but face escalating demand, (p. 12)

The Task Force report continues:

> During the past two or three decades, however, attention has focused on primary education, especially for girls. This has led to neglect of secondary and tertiary education, with higher education in a perilous state in many, if not most, developing countries. With a few notable exceptions, it is under-funded by governments and donors. As a result, quality is low and often deteriorating, while access remains limited. The focus on primary education is important,

> but an approach that pursues primary education alone will leave societies dangerously unprepared for survival in tomorrow's world. (p. 19)

The same Task Force acknowledges that:

> Demographic change, income growth, urbanization, and the growing economic importance of knowledge and skills, have combined to ensure that, in most developing countries, higher education is no longer a small cultural enterprise for the elite. Rather, it has become vital to nearly every nation's plans for development. (p. 34)

A recent (2002) World Bank's development strategy lists three areas that higher education can contribute to economic growth:

> The first argument is that higher education can contribute to economic growth by supplying the necessary human resources for a knowledge driven economy, by generating knowledge, and by promoting access and use of knowledge. Secondly, higher education has the potential of increasing access to education and in turn increasing the employability of those who have the skills for a knowledge driven economy. Finally, higher education could play a role in supporting basic and secondary education by supplying those sub-sectors with trained personnel and contributing to the development of the curriculum. (p. xi)

Demands for Students

In the past, tradition dictated who should or should not study at a particular institution has been the business of the university's academic staff, exercising their judgment in a framework provided by academic criteria (mainly the results of the school-leaving examinations) and expectations about the qualities which make for the successful higher education student. These latter qualities are more difficult to measure in any demonstrably objective way and have generally been judged through an evaluation of the non-academic information revealed in a student's application and interviews, and more recently, portfolios. The exercise of judgment over the admission of students has been, and remains an important expression of the legal autonomy enjoyed by universities, and within each institution, of the academic autonomy claimed and jealously guarded by the various faculties and departments.

As stated earlier, one of the key features of globalisation is increased competition. Competition has become a driving force for innovation and entrepreneurship. Competition in higher education has increased in the past 10 years. Countries of the North with their competitive advantage compete with countries from the South for best students, faculty, administrators, and researchers. With the impact of globalisation, universities have been encouraged to recruit students beyond their borders. Recruitment of international students provides extensive revenue for the institutions and is therefore vital to helping sustain the viability of the institutions. The promotion of internationalization for many academics is also a consequence of the recognition of the need to equip students to operate in a global market, which transcends national boundaries. The basis of this kind of motivation is therefore, linked to economic imperatives.

Many of the students are coming from former colonial regions and "countries in transition" of former Eastern Europe. In 1990, according to UNESCO, 1.5 million students studied outside their country of origin. The largest share of these students come to the USA and Western Europe. Indeed, the influx of students from various part of the world to institutions of higher education also is not limited to Western Europe or North America or Australia. According to the case study of University of Cape Town (UCT), about 12% of the total number of students were international students from 76 different countries, with the majority of students coming from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. UCT has hosted exchange students from various countries and signed agreements with international universities aimed at promoting research, accessing international expertise, and facilitating student exchanges. He continued that because of escalating exchange rates, political and economic instability in many African countries and the resultant collapse of educational systems, has led to a shift to the South, making South Africa a sought-after destination and provider of educational and other opportunities.

One consequence of higher education globalisation is that the intellectual resource from the South has been drained in the process. Sources of high-level skilled labor for the thriving global economy have been mainly in the developing countries and Russia during its transition to a capitalist economy. Articles in "The Chronicle of Higher Education" have reported the concerns over the brain drain in developing countries including Africa. It is estimated that Africa has lost 100,000 people with specialized skill to the West. The loss is estimated at about 23,000 qualified academic professionals each year for Africa. The countries reported to lose the most academics are Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa. Russia reports a loss of 30,000 researchers. Brain drain is reported to be the greatest obstacles to development (Buckley 2001).

Commercialization is rife with the attendant worries about academic quality. Less-developed countries are bedeviled by an influx of academically second-rate foreign degree programs. International education has become big business. Former education secretary Richard W. Riley reported in 2000 that foreign students contributed $9 billion a year to the US economy. The Institute for International Education estimates that international students spend more than $11 billion annually in the USA. Nor has the increased economic importance of international higher education escaped the notice of other world institutions. The Group of Eight (G-8) highly industrialized countries has set a goal of doubling exchanges in the next decade. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is considering guidelines proposed by the US Department of Commerce that would ease the entry of commercial educational ventures into all member countries.

It is precisely because higher education has become such a big business, that the recruitment of students has taken on new meanings. In a competitive atmosphere each institution wants to recruit as many students as possible. Thus to achieve this goal institutions are appointing a number of specialist professional officers to manage the various stages of the "recruitment cycle" of which selection and admission are only parts, albeit the most important ones. Recruitment officers

are given the task of visiting schools to talk to potential applicants and to ensure that schools are fully aware of the opportunities offered by their institution. Although initially viewed with some suspicion, recruitment officers began to address the need of ensuring that an individual institution's image, advertising, and publications were working as effectively as possible in communicating with, and attracting, potential applicants.

Changes in funding arrangements, which meant that overseas students could be charged fees intended to cover the full cost of their education, led to the widespread effort to recruit students from key overseas markets such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore. Indeed, it is often in the area of overseas recruitment where the financial incentives led to moves to what might be called the "professionalization" of admissions. Operating in fiercely competitive markets, recruiters have to ensure that the marketing is effective, the decision processes rapid, and the information accessible to the potential students with whom they are dealing. At times, these pressures could threaten even the right of academic departments to make decisions about individual students, because international recruitment often demand that decisions are made far faster than can be the case when applications are being routed through individual departmental admissions committees.

Distance Education

Face-to-face delivery of lecture is no longer the only means of obtaining higher education. As part of policy changes in a globalized market, foreign institutions have entered strongly in traditional higher education market with virtual instruction and alternative delivery. An influx of nontraditional providers is currently changing the face of postsecondary education. According to "over 1.6 million individuals worldwide earned approximately 2.4 million information technology certifications by early 2000," and "three corporations administered over 3 million examinations in 140 countries in 1999." This is the face of the new higher education. A growing number of for-profit agencies and organizations are looking at the traditional and adult populations as a lucrative potential market for postsecondary provision. The advent of Internet-based instruction, for-profit providers, and a growing network of international institutions has created a competitive market that is having impact on higher education worldwide. The growth of distance education programs, offered over the Internet, has exacerbated this tendency and made it more difficult for educators and students to assess the quality of such programs and the degrees they offer. As higher education becomes a new "widget" in the global economy, some institutions will be forced out. As USA and other developed countries' institutions are aggressively setting their sights on foreign markets, foreign institutions will aggressively market to US audiences. Only those institutions able to adapt quickly and creatively to this competitive situation will prosper in the new economy. For example, India and China expect a wireless Internet to provide an opportunity

to leapfrog the developed world in access and opportunity. Wired technologies have long been a barrier for developing nations, and the creation of a wireless infrastructure is already having immediate and sizable impact in many parts of the developing world.

The Growth of Private Universities

One of the major changes in higher education policy in the last 20 years is the proliferation of institutions of advanced studies. Prior to the 1980s, private universities/higher education institutions were not a major phenomenon in many parts of the world, except in developed countries such as USA, France, Australia, Spain, etc. The so-called Ivy League universities in the USA are private institutions with a long history. In the developing world, only Latin and South America had a long history of private higher education institutions that were often affiliated with religious establishments. As indicated earlier, in Africa, only Liberia College, founded in 1862, was a truly independent institution with no affiliation with either the church or with an imperial power (Sherman 1990). With globalisation, institutions of higher education proliferated all over the world.

The existence of private institutions in higher education varies enormously from one country to another. Although the size of the country and its population is a factor in the development of private institutions, the latter are much more the result of internal, social, and historical developments. Private universities are a potentially important way of diversifying the financial base of national higher education systems. They offer an alternative for expanding access to higher education without adding significant government costs. In the current context of programs to privatize national economies, higher education has been no exception. Private higher education is growing rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa, reflecting a trend now developing across the rest of the world. Education leaders and other experts in several countries say the new institutions are becoming a force for the revitalization of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. At the very least, the establishment of institutions that are not dependent on government support is seen as a welcome change (Irina 1999). There are compelling reasons why private universities have blossomed recently in many developing countries. Here is a brief discussion of the reasons for the growth of private universities in sub-Saharan Africa.

Enrollment

The establishment of higher education institutions immediately after independence was to help develop human capital to meet the needs of the emerging economies. The success of state established higher education has led to the demand for space

in the few existing ones. Combined with population growth, demand for university places has overwhelmed the higher education establishment. The popularity and viability of the private universities has led to high expectation on the part of many African policymakers that the institutions can fill the yawning gap between supply and demand in higher education. Thus, private higher education institutions are seen as a way to alleviate the pressure in public ones. It has been estimated by a leading World Bank education specialist that "most African countries will have to at least double their higher education enrollment over the next decade to simply maintain the current, very low participation rate".

Ideology

Religious groups, primarily Christian ones, traditionally dominated private education in Africa. That role eventually was extended to higher education, through institutions established at least in part to help train new members of the clergy. A recent trend in religious affiliated higher education is the demand by Muslims for Islamic universities in Africa. This is more so in East Africa than anywhere else on the continent, although Nigeria seems to be moving in the same direction. In addition to other reasons advanced for higher education, the Muslim population feels that they have been marginalized in terms of formal education. With the establishment of new private higher education institutions opening, including some affiliated with organized religion, many Islamic scholars see them as the only way to insure that Muslims will be able to enjoy the educational opportunities available to others. The model is the Islamic University in Uganda, founded 11 years ago by the Saudi Arabia-based Organization of the Islamic Conference. Now the idea is taking hold in other countries.

Employment

For a long time, the main role of public universities in many African countries was to train members of small elite to become civil servants. Many institutions, still saddled with that legacy, struggle to produce graduates who fit into the current labor market. The private institutions, in contrast, say they are training a workforce for the twenty-first century, one that has an entrepreneurial streak.

Private universities tend to specialize in few fields that have a greater rate of employability. Many concentrate on 4-year undergraduate programs in business administration, commercial design, hotel management and tourism, and secretarial studies. Most private institutions try to find a niche, given their budget limitations and the context in which they work. In the current economic climate of privatization, private higher education institutions that show immediate employment possibilities of their graduates, attract students even if they have to pay higher tuition

fees. As the unemployment rate increases among traditional arts and sciences students, private universities that promise quick employment are becoming increasingly important.

Finance

Finance is probably the most ubiquitous policy tool by a state to influence institutional behavior. This is true as well in higher education because: first, the budget is the only available policy tool that involves both the use of incentives and explicit prohibitions on particular kinds of institutional action. Second, budget issues are revisited regularly – annually and at least biannually. Third, budget decisions affect all operations of the institution, not just isolated activities or processes. Finally, the budget is tangible and certain. It is much less open to interpretation than statutes, which individual state offices and officials can alter in the rule-making process and can interpret variously in implementation.

The main source of funding of state-run higher education until quite recently was government grants. Typically, each year a university, along with other tertiary institutions such as diploma and certificate awarding colleges, submits its estimates to a Ministry of Education. As indicated by the World Bank/UNESCO Task Force on Higher Education in Developing Countries (2000):

> Most public universities are highly dependent on central governments for their financial resources. Tuition fees are often negligible or non-existent, and attempts to increase their level encounter major resistance. Even when tuition fees are collected, the funds often bypass the university and go directly into the coffers of ministries of finance or central revenue departments. Budgets must typically be approved by government officials, who may have little understanding of higher education in general, of the goals and capabilities of a particular university, or of the local context in which it operates. (p. 32)

There has been a drastic change in the funding of higher education all over the world. With the recession of the 1990s state funding of higher education has declined. In time of revenue shortfalls and allocation among state agencies, higher education is likely to absorb larger cuts than other sectors. Public higher education must compete with K-12 schools, welfare, health, prisons, and other services for state funding. Relative to these other services and agencies, colleges and universities are perceived by state policymakers as having more fiscal and programmatic flexibility. For instance, many higher education institutions have separate budgets, revenue streams, and reserves. Universities are also assumed to be able to absorb temporary fiscal adversity by translating budget cuts into payroll cuts, since many campuses are not bound by collective bargaining agreements. Unlike some state agencies whose programs have relatively fixed spending levels (some set in statute), colleges and universities can save money by increasing class sizes and changing course offerings and even by reducing enrollments. Higher education can also shift costs to students and their families by raising tuition (Hovey 1999).

Higher education, when in financial difficulties, is likely to shift shortfalls to students and their families by raising tuition. The steepest tuition increases in the public sector have occurred during recessions as states shift their costs to users, including students and their families. Reference has already been made for the increased use of user fees in higher education. Financial aid strategies that could concentrate public subsidies on those least able to afford college have not been universally successful. Indeed, loans that are supposed to be paid back with interest seem to be the profound way to finance higher education for the poor (Immerwahr 1997). The clientele bearing the blunt of higher education seems to be the way higher education is obtained; this is in line with the concept of globalisation, i.e., the market mechanism.

Quality Assurance Issues

Historically, state government has eschewed direct involvement in most academic issues relating to quality assurance. This is no longer the case. Higher education conventionally has associated academic quality with resource "consumption," that is, with the amount of resources it has been able to attract and spend. In the past, a college or university whose enrollments and budget were growing was thus considered productive. Quality was attested by the addition of prestigious undergraduate and graduate programs such as law and medicine. Accountability was thought of mainly in terms of financial stewardship, by how well and in how much detail an academic institution could document how revenues were spent as functions of, for example, faculty–student ratios, numbers of academic credit hours generated, instructional programs sustained, and total numbers of degrees awarded.

The metaphor for academic accountability most often invoked combined the notion of an institution of higher learning as a production unit, a factory perhaps, together with that of the college or university as a corporate enterprise engaged in retail sales. The school as a business "produces" knowledge, which it then offers for sale. Competing with other sellers in a particular "market," the college or university establishes a "marketing" plan intended to confer a competitive edge for attracting prospective buyers, namely students. For their part, students as tuition-paying "customers" are said to be making an "investment" in the education sought, hoping for an adequate "return" on that investment. (Implied, but not always stated explicitly, is the presumption that in higher education as in any other purchasing transaction, the customer is always right). College and university leader run the complaint, must listen more closely, and must respond more fully to what their constituencies profess to want from institutions of higher learning. Recent years have thus witnessed the growing popularity among academic planners of quality assurance systems originally devised for corporate business and industry such as total quality management (TQM) and continuous quality improvement (CQI), systems now proposed for use in colleges and

universities. Dedication to servicing clients' needs has become a watchword in certain academic circles as a hallmark of quality, responsiveness, and hence, accountability. Based solely on prescribed accumulations of credit, current academic degrees are increasingly incapable of guaranteeing to society that their conferees have achieved given levels of competence, particularly in areas like communication skills and critical thinking that lie outside the domain of a major. The resulting depreciation of meaning puts both degree-holders and potential employers at a severe disadvantage in the marketplace.

In many developing countries, rising graduate unemployment, inadequate performance on the job, and weak research production combine to bring the relevance of universities to national needs under growing public scrutiny. Relevance is understood to include educational choices within the university that are in tune with the national economy and responsive to the prevailing labor market, appropriate curricula, capacity for critical and innovative thinking on issues of national importance, the transmission of essential professional and cultural values, institutional processes and behavior that equip graduates for leadership in society, and adequate regional, gender, and ethnic representation in the composition of staff and students. Many private universities have tried to avoid a majority of shortcoming on quality by concentrating in few areas that they can manage. They are not everything to everyone like the state institutions. Because they get their funding mainly from student tuition, private universities tend to make their programs more relevant and marketable. There is, however, a general perception that the quality of private institutions leaves much to be desired. This perception partly arises from residual teachings from the colonial experience that private involvement exacerbates inequalities in education and it associated with inferiority.

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly outlined some of the policy changes in higher education due to globalisation. Over the last two decades, higher education has undergone significant changes stimulated by the increasing globalisation of universities/colleges, the rapid growth of the Internet, the massification of higher education, and the issue of institutional and instructional quality. New institutions, new players, new pedagogies, and shifts in new paradigms are changing higher education. Although the integration of higher education into the capitalist economy has long been recognized by Marxists and critical thinkers, there is increased pressure on institutions of higher education to adapt, evolve, or desist. The policy environment for higher education is shifting rapidly as it has been outlined in the chapter. There have been policy interests shifting toward a concern about the client needs and services. The focus is no longer on institutions and their needs. As indicated in the chapter, rising tuition and user fee charges, the massification of higher education, the increased enrollment of students, and a shift in political/social philosophy that sways the paradigm of responsibility away

from the public sector toward the individual are trends that may be with us for a while. Some of the repercussions of policy changes have only been casually referred to in this chapter.

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The Emergence of the Local Management of Schools (LMS) in Israel: A Political Perspective[1]

Haim H. Gaziel

The Emergence of the Self-managing School in Israel

This study was designed in order to analyze from a political perspective the emergence of the self-managing schools in Israel, known as local management of schools (LMS). Local management of schools has become a pivotal plank in the educational platform of numerous countries (Abu-Duhou 1993). It represents one strand in a strategy designed to pursue the "five great themes" of autonomy to schools, diversity, increasing parental involvement, quality, and accountability (Gamage 1996, 2006, Zajda 2006, Zajda and Gamage 2009). It embraces broad notions of decentralization and participation as guiding principles of school governance and school improvement. Under LMS schools have been given wide powers over the management of resources, school budgets, and some aspects of personnel management such as recruitment, assignment promotion, and firing. The process granted to schools under LMS is delegated to school principals and to school teachers. However, the powers of LMS had to be exercised within an environment of pressure from two sides: From governmental control of pupil's performance through tests and examinations and from parents who require accountability. Taken together, therefore, the Israeli government's reform matched quite closely the general theory behind self-management initiatives in USA (Wholstetter and Odden 1992) and/or in the UK (Levacic 1995).

Although the literature relating to educational decentralization reforms contends that the main purpose of the self-managing schools' enactment is for its educational utilities (improving schools and ameliorating pupils' achievements)

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(Murphy and Beck 1995), it is argued here that the LMS emerged, besides its substantive viability, because of its political utility. Since decentralization (and LMS is one of its forms) embodies related liabilities it may also be a precarious political strategy (Weiler 1990).

The main question is: Why would a central government body relax control by redistributing some of its formal authority to subunits of the system in the absence of focused demands, exerted by the subunits (Weiler 1990)? Therefore, it seems politically counterintuitive for higher level units to initiate actors that yield control to lower units.

According to Weiler (1990), two functionally related but analytically distinct dimensions of political utility become the focal points of analysis: (a) decentralization as conflict management and (b) decentralization as compensatory legitimation. As regarding the first dimension, decentralization enables the central government to diffuse the sources of conflict by providing parallel structures and buffer zones that contain and constrain conflicts. These structures function as bins into which demands can be channeled, as mechanisms for breaking up conflict and as cushions that insulate the central government from unpopular decisions (Weiler 1993).

The second dimension posits that, because of the volume of demands placed upon them and the structurally limited capacity for responding to them, governments are vulnerable. They must augment legitimacy – the normative basis of their authority. Decentralization enhances legitimacy by enabling the system to reduce criticism of its perceived (or real) overcentralized nature, notably the unresponsiveness to local needs (Weiler 1989).

The theoretical framework that guided this study based upon the political behavior perspectives (Eder and Cobb 1983; Peters 1984), directs attention to the contextual forces that generate issues, stimulate pressures, and govern decision processes by shaping the opportunity structures in which actors deliberate and decide policy (Easton 1965; Dye 1976; Howett and Ramesh 1995). The behavioral lens untangles the intricacies of the human interactions that affect policy by understanding the actors' goals, power resources, and influence strategies (Zucker 1987).

It is also known from the political behavior literature (Burch and Word 1986), that government seeks responses that stabilize and legitimize the system, because both are necessary for the system to function. Therefore, policies that reduce stress or diffuse conflict may do so for good will. Therefore, the political utility of an action is a necessary component in the calculation of a decision made by government leaders. Following the political behavior theoretical framework, I argue that LMS in Israel emerged because of political reasons and not because of pedagogical reasons as it was presented to the public.

The Study Methodology

The study is qualitative in its nature and based upon the case study analysis research method (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Data sources included published and unpublished documents received from the Ministry of Education officials, and by

semi-structured interviews done by the author with selected key persons in the Ministry of Education, involved in the emergence of the LMS. Interviews were done also with regional school inspectors (N = 10). Checks for bias and error in the collection of communication and interpretation of data were incorporated. Notes were taken during interviews, analyzed through matrices of responses questions that arrayed confirming or disconfirming major themes. Follow-up contacts with the interviewees were made to corroborate or correct interpretations.

The Israeli Educational System: Background

The Israel's educational system is characterized by the following traits:

- The state is exclusively responsible for the education of children. As stated by the then Minister of Education: "The state is ultimately responsible for the ways through which the development of the young generation will be directed and realized" (Dinur 1958, p. 37). The organizational meaning of that declaration is a highly centralized national system of education, which represents in this respect a concept of organizational effectiveness and efficiency, a central national budget for education which finances more than 80% of the national expenditure. That situation also gives the Ministry of Finance a great power in shaping the educational policy-making process.
- A national curriculum system with standards and tests
- Ideological collectivistic orientations (the myth of equality) have been predominant factors in Israel's education system since its formative years during the pre-state era. The meaning of that ideological orientation is that schools are considered a public service with social and national mission rather than a commonweal oriented toward the welfare of the individual (Iram and Schmida 1998).
- Political parties have a central role in the processes of policy making in all the societal domains. Interest groups (union representatives, parents) have a relatively weak influence (Gaziel 1996). A special legal status of the state religious education formally guarantees the religious aspect of education as well as the influence of the religious political parties.
- The 1953 Education Act grants parents the right of choice between a state religious education and a state nonreligious education and also the right to participate in shaping a part of the school curriculum. But, parents' participation in school curriculum was never implemented until the past decade (Gaziel 1996).
- Legally (according to 1949, 1953 Education Acts) four persons have a powerful authority to control and administer the system (including its content): The Minister of Education, the Director General of the Ministry, appointed by the Government in accordance with the recommendation of the Minister, the Director of Religious Education Division, and finally the school general inspector who is the central figure in the educational bureaucracy who has power upon

principals' and teachers' assignment, evaluation, promotion, etc. and who controls curriculum implementation, and reports to its superiors about school performance.
- Local Education authorities with weak powers having the zoning and making pupils' assignments (Ormian 1973).

Despite the strong impact of the centralization tradition on Israel's educational system, attempts toward decentralization have been made since 1973. Trends toward decentralization gained political legitimacy, but recognition for local and/or school rights to govern local education was almost never accorded until the 1990s. That situation created inevitable conflicts between local authorities and the central government. Because of the great pressure from local political leaders, the Israeli government agreed to try to solve the conflicts between central and local governments (regarding decentralization of authority) through the establishment of public committees, whose purpose was to see how to reallocate the power between central and local authorities (Zanbar 1976, 1981). Although their reports called for more power to local authorities, particularly concerning the management of education, nothing changed formally. However, as regarding devolution of powers to schools somethings changed.

Toward Decentralization: Changing Trends in the Israeli Educational Policy

The changes occurred from the early eighties. The main changes were more autonomy to schools in running their affairs (late eighties) and finally the top-down policy pushing toward local management of schools (late nineties). The most important question that emerges is the following: Why did the Israeli Government agree to decentralize the educational system after so many years of centralization?

In order to answer this question, we have to know the developments that occurred since the 1980s. The great expectations from the school integration policy of the seventies, promising to expedite the social integration of students of various ethnic groups and raise the scholastic and educational level of students from lower socioeconomic status were not met (Israel, Knesset Proceedings 1981/82). In 1984, for the first time the Israeli parliament (the Knesset) ordered the Ministry of Education to stop implementing the education integration policy and for that reason, budgets which were designed for that purpose were cut. The main argument of the Knesset Members (MKs) has been that the social integration policy led to mediocrity at schools and only few of the weak student population benefited from it and improved their school achievements. In 1986 the late Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer expressed on the Knesset podium that he had to maneuver among different interest groups; teachers, parents, local authorities, academia, and industry. He said to the Knesset members that he was in conflict; from one side to

continue the Ministry policy to support social integration at schools – a policy which was also supported by the teachers' unions, academia, and some local authorities and on the other side, he was under pressure to defend the existence of selective, supra-regional, and magnet schools, pushed by the wealthy parents and the business corporations and organizations (Israel, Knesset Proceedings 1985/86). In such a conflicting situation the Ministry of Education officials adopted a "no decision-making" stance. This decision-making pattern left a great amount of freedom to schools to behave according to parents' demands. For that reason, several schools encouraged the so-called Gray Education (i.e., parentally financed supplementary classes). Gray education mainly existed in schools with a high percentage of higher SES pupils and usually from European–American ethnicity. The privatization by the back door (the gray education) widened the gap between the school achievements of pupils from Europe–America and Asia–Africa. The Ministry of Education, under pressure to improve the quality of education for all pupils, decided to go one step ahead believing that the solution lay in creating autonomous schools (Danilov 1986). According to the then Director General of the Ministry of Education, Mr. Orlev, the main reason for pushing schools to become autonomous was the inability of a rigid centralized system to satisfy the varied needs of a pluralistic society and meet specific local requirements (an interview with Zevulun Orlev, December 2004). The Ministry of Education made intensive efforts among primary school principals to make school autonomy a reality by delegating more powers in pedagogical affairs to schools (such as school-based curriculum, teachers professional development). However, school inspectors opposed that initiative, because it cut their powers and they used their powers to sabotage that trend. The teachers' unions withheld their support of the idea of school autonomy, because of the lack of financial means to implement the policy. Finally, the school autonomy policy implementation remained a policy rhetoric (Aroshes 1990).

How did the Israeli government having experienced the failure of the school autonomy implementation, continue to opt for school decentralization, going ahead to create self-managing schools?

The Emergence of the Self-managing Schools

In an interview in the media (Hadasahot, Daily newspaper 1992) the then Minister of Education, Ms. Aloni cited, that Israel is not an Island and usually follows the mega-trends in world education and LMS is one of them. Nevertheless, the facts show that internal trends had also great impact on the emergence of the LMS in Israel. Public budgets toward education kept increasing while the effectiveness of the educational system kept decreasing in terms of student results in national exams in math, literacy, and English. Furthermore, in the international examinations (PISA) Israel fell from the top to the middle of the echelon (PISA 2004). There as high percentage of dropout from schools. Managers of big corporations (the business sector)

feared that in the long run the educational system would not be able to supply high-quality personnel for the economy and this situation would weaken the Israeli competitiveness in the international market. The public blamed the Ministry of Education policy for leading to the ineffectiveness of the educational system (Mandler 1993). The teachers' unions blamed the government for not ameliorating the teachers' work conditions and salaries and for the rigidity of the educational bureaucracy. School inspectors were blamed for "killing" initiatives coming from the schools and undermining the authority of teachers (Nir 2003a). Parents blamed the Ministry of Education administration for recruiting teaching personnel from the bottom of the intellectual barrel, who were also poorly trained. All these critics put a great pressure and stress upon the Ministry of Education administration (the central government), which started to lose legitimacy in the public eyes. A change was needed. The main problem was how to reduce these pressures and diffuse conflicts with the various groups of interests. One solution expressed by the ministry officials was decentralization of the structural system and returning to the school autonomy policy of the eighties (Gordon 1996). The experience in the past showed that the partial decentralization by the central government during the eighties, by letting schools having pedagogical autonomy, had failed. Ministry officials tried to explain that failure as caused by the fact that the school autonomy policy was not framed within legal or formal legislation and was implemented in an inconsistent manner.

The right-wing (The Likud) government decision to return to the decentralization policy and to devolve powers to schools and to the local education authorities aggravated the conflict between the teachers' unions ruled by the left-wing party (the Avoda-Labor Party) and the Minister of Education and his highest assistants, who were mainly from the right-wing parties (the Likud). While the teachers' unions opposed any structural change in the educational system believing that these changes would not solve the ineffectiveness of the educational system, the central government did believe in a structural change of the educational system, which would give more powers to local education authorities and to schools, to solve the illnesses of the educational system. The Ministry of Education administration got support in its policy from two sides: the big industrial organizations in Israel and also from the same development trends occurring in the USA, the UK, and Australia. "If they (the American and the British) adopted the decentralization policy and created the self managing schools, why we cannot pursue the same path". "What's good for them is not good for us?!" asked one of the highest officers in the Ministry of Education in an interview (Dr. J. Levy on July 13, 2004). However, the great push which fueled the emergence of the self-managing schools in Israel known as LMS came from the then deputy general director of the Ministry of Education – Dr. Volansky. He got his Ph.D. from a British University about decentralization in education. He was so enthusiastic with the Local Management of Schools in Britain that he decided "to import" it to Israel.

Dr. Volansky believed that giving the school pedagogical and financial autonomy could be a good solution in increasing teacher's accountability to school results and to respond to school needs. He activated his powers to convince school inspectors, principals, teachers, and others in the academia, who did not believe in

the decentralization policy, about the importantance of the LMS in improving the educational system. For that purpose Dr. Volansky organized an international conference in Israel around the self-managing-schools topic and its contribution to the promotion of the educational system. Among the persons invited were international leading figures, specialists in self-managing schools like Brian Caldwell from University of Melbourne, Australia, Michael Kirst from Stanford, USA, and Rosalin Levavic from the London Institute of Education, UK. The purpose of the conference was to convince the Israeli educators to see the great advantages of the implementation of the LMS policy (Volanski 2003). For the Ministry of Education administration and particularly for the Israeli Minister of Education it was an important conference which gives legitimacy to their policy.

Finally, a major effort to change the status quo was signaled in 1992 through the establishment of a steering committee (Israel, Ministry of Education and Culture 1993) for the LMS by the then Minister of Education, Ms. Shulamit Aloni. At the conclusion of its deliberations in 1993, the committee's recommendations made clear that a self-managing school was not an independent school free to chart its own course (Israel, Ministry of Education and Culture 1993). Its definition was that a self-managing school is one that acts within the framework of national goals and, where available, priorities established by local authorities and responds to the declared needs of students and the community it serves. The committee recommended that schools should operate as closed financial systems with budgets based on per capita pupil allocation formula. The formula to schools should be published to demonstrate equitable treatment. The committee also recommended that the role of the school inspector requires major modification to provide foci for the provision for professional advice and assistance to schools to facilitate the development of individual school forward planning within its own priorities.

Unsurprisingly the committee's recommendations proved highly controversial. The opposition came particularly from the teachers' unions and the media arguing that there is no solid proof from the American or the British experience that LMS improved significantly their educational systems. Why invest in a reform, the results of which are controversial? Furthermore, in newspapers articles, and television and radio programs concerned citizens, reporters, Knesset members, and experts expressed their concern that adopting the committee recommendations would erode the concept of equality of opportunity for students, which is the main ethos of the Israeli education system (Volanski 2003).

Opposition to the structural changes was particularly reflected in partisan slogans and headlines such as "the privatization of education", and "the end of the government control". Teachers' unions' campaign against the committee's recommendations succeeded only partially. For example, the requirement of the committee that each school should establish a school council was abandoned. Despite the opposition to the Ministry of Education initiative and the recommendations of Volansky committee, the LMS reform was adopted and a model for the implementation of the reform through a national pilot project was started in 1995.

The model identified for implementation consisted of five central elements, drawn from experience of other countries: identifying clear and focused goals,

developing educational plans that were in accordance with the defined goals, implementation of a monitoring system, and strengthening school independence in the areas of budgetary management.

The Politics of Reform Implementation

When the self-managing schools pilot project was launched in 1995, nine schools from the city of Jerusalem took part. In 1996, 34 schools were added to form an expanded LMS program consisting of 43 schools distributed across a total of 15 municipalities.

The expansion of the pilot project offered further insights into the implementation of the program in different school environments. In 1997, the 74 elementary schools of the city of Jerusalem entered entirely into the project.

Four important components are worth noting in the implementation process of the self-managing program: (a) an existing nonprofit organization associated with the Ministry of Education was assigned to help schools to manage their financial accounts. (b) The research and evaluation activities were geared to different stages of implementation and the in-service training of various staff members was affected by fundamental change. The Ministry of Education invited tenders to undertake research activities that follow the implementation of the different of the elements of the project program. The Sold Institute for Research in Behavioral Sciences was chosen to provide relevant information to enable detailed examination of the model and provide insights into implementation process. (c) The Zippori Center for Community Education was invited to provide the necessary in-service training of the staff affected by the transition to self-managing schools (Habinski 1997). (d) Two private companies were awarded contracts to provide the ministry with the information about the amounts and sources of funds made available or spent on behalf of the schools. The information provided included data on per capita student expenditure from the three main sources: the government, the local authorities, and the parents.

Since 1998, other primary schools requested by the Ministry of Education (top-down initiative) with the consent of the local authorities, to join the project and finally in 2003 more than 300 schools around the country adopted the LMS pattern.

Since 1998, two important evaluation programs initiated by the Ministry of Education run on schools which adopted the LMS project.

The first evaluation program was conducted by the Sold Institute of Behavioral Sciences, using research methods such as school observations, and structured and unstructured interviews with the schools' staff (on a sample of 36 schools). The researchers reached the following results: Most of the principals expressed satisfaction with the project. They believed that their skills and knowledge associated with concepts of self-management had been enhanced and that they were more self-confident as professionals. The principals attributed much of their development as school leaders to the fact that they are autonomous and had the responsibility to

make decisions. They reported that significant changes occurred in the working relationships between the schools and their local authorities. Following interaction and discussion, administrative procedures and financial reporting mechanism were simplified. They also reported school authority and participation in personnel matters were extended and included employment of additional support staff. The principals also indicated that they had considerable autonomy in pedagogical decisions related to the implementation of educational programs. Principals of LMS schools in the study stressed that they had the power to direct allocation of specific resources that under the former centralized system had been controlled either by the local authority or by the Ministry of Education such as funds for professional development of staff, in-service training, employment of teacher substitutes, and maintenance. It was evident from experience gained from the initial project that participating principals, who had invested considerable effort in developing their schools through the principles of self-management, experienced major professionally stimulating innovation.

Another evaluation report invited by the Ministry of Education and made by Nir (2002) revealed that there are no significant changes in teachers' professional autonomy perception; they even complain of being overloaded by new bureaucratic demands.

Other evaluation studies were conducted by Bar Ilan University MA students (Haviv 2003; Lev-Haim 2005), where teachers and principals comprised the research samples. In those studies it was found that principals and teachers in LMS were more job-satisfied and less burned-out than their counterparts in the non-LMS. Although teachers' or principals' satisfaction is not a sufficient factor to measure LMS effectiveness, in the eyes of the Ministry of Education officers that policy looked like a success. Meanwhile, the opposition to the LMS implementation decreased and the Ministry of Education officers were satisfied that the policy that they pushed became a reality, mainly supported by the presidents of successful high-tech companies and even accepted tacitly by the teachers' unions.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to test the Weiler (1990) argument that educational decentralization is a precarious political strategy, grounded on the political behavior literature, that the political utility of an action is a necessary component in the calculation of a decision made by a government. Weiler contended that decentralization of educational systems came either as solving management conflicts or as compensatory legitimacy, or both. The changes that have occurred in the control pattern and reallocation of power in the Israeli educational system by the emergence of the LMS demands even a deeper explanation: how the central education bureaucracy which has the most powers and control over inputs; finance, teaching personnel, students selection national curriculum, and a centralized supervisory network has been ready to give up those powers to local authorities and to schools?

How could the top-down decision to create the LMS be explained? During the seventies and the early eighties many attempts for devolution of power to schools occurred; however, they failed not because of opposition but because of central government conservatism and strong commitments to goals inherited from the past (Inbar 1990). In the late eighties and early nineties the public pressures upon the Ministry of Education for changing its policy was immense. The public accused the Minister of Education and the central government for the failure of the Israeli pupils in national and international examinations. Teachers' unions, unsatisfied with their work conditions and professional autonomy, demanded a response to their requests. The inefficiency of the supervisory system in controlling and promoting the educational system called for the transfer of their powers to school principals.

The Minister of Education and his officers lost their legitimacy in the public eyes, as providers of the desirable results. They had conflicts with teachers' unions, and with the local authorities – which failed to comply with national policies, with unsatisfied parents associations. Therefore, the sole solution remaining in their hands was a transition toward a new power distribution which might produce better performance. If the new distribution of powers led by the central government failed to produce the expected results (such as better students' achievement and teachers' job satisfaction and commitment), it would be much easier then, to blame teachers and parents, who should have under the LMS pattern more powers, for the ineffectiveness of the schools.

Conclusion

The analyses of the LMS implementation phases and their early results reveal that the central government argument that the main purpose of the LMS enactment is for its educational utilities, namely, improving schools and ameliorating pupils' achievement is a convenient policy rhetoric (Nir 2003b). It seems politically counterintuitive for higher-levels units in the educational bureaucracy to initiate actors that yield control to lower units. The decentralization policy which created new structures – the self-managing schools – and transferred powers to schools, enabled the central government to diffuse the sources of conflict and insulate the central government from unpopular decisions (see also Gamage 2006, Zajda 2006, and Zajda and Gamage 2009). The central government also got legitimacy by the tacit consent of its policy opponents, to the continuity of the LMS policy implementation. From a political point of view, we may say that politics plays an important role in shaping educational policies, while sometimes covered by slogans such as: "school self management is the most important flag for improving education" (Ginsburg et al. 1991). The question remains whether in the near future the implementation of the LMS pattern in Israel would yield better school results, which is its main substantive viability, or it would remain a central government political manipulation.

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Alternative Approaches on Society, State, Educational Reform, and Educational Policy

Oscar Espinoza

Introduction

The main goal of this chapter is to describe and examine critically five issues that have been historically approached in a different way by critical theorists and functionalist researchers: (a) the role of education and state in modern societies; (b) the nature and goals of educational reforms and its rhetoric; (c) the reasons that would explain why some reforms become successful and why others fail; (d) the concepts of policy, public policy and educational policy; and (e) alternative trends in the process of development and implementation of educational policies. In order to see what elements and visions distinguish critical theory from the functionalist research tradition the chapter outlines initially the main assumptions guiding the critical and the functionalist tradition with particular emphasis in the former philosophical approach and then discusses the arguments and assumptions grounding both traditions in relation to the five subjects above mentioned above.

Main Assumptions of Critical Theory

This chapter is grounded in the critical theory paradigm, which focus on issues of power, knowledge, conflicts over values, lack of resources, control, resistance, hegemony, and equity and how they manifest themselves in different situations (Apple 1996; Carr and Kemmis 1986; Ginsburg 1991; Paulston 1977; Popkewitz and Brennan 1997). From a critical theorist's perspective I assume that social relations in education and others sectors can be seen as characterized by conflict and contradictions. Indeed, critical theory affirms that educational systems in capitalist societies are involved in the reproduction and change of class relationships and

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cannot be understood by simply 'adding up' the effects of schooling on each individual to arrive at a social impact (Bowles and Gintis 1976). According to critical theory, in all those societies having a "free" market economy orientation a primary function of education is to reproduce the social relations of capitalist society.

Before identifying in detail the main assumptions on which critical theory is grounded, however, it is important to describe the origins of the critical theory tradition. Based on a reconceptualization of classical Marxism, critical theory is the philosophical tradition associated with the Frankfurt School originated in the early-1920s. The early theorists, including Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Leo Lowental, Herbert Marcuse, and Friedrich Pollack, attempted to use interdisciplinary approaches to study the link between the individual and society (Jay 1973). Contemporary social theorists like Jurgen Habermas have extended and revitalized the ideas of Frankfurt School through the creation of a new theory of communicative action which is not limited to the speech acts (Habermas 1984; Ozanne and Murray 1995). Habermas replaces evolutionary Marxism's uncritical conception of a collective emancipatory subject with an approach that emphasizes the conditions for reaching intersubjective agreements about emancipatory goals (Antonio 1989; Benhabib 1985; Habermas 1987; Wolin 1987).

Critical theorists in general have sought to systematically critique society to help people envision new forms of social organization that are more democratic and less oppressive (Adorno 1973; Habermas 1971; Horkheimer 1972). The purpose of critical theory is to understand the relations among value, interest, and action, and to change the world;, not to describe it (Popkewitz 1984). That is, critical theorists try to understand the relations among spheres of reality, rather than reducing all of society to the dynamics of economy (Dubiel 1985; Kellner 1990). In other words, critical theory is an effort to combine empirical investigations, the task of interpretation, and a critique of reality in order to improve human existence by viewing knowledge for its emancipatory potential (Giarelli 1992; Watkins 1995). Four assumptions are at the core of the critical theory tradition:

1. Causation involves historical determination (that is, the regularities of social action that result from historical process), structural conditions, and the actions of particular individuals who influence and change their social situation (Popkewitz 1984). In this perspective, educational activities are historically located because they occur against a social–historical background and project a view of the kind of future that critical theorists hope to build. Education is conceived of as a social activity with social consequences for reproducing society (Carr and Kemmis 1986; Ewert 1991).
2. Perception, for critical theorists, rather than being conceptually neutral, is structured by both linguistic categories and the mental attitudes and interest of the observers (Habermas 1971, 1984). The categories in terms of which experience is organized and, in turn, known, as well as canons of truth and validity, reflect the values and interests of different groups at different times in history (Fischer 1980; Habermas 1971). Thus, reality can only be seen through a value window

(Guba 1990) and theory is seen as a valuable tool to enable individuals to know themselves and their situation through retrospection. That is, theory helps people to become aware of the process of social formation which, in turn, provides conditions for engaging in practical discourse.[1]

3. Dialectical quality of inquiry involves seeing the world in a continuous flux in which there is negation and contradiction (Gunn 1977). In this sense, critical theorists advocate being 'reflective' or self-referential given that by itself it is always a part of the object-domain which it illustrates (Nielsen 1992).
4. The dynamics of social change are viewed to develop through structural constraints and contradictions existing in a determinant society. In this context, critical theory sees itself "as an intellectual tool or an intellectual device in the long process of achieving enlightenment and emancipation" (Nielsen 1992: 269).[2] Critical theory is committed to social change and it has the aim of transforming education and society, which are characterized by inequalities, injustices, and oppressions, rather than just observing or understanding them (Carr and Kemmis 1986).[3] But critical theorists also have a particular interest in praxis,[4] which is conceived as the hallmark of this approach and is fundamental to an interest in knowledge as emancipatory (Carr and Kemmis 1986; Fay 1987; Lather 1986).

[1] According to Habermas (1973), practical discourse is prudent action where questions of ethics, morality, and politics are interrelated with science to guide individuals to what is right in a given situation. Theory, in this context, provides an orientation for practice instead of providing regulations or norms for making life possible.

[2] In the same vein, when Habermas speaks of emancipation and enlightenment, he is talking about a social transition from an initial state to a final state, which implies the following properties: (a) the initial state is one both of false consciousness or error and of 'unfree existence'; (b) the coercion from which the agents suffer in the initial state is one whose 'power' or 'objectivity' derives only from the fact that the agents do not realize that it is self-imposed; and (c) the final state is one in which the agents are free of false consciousness (they have been enlightened) and free of self-imposed coercion (they have been emancipated) (Geuss 1981).

[3] A different perspective, however, is emphasized by social scientists adopting functionalist perspectives who argue the relevance of functional integration, evolution, gradualism, harmony, and stability (Durkheim 1964; Parsons 1949, 1951; Welch 1985). Moreover, within the functionalist tradition researchers not only accept inequality in society, but see it as necessary condition to maintain the existing normative order. Consequently, functionalists contend that inequality is not only inevitable, but necessary and beneficial to everybody since individual survival is related to the survival and well- being of society (Davis 1949; Davis and Moore 1945; Easton 1956; Parsons 1940).

[4] By praxis, critical theorists mean the emancipatory interplay between action and theorizing. Action by itself is directionless and reflection by itself is aimless. The dialectical movement between action and reflection takes into account the complexities of the practical, socio-cultural factors and the construction of meaning. Therefore, the dialectical movement makes feasible the uncovering of basic inequities, which in turn makes possible a movement toward emancipation (Habermas 1973, 1984).

The Role of Education and State

In this section of this chapter we turn to applications of critical theory which focus on relationships between education and the state: to analyses of state intervention in education and of how schooling serves the interests of the state. During the twentieth century, education has becaome increasingly a function of the state. To understand the power issues involved in educational policy processes it is necessary to recognize the relevance of the state, which consists of political, judicial, and administrative institutions. As Torres (1998: 14)[5] points out, "theories and research on the state show that an analysis of the educational system cannot be separated from some explicit or implicit analysis of the role, purpose, and functioning of the government."

Unlike what happened until the late- 1970s, in the recent developments of the relations between education and state, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, can be seen the State's concern for efficiency: the priorities of means over ends, calculation and measurability over intuition, logic and intellect over feeling, science over art, the technical over the reflective, and the instrumental over the intrinsic. With reference to this new trend in the relationships between the state and education there is increasing evidence of the State's preference for power and control rather than participation and involvement, for inequality rather than equality (Gibson 1986). In such a context, critical theorists have emphasized that the educational system is the place in which competing solutions to the problems of personal liberation and social equality are tested and the arena in which social struggles are waged. Thus, Carnoy and Levin (1985) have argued that critical analysis should explain not only education's role in maintaining relatively unchanging social structures in capitalist societies but also its role in those social changes that do or should occur.[6] For instance, education has been defined by Carnoy (1990) as a fundamental

[5]A more detailed discussion about the relationship between the state and education and classical theories of the state and education can be found in Carnoy (1984), Dahl (1956), Easton (1981), Held (1989), and Torres (1998, Chapter 2).

[6]Functionalist social scientists, in contrast, conceive of education as an institution operating within society understood as a homeostatic system – always seeking a state of equilibrium. This is reflected in the following statements about education: (a) education is said to be concerned with the initiation into the 'forms' of knowledge (Dearden 1984; Hirst 1963; Peters 1963, 1964); (b) education is intended to achieve the full development of the individual morally, cognitively, and physically so that they can meet the 'needs' of society (Durkheim 1956); (c) education is a vehicle to promote the socialization of individuals (Durkheim 1956; Parsons 1959); (d) education is conceived as a mechanism for allocating of individuals to different roles in the contemporary society (Durkheim 1956; Parsons 1959); (e) education is visualized to arouse and to develop in any individual a certain number of physical, intellectual, and moral skills which are demanded of him/her by both the society as a whole and the special role for which he or she is specifically destined (Parsons 1959); (f) education should be an agent of social change and a force directed toward implementing the ideals of the society (Dewey 1940, 1958; Havighurst and Neugarten 1962); and (g) education should be seen as the main instrument to achieve and strengthen democracy (Dewey 1929, 1958).

instrument of change in revolutionary societies[7] and Bowles and Gintis (1976) have stated that education:

> should contribute to the development of a revolutionary, democratic socialist movement. An ideal education for a socialist society may, in some respects, be irrelevant to the task of bringing that society into existence. This danger is not intrinsically great, however, for the struggle to liberate education and the struggle to democratize economic life are inextricably related. The social relations of education can be altered through genuine struggle for a democratic and participatory classroom, and for a reorganization of power in education. (1976: 269–270)

In consequence, the role of education in the twenty-first century should be associated with the creation or reinforcement of a nonhierarchical society, "in which property will not have rights over people, and in which, ideally, no person will have the right of domination over another" (Carnoy 1974: 366). From a critical perspective, "the notion of state reflects the condensation of power and force in society. The power of the state is exercised through a specialized apparatus and implies actions of force and coercion of civil society" (Torres 1995: 270). As Shapiro (1983) remarks, it does not make sense to view the state in liberal-capitalist society as only reflecting the unmediated interests of capital. In fact, it must do this, but it must also do more. Accordingly, the state's claim that it serves general interests in society is no simple illusion.[8] In the same direction, it has been affirmed that the state must embody two relationships:

> The state … must represent, promote and defend, the ruling class and its mode of exploitation or supremacy. At the same time, the state must mediate the exploitation or domination of the ruling class over other classes and strata. (Therborn 1978: 181).[9]

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[7] He defines revolutionary societies to those passing from capitalism to socialism. Revolutionary societies have inherited from their conditioned capitalist predecessors significant levels of poverty and a population with low levels of skills relevant to perform in a modern economy. Examples of this kind of societyies would be Cuba, Tanzania, and Mozambique (see Carnoy 1990, Chapter 3).

[8] Within the critical theory tradition a counter-argument to the general-interest-serving function of the state has been pointed out by Chantal Mouffe (1979) who, in her discussion of Antonio Gramsci's view of the state, notes that while the state is seen as the organ of one particular group, destined to create favorable conditions for the latter's maximum expansion, the development and expansion of the particular group are conceived of, and presented, as being the motor force of a universal expansion, and of a development of all the 'National' energies.

[9] Researchers adopting the functionalist approach, in turn, believe that the state is a neutral, balancing mechanism that is above class conflict. Indeed, the existence of classes is rarely mentioned; society is pluralistic, consisting of numerous 'pressure' groups, the function of the state being merely to adjudicate amongst them in a neutral way (Harris 1979; Havighurst and Neugarten 1962). In line with the previous statement, Dewey (1954) wrote that the state is the organization of the public affected through officials for the protection of the interests shared by its members. Based on assumptions grounded in the theory of democratic pluralism (see Holmes 1992), it is believed that power in Western societies is competitive, fragmented, and diffuse, and the state itself is seen as a neutral instrument mediating between competing interests in the 'national interests'. It is assumed that the state's main function is to make minor 'adjustments' so that the present system can work more efficiently. However, Marxists and neo-Marxists have broadly criticized theory of democratic pluralism because it excludes by definition the possibility that the state's function might be to sustain and legitimate the power of a particular social group or class. Second, this theory limits its criticism of educational systems to proposals for improving it through reform (Miliband 1969; Sarup 1982; Westergaard and Resler 1975).

To this end, it is often the case that education and educational systems, in capitalist societies, play a dual role in the social process:

> On the one hand, by imparting technical and social skills and appropriate motivations, education increases the productive capacity of workers. On the other hand, education helps to defuse and depoliticize the potentially explosive class relations of the production process, and thus serves to perpetuate the social, political, and economic conditions through which a portion of the product of labor is expropriated in the form of profits. (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 11).

In sum, the politics of education is best understood in terms of the need for social control in an unequal and rapidly changing economic order. Bowles and Gintis (1976) and other critical theorists (see also Carnoy 1974; Sarup 1978) believe that the educational system basically is a method of disciplining children in the interest of producing a subordinate and superordinate adult population which could do little more than reproduce structural inequalities in existing societies, at least capitalist ones, because this is its basic sociopolitical and economic function. In all countries worldwide a significant amount of educational institutions are provided and managed by the state. No state intends to establish educational institutions which subvert its purposes, values, and ideals. As Gibson (1986: 49) highlights:

> Educational institutions] are consciously set up and funded in the belief that they will support and maintain state aims and beliefs. This generalization is true irrespective of economic organization, capitalist or socialist. Indeed, in the latter countries the school-state relationship is much more obvious and powerful than in the former. … Education is the means of reproducing the power and ideology of the state.

For example, in relation to Western capitalist democratic societies there is a substantial amount of theorizing about state-–education relationships. In much of that theorizing there is an assumption revealed in the following quote: "The state's short term policies are firmly committed to maintaining the underlying economic and ideological structures of capitalist society" (Giroux 1983b: 277).

Carnoy and Levin (1985) observe that the democratic capitalist state is an institution that necessarily allows for change but at the same time is inherently obliged to reproduce capitalist social relations by being a "capitalist state."[10] The educational system is part of the state and also plays both roles: it must reproduce political democrats and economic capitalists. As a result, the educational system generates a contradiction in capitalist societies because it exacerbates "the conflict between democratic demands – which include demands for social mobility and greater economic equality – and the demands of the hierarchical, highly unequal economic system" (Carnoy et al. 1990: 9). Given this, the tension between the dynamics of social democratization and those of social reproduction demonstrates why the state and educational systems in some historical periods promote social mobility and greater social equality and in other periods decrease social mobility

[10]On the discussion of the "capitalist state" see for example, Carnoy 1982, 1984; Miliband 1969, 1970; Offe 1974, 1975; Poulantzas 1973, 1975.

and increase inequality. In this respect, Ginsburg et al. (1988: 319) remark that "education is one institution in the state sector that might be mobilized to deal with the stratifying and legitimizing problems posed by the reproduction structural imperative."

But the complex relationship between education and state and their permanent interaction might be also associated with the development of educational policies at the national and international levels. In this regard, Offe's (1975, 1985) work provides an account of the state in capitalist societies as a set of institutions which has to balance irresolvable tensions between the need to ensure that the economy continues to function in a satisfactory fashion, so that the state revenues can be generated, and the need for the state to respond to social, economic, and political demands made upon it for policy coverage. Offe believes that the state never will solve this problem, but instead at various times "settlements" are arrived at in an effort to manage the tensions between what he calls accumulation and legitimation functions of the state, either in capitalist or socialist societies. I would additionally argue, following Jessop (1990) and Lingard (1993) that the state itself is a 'strategic-relational' terrain upon which state actors (bureaucrats working in ministries and state agencies) also struggle over policy texts and processes. Accordingly, the state is not only a mediator of policy via its structures, but also a terrain upon which individual policy actors struggles to achieve desired political outcomes. By translating values, interests, and resources into objectives and policies the state becomes of crucial importance in understanding the contours of public policy (Davis et al. 1993).

Understanding the Nature and Goals of Educational Reform and Its Rhetoric

Critical theorists agree that educational policies and educational reform movements have their origins in the changing exigencies and structures of the economy, serving the interests of a dominant capitalist class by controlling and rationalizing the development of new skills and attitudes which the free- market economy requires in its workforce. Given this, educational reforms themselves arise either from people's efforts to do something in this context or from the class conflict generated by the capitalist mode of production and that, while education has also brought tangible, if limited, benefits to the working people, educational reform has historically played the role not of a complement to economic reform, but as a substitute for it (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy and Levin 1976).[11]

[11] Other scholars, from a Weberian point of view, have stated that educational change can affect the social order but only under particular conditions and only if educational reform is carefully tailored to the particular circumstances. In such a context, for instance, Farrel and Schiefelbein (1985) have argued that in the case of the Chilean educational reform of the late- 1960 there were both increased access to schooling for poor students and social mobility.

Critical theorists emphasizes that educational policy initiatives and educational reforms must be understood as processes of ideological and social struggles over constructions of social, political, economic, and cultural arrangements (Apple 1986; Carnoy 1976a, b; Carnoy et al. 1990). These struggles may occur in the context of contradictory dynamics within the economy, the state, and education at the local, national, and world-system levels (Dowidar 1975; Ginsburg 1991; Wallerstein 1975). The state defines its policy initiatives in the rhetorical language of reform, often introduced as the only plausible response to such changes. As a result, the concept "reform" has become one of the most over-used ideas in the educational policy vocabulary (Taylor et al. 1997; Wise 1984).

Critical theorists also argue that educational reform rhetoric and action are related to national and global economic crisis and/or crisis of legitimation of the state (Ginsburg et al. 1990 1991; Habermas 1975).[12] In such a context, significant changes in education occur only as a consequence of changes in the overall social, economic, and political relations that characterize an organized society with a specific ideology and form of government. In any society the educational system will always be a major vehicle for transmitting the dominant culture and preserving the status quo (Apple 1986; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy and Levin 1976; Carnoy et al. 1990; Giroux 1983a, b; Levin 1974). "Reforms" will take place when they are viewed by dominant political and economic elites as defending or advancing their interest with respect to less privileged groups in society (Carnoy and Levin 1976).[13] Besides, "reforms" will be promoted when social movements (from non-elites) press governments and political parties to take into account – at least partially – their demands.

[12]Researchers adopting functionalist perspectives, in turn, believe that change/reform in education must be understood as progressive movements toward higher stages of societal development, which attempt to face societal needs or system imbalances (Paulston 1977, 1983). In this regard, educational reform has often been conceived in terms of permanent evolution and progress, which involves incremental adjustments in the system within the given structure, purpose, and normative framework of educational institutions and systems (Buchert 1998; Neave 1988; Soltis 1988). When 'reform' happens in the educational subsystem it must be considered as the result of interaction between society and the schools and follows in five steps: (1) a need arises in society; (2) the school is assigned the task of meeting the need; (3) change in the educational structure takes place to accommodate the new function; (4) the new role is assumed by schools; and (5) latent and manifest changes take place in society as a consequence of the new educational functions (Paulston 1977: 380–381).

[13]During the 1980s and 1990s reforms were implemented in circumstances in which education was conceived as "less part of social policy, but was increasingly viewed as a sub-sector of economic policy" (Neave 1988: 274). Thus, according to critical theorists, given that educational reforms became increasingly dominated by economic interests, the quality of education suffered a tremendous deterioration (Apple 1988). For example, at the higher education level different reforms promoted in various developing countries allowed, on the one hand, the expansion and privatization of this educational level and, on the other hand, restricted government funding of public higher education institutions. The direct result of this process was increased enrollment particularly in the private sector (i.e., in the case of Chilean universities, students were allowed access without taking the national test, which favored access of high school graduate student from rich families) and decreased quality of teaching and research within public universities.

Those researchers identified with the critical theory tradition argue that while educational reform seems to involve change, in fact, it may serve as a kind of ritual, which provides a powerful symbolic form of legitimation, giving the appearance of scientifically controlled change and masking the current ways in which the status quo is reproduced (Popkewitz 1982, 1988). Popkewitz (1988: 82), for example, calls attention to a conceptual difference between the concepts of 'reform' and 'change'. He defines 'change' as a process involving the continual clash of traditions, material conditions, and cultural forms as people act to sustain and to generate their social worlds. That is, 'change' involves an inter-relation of factors of social structure and forms of consciousness, while 'reform' represents a normative concept, which attempts "to legitimate the ongoing power relations of schools [educational institutions] in a manner that makes those relations seem to benefit all rather than a few".

Other critical theorists suggest that educational reforms are largely in the direction of accomplishing greater efficiency in the educational system with respect to some particular outcomes considered relevant for economic development (Carnoy and Levin 1986). In effect, educational reforms are often designed to achieve efficiency, which "masks not only a reduction in both the quality of education provided, but also attempts to increase productivity levels in education, particularly in the public sector" (Welch 1998:158).[14]

When Can an Educational Reform Be Considered Successful?

Usually, educational reforms have been depicted as focused on changes in the following aspects of educational systems: (a) number of students, teachers, administrators, and buildings; (b) objectives; (c) policy making and the administrative/managerial system; (d) financing and budget-making process; (e) level of funding; (f) system organization; (g) curriculum; (h) pedagogy; (i) selection, evaluation, and promotion criteria and procedures for students and people involved with the educational systems (teachers, administrators, etc.) (Ginsburg 1991; Ginsburg et al. 1990; Sack 1981).[15] In this regard, social scientists see or evaluate the success of educational

[14]In fact, according to the functionalist tradition, educational reforms have focused on issues like equity, access, and quality with the objective of reaching higher effectiveness and efficiency in educational systems through the introduction of alternative financing mechanisms and cost-reducing measures (Buchert 1998).

[15]From a functionalist point of view, educational reforms have been designed to achieve one or more of the following goals: (a) a rapid increase in the number of students, teachers, and facilities; (b) a reform of the curriculum and the content of schooling; and (c) an increase in the efficiency of the educational system (Simmons 1983). Likewise, some functionalist intellectuals concerned with the educational reform suggest that the goal of any educational reform is improving the efficiency of the educational system through a better institutional administration as well as by improving the system's effectiveness to get some possible outcomes through the introduction of techniques like cost-–benefit and cost-effectiveness analysis (Merritt and Coombs 1977; Psacharopoulos 1980, 1986; Spaulding 1988).

reforms in different ways. Critical theorists, for instance, believe that one of the main goals that should be pursued by educational reforms is to eliminate social inequalities within educational systems and society in terms of race, gender, and social class, which implies to avoid differential access to schooling and to guarantee that economically disadvantaged students will be able to access to the system so that they could compete under equal conditions with students of other socioeconomic groups (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy and Levin 1976). Accordingly, critical theorists believe that social justice and fairness represent key issues at the moment inof evaluatinge any kind of educational reform.

Since the main purpose of education would be to remodel "mentalities" by establishing a value- system which refutes the concepts previously established and supported by capitalist society, people should be able to have the right to obtain an education, as in capitalist societies, but also the right to practice it. Consequently, critical theorists hold that:

> Educational reform must have as its goal the transformation of men [and women] from passive recipients to active participants and, finally, to prime "actors". When [people are] respected as such and when the exercise of [their] sovereign rights is guaranteed, [they] act without having to rely on material reward. This would create a new perspective on stimulating production and continuous political struggle. (Dowidar 1975: 69).

Critical theorists also emphasize that the success of an educational reform is associated with different factors, including equality provision of educational opportunities, resources and materials, and appropriate environments.[16] These conditions are indispensable to achieve a successful reform; otherwise is not possible to have an educational reform, which moves toward a more equal and fair society that satisfies the needs of all social groups. It means, for instance, that if a reform in any higher education system worldwide attempts to promote equal access, then high school graduate students belonging to different socioeconomic groups should be allowed to apply for entrance, if they are interested, under equal conditions. To accomplish this, there must be need-based scholarships, loans, and other subsidized programs.

[16]Functionalist researchers, in contrast, associate the concept of "success" with aspects able to be quantified and measured such as number of students, teachers, administrators, or buildings and also they relate the concept of "success" with organizational aspects and criteria for evaluation and selection of students. For example, a successful educational reform for some functionalists would be increasing the number of students attending any educational level without worrying the socioeconomic characteristics of those students. Moreover, the success of an educational reform depends on broad popular participation and support, leadership commitment, persistence, permanent flexibility, and responsiveness in the implementation phase. Similarly, reforms attempt to recognize the needs and interests of those who directly experience its effects, which imply that consensus hasve to be present in the development of any reform (Simmons 1983). Two conditions should be present to affirm that an educational reform is achieving its goals and consequently it is being successful: (a) the existence of a policy statement supporting the reform which should be concrete and feasible in terms of objectives and purposes and (b) a policy supporting any reform should be based on "research-proven cause-effect relationships (Psacharopoulos 1989, 1990).

If these conditions are present, then the reform can be considered as successful. In line with this argument, critical theorists conclude that educational change/"reform" will be successful if it eliminates "educational privilege" and "elitism" and creates a more egalitarian society (Apple 1988 1986; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Carnoy 1976b; Paulston 1977, 1983).

Why Do Educational Reforms Fail?

Critical theorists think that the notion of failure, given explicit and implicit functions of an educational reform, is direct consequence of problems latent in capitalist societies where social inequalities and social relations of production have been reproduced over time.[17] Indeed, some scholars identified with the critical theory perspective believe that recurring reforms seldom transform educational institutions because elites never plan or execute them to do so.[18] In this respect, it has been argued that there are four relevant factors to understand why educational reform rhetoric and action are not completely achieved:

1. Insufficient commitment to produce changes by elite groups who look to legitimate their political power (Campbell 1982)[19]
2. Limited support of local economic elites and powerful groups outside the country (Altbach 1982; Carnoy 1976b)

[17]Functionalist researchers, in turn, assumes that the concept of failure is usually related to problems of policy implementation or inefficiencies in the management of various aspects, such as funding mechanisms, quality of teaching, infrastructure, governance, curriculum, etc.

[18]Authors representing the functionalist tradition, in contrast, have offered different arguments to explain why educational reforms persist or fail: (a) policymakers fail to diagnose appropriately the problems and/or to promote the right solutions then problems and solutions are mismatched; (b) policy makers use wrong lessons from the past; (c) policymakers fail to think about purposes or goals of educational reforms; (d) decision makers do not conduct evaluations of program effectiveness before implementing a reform program; (e) policy makers have faced persistent dilemmas involving hard choices between conflicting values; (f) reforms are vaguely stated which often implies no implementation; (g) financial constraints were not considered or ignored by policy makers; and (h) relationships between instruments and outcomes are inconsistent causing either insufficient evidence/information or an invalid theoretical model (Cuban 1988; Kirst 1988; Metz 1988; Psacaharopoulos 1986, 1989, 1990; Silberman 1971). As a result of their failure with respect to being implemented, "reforms do return again, again, and again. Not exactly as before or under the same conditions, but they persist" (Cuban 1990: 11).

[19]In spite of existing contradictions and struggle among different social groups inside and outside educational systems, critical theorists argue that, in the context of capitalist societies, educational institutions must be considered as instruments to express and maintain those dominant ideologies. Thus, those social groups seeking or promoting educational reforms are attempting to strengthen prevailing beliefs in order to maintain the status quo (Apple 1977; Bernstein 1977; Carnoy and Levin, 1985; Popkewitz 1988).

3. Funding constraints due to societies and states being affected by economic and fiscal crisis
4. Opposition or resistance of social actors, such as educators and parents, to change efforts promoted by elites (Ginsburg 1991)

Clarifying the Concept of Policy, Public Policy, and Educational Policy: Implications for Doing Policy

Analysis

The term 'policy' has no standard usage, and often has an ambiguous meaning (for instance, readers may contrast the definitions found in Bauer 1968; Dror 1968; Dunn 1981; Easton 1953; Mann 1975, Jenkins 1978). Such vagueness has led Dye (1978: 3) to conclude that policy is simply "whatever governments choose to do or not to do". However, in general terms, the concept of 'policy' designates a disagreement or conflict among policy actors (i.e., an official, a government agency, or a legislature) in a given area of activity, such as education, transportation, etc. about an actual or potential course of government action (Anderson 1990; Dunn 1981).

The concept of public policy stated above brings up at least five implications: (a) the definition links policy to purposive or goal-oriented action rather than to random behavior; (b) policies consist of courses of action taken over time by government officials rather than their separate decisions; (c) public policies emerge in response to policy demands,[20] or those acclaims for action or inaction on some public issue made by other actors upon government officials and agencies; (d) policy implies what governments actually do, not what they intend to do or what they say they are going to do; and (e) public policy could involve some form of governmental action to deal with a problem on which action was demanded, or it may involve a decision by governmental officials to do nothing on some issue on which government involvement was sought (Anderson 1990). Given the nature and purpose of the present study, it is necessary to clarify three forms of educational policy in order to avoid confusions: rhetorical policy, enacted policy, and implemented policy. Each of them might be defined in the following way in relation to the education sector:

[20]The ways in which public policy responds to the demand is through policy statements, which are formal expressions or articulations of public policy. Included are legislative statutes, executive orders and decrees, administrative rules and regulations, as well as statements and speeches by public officials indicating the government's intentions and goals and what will be done to accomplish them.

> Rhetorical policy refers to broad statements of educational goals often found in national addresses of senior political leaders. Enacted policies are the 'authoritative statements,' decrees, or laws which give explicit standards and direction to the education sector. Implemented policies are the enacted policies, modified or unmodified, as they are being translated into actions through systematic, programmatic, and project-level changes. (Adams et al. 2001: 222)

By definition an educational policy might be created by international organizations, private organizations, and NGO's, but also an educational policy could be created by local or national governments through legislative enactment, executive decree, and judicial pronouncement. Once created, its official purpose is to affect the practice of education. Nevertheless, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, educational reform rhetoric does not always achieve its official purposes, given the political, economic, and social restrictions that all policies have to face at the moment of being implemented.

An educational policy generally includes at least three elements explicitly or implicitly: a rationale to consider the problem to be addressed, an aim that the educational system is to achieve, and a 'theory of education' or set of hypotheseis that explain how that aim is to be accomplished. The aim may deal with the ends of education and may be drawn from religion, ethics, tradition, the law, or other normative sources. In this scenario, schools and other institutions providing educational programs must prepare students to read, to face the world of work, and to accept their place in society, and/or question the current social order. The aim may deal with the means of education and may be drawn from economic theory, the law, or other sources, which prescribe how a society or the dominant group wishes to conduct its organizations. Thus, educational institutions may operate efficiently, treat all equally, provide due access, and/or secure order.

Inevitably, an educational policy might be based upon some specific assumptions about how to implement a new practice or whether practice will yield desired results. If these assumptions are correct, then the policy may reach its intended result, including its technical, economic, and political dimensions. If these assumptions are incorrect, then the policy will probably not have its expected consequences or will probably not work. A policy may have unexpected consequences. Also, a particular policy statement may or may not be explicit about its aims or its theory of education. But analyzing an educational policy in this way reflects that its educational theory component may be examined by the canons of science and scientific criticism (Wise 1984).

There is a need to explore the multileveled character of policy processes, with particular emphasis on the articulations or linkages between the different levels. Bowe et al. (1992), for example, emphasize the need to take into account in policy analysis of the interactive, nonlinear nature of the relationship between what policy analysts see as the three elements of the policy cycle – contexts of influence, text production, and practice. Equally, Ham and Hill (1993) refer to the interconnections between more conventionally defined stages of policy formulation and implementation.

But is there any recipe to conduct policy analysis? At this point it is important to emphasize that there are different approaches for doing policy analysis. William Dunn (1981: 14), for example, has suggested that doing policy analysis implies considering five policy-analytic procedures: (a) structuring policy problems allow to yield information about the conditions giving rise to a policy problem; (b) forecasting policy futures permit to supply information about future consequences of acting on policy alternatives, including doing nothing; (c) recommending policy actions let to provide information about the relative value or worth of these future consequences in solving or alleviating the problem; (d) monitoring policy outcomes allow to yield information about the present and past consequences of acting on policy alternatives; and (e) evaluating policy performance permit to obtain information about the value or worth of these consequences in solving or alleviating the problem.

It has been also noted that the approaches to conducting policy analysis will depend at one level on the actual nature and place of policy production.[21] But certainly, there are other important factors in the policy- analysis process, including the position and institutional location of the analyst, and the purposes for which the analysis is being carried out (Taylor et al. 1997). With reference to the purposes of policy analysis, some traditional policy literature makes a distinction between analysis of and analysis for, policy (Gordon et al. 1977). Analysis of policy is seen as more of an academic task, while analysis for policy is usually associated with policy research conducted within educational bureaucracies in the process of policy production and evaluation. However, even though in some circumstances the distinction may be conceptually helpful, I reject any absolute distinction between analysis of and analysis for policy as being somewhat artificial because I see policy analysis as a critical academic exercise with political value. In short, the kind of questions asked in the process of doing policy analysis will depend on its purpose, the position of the policy analyst, and the existence of any restrictions, which may be operating on him or her.

Alternative Trends in the Educational Policy Field

A useful review and critique of the literature on educational policy analysis reflects some dominant trends in the current state of the field within the functionalist approach which are contrasted with the alternative approach offered by critical theory.

[21] For instance, there is a substantial difference between broad system-wide policy frameworks for, say, higher education and training, and the processes involved in the development of a university government policy.

These dominant trends framing the functionalist tradition as well as the critical theory's alternative approach can be summarized as follows:

1. Often most functionalists policy analyses fail to distinguish between such qualitatively different policy categories as substantive and procedural,[22] distributive[23] and redistributive,[24] regulatory and self-regulatory,[25] and material and symbolic[26] (Anderson 1990). Analyses based on critical theory, in turn, consider the educational policy analysis as overtly political. Thus, the personal value and political commitment of the critical educational policy analyst are in line with the vision

[22] *Substantive policies* involve what government is going to do, such as construction of schools or educational institutions, payment of welfare benefits, etc. This kind of public policies directly distributes advantages and disadvantages, benefits and costs, to people. *Procedural policies*, in contrast, are related to how something is going to be done or who is going to take action (Anderson 1990).

[23] This kind of typology differentiates policies on the basis of the nature of their impact on society and the relationships among those social actors involved in policy design. Within this typology, the first kind of policy that needs to be characterized is that called *distributive policies*, which involve the distribution of services or benefits to particular segments of the population such as individuals, groups, corporations, and communities. This kind of policy usually involves the use of public resources to assist particular groups or communities (Lowi 1964).

[24] *Redistributive policies* involve deliberate efforts by the government to shift the allocation of wealth, income, property, or rights among broad classes or groups of the population (Ripley 1985; Ripley and Franklin 1976). As Lowi (1964: 691) exemplifies "the aim involved [in *redistributive policies*] is not use of property but property itself, not equal treatment but equal possession, not behavior but being." However, given its nature, redistribution policies are difficult to secure because they involve the reallocation of money, rights, or power. Since money and power are symbols of social status in the contemporary society, those who possess them have ample means to resist their diminution. Given that the main focus of this study is on access of students from different socio-economic groups to post-secondary institutions, redistributive policies acquire special relevance in the analysis of rhetorical, enacted, and implemented Chilean higher education policies over the 1980s and 1990s.

[25] *Regulatory policies* involve the imposition of restrictions or limitations on the behavior of individuals and groups. In this respect they differ from distributive policies, which seek to increase the freedom of the affected persons or groups. Some examples of regulatory policies are those related to accreditation of higher education institutions, and that which deal with pollution control (Lowi, 1964). *Self-regulatory policies,* according to Salisbury (1968), are identical to regulatory policies in that they involve the restriction or control of some matter or group. Unlike regulatory policies, however, *self-regulatory policies* are usually sought and supported by the regulated groups as a means of protecting the interests of its members.

[26] The *material-symbolic* typology is particularly helpful to keep in mind when analyzing higher education policy impacts as its directs our attention beyond formal policy statements. It also alerts us about the important role that symbols play in the public policy- making process (Prunty 1984, 1985). *Material policies* either provide tangible resources or substantive power to their beneficiaries, or impose real disadvantages on those who are adversely affected (Anderson 1990). In contrast, *symbolic policies* have little real material impact on different social groups. They do not deliver what they appear to deliver; consequently, no tangible advantages and disadvantages are allocated by them (Edelmann 1964; Elder and Cobb 1983). Accordingly, as Anderson (1990: 16) describes "policies that are ostensibly material in nature on the basis of legislative language, may be rendered essentially symbolic by administrative action or by the failure of the legislature to provide adequate funds for their implementation".

of a moral order, on the one hand, where justice, equality, and individual freedom are the main elements of our daily life and, on the other hand, where political, social, and economic arrangements are such that persons are treated as intrinsically valuable – never as means to an end.

2. The trend over the last five decades has been to develop a 'policy science', particularly among functionalist social scientists (Lerner and Lasswell 1951).[27] An alternative to this perspective has been provided by critical theorists who propose that the analysis of educational policies should expose and identify the sources of domination, repression, and exploitation that are legitimated by educational policy. Furthermore, critical educational policy analysts should assume an advocacy role, taking sides with oppressed groups such as the working class, the poor, ethnic and racial minorities, and women. Accordingly, a critical analysis of educational policy would be concerned with the 'pathology of consciousness,' addressing itself to the ways in which human beings unknowingly abet their oppressors. Critical theorists would attempt to show how the policy process subverts and contravenes the interests of the oppressed, and how this is due, in part, to the ways in which such persons see themselves and others in society. In other words, critical theorists state that educational policy reflects compromises between competing interests expressed by the dominant interests of capitalism, in one way, and the oppositional interests of different social movements, oin the other. Then, educational policy initiatives should be seen as responses to the struggle over particular constructions of social, political, economic, and cultural arrangements (Taylor et al. 1997; Wise 1984).
3. Educational policy analysis/development has been definitively non-educational in its terms of reference. Instead, theories and methods have been borrowed by policy researchers and policy analysts from disciplines such as economics, political science, and sociology. Within these schools, logical positivism and functionalism have broadly dominated the thinking in the field (see Yeakey 1983). To avoid this trend in the process of policy development, critical theorists have adopted a commitment to praxis, which involves the unity of thought and action (theory and practice). In this regard, awareness of domination is a necessary but not sufficient condition of emancipation. Thus, under the frame of 'policy determination', the critical educational policy analyst would seek to establish procedural policy that

[27] Indeed, functionalist researchers see educational policy as dealing with technical problems which might be solved just by increased doses of technical rationality in such forms as cost-–benefit analysis, cost-effectiveness, management by objectives, social indicators, and so on (Prunty 1984). This emphasis has served to imbue policy analysis with scientific precision (positivism), obscuring in this way both the issue of values and the ethical and political implications of analysis, and limiting the activity of policy analysis to the description of the 'status quo'. This oversimplification has been responsible in part for the serious lack of attention given to some issues like power, control, legitimacy, privilege, equity, justice, and, above all, values which are narrowly associated with the concept of policy.

would include oppressed groups in the policy process, while insuring that symmetrical power relations and conditions of undistorted communication prevail among all parties to the policy process (Habermas 1984).

Conclusion

What is evident is that while functionalism has been the dominant tradition in educational scholarship and research, it has not been without competitors. Among these, critical theory has been one of the most prominent. Across the text can be found enough evidence showing that assumptions guiding both the critical theory and the functionalist tradition differs meaningfully in relation to the perception that those approaches have about the notion of educational reform, the origins, and purposes pursued by educational reforms, the relationship and interaction that should exist between the state and the educational process, and the ways of designing and conducting educational policies.

Whereas researchers adopting the functionalist perspective believe that the driving force behind social and educational change is the progressive movement toward technical development and social-harmonic integration. Critical theorists believe the driving force in contemporary societies is the unending struggle between different groups to hold status and power. In this context, they see educational reforms and educational policies as an important tool in this struggle. They also believe that educational reforms and policies serve the dominant privileged class by providing for the social reproduction of the economic and political status quo in a manner that gives the illusion of objectivity, neutrality, and opportunity.

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Social Exclusion, Poverty, and Educational Inequity in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: Which Development Framework[1]

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Social Exclusion, Poverty, and Educational Inequity in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: Introduction

> Poverty can't be resolved simply by developing economic opportunities. It must be addressed within the poverty zone by focusing on participation and empowerment, building human and productive assets and incorporating the poor into development path they value – quality education is the core of that difference.

A major contested issue today is why from Opobo Town to Kolo/Opokuma, from Twon Brass to Yenagoa, and from Agoloma Bomadi to Oboro Burutu poverty and educational poverty is rampant, and marginalization is evident in human deprivation, increasing inequalities, voicelessness, and lack of access to assets? The state of disempowerment, exclusion, marginality, and the process of impoverishment are outcomes of a neoliberal economic model that is enveloped in the prevailing social and political power structures. From a political power perspective, this framework is seen by many around the world as a continuation of imperialism, whether it is intended to be so or not. As one scholar said, "neoliberalism means the recolonization of developing countries." Sunkel (1973) notes that limited access to human and productive assets, and the depth of poverty are to be found not only in exclusion but also in educational disparities. If this is true, then how can this be the prescription for a sick Niger Delta?

In actuality, the region, by and large, is retrogressing or stagnating as society and its culture are shot off and condemned to cultural and economic backwardness. Indeed, these problems are paradoxical, considering the Niger Delta's enormous

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natural resource endowments and the development efforts instituted by the government over the years. Despite significant efforts, results are disappointing as individuals and most households continue to suffer from poverty, inequality, and social exclusion, as well as the unfortunate new social ills of crime, kidnapping, and violence, which have now engulfed the region (UNDP 2006; Geo-JaJa 2007). All these influences frustrate efforts to reduce poverty and enlarge human development. Human development in this area reaches beyond education and health care to multiple human capabilities, and the values communities assign to each capability vary.

There is a growing agreement that the state needs to deal immediately and effectively with these social and economic dislocations. There is also an understanding that economic dislocations and sweeping social exclusion in the region are not natural occurrences; rather, they are products of a history forged in "the neglect of human beings that are agents of change through education and health that enhance productive potential, through knowledge that betters health, and through the use of civil and political liberties to promote political change." In addition, the complex web of "false" development approaches undertaken by the state that counter participation cannot counter the general sense of dissatisfaction with exclusion. The direct purpose of this complex neoliberalism, non-egalitarian in nature, is its emphasis on political rights and the rule of markets without commitment to human development through individual and state actions providing access to human assets and recognizing education and health as human rights.

The first clear example of neoliberalism at work came in Chile in 1973. Other countries followed, with some of the worst effects in Mexico where wages declined 40% to 50% in the first year of NAFTA while the cost of living rose by 80%. For instance, today, under globalisation, global inequalities on various indicators are sharp. For the vast majority, wealth creation brings even more suffering than before: suffering without end. Understandably such a framework that tends to specialize in market niches serving the interests of minority "powerful" stakeholders leads toward legitimatizing and reproducing exclusionary social and economic class systems. Thus, neoliberalism, advanced though it may well be for an earlier approach, falls short of addressing the problems of social exclusion and structural poverty – precarious jobs, lack of assets, and educational and human poverty – which are issues of concern treated in this chapter.

The main message, therefore, is the importance for quality growth, quality and equal education, as well as the significance of having cultural norms as well as socioeconomic objectives embedded in a framework. A key element of such a framework is embarking on comprehensive social investment that addresses exclusion and marginalization, and listening to the voice of beneficiaries and involving them in decision-making about their future.

This chapter, motivated by the author's experience of exclusion and marginalization, and observation of human deprivation that have made the region home to violence and voicelessness, seeks to promote understanding of the new distributional dimension of development processes and to support a people-centered approach as a more tangible solution to current challenges in the Niger Delta. More specifically, its objective is twofold: (a) to take inventory of the problems involved with building

social and economic assets in the Niger Delta and (b) to evaluate the development approaches in existence in the Niger Delta, considering their impact on poverty and human development. In exploring these vexing issues we are able to tell whether or not a development framework stresses the importance of socially and culturally sensitive inclusive policies that build on citizens' consultations and rights. In this context, we contend that economic growth will not generate significant local broad-multipliers if the region relies on markets to guide or control its development.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In Section The Niger Delta Problematique, we discuss the problems and challenges of the region, including poverty, low social indicators, quality of life, and incidence of inequality. Section State and Markets and Education and Development Challenges in the Niger Delta reviews social inequalities and asset building; particularly the role of state interventionist investment in the social sector and the view of quality education as a human right. Section Understanding Development Approaches: Market or Non-Market Approach focuses on contributions of education toward poverty alleviation and sustainable development efforts. In Section The Fund's Non-market Approach: A New Framework for the Niger Delta, conceptualization, application, and evaluation of the various development frameworks (market- and non-market-based) and policies implemented to eradicate poverty and facilitate sustainable development in the Niger Delta are represented. Section Trends in Access to Education: Inputs from Communities, and Services from IFAD/UNDP examines concerns and objectives of the Fund for strengthening livelihoods – implying both policy objectives and types of institutions that will be required to reduce poverty, improve social inclusion, promote empowerment and human rights, and build human assets which form the basis of inclusion and livelihood functions. Section Evaluation provides evidence of the program's contribution to quality of life and standards of living, mobilization of local people, involvement of the people in various aspects of development. In the last section, we summarize our main findings and provide some palliatives which have the potential for engendering rapid human development and reversing existing social and economic exclusion in the Niger Delta. The disturbing conditions in the Niger Delta lead to the following questions that need answers: Why have the Niger Delta's natural resources had so little impact on poverty? Why do these problems persist despite decades of interventions? What should be done to expand markets and capabilities, and sustain development and eradicate poverty? How is education provided and in what manner of curriculum?

The Niger Delta Problematique

The Niger Delta, the land of the indigenous people of Ijaw ethnic minorities, is the least infrastructured and the poorest region in Nigeria. Poverty, especially rural poverty, continues to be one of the major problems assailing the region, with approximately 64% of its entire population and about 85% of the rural population, living in poverty. Similarly, marginalization defined in terms of materials (low levels

of human and physical assets, hopeless as to where the next meal is coming from), social (low levels of education, health, and poor housing and road infrastructure), and political (limited citizens' rights and political participation) are other indicators of poverty in the region (see definition of poverty by the people of the Niger Delta (UNDP 2006:36). Estimations of poverty figures have not been unanimous because different calculating methods have been used. However, while estimates of the number of poor people in the region differ markedly, trend figures on total poverty levels is extrapolated (see Fig. 1). The majorities of families in this group live in extreme poverty and constitute the structural poor, or the 'hardcore' segment of the regions disempowered population. Citizens affected by structural poverty – economic or social exclusion or both – generally have little schooling or no schooling, few or no productive assets, few work skills and lack of access to basic services. Isolated and largely excluded from the nation's overall economy, "communities in the region lack communication and social infrastructure (UNDP 2006). This section reviews Niger Delta characteristics and constraints (access to schooling), and extreme poverty that is high and not decreasing. The prevalence of low access to basic social services and low internal efficiency indicators of education among this group are reliable indicators for endemic structural poverty in the region.

In particular, there is ample evidence that indigenous people and ethnic minorities that are disproportionately represented among the people of the region tend to live at the margin of existence and inclusion. General deterioration has occurred in aspects of education quality, such as overall learning environment, curriculum development and coverage, educational processes and outcomes, and so on. Revealing the immense challenge of providing education, an NDES report noted that there are only 2,169 primary schools and 545 secondary schools covering some 30,000 km^2 and for an estimated 12 million people – the ratio is about one school per 3,700 people and one school per 14,679 people respectively for primary and secondary – (NDES

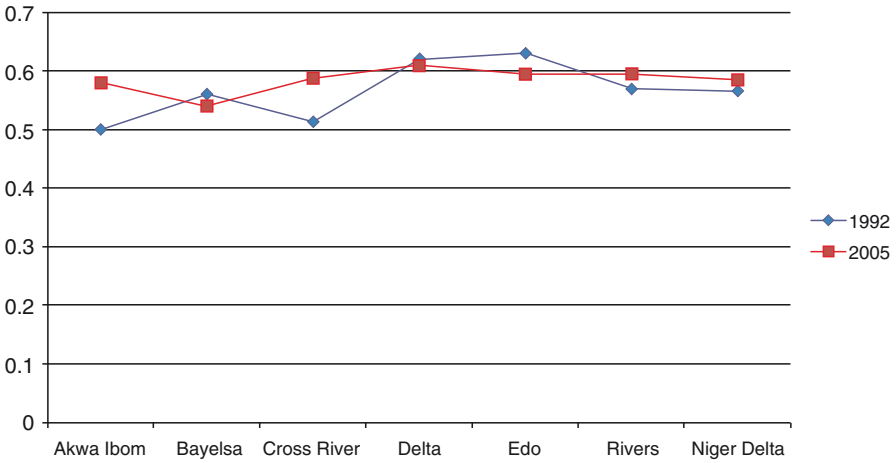

Fig. 1 Progress on HDI in Niger Delta Source: UNDP, 2006

2002). The main idea here is that, in order to achieve socioeconomic progress, nations must not only focus on quantitative expansion but must also emphasize quality. It can be said that these outcomes have tended to caricature development paths that need to be undertaken with much more sensitivity and political commitment. Washington consensus that does not constitute a major change from the structural adjustment program is reminiscent of the education and development agenda during colonialism, which did not increase local capacity nor strengthen local voices. The low quality of education, and therefore of human resources, also affects economic growth or quality growth (Hanushek and Kimko 2000).

Under the conditions of structural poverty and austerity described above, the cost burden of schooling is increasingly shifted onto households, with grave implications for school access and retention levels. This shift shows that political commitment to the goals of "Education for All" is inadequate to motivate necessary spending allocations to provide universal primary education (Geo-JaJa 2006). Consequently, contrary to predictions, education – which normally is a great equalizer in reducing social development differences and improving participation – delivers irrelevant and uninteresting outcomes, with a globalized curriculum and boring teaching by an often unqualified teacher. This was and still is the disabling experience of those who manage to stay in school, despite being squeezed out into poverty. For many households, education has become a luxury that they simply cannot afford, as direct expenses involved in providing uniforms, transport, examination fees, books, and other school inputs absorb more than a substantial portion of household income. However, to ensure the right to free basic education, as articulated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948, Article 26) and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1990, *Article 28 and 29*), education must be supported by strong state intervention and strengthened involvement of communities, schools, and local stakeholders. Prichett (2001), Hanushek and Wofsmann (2007) and others highlighted the urgency of improving the quality of education by showing that differences in knowledge and learning achievement matter more in explaining growth and human capabilities than differences in the number of years of schooling (see the others Appaih and McMahon 2002; Hanushek and Kimko 2000; Wolfe and Haveman 2001). This linkage has an important implication for economic growth and human development. The economic returns and linkage of education in a transition economy might also be a reason why many poor children never enroll or drop out of school. Moreover, the predominantly inflexible and non-customized curriculum, which promotes knowledge valued for the global labor market but places less emphasis on skills and knowledge to function in community life, tends to alienate schooled children and youths from local work. These conditions are some of the roots of the problematique. Implicit in the above discussion is the fact that the region has been and remains a "laboratory" for grand development experimentation. This might be termed education and development terrorism. Consequently, however, much effort is needed to better understand the complexity of the forms of poverty, subordination, and disempowerment faced by these groups as well as to work with them to further their own objectives, values, and capabilities.

The State and Ideology: Rhetoric Versus Reality for the Niger Delta

The roots of these crises are arguably placed alongside misplaced policies couched in neoliberalism – Stabilization and Structural Adjustment Programs – and above all, a lack of pro-poor economic policies that have survived despite the significant advances made in some developing countries (Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2003). Such policies sought to balance budgets at the cost of human hunger, among other privations; promoted shrinking the role of the public sector; and suppressed the voices of the poor and culture through globalisation. According to the literature, in weakening the capacity of the interventionist state, which considers education and health as an investment, it strengthened government politically to treat debt servicing and social discontent with brute military force. Moreover, neoliberalism made it more difficult to provide a "good education" that mandates the right of a child to receive a functional and flexible basic education designed to serve a range of individual and community-specific needs. The seemingly contradictory strategy of what might be best called "conservative modernism" could be judged a failure, as communities in the Niger Delta are seriously denied the most critical basic elements of development – good education and choice to lead lives that they value.

In closing, the bottom line is that many economists are agreed that in general neoliberalism can be a powerful engine for development. It also has been successful in nurturing technological innovation, in promoting initiatives, and in creating wealth (and increasing poverty). Indeed globalisation it is noted advantage the economically and politically powerful countries to dominate and submerge politically and economically less weak countries, as it drains the wealth of these countries toward the developed ones, or to increase inequality between richer and poorer regions. In essence, the monopoly capitalism of the colonial era was very destructive; there is growing criticism of the current model of neoliberalism and its version of globalisation. The region is facing a contradictory process of simultaneous inclusion (in the realm of imagination and marginalization (in day-to-day material and social terms) that has been highlighted in discussing the social dimension of neoliberalism. More problematic and worrying is that the conservative modernism does not constitute a change from colonialism or imperialism as regards core globalisation strategies and processes. This is as true as it contributes to social fragmentation by creating high-income disparities for the fully integrated and more powerful groups.

As can be appreciated, therefore, the bottom line is not availability of more resources or more reforms, but centrality of the state's political will to holistically address the systemic causes of identified inequalities and to resolve and restore government social responsibility for education as a right and restore dignity and voice for all citizens. These are the things that have been found effective in regions with similar circumstances – the mechanisms which most influence the potential for all citizens to benefit from growth. This section has clearly shown that neoliberalism in failing to address exclusion and the critical human development needs of the region is grossly inadequate to deal with the varied and complex development challenges facing the Niger Delta people.

State and Markets and Education and Development Challenges in the Niger Delta

Poverty and Social Inequalities in the Niger Delta

The Niger Delta is a region with immense resources, along with cultural and human diversity. Oil extracted from the region generates billions of dollars as it contributes more than 60% of the nation's GDP, 95% of her total exports, and more than 85% of government revenue. This wealth has made no difference to the ecological and development nightmare as the household as a social institution is crumbling under the weight of economic and educational poverty. Unable to remain intact under harsh circumstances, many families have disintegrated due to alcoholism and the accompanying breakdown of the family structure. While those with quality education and social capital cope reasonably well, others are on the margin of survival. According to the UNDP Human Development Report 2006, 7 million out of 12 million people sustain life with a daily total income of less than $1. Figure 1, illustrate that poverty is higher than the national average, which is already among the worst in the world (see also UNDP 2006).

A World Bank report indicates that GNP per capita is below the estimated national average of US$200 per year. It further shows that 88% of households are illiterate, only 30% of the population has access to health care, and some 85% lacks access to safe drinking water (World Bank 1997). Unemployment rates in most communities are at least 70%; a striking contrast to a national average of 18%. In a more inclusive context, the region's human development index score, a measure of well-being encompassing longevity of life, knowledge, and standard of living, remains at a low value of 0.564 (with one being the highest score), in contrast to other oil-rich regions such as Saudi Arabia at 0.800 and the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Libya, Venezuela, and Indonesia with scores of 0.8849, 0.844. 0.799. 0.772 and 0.697, respectively.

Literacy rates in the region are the lowest in the country, particularly in fishing settlements. Children are less likely to be literate than their parents. Behind this poor HDI is the insensitivity of policy frameworks that have destabilized communities, according to the UNDP (2006:2). The defining characteristics are noted by the UNDP Human Development Report 2006: "The Delta is a region suffering from administrative neglect, crumbling social infrastructures and services, social deprivation, abject poverty, filth and squalor, and endemic conflict" (UNDP 2006: 9). Elaborating further on the contradictions between the region's vested development and oil wealth and the pervasive socioeconomic exclusion, the report called attention to the weak links in the current development path and called for a people-centered development in the Niger Delta.

This defining characterization of the Niger Delta is not new. Early concerns about the minorities of the Niger Delta and the dismal poverty and human development conditions under which they live were brought to the attention of the government by the Willink Commission but for the most part either ignored or compounded

by policy insensitivity and government insincerity. The Commission's report characterized the Niger Delta as follows:

> The needs of those who live in the creeks and swamps of the Niger Delta are very different from those of the interior. Perhaps more importantly, the Commission concluded that "a feeling of neglect and a lack of understanding was widespread … a case has been made out for the special treatment of this area. This is a matter that requires special effort because (the area) is poor, backward and neglected (UNDP 2006:11–12)

This statement is as true today as it was in 1957 – even more complicated today, as those who live in the creeks and swamps have had their livelihoods destroyed and whole communities have been displaced with military force due to peaceful agitation for resource control or demands for a development that venture beyond the calculus of economic growth. The forgoing discussion highlights certain core issues: probable insincerity and insensitivity of government; mismatch of the current policy framework to sustain human development infrastructure; and the absence of political will that is required to reestablish functioning institutions for sustainable development. Moreover, no matter what terminology is used, neoliberalism or conventional market-driven approaches impede attempts for poverty reduction, social inclusion, and quality education for human development required for Niger Delta regeneration. In sum, the catalogue of indicators provided in Table 1 shows that the self-adjusting market approach has been unsuccessful.

Table 1 Ranking of major development and human deprivation issues in the Niger Delta (Adapted from Okoh and Egbon 1999)

Problem type	Problem subset	Priority	Ranking
Development-related poverty	Land degradation	High	
Agricultural decline	High		
Mangroves/forest/farm land loss	High		
Ecological degradation	High		
Fisheries decline	High		
Oil spillage/air pollution	Moderate		
Human and structural deprivation-related poverty			
Human capabilities	High		
Human poverty	High		
Unemployment	High		
Income poverty	High		
Communal conflict	High		
Violence and kidnapping	High		
Social exclusion	High		
Educational poverty	High		
Decay in societal values	High		
Poor infrastructure/road/housing	High		
Decay/crimes	High		

Education in the Niger Delta: No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, and No Students

Education needs in the Niger Delta are extensive and acute. Unfortunately, education that will significantly reduce poverty and enhance human development, despite the region's entrenched social inequities and skewed course of development, has been neglected by those who have a moral and social responsibility to provide it: a moral obligation for NDDC and multinational oil companies, and a social obligation for the government. As illustrated in Section Niger Delta Problematique, education is inadequate in the region. When it is provided, coverage is insufficient, access is poor, and quality is poor. If education is effectively delivered and experienced by citizens as meaningful, relevant, useful and empowering – and is used for common purposes – it will contribute to reducing violence and exclusion, and the knowledge and skills gained will give voice to the people of the Niger Delta. But evidence shows that the "education divide" is still at its most extreme in the region as schooling continues to be only sensitive to market needs and insensitive to non-market needs. To a large degree the education quality is still at a very early stage of development, as educators struggle to inculcate the range and depth of knowledge and skills, values, attitudes, and other behaviors that will ensure employability and social cohesion, particularly at the community level (Sala-Martin and Subramanian 2003; Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2001; Geo-JaJa 2004).

The functionality of education as means of reducing social exclusion and poverty is supported by two World Bank reports: *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform* (World Bank 2005) and *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development* (World Bank 2006). The latter concluded that broad-based, state-led education interventions are essential for reducing poverty or for reversing calamitous increases in social and economic inequalities. What is exemplified by the discussion centered on education so far is that the Niger Delta is educationally poor, thus deepening social and economic inequalities. One lesson of significance is that markets or natural resources alone cannot sustain quality growth unless preceded or accompanied by state interventionism to ensure quality education or "quality growth." The success of such an initiative relies, however, on a viable social contract between government and Niger Deltans, with the former promoting fairness, and informed citizens with recognizable rights and responsibilities. What this demonstrates is that the quality of education matters even under economic crisis. The evidence of the important linkage effect of quality education on quality growth and human capital provided by Eric Hanushek and Dennis Kimko in *Schooling, Labor-Force Quality, and the Growth of Nations* (cited in World Bank 2007) and Hanushek and Kimko (2000) seem to suggest that education accompanied by greater growth might not promote social inclusion. This section emphasizes the transformational functions of quality education: reducing inequalities and promoting participation and empowerment for social cohesion,

and human development that brings the excluded and marginalized back into the mainstream of society.

Other Roles for Education in the Niger Delta

Expectations for education have typically focused on human capital for economic growth. But education also makes important contributions by improving people's ability to function and participate as members of their communities, increasing social capital, and developing valued capabilities. Social capital, which increases through improving education outcomes, feeds back into the economy both short- and long-term – promoting equalization of opportunities, increasing economic growth, and stimulating development. Summers (2003: 21) and Psacharapoulos and Patrinos (2002) reported that education provides a sense of hope when lives have been disrupted, promoting cognitive development which lessens the risk that youths will be recruited into nonproductive activities. This relationship suggests that without education as the enduring antidote to poverty, people will be denied the ability to live valued and dignified lives.

As Helliwell and Putnam (1999), Helliwell (2000), and Wolfe and Haveman (2001) have correctly pointed out, education has the practical and important consequences of creating greater trust, promoting cooperation, enabling reciprocal engagement, increasing political participation, as well as building social capital. Additionally, one of the direct purposes of education is to expand choice options through common social ties. The classic work in this field is James Coleman's *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital* (Coleman 1988), which confirms state involvement in education as essential in redistribution and in fostering habits, skills, and values conducive for social cooperation and participation. Bonal (2004) tied changes in education to non-market forces even more extensive than the market effects, including the social responsibilities of the state. More so, Bonal was to affirm that progress resides not only in the ability of individuals to learn, but also in the rapid diffusion of "social networks and trust." The situation can be summed by recalling that development in the Niger Delta continues to be problematic for neoliberalism because of its emphasis on economic efficiency and on quantitative measures regarding education reform. Mere access to education matters, but what matters most is provision of an education that is good for the people. Unfortunately, educational reforms that are not rights-centered may have effects that are extremely limiting and problematic for social capital formation. Thus, a new operational framework for social exclusion needs indicators which will assess social-relations deprivation and marginalization as well as the permanence and intergenerational nature of the structural (rather than cyclical) aspects of exclusion. This determines the distinctiveness in paradigms or ideologies of development as well as the significant role of different of types of education venerability to engender these indicators.

Understanding Development Approaches: Market or Non-market Approach

> The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives (Ul Haq Founder of the Human Development Report 1995).

Conceptually, two dominant paradigms are identified as the main policy preferences for reducing poverty and correcting basic human rights deprivation and jobless growth. These are the World Bank market-based approach – a modified version of the orthodox model – and the UNDP human development approach – a perspective that puts people first. The former, based on self-regulating markets, promotes notions of reducing public expenditure for social services, such as health and education, privatization of public enterprise (this include from fresh water, schools and hospitals to even the Internet), and changing perceptions of public and community good to individualism and individual responsibility – all presumed as more efficient and cost-effective than state intervention. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs. This development path, associated with stabilization and structural adjustment programs, is central to the notion of a weak state and opposes redistributive policies.

Uncovering the World Bank's misplaced policies in sub-Saharan African the book entitled *The World Bank and the Gods of Lending* revealed decades of imposed policy without any significant improvement in the lives of the poor. Billions loaned for improving governance, health care and education had little to show for. It then proposed changes that would rouse this Bretton Woods institution from its bureaucratic complacency and restore its central mission of alleviating poverty (Berkman (2008). Torres (2002:369) notes that, in this "culturally conservative and economically liberal model, the state, state interventionism and state enterprises are part of the problem, not part of the solution". Even neoliberalist and Columbia University economist, Jeffrey Sachs, called the IMF the "Typhoid Mary of emerging markets, spreading recessions in country after country." Sachs, whose ultimate goal is to seek alignment between education and development, makes a compelling case for changes in education that will eliminate the current constraints on human development as well as give a major boost to it. The most important of the new feature – total quality – provides a multitude of opportunities to link education with development. The linkage is easier and more direct as it focuses on the democratization and expansion of opportunities. This is a fruitful area for the Niger Delta and we have given it the name: "edunomics." This is simply defined as the search for the optimum relationship between education and development.

The human development approach, in emphasizing capabilities and enlarging choice options, not only generates economic growth but also distributes its benefits equitably, empowers people rather than marginalizing them, and generates an enabling environment rather than destroying it (see Ul Haq's quotation). The capabilities approach instead of dealing only with income poverty promotes collective actions between the people and the state in policies that give priority to increasing individual capabilities and to enlarging their choice to live the life they value. It is a development effort that is pro-poor, pro-nature, pro-jobs, pro-women, and pro-children whose main objective is to increase people's freedom of choice. Indeed, this approach emphasizes enhancing the rights and empowerment of all citizens, as well as redistributing resources through quality education.

Central to these approaches is the issue of poverty conceptualization and the way to human progress. The market approach fails to recognize the intrinsic as well as instrumental values of non-market measures. The failure to include basic capabilities – such as being adequately nourished, possessing skills to participate in economic and social life, gaining access to take part in community activities – as well as the multidimensionality of poverty, are among the many disadvantages of this approach. Similarly, it is also important to note that deemphasizing the importance of public spending in education both formal or Technical/Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is a major setback in developing critical manpower. In our opinion, the multidimensionality of poverty requires that development models be multi-targeted, straddle different disciplines, and consider economic, social, political, and institutional factors. This requires a development path that focuses on human assets that include good education, but also physical assets such as development of rural infrastructure, access to markets, access to capital, and acquisition of technology.

NDDC's Market Approach and Niger Delta Development

Since the Willink Commission's report that recommended special development attention for the Niger Delta, successive commissions are still grappling with the Delta's challenges. The most recent is the NDDC, which was charged with transforming the Niger Delta into a region that would be economically viable, socially progressive, ecologically regenerating, and politically peaceful. The question was whether the NDDC could achieve solutions in seriously deprived non-market areas (productive social sectors and social inclusion) with a market-based strategy. Another question concerned whether the NDDC could ensure "partnership and political relationships" that link education to rights and to communities' knowledge and skill needs. These are significant necessary factors for measuring the attainability of its mandates.

A detailed study of the plan shows deficits not only in concrete actions, but also in the power of partnership and political relationships – participation and trust. Like

most self-adjusting market-based initiatives, efficiency and market indicators are put at the center of the NDDC approach, rather than non-market factors that are elements of social integration – such as redistributive policies, social recognition, and social networks. Seemingly decentralized but actually tightly regulated by the market, this approach must do more than promote growth – it must reflect peoples' aspirations and dreams in human terms and avoid promoting them in abstract aggregates. Contrary to this view, programs are designed and decisions are made on the basis of what seems a curious blend of ideologies, rather than on the identified right of citizens not to be excluded that should be at the center of the minimum basis of the globalisation or development contract. This view is reinforced by the huge disparities in internal efficiency of education, low employment opportunities, and the large gap in poverty rate (see UNDP 2006; Aigbokhan 2003; Geo-JaJa and Mangum 2003). As former World Bank Chief Economist and Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz notes, it is a simplistic ideology which most developed nations have resisted. He further argues that this Washington Consensus policies that are a resuscitation of the laissez-faire policies that were popular in some circles in the nineteenth century have been widely rejected in the more advanced industrial countries (Stiglitz 2002:74)

Concentration of investment in non-productive sectors has not been the only shortcoming of this resuscitated framework; additional constraints include ignoring the significant contributions of quality education and an effective social network that are the main elements of social integration and rights to development. Despite such negatives inherent in NDDC-program components – including project-based reconstruction rather than people-based reconstruction – some progress has been reported in the establishment of infrastructures. However, in emphasizing infrastructural development over human development, the NDDC has tended to result in the loss of social conflict and violence resulting from growing inequalities and return of mass social and economic vulnerability in the region.

Like its forerunners, the NDDC in undermining social capital and non-recognition of cultural and natural resource rights with which people have ancestral bonds and which are the basis of their livelihoods, perpetuates the real challenge to building trust and enlarging entitlements. Faced with these structural challenges, it would be appropriate to consider recreating an interventionist state, looking back into earlier development as well as evaluating a worthwhile IFAD/UNDP approach that brought about benefits such as income-generating employment, human development, poverty reduction, and social inclusion through increase participation and sustainable development. An additional affirmation of the failure of the market-based approach can be found in a statement from President Obasanjo, who during his administration (1999–2007) adopted the market-based approach:

> SAP failed to improve the African economy, in spite of its wide acceptance and usage. We recall with pain the foisting of a patently absurd economic framework called SAP on us and the effort it took on the part of some progressively inclined leaders to reject and repudi-

> ate the concept … the World Bank and the IMF agreed that it was a totally misleading and hastily conceived framework that was unrealistic and which was certainly irrelevant to our situation, doing more harm than good. (*Punch* March 29, 2008)

These are contributing factors to the current challenges in the Niger Delta. Clearly the impact is serious, as children are receiving less schooling and health outreach compared to the previous generation. The maintenance of livelihood standards is threatened with the NDDC approach. The breakdown of basic social services is worsened, which is worrisome given the already high levels of structural poverty and deficits of quality education. In the final analysis, these life conditions that have fueled conflict and violence, and social exclusion only question the efficacy of a self-adjusting market mechanism as a redistributive policy.

The Fund's Non-market Approach: A New Framework for the Niger Delta

The increasing violence and social exclusion in the Niger Delta combined with the perceived failure of government efforts and the misplaced government policies motivated the desire to study the viability of the IFAD/UNDP approach that underlines the importance of participation and ownership for successful social and economic transformation. Increasing marginalization and educational poverty, which raised serious doubts about the efficacy of neoliberal economic policies and remains an active debate about the appropriate balance between government and markets to promote quality growth under a democratic system, were also instrumental factors.

In this section, an effort will be made to highlight the IFAD/UNDP Framework. The Strategic Framework has four major objectives: (1) strengthen the capacity of beneficiaries and their organizations, and put in place mechanisms for program implementation and management, (2) increase access to productive assets and markets through investment activities in favor of the target groups, (3), lay the foundation for the financial viability of associations, civic organizations, and other grassroots organizations, and (4) promoting active participation in their community development. Therefore, in focusing on these niche areas, the strategy strengthens ownership, reduces resistance to change, and facilitates consensus building. A brief description of the strategy that has the potential for providing "equitable opportunities for all beneficiaries" follows.

The IFAD/UNDP Design

The IFAD Program was designed to address critical constraints to poverty and sustainable development by introducing measures with the following potentialities:

(1) to be more responsive to communities' perceptions of needs and priorities, (2) to make communities more responsible for management of their development programs in order to generate a greater sense of ownership of development interventions, (3) to build on the traditional values of community, individual and community awareness, and lastly ensuring that basic support services are more accessible to the communities and are relevant to their needs. This approach consists of creating capabilities to generate productive activity and improve well-being (via educational, health, and training programs); assets accumulation that provides economic solvency and the capacity to undertake productive activities(via housing, saving, and rights programs); and income-generating opportunities providing access to activities in which capabilities can be used productively to generate inclusion (through local development, credit access, and employability programs). This design ensures both sensitivity to local conditions and increased beneficiary commitment, thus enhancing the sustainability of results.

The following aspects are involved in implementing the strategy: (1) taking steps to ensure that program staffs have regular contact with beneficiaries and gain better understanding of their needs and potential; (2) ensuring that village communities embark on self-help activities, shifting away from the patronage and handout mentality that has become a feature of international interventions; (3) establishing within counterpart funders an attitude that emphasizes service to the community and an understanding of the needs of the more disadvantaged households; and (4) establishing a system of effective monitoring and evaluation to ensure that services are provided and that program activities are focused on assisting the target groups. These idealized subprogram facets exemplify a shift from reactive to proactive approaches of a localized participatory process in an effort to empower and bring about the social integration of beneficiaries living in extreme poverty. The efficacy of this framework is ensured as it is rooted in beneficiaries' own analysis of their situation, circumstances, and needs.

The Fund's Context and Conceptualization

Overall the program initiative aims to ease the constraints faced by the structurally poor who are trying to generate income and integration from fishing. It is designed and implemented so as to help communities that depend on fishing to diversify their techniques, increase fish landing, reduce post-catch losses, add value through improved processing techniques and identifying new markets, and otherwise build capacity in alternative income-generating ventures. Education was of particular interest in tackling the root causes of poverty among poor households in targeted fishing communities. It has been a major undertaking to change the culture of planning at all levels. This was achieved through a community-driven participatory approach in which the communities serve as the principal agents and ultimate beneficiaries of social and economic transformation. If the goal is to go beyond growth, however, then building on beneficiaries' participation and government partnership, in addition to making concerted efforts to promote human development through

raising the level of schooling of the population, become imperative. Indeed, promoting income diversification by providing sustainable access to local financial and business counseling services, by improving delivery of micro-credit, and by developing new non-financial products adapted to the needs of Deltans have made poverty reduction, social capital, and human development interactive.

The dual nature of the IFAD/UNDP approach is one of the conceptual uniqueness of the framework as it combines the traditional and preventative roles of a targeted compensatory cash transfer program with the developmental role of pulled investment in education and community capital. In particular, the investment in community capital, with its broader-based external benefits, yields greater returns in the quality of education as well as in the quality of community life. Studies of targeted cash intervention in six Latin American countries have also noted that mobilizing communities around education breaks the transmission and persistence of poverty both within and across generations (see Morley and Coady 2003).

Trends in Access to Education: Inputs from Communities, and Services from IFAD/UNDP

Increase Access to Education with Community Participation

To improve access and make education functional and relevant in the context of present economic reality in communities, IFAD/UNDP initiated grassroots action plans with active participation of the state, local governments, and communities. Each project community was encouraged to form a community education committee (CEC), some of which partially overlapped or linked with a similar body established for health to promote synergy among important social services and thus enhance their total effectiveness. The CEC was entrusted with the responsibility for bringing all school-entry-age children into schools, tracking all enrolled children to ensure their continuation in programs, ensuring availability of essential inputs by getting partners to honor their commitments, promoting improvement in the quality of learning/teaching and the school environment, and finally, promoting opportunities for the community to be mobilized, empowered, and informed. This strategy, which promotes community partnership in education, emphasizes micro-planning, managing, and monitoring for efficacy. Also this community partnership strategy bridges programs and communities, leading to significant progress in access to basic education for school-age children who in the past have preferred to ignore schooling due to inadequacies in community valuing of education, supply of schooling materials, teacher motivation and morale, and parent/community participation in school management – poor quality education.

In the past, functional education had consisted only of literacy agenda. CEC's initiative has introduced stakeholders to the ideas of a collective commitment to community school improvement. For instance, a series of town hall meetings

organized by the CECs established strong communal support and commitment to address the problem of unqualified teachers, recognize the need for class renovation, and commit teachers and parents to provide construction of much needed school amenities and to purchase additional textbooks to produce an appropriate learning environment and good education. Furthermore, the Parents and Teachers Association (PTA), in conjunction with the CEC members, undertook regular visits to schools to monitor attendance and take necessary measures to mitigate late arrivals or early withdrawals from school. As local stakeholders assumed ownership, they mobilized local funding and in-kind contributions, improving the quality of both teaching and unstructured education, as well as effectiveness of resource to facilitate quality education for human development.

More specifically, the CECs provided informal education support programs to targeted groups. Access to technical knowledge concerning agriculture and livestock had been decreasing, due to reduced government funding of extension activities; this trend was reversed by the Fund's approach as technological innovations, improved variations, and proven practices were diffused through CECs. This process has enabled beneficiaries to see how their determination can make a significant difference in one sector and positively affect so many others. The overall findings are that CECs have a consistent major impact on program outcome when the institutional structure is not complex and that the achievements of a community or government lie in the hands of local beneficiaries. Such developments contrast sharply with the market-based approach, in which progress had always been equated with individualism.

Considerable evidence of success in targeted communities includes improved education quality and internal efficiency indicators, increased participation of stakeholders and reduced poverty among households. This non-market approach that puts the local stakeholders at the center of the program accords them the right to participation and the right to high quality but low cost alternative forms of education, as well as the right to a valued and dignified life. To ensure these rights, education should not be left to market mechanisms alone, as the "carrying-capacity" of communities might be distinctively different. In contrast, a non-market approach that takes cognizance of individual and community capacities seems to be effective with the Niger Delta challenges. It is therefore puzzling as to why government did not respond to this lesson. Probably the government fails to realize that economic growth does not directly lead to development without the intervention of a strong state and that only quality growth might engender participation and development. The World Bank (2006) gave credence to this type of local initiatives, arguing that not only is it necessary for greater equity, but it also expands the prospect for aggregate long-term development. If equity can promote long-term development, then the importance of local stakeholders' intervention to secure such equity should be a significant lesson affirmed by the NDDC. In putting education at the heart of development, this approach distinguished itself from the NDDC market-based approach, which has failed the Niger Delta. Again, a corollary from this experience is that growth is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition to attain broad-based human development with equity.

Evidence from the IFAD/UNDP Non-market Approach

This section provides facts and related studies supporting conclusions made in this chapter. A number of studies (Ben-Yami 2004; Geo-JaJa and Labo 1994; and others) show that despite corrupt procurement practices and weak contract enforcement, the IFAD/UNDP framework positively impacted targeted groups and communities in the Niger Delta. These findings and others provided show how framework measures improved livelihood functions and increased access to a variety of assets: human and social (education, health care, organizations); natural (land, water, and forests); technological (fish landing and farm production, processing, and marketing methods); infrastructural (roads, communications, health and education facilities, housing); and financial (crop sales and off-farm revenue, investment and working capital, and stored commodities).

A careful observation and interview evaluation of the program shows that notable quantifiable and non-quantifiable outcomes continue to make obvious differences in targeted communities and livelihood functions. In the first year, about 5,500 males and 3,900 females were direct beneficiaries of targeted cash or equipment intervention or both. Others benefited from direct technical assistance from program staffs, overseas training missions, or some type of formal or informal (workshops) education. Well over 348,000 individuals from targeted communities benefited from program externalities in one form or another. Taking into account the significant social rates of return of education and its externalities, communities will benefit from education's significant contribution to social inclusion and poverty reduction. Therefore, education should be top priority in public funding in any development model for countries that have not attained near 100% in Education for All. This was the path taken by the Asian "Tigers" for equity in growth or development. In simple terms, this is a policy that placed comprehensive integrated education – formal and TVET – at the forefront.

In the program's first year communities served increased by 67%; the number of groups served increased from 412 to 1,309; and the number of beneficiaries increased from 9,400 to over 30,250. These quantitative expansions also produced significant qualitative outcomes like increasing empowerment and expanding social capital. Impacts have been complex and varied.

A random informal household survey showed that household income progressed geometrically as a result of newly developed and expanded market share, enhanced knowledge and technical skills that had led to employability, and increased fish landing. However, it is clear that these effects are attributable to gains in educational outcomes facilitated by the CECs – credible evidence that good education and targeted interventions strongly impact individual earnings, social capital, and pro-poor growth. Large-scale information campaigns with the aim of creating new microprojects involving women and young people had significant impact in increasing managerial capacity and access to entrepreneurship education. As a result of this initiative, the proportion of new microprojects involving women and young people increased from 16.5% in 1990 to 35.7% in 1991. Many microproject

operators were taught to read and write, and others were trained in technical and management areas. In addition to impact on individuals, communities benefited from implemented community microprojects, productive microprojects (irrigation and small income-generating activities), and environmental microprojects (protection of shore embankment and renovation of natural resources) with the objectives of increasing income and promoting sustainable natural resource management. Community microprojects, such as the construction of storage facilities, have increased incomes and food security, as they have allowed communities to stock surpluses and sell them during shortages at contained prices.

Policies aimed at providing comprehensive education were matched with conditions in the community through coordinating training programs (workshops) with community needs, rather than being established outside and remaining isolated by the standard one-size-fits-all mentality. Alternative education (specialized curriculum) programs have provided localized skill development, work sampling opportunities, paid work experiences, and small business mentorship. Extensive focus on institutional capacity building for such markets and development of both human capital and human capabilities helped beneficiaries to sustain fundamental assets and take greater control of labor-market decisions and development resources. But the most significant contribution of the education network is that 87% of children now have access to schooling, compared with 53% of children of non-borrowers. This consistently, significantly, and positively impacted the newly experienced generational gap of educational poverty.

In the program's credit sector, the number of loan beneficiaries quadrupled and the amount disbursed relative to loan applications increased fivefold within 3 years. This cash transfer that facilitated widespread adoption of borrowed technologies and easy access to the long tail boat engines from Malaysia increased productivity by more than 400%. These increases contributed significantly to program sustainability, as generated income is used for new loans or loan repayment (Geo-JaJa and Labo 1994). Program expansion and sustainability were also strengthened by significant increases in counterpart funding by government and by a high loan payback rate of 96%. A lesson of consequence is that with the right intervention from outside and the right policies from within, many hardworking and highly motivated people are able to lift themselves and their families out of poverty. Strong evidence also exists that the resulting intangible social capital and enhanced cognitive skills of the population contribute to reengineering and restructuring of life systems, resulting in poverty reduction and shared inclusion.

Another major component of the program is the establishment of savings unions for fishermen and fish traders. The unions pool resources and lend money to individual members. Today most of the savings unions are still operational and functional as only a small percentage has failed, as "checks and balances [are] meticulous." In an interview it was noted that "many fisher folks and women traders argued that their most serious limitations continues to be access to markets" and that "in some communities there was simply no one to buy, and selling their goods outside [the] communities was further compounded by lack of motorable roads." In building on the strength and values of beneficiaries to enhance their business goals

that they themselves value, an effective response was jointly developed to increase income and market share. This offering, which is focused on capacity-building and livelihood diversification, allowing beneficiaries to take out modest loans on easy terms, business diversification and support, adaptation of productivity-enhancing technologies, and developing alternative market opportunities has been shown to be a particularly effective way of enabling the poor to expand markets and increase income to take control of their future. But what is needed to complement these offerings is building on the strengths and values of beneficiaries, including their capacity to act as stewards of opportunities, and the political will to create interventions that are consistent with generating sensitive markets. In this context, the program's support of reconstruction of roads from communities to primary roads and reinvigorating weak socioeconomic institutions is extremely essential. Clearly, such road systems not only make it possible for the communities to transport fish, but improve access to other social goods deliverable of the program.

In sum, according to evidence provided in this study the Fund's offerings has brought employment, decreased educational poverty by reducing poverty and increasing income, and provided new markets – increasing both institutional and human capacity and social transformation to a number of communities in the region. The targeted initiatives funded by IFAD and the technical assistance provided by UNDP, added to the counterpart funding provided by the government of Nigeria, have benefited either directly or indirectly some 650,000 people in 290 coastal communities. By 1993 around 56,000 fishers, traders, and their families – a total of more than 348,000 people – had directly benefited from program interventions such as skills training, group loan savings, and adoptable transferred technologies. Finally, in addition, an estimated 9,300 fish traders, as well as fish processors, boat builders, craftspeople, and artisans, all benefited from the explored program. Despite a cautionary note on replication, this non-market approach is a lesson learned for skewed development in the region. For now, the people-centered non-market approach meets the challenges more effectively than the human capital market-based approach of the NDDC.

Evaluation

This chapter provides evidence to support the argument that a non-market-based approach, with its emphasis on human development and the promotion of proactive participation in decision-making, which also takes into account the heterogeneity of poverty and the different forms of disempowerment and marginalization that people face has positively contributed to poverty reduction and sustainable development in the Niger Delta. It has also demonstrated that lessons learned from IFAD's relevant experience with other countries has informed its approach to increasing productive assets, overcoming lack of institutional capacity, and focusing on functional education. The main constraints facing the Niger Deltans are: lack of education and training; insufficient physical and social infrastructure; and the

need for a political commitment to supply financial resources and strengthen social capital. As can be deduced from this chapter, it is crucial that education as currently conceptualized undergo a radical change and that a wider institutional framework, more focused political will, a better effort in understanding the complexity of the forms of poverty, and more specific consideration of community values and priorities be integrated in development plans as necessary and sufficient conditions for an effective development framework. To ensure participation and empowerment, IFAD/UNDP has provided support to communities and has strengthened and raised capabilities of such institutions as the CECs to support implementation of interventions to raise communities' capabilities in articulating their needs and generating localized plans that can be integrated into the IFAD framework.

Unlike the Fund's framework, the NDDC's focus on markets neglects the important element of heterogeneity of poverty which involves recognizing that people face different forms of disempowerment, and marginalization does unwittingly generate disparities that have intensified poverty and widened generational educational poverty and livelihood gaps. By neglecting to establish these rights to development mechanisms, it fails to encourage ownership, thus making it possible to resist change and consensus building. These weaknesses coupled with the non-participation and disempowerment of beneficiaries, unfortunately have made the region home to violence and kidnappings which over recent times have reflected the people's disappointment with the way in which NDDC development has been delivered in the Niger Delta. The World Bank (2005) and the UNDP (2006) have also identified these limitations, giving further evidence to the assertion of superiority of the non-market approach, which defies the concept of poverty as a deficit in character and places it more holistically within the complexity of the Niger Delta context. Based on these facts, we conclude that the insensitivity of misplaced policies to capture the individual and collective Rights of Niger Delta People over their land and natural resources, and their unique culture or paths to development, and lack of political will by government are the weakest links in attempts for the social inclusion of Deltans into Nigeria's mainstream economy – something which is widely agreed and then all too widely ignored by the government of Nigeria. Ultimately, a successful economic transformation will depend as much on psychological factors – ownership and participation, cultural autonomy, and/or development of a robust and diverse civil society. All require good education, religious establishments, business community including multinationals, civic organization, and youth participation. In short, what is really needed is an approach that respects the rights of Deltans in line with a recent UN Declaration that adopted the following:

> The Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which affirms among other things the collective and individual rights of Indigenous Peoples over their territories; their institutional, social, economic, and cultural autonomy; and their unique paths to development (The United Nations General Assembly 2007: and cited from Bage 2007).

For the author, these are important resources to use when formulating policies and programs to engender inclusion, reduce marginalization as well as expand human capabilities. However, much effort is still needed to better understand the complexity of the forms of poverty, social exclusion, and disempowerment faced

by the world's weak and poor groups as well as to work with them to further their own objectives, values, and capabilities.

Lessons Learned from Non-market Framework

For almost an entire decade while government reduced investment in, or withdrew from the financing of the social sector and human development – IFAD had invested, in projects clearly oriented toward human development and poverty alleviation. In country after country, this special United Nations agency has intensified its efforts to reach out to the poorest of the poor and marginalized groups, by better understanding the complexity and diversity of structural poverty and the worsening social exclusion, by striving to expand their capabilities both collectively and as individuals.

A few significant lessons can be learned from this and others' experience. Accordingly, the following lessons learned through this investigation are brought to the attention of policymakers:

- The importance of participatory approaches to designing and implementation of inclusive development framework and programs is a key element to better dealing with complexity and diversity and also to implementing programs that are uniquely responsive to local problems and to the goals and visions of gender or groups marginalized or discriminated against.
- The current deficits in education can be corrected through the creation of the political space required to hold government accountable to carry out its social responsibilities, and reforms accompanied by a paradigm shift will be critical.
- The mitigation of structural poverty and enhancing human capabilities calls for redistributive policies and programs clearly targeted on beneficiaries to improve their livelihood functions. This also calls for the strengthening of local institutions so as to give beneficiaries a greater voice in decisions that affect them.
- The region's and individual natural resource entitlements are often key factors of its challenges. Loss of this entitlement in particular has not only limited livelihood opportunities but also has led to disintegration of the social fabric and to the entrenchment of social marginalization. Some country development strategies have boosted capabilities by facilitating the recognition or protection of indigenous entitlements over natural resources (oil in particular), for instance, via rights and titling of resource sources, or support to ethnic grouping-equal distribution of entitlements. Such initiatives often entail new forms of natural resource management and new balances between individual and collective entitlements, which raise new challenges and opportunities for development requiring innovation.
- The application of programmatic and technical solutions developed in other contexts is often not an optimal strategy to the challenges facing the excluded,

ethnic minorities, or marginalized groups. In this vein, "development with identity" is an important development enabler that ensures that cultural differences are part of localized development capabilities to enhance social and cultural capital.

- The localization of education affirms that cultural distinctiveness, which includes specific values and perspectives of development, is part of the process to improve communication and information for empowerment, participation, and social ownership. For instance, IFAD-framework includes initiatives to address cultural marginalization and loss of social capital and involved indigenous communities in the design and implementation of programs to ensure adaptation to local conditions, and social ownership.
- Even during economic crisis, government should not decentralize responsibility for education to lower tiers of government without adequate financing, nor should it delegate education oversight to the private sector. This means exploring alternative fiscal and monetary policies to allow the significant spending necessary to enhance quality of education to promote higher levels of communal trust and to contribute to social and economic progress for the Niger Delta. This would also strengthen the role of families and communities in support of learning, as well as encouraging them to participate in schooling – contributing to values of integrity and character in citizens.
- Finally, the risk of deepening social and education inequities, along with marginalization faced by the Niger Delta, can be alleviated only by the following critical elements: strong political will of those in government positions, knowledge of the local culture, broad understanding of historical antecedents, effective contextualization and relevance of programs, and social ownership by the target group.

Conclusion

The significant lesson that emerges from this chapter is clearly and undisputedly that quality education and social transformation and non-market approaches, rather than neoliberal market economy for development are the best responses to problems of dehumanization, poverty, and exclusion, as well as to the need for sustainable development. In sum, the development community needs to give serious consideration to the Rights of Peoples, which affirms among other things the collective and individual rights of peoples over their territories; their institutional, social, economic, and cultural autonomy; and their unique paths to development. These should be enforced based on strong state support and qualitative expansion in education. The significant lesson learned in this analysis is that any attempt to impose change from the outside is very likely to engender resistance or lack of social ownership, with negative effects on the approach of change. The key element to the success of the Fund's initiatives is the importance attached to individual and communal rights to participation and ownership, in contrast to the NDDC frame-

work which places more emphasis on stimulating economy through markets, excluding alternative paths more conducive to social inclusion, asset building, poverty alleviation, and human development.

Finally, we close this discourse by stating that the poor of the Niger Delta have long been with us. The end of poverty and extreme poverty will require sustained efforts at various levels with national stakeholders and external partners acting together to create conditions that emancipate the region from the legacy of the past and allow people to work their way out of poverty. According to IFAD outsiders do not have to solve the problem of poverty, as the poor themselves have the talents, the skills, and the knowledge of their own environment to remove the shackles that have bound them (IFAD 2001).

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Constructing Worker-Citizens in/Through Teacher Education in Cuba: Curricular Goals in the Changing Political Economic Context

Mark Ginsburg, Carolina Belalcazar, Simona Popa, and Orlando Pacheco

The Political Dimension of Teacher Education: An Introduction

> We believe that a people that is capable of resisting will always be respected … [and] the work of the Cuban education system is to develop this culture of resistence. (Pedagogía '93 1993: 3)

In December 1998, almost 40 years after the "triumph of the revolution," the UNESCO Regional Office of Education announced that Cuban 3rd and 4th grade students' performance on mathematics and language tests was substantially above that of their peers in the thirteen other Latin American countries that participated in "the Latin American Laboratory for the Evaluation of Educational Quality" (Lutjens 2000: 21).[1] These remarkable results can be explained in part by the fact that Cuba allocates around 23% of its annual national budget for education and that health care and nutrition are provided for all youth by the state. Another contributing factor is the fact that Cuba devotes great attention to teachers with respect to preservice and in-service education (Gasperini 1999).

In this study our focus is not primarily on how teachers are prepared to promote achievement in numeracy and literacy – as measured on standardized tests. Rather, our focus is on the political dimension of teacher education (Ginsburg and Linday 1995). We are concerned to illuminate how teacher education has been designed to prepare

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[1] Another indication of Cuba's outstanding achievements in education is that it has one of the lowest illiteracy rates in the world – 3.7% for Cubans aged 15 and older and only 0.3% for Cubans aged 15–24 (cited in Castanedo and Giacchino-Baker 2001)

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particular kinds of citizen-workers (Carnoy 1981; Ginsburg 2001; Spring 1980). That is, we examine historically how teacher education was oriented to socialize teachers (directly) and their students (indirectly) to perform their roles as (a) *workers*, defined in terms of their paid (and unpaid) relationships to institutions and processes of production and reproduction, involving mental, manual, and emotional labor, and (b) *citizens*, defined in terms of their "political relationship with the state".[2]

Our discussion of the organization and (explicit and implicit) curricular goals of teacher education in Cuba is organized into four periods: the Spanish colonial period (sixteenth–nineteenth centuries), the American neo-colonial period (1998–1958), the Revolution and Soviet dependency period (1959–1990), and the "Special Period in a Time of Peace" (1991–present). In addition, for each period, we will contextualize the developments in education and teacher education with respect to national- and international-level political economic dynamics.

We conclude our discussion by considering the questions of (a) whether the identities to be constructed in/through teacher education were framed in relation to national or global entities and (b) whether worker-citizens were to change or conserve existing political economic arrangements in the interests of elites or non-elites. In the conclusion we also situate our historical analysis of teacher education in Mexico within national and international political dynamics, thus giving attention to social relations which teachers and their students were being prepared to resist or to which they were being oriented to accommodate.

Spanish Colonial Period

The "discovery" and colonization of America by the Spanish incorporated Cuba and other "lands of the new world" into the Spanish empire. The *conquistadores* introduced, in the part of the continent which they came to dominate, radical changes in the order previously established by the "native" peoples who resided on these lands, including private property (indigenous), servitude (African) slavery, and other aspects of (class) stratification then existing in Spain. Moreover, they imposed on the "native" people the religious beliefs of the Catholic Church. Thus, it is said that the Spanish who came to Cuba in the sixteenth century were a "conquering-colonizing-evagelizing people" who established themselves in America and destroyed the "Native Americans" whom they encountered there (Sosa-Rodríguez and Penabad-Félix 1997: 55).[3]

It is important to note that the Spanish conquest of Cuba and other territories in the Americas was undertaken during a time of the "reconquest" in Spain, involving

[2]We recognize that political groups' goals for teacher education are not always achieved, because the content and processes organized by teacher educators' may contradict or not effectively promote such goals and because students involved in teacher education may not attend to or accept the messages that are transmitted via the formal and hidden curriculum of teacher education.

[3]While the Spanish conquest and colonization of the "new world" in all cases led to death of native peoples (through war and exposure to new diseases), the Cuban case is by far the most egregious, with few, if any, "native" Cubans surviving after the arrival of the Spanish.

a large and complete military, political, and religious struggle – in the "spirit of a crusade" – against the Moros and Islam. In this sense, the "discovery" of America and the conquest and the conversion of its peoples to Christianity also can be seen as a "triumph of Spain over Islam." Thus, in Cuba as elsewhere in Spanish colonies in the Americas there was a "fusion of the State and the Church against the individual. ... The Church served to strengthen the royal authority with irreducible … dogmatic formulations" (Sosa-Rodríguez and Penabad-Félix 1997: 55–56).

It should be no surprise, therefore, that the limited forms of education that were provided during the Spanish colonial period in Cuba featured a major role for the Church and clerics. "Spanish rulers and the Catholic Church designed and implemented limited educational programs to meet their own ends" (Paulston and Kaufman 1992: 134). The emphasis was on "educating youth to be … subordinated to the colonial administration" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 42). According to Buenavilla-Recio et al. (1995), during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, there was no systematized school organization. Education was used by the economic classes identified with the Spanish Crown as an instrument to strengthen their power, through the propagation of the ideology of the dominant class. The Catholic Church represented the spiritual arm of colonial power and made possible also the justification of a classist and discriminatory education system in which the bourgeoisie obtained the highest levels of instruction, to which slaves and persons not born in Spain were explicitly prohibited.[4]

Buenavilla-Recio et al. (1995) also reports that instruction offered by the Seminario de San Carlos y San Ambrosio, founded in 1774, focused on developing the "national consciousness of the era" (p. 14), while education organized by la Sociedad Patriótica de la Habana [Patriotic Society of Havana, founded in 1792] was designed "to improve industry and promote appropriate means for the development of the country" (p. 19).

With political and economic socialization at the heart of instruction in the Church-run – and later the public/government-organized[5] – schools, teachers were

[4]Sosa-Rodríguez and Penabad-Félix (1997) elaborate that Church-organized education in Cuba – and elsewhere in the Americas during the period of colonization – was designed to prepare clergy and socialize people to serve the Church and the Crown. Moreover, because of discriminatory policies and practices, blacks, indigenous peoples, women, individuals without land could not participate in such instruction, and because of this were prevented from gaining access to positions within the Church and Government hierarchies. As Epstein (1999: 248) explains, with reference to racial stratification, "despite the provision [during the Spanish colonial period] for educating black children, separate schools based on racial differences were required whenever practical, and the education of black children was to emphasize moral and religious teaching in preference for subjects more appropriate for socioenomic advancement."

[5]Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995): 31) explains that by 1846, the government had taken over Cuba's educational apparatus. In this way, the government was able to develop more directly an education that served to defend and preserve the interests of the Crown. This move to a secular (or at least government-run) system of education was proponed in the *Plan de Instrucción Pública* (Plan of Public Education) for Cuba and Puerto Rico, which was promulgated by the Spanish Government in 1842. Somewhat in contrast, Paulston (1971: 377) reports that "[p]ublic primary education in colonial Cuba begin in 1857 with the *Ley Española de Instrucción Pública* and [p]ublic secondary education came into being in 1880 with the *Plan de Instrucción Pública de la Colonia*."

selected, socialized, and overseen to insure that they exhibited "good moral and religious conduct" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 65). Moreover, as a consequence of the *Plan de Instrucción Pública* in 1842, more formal initiatives were taken to prepare teachers. The Plan called for the creation of a normal school, which was subsequently established in 1857 in Guanabacoa and run by Episcopalian priests (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 42).[6] In recommending the creation of this institution, Jose de la Luz y Caballero (1800–1862) insisted that teachers should "be able to help develop patriots" and they "be the most moral of all citizens" (quoted in Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 101). Similar goals were identified by the Spanish colonial government when in 1890 it founded male and female normal schools (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 67).

Despite, or perhaps because of, efforts by the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church to educate – and police – Cubans to be compliant members of the society, many of the Island's residents rejected the legitimacy of colonial authority. Although this occurred later than elsewhere in Latin America, Cubans launched their struggle for independence from Spain in 1868. What has become known as the the 10-Year War (*Guerra de los 10 Anos*) was initiated on 10 October of that year, when Carlos Manuel de Céspedes met with his slaves, emancipated them, announced a declaration of Cuban independence. In April 1869 a Constituent Assembly brought together various revolutionary groups in Guáimaro, where a constitution was drafted and Céspedes was named as "Presidente de la República en Armas." The revolutionaries' combat against Spanish troops basically ended in February 1878,[7] when they signed the *Pacto de Zanjón*, which conceded the freedom of the slaves and gave to Cubans the same limited control over political and administrative functions as existed in Puerto Rico. However, Cuba continued to be subject to Spanish dominion (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 52–55).

As discussed earlier, under Spanish rule literacy rates were low, and one of the goals of those involved in the independence movements was to make people literate and "prepare them to be able to participate as citizens in the Republic en Arms, to develop their political consciousness, and to give to the masses a feeling of the unity of all Cubans" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 62). Thus, during the 10-Year War, the Cuban revolutionaries founded *escuelita*s (little schools) in military camps to promote literacy among the combatants. Through the use of an approach and instructional materials associated with *la pedagogía Mambisa*, participants learned to read and simultaneously acquired "patriotic sentiments of independendce, equality, and brotherhood" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 64).

Because of the active and militant roles they played, both as instructors and as soldiers, teachers were one of groups most often persecuted and assassinated by the

[6]The Normal School at Guanabacoa was in operation until the beginning of the 10-Year War (1868); before it was closed 112 students had graduated (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 42).

[7]One group of revolutionaries, led by Antonio Maceo, continued the insurrection in the Oriente region until May 1878.

Spanish military (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 56). Spanish colonial authorities also noticed that public and private secondary and higher education institutions[8] were sites for promoting revolutionary fervor and activity, and thus they closed many such institutions during the 10-Year War. Futhermore, on 15 September 1871, the Spanish colonial government announced a reform of public education (*La Reforma de Valmaceda*), declaring that closed institutions would be placed under the control of Jesuits and Episcopalians, who would insure that whatever instruction was imparted should be in support of "the sacred interests of the Church and the State" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 57).[9]

Although the Spanish provided only limited education in Cuba during the colonial period, in the decades prior to independence important criollo-elite educational thinkers, such as Félix Varela y Morales (1788–1853),[10] José de la Cruz y Caballero (1800–1862),[11] Enrique José Varona y Pera (1849–1933); Manuel Valdés y Rodríguez (1849–1914), and José Martí y Pérez (1853–1895), developed what has been termed "Cuban pedagogical theory" or "scientific pedagogy of Cuba," which is still influential today in Cuba and elsewhere (López-Hurtado et al. 1996: 1; see also Pedagogía '93 1993). Here we focus on Marti's ideas, not only because of their continuing importance, but also because of the other roles Marti played in Cuba's struggle for independence. As noted in Pedagogía '93 (1993), the war to achieve national freedom was initiated in 1868, continued in 1879 to 1880 (i.e., the *Guerra Chiquita*), and revitalized by the Independence War in 1895 led by Marti and others.

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[8]In 1842, a quarter of a century prior to the beginning of the 10-Year War, the *Universidad de La Habana* was transformed by Spanish authorities into a secular institution, having been founded in 1728 as the *Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Jerónimo de La Habana* and orginally located in the Convent of San Juan de Leerán (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 10).

[9]This example reinforces the point made by Epstein (1999: 248) that "although there was nominally no connection between the established (Roman Catholic) Church and the public school system, the church exerted a dominant influence in educational matters … As late as 1893-94, parochial schools [in addition to private secular schools that served the children of wealthy families] accounted for 46 percent of the total, and church-supported education was normally much better endowed in facilities and preparation of teachers. But even in regard to public education provision was made for a parish priest to give instruction in Christian doctrine and morals at least once a week in the primary schools … No obstruction was allowed to be placed in the way of ecclesiastical authorities who might wish to investigate the character of teaching in any school to determine if the instruction was contrary to church doctrine. Virtually all textbooks required ecclesiastical sanction, and the church was represented by at least one priest in the membership of every school council."

[10]Felix Varela Morales (1788–1856) was against government control of teachers, arguing that "a person who is required to teach in a mode against his/her own ideas cannot be less than in struggle against the same" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 91).

[11]Jose de la Luz y Caballero (1800–1862) is considered to be the founder of "scientific pedagogy in Cuba" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 100). In short, Cuban pedagogy represents a scientific experiment that promotes the development of work-related technical skills. Moreover, this empirical approach to education is an integral part of a sociopolitical and humanist project, designed to foster equal public instruction for all members of the Cuban society, in order to shape the individual and transform the society in general (López-Hurtado et al. 1996: 1–4).

For Marti, education should be connected to "a progressive, social-political development project … [It should] be 'for all,' without distinction by social classes, races, or sexes" and should be organized to promote "the development of human beings as well as social transformation" (Marti 1975: 430; quoted in López-Hurtado et al. 1996: 4). With regard to human development, Marti (1975: 423) emphasized that "work [is] of vital importance. … Physical, mental, and moral benefits [*ventajas*] come from manual work" (quoted in López-Hurtado et al. 1996: 3). In terms of social transformation, Marti "criticized the education system during his era, not only in North America but also in Latin America …, [as] having at its base shameless capitalism, which deforms consciousness" (Marti 1975: 436; quoted in Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 71). He also argued that "for our people to really be free, education must reflect their needs and interests. Education is necessary for liberty and democracy" (1975: 441; quoted in Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 72). Paulston and Kaufman (1992: 135) add that:

> José Marti looked not only to Cuba's liberation from Spain, but perhaps more intensely also to the liberation from the legacy of Hispanic culture and its strict adherence to class hierarchy. … Marti's greatest fear in the struggle for national independence was [that there would be] United States intervention. Unhappily, this fear was realized.

From Spanish Colony to American Neo-Colony (1898–1959)

The first US military intervention of Cuba took place in 1898. And on 1 January 1899, US President William McKinley signed an order, in accord with the Paris Treaty, designating Cuba to be under US rule.[12] The US government takeover of Cuba was executed initially by John R. Brooke, who explained that "my country intervened to end the deplorable condition of this island …, to protect the population so they can return to their work in peace … [and to guarantee them] all civil and religious rights" (Martinez Ortiz 1929: 25; quoted in Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 6). Despite protests from many Cubans, U.S. military occupied Cuba during the periods of 1998–1902 and 1906–1909, and then dominated the island economically and (indirectly) politically from at least 1909–1933 (Paulston 1971: 377; Paulston and Kaufman 1992: 135; Pedagogía '93 1993). The occupations consolidated the US control of commerce; it facilitated capital penetration and established the legal

[12]Buenavilla-Récio (1995: 140) observes that "[a]s the culmination of a process that served the dominant interests [of the U.S.] that always had the ambition to possess Cuba. … [T]oward the end of the 19th century… conflicts arose among the strongest imperialist powers, England, France, and the United States. These nations struggled to occupy the most advantageous positions to their interests in the world. The Caribbean, … was one of the regions … [at the] center of attention for these powers."

basis for US military intervention in Cuba. In 1902 the Republic of Cuba was proclaimed and the US government appointed the first Cuban president, Tomás Estrada Palma (Pedagogía '93 1993).[13] US intervention in Cuba was not only military, political, and economic, but also cultural and educational. According to Epstein (1999: 243–44):

> Leonard Wood, who governed from 1900 to 1902, … aimed almost single-handedly to transform Cuba into a mirror of society in the United States. … Wood used schools to disabuse the islanders of their Spanish ways and prepare them for assuming the burdens of enlightened citizenship.[14] … Under the guidance of Lieutenant Matthew E. Hanna, a public school system that conformed to laws patterned after those in Ohio was developed.[15] The curriculum included instruction in English from the earliest grade on, and subjects were taught from translated American textbooks.[16]

Thus, Paulston and Kaufman (1992: 137) conclude that the "War of Independence rid Cuba of domination by Spain, but resulted in the attempted imposition of a pragmatic, foreign North American cultural system, rather than Marti's idea of individual empowerment of the Cuban people through education."[17] Similarly it is reported in Pedagogía '93 (1993: 5) that the educational system was used both to make Cuban youth believe that the USA made possible Cuba's independence from Spain and to interrupt and distort the advanced pedagogical legacy of the Cuban thinkers:

> They tried to inculcate in children an admiration for that which is foreign, to develop a national feeling of national frustration and of not appreciating that which is their own [i.e., Cuban]. … They imposed on Cuba a model that was alien to its cultural traditions, alien to

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[13]Epstein (1999: 254) reports that "Estrada Palma, was himself an eminent educator [having run a school for other Cuban exiles during Spanish colonial period] … [He] place[d] great value on education … [as] suggested by his motto, 'more teachers than soldiers.' Indeed, he believed that … 'a people who have achieved liberty through self-sacrifice have gained the right to be educated.'"

[14]However, as Epstein (1999: 255) comments, one of the reasons for the failure of the school system to change Cuba from Spanish traditions was "an overabundance of Spaniards in teaching positions. These teachers, while choosing not to renouce their Spanish citizenship, were evidently induced to by the rather high salaries paid by the Americans to remain in Cuba. … Yet not having roots in the Island, they lacked a sense of loyalty to the state," and they were not easily moved to promote North American versus Spanish cultural traditions.

[15]Epstein (1999: 241) elaborates that "the plans for education formulated by American military and provisional governments … were designed to extend education to all children. How little the eventual reality matched those early plans is reflected by the fact that in 1955 the proportion of primary school-aged children enrolled in school was 51 percent, only 6 percent higher than in 1902."

[16]For example, Mathew Hanna, Sub-Secretary of Public Instruction and Arts during the first US occupation period, disposed of all texts utilized by the colonial period [and] … introduced books published in North America (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 22).

[17]Paulston and Kaufman (1992: 136) add that "Wood viewed education as the main tool in his plan to cleanse not only the island of Spanish influence but also [to cleanse] the bodies and minds of Cubans." Thus, it was not primarily altruism that motivated US authorities to "distribute free texts and instructional materials[, since this was part of a plan to] control curricular content" (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 155).

> the 'Our America' … [and, instead, in line with] the 'Other America,' which José Martí identified as dangerous … [and as represesenting] despotism, aggression, [and] commerce under conditions that most favored itself [i.e., the U.S.].

Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995): 145) notes, moreover, that during the periods of occupation US authorities sought to "northamericanize" Cuba and its education system "as a cultural component of the vast annexationist design." Or as López-Hurtado et al. 1996): 12) argues, the education provided during this period (1902–1958) had "tendencies that deformed [Cuba's] essential national character … [and] fomented cultural imperialism [in line with] the imperialist penetration."

Many – but not all – Cubans, including many educators, opposed the US occupations and subsequent indirect control of the island's political economy, education, etc. With regard to education their opposition was stimulated by the culturally imperialist nature as the "poor performance of the public education system established during the US occupation of Cuba … [which] reflected the economic, poltical, and social relations of neo-colonial development" (Lutjens, 2000: 2).[18] For example, the *Asociacion Nacional de Maestros, Maestras y Amantes de la Ninez Cubana* [National Association of Male Teachers, Female Teachers, and (Amantes) those who care about (Amantes) Cuban Children] and other groups of intellectuals criticized the poor results of educational achievement in the students due to mandated use of American texts. The strength of their protest led Leonard Wood, the highest US official in Cuba, in 1900 to reverse his decision and instead declare that all educational texts for Cuban students should be written by Cuban teachers and intellectuals (Esposito Rodriguez 1985).

Teachers had earlier created the *Asociación* to fight for the interests of Cuban "teachers and to promote the moral, physical, and intellectual development of children without distinction of race or economic and political condition" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 13). As might be expected, the Secretary of Public Instruction [Brooke] did not support the creation of the *Asociación* and called on John Brooke, the top US official in Cuba, to intervene, stating: "These contradictions [between teachers and the occupying authorities] will lead to a high degree of conflict … [In response,] Brooke imposed on the educators publicly to 'consecrate themselves in the school and leave aside the agitation'" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 14).

In the midst of this confrontation, the *Asociación* asked the Secretary of Public Instruction to pay teachers' salaries for the previous months. When this was granted, the members of the *Asociación* felt that they had achieved part of their goals, but this sense of achievement was "barbarically" counteracted by Brooke, who created more tensions by closing down the *Escuelas Normales de Maestros y Maestras*. In response, the *Asociación* created an unofficial *escuela normal* called the *Instituto Libre de Ensenanza* (Free Institute of Teaching).

[18] Buenavilla-Recio et al. (1995: 152) comments that the investment in education during this period of US occupation has to be understood in the context of North American efforts "to acelérate the penetration of Yankee capital in the sugar and mining industries… [Education was designed] to guarantee that a part of the [Cuban] population would in the future be in better conditions to serve the interests of the northern nation."

Brooke challenged teachers' movement for "professional" status and Cubans' quest for an independent society and education system by establishing in 1900 in every municipality "*Juntas de Educación*, administrative apparatuses below the highest office of the mayor of district municipality" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 15).[19] Brooke also named as General Superintendent of Schools for Cuba, the Californian Alexis Everett Frye, who in 1900 issued *Orden Militar* [Military Order] No 226, "the first educational law that [replaced] the legislation enacted by the colonial administration [and] that, in fact, created a secular, non-socially segregated, Cuban Public School System" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 16). In addition, with the issuance of Military Order No. 368 in 1900, the training and selection of teachers were placed under the control of the occupation authorities. According to Buenavilla Buenavilla-Recio et al. (1995: 155), this order "created propitious conditions" for the US authorities in Cuba to "indoctrinate teachers, to develop their conceptions, habits, professional abilities, and conduct in general in the direction" that served the US interests. Moreover, teachers were subject to a "system of ridiculous exams" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 32) required to extend their certificates and appointments and they received from the occupation authorities a *Manual para Maestros* (Teachers' Manual) that was to guide their work in classrooms and schools (Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 155).

Nevertheless, the *Asociación* decided to collaborate with the imposed education system at a national level,[20] although some educators locally opposed the system. However, when Frye brought foreign teachers to Cuba, the *Asociación* mounted a major protest, and Frye backed away from his plan. Instead, he decided to "improve

[19]Epstein (1999: 264-65) makes the interesting point that the USA "unwittingly sustained" local power structures in Cuba in setting up these local school boards, "prevent[ing] the dispossessed [from] rebel[ling] effectively against the tyrannical influence of the aristocracy. Indeed, the United States actually averted the revolution that Cuban patriots sought in their war of independence against Spain. Theirs was not so much a struggle against Spain as it was against the depravity of elitist rule. [What the U.S. authorities called] [e]ducational democracy … proved to be a poor alternative to political revolution."

[20]The Association's unwillingness or incapacity to actively challenge US imperialism and its Cuban collaborators helps explain why, after its founding in August 1925, the Communist Party of Cuba not only opposed the corrupt government of Machado but also the *Asociacion Nacional de Maestros* and the *Agrupacion Pedagogica Universitaria* (Esposito Rodriguez 1985). Carnoy (1990: 156–157, note 2), however, shows the complexity of Cuba politics during this period: "[T]he Cuban Communist party … followed a popular front strategy beginning in 1935. Under Cuban conditions, this meant cooperating with the Batista dicatatorship. Batista[, who characterized his government as social democratic in line with Roosevelt's 'New Deal'], in turn, allowed the Party to operate openly and achieve legality. … Communists secured most of the key positions in the Cuban Union Congress, and two Communists had cabinet posts. Political conditions changed sharply with the Cold War and the 1952 coup – changes that show how closely the Batista regime was ideologically bound to fluctuations in the U.S. political climate rather than to conditions in Cuba. Communists were suppressed (as they were in the United States), but even then, leaders … could live undisturbed in Havana. The dictatorship's plan was apparently to keep the Communists in reserve in case they were needed to blackmail the Americans. At the same time, Communisists …, for rather good ideological reasons (as well as their survival), maintained an ambiguous attitude toward Castro's [26th of July movement] armed struggle against the dictatorship."

Cuban in-service teachers pedagogically [through training programs] in American universities. For this … Frye organized … [to send the first group of Cuban] teachers to Harvard University for [3] days, 24–26 June 1900" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 18). With regard to this initiative, Epstein (1999: 244) observes that "Harvard University was recruited in the effort to Americanize the island by agreeing to train Cuban teachers during their summer vacations, and more than a thousand [Cuban educators] eventually journeyed to the USA for advanced training." And Esposito Rodriguez (1985: 19) argues that the "intention of the trip [to Harvard] was … to transform the mentality of the Cuban educators, … with the intent to subordinate education in Cuba to the ideological-classist interests of imperialism." Not surprisingly, although:

> in principal [Cubans] accepted the establishment of the *Escuelas Normales de Verano*, … still they aspired to return to being the educators of teachers. … [Thus, the following organizations] participated in the struggle to found normal schools [in Cuba, which occurred finally] in 1915: the *Asociacion Pedagogíca*, *Asociacion Nacional de Maestros*, *Revista Cuba Pedagogica*, *Boletin Magisterio*, and others. The law creating the normal schools was … [signed by Cuban] President Menocal on 16 May 1915. (Esposito 1985: 32; see also Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995: 155; Paulston, 1971: 378)

In the last year of the second US military occupation of the island (1906–1909), two important laws were enacted: *La Primera Ley Escolar Cubana* (the first Cuban School Law) and *El Primer Codigo Escolar* [the First School Code]: "The School Law and Code constituted great victories for teachers, obtaining from these a school organization that responded to their interests in Cubanizing instruction" (Esposito Rodriguez, 1985: 29). And, as Paulston (1971: 378) argues, the "teacher certification law of 1909 sought to put the training, placement, and supervision of teachers on a more professional basis."

Then in 1915 the Cuban government enacted a law that created seven escuelas normales for female teachers: two in Havana and one in each of the five provincial capitals (Badía 1993: 11).[21] Esposito Rodriguez (1985: 33) explains that:

> the first *normalistas* who [graduated] in 1919 were people who were agil, combative, … oriented to struggle and … alienated from existing politics. From their first graduation they had the idea to organize a new institution, which they titled *Asociacion Nacional de Graduados de las Escuelas Normales* (National Association of Normal School Graduates).[22] This nucleus, from the first years, came in conflict with the leaders of the *Asociacion Nacional de Maestros*, which had the consequence of impeding a united front in [educators'] struggle [with authorities]. … The *normalistas,* over the years, succeeded in … subsequently united [with other groups of educators] in their battle against the Alfredo Zayas Alfonso's government's policy of meddling [in the professional activity] of qualified teachers.

[21] In 1934 these seven female-only normal schools were changed into coeducational teacher training institutions (Badía 1993: 11).

[22] The *Asociacion Nacional de Graduados de las Escuelas Normales* was dissolved in 1928 (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 33).

Teachers were among many Cubans who continued to struggle against the government leaders who served at the pleasure and in the interest of elite groups based in the USA.[23] Even teacher education institutions created by the Batista government for other purposes seem to have been sites for fomenting opposition. For instance, Badía 1993): 13) informs us that rural school teachers were being trained in Havana in the *Escuela de Instruccion, Aplicacion y Perfeccionamiento José Martí*, described as a "semi-military" boarding school controlled by the army. However, in 1941 the Ministry of Education assumed control of this institution and it was renamed the *Escuela Normal Civico Rural 'José Martí.* According to Esposito Rodriguez (1985: 83), those attending this normal school were dedicated "to the struggle for the defense of rural teachers … [and] came from a line of progressive fighters."

During this period, "marxist theories circulated among educators, introduced by contacts with Julio Antonio Mella and others,[24] [which led in 1928 to] the creation of a new teacher organization … [*Club Pedagogíco de Cuba*], which dedicated all its forces, not only to improve the conditions of schools, children, and teachers, but also to work in the interests of the people to produce changes in the social system" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 36–37).[25] The *Club* in alliance with other leftist and

[23]Esposito Rodriguez (1985: 81) suggests that it was only during the period of "Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy" (the last half of the 1930s) that "Cubans … experience[d] some sense of independent action. Although U.S. troops had long departed the Island, the continual threat of the Platt Amendment provided for their reintroduction whenever the U.S. government deemed it necessary. … The two political powers of this time, the dictators Machado and Juan Batista, both ruled with U.S. government and commercial support. Not surprisingly, most Cubans saw them as tyrants, and detestable U.S. puppets."

[24]Paulston and Kaufman (1992: 137–138) report that "Julio Antonio Mella, an articulate critic of U.S. imperialism, organized the First Congress of Cuban Students in 1923 to form a university that would be more cognizant of the needs of Cuba and less allied with the privileged of society. In his attempt to combine university reform and class struggle, Mella allied with several communist groups … He became a leading opponent of President-elect Gerardo Machado, who was seen as a U.S. puppet and a continuation of the earlier American intervention. … Mella's assassination in 1929 provided the students with a martyr to use in agitation against the hated Machado and his American business supporters … Machado closed the university from 1930 to 1933."

[25]According to Pedagogía '93 (1993), until the late 1950s Cuba's economy in Cuba depended on foreign capital and there was administrative corruption and indifference about social (and educational) needs of the population. For example, 'United States investment in Cuba by 1958 was possibly the second largest in Latin America, and in the period 1949–58, an average of two-thirds of Cuba's foreign trade was with the United States' (quoted in Carnoy 1990: 155). And in a "brazen display of corruption … Cuba's Minister of Education during the mid to late 1940s … became one of the country's richest men by stealing from his ministry's budget allocation. … Moreover, [t]eacher appointments were reported to be a major target of patronage and appointments were known to be bought at high prices" (Epstein 1999: 242; see also Paulston 1971: 382–383). Finally, as Paulston (1982) concludes, not only was Cuba's "pre-revolutionary educational system (before 1959) inefficient and inegalitarian" (p. 106), but even the decreasing number of students attending schools "were prepared to accept individual responsiblity for the school's shortcomings and to accept the [existing] economic and political relations that favored the few" (p. 107).

centrist political factions of teachers organized several teacher strikes and general strikes between 1932 and 1935.[26] These strikes were essential social movements that gave the first steps leading to the removal from office of Gerardo Machado and later on Batista (both tied to the US control influence on Cuba) and, subsequently, to the "Triumph of the Revolution" in 1959 (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 40–75).

Revolution in the Context of Dependent Relations with the Soviet Union (1959–1991)

On 1 January 1959, with the "Triumph of the Revolution," led by the 26th July Movement, Batista fled and Fidel Castro became *Comandante el Jefe*. Mészáros (2004: 8) interprets subsequent happenings as follows: "The … Cuban Revolution … focused on … regaining from [the U.S.] their national sovereignty and corresponding power of decision making, thereby freeing themselves from the military, political, and economic domination of their overpowering neighbor …" Likewise, Carnoy (1990: 158) reports that during:

> the first six months of 1959, Castro seized the U.S.-owned Cuban Electric Company; reduced electricity rates for rural area …; announced a new law reducing housing rents … and an Agrarian Reform Law, which set limits to the amount of land an individual could own and expropriated the rest for redistribution and formation of 'people's farms' and cooperatives. The revolution also quickly set out to change Cuba's relationship with the United States. Reaction and counterreaction in the second half of 1960 resulted in the confiscation of all U.S. properties in Cuba, the breaking of economic and political ties with Cuba by the United States, and a U.S. Trade embargo.[27]

Carnoy (1990: 161; citing Brundenius 1984: 43–44) notes that "[b]y late 1960, it was already clear that the restructuring was going far beyond any mere reform of Cuban capitalism, and in April 1961, Castro announced that Cuba's revolution was socialist."[28]

With regard to education, there was general agreement among the new Cuban leadership that "the school played an important part in supporting the state and its new revolutionary government, by socializing students as loyal citizens of the

[26]It is important to note that the "rightist forces within the *Asociacion Educacional de Cuba* (Catolicas, oportunistas, Trotskistas, etc.) came together to develop an anti-communist movement" (Esposito Rodriguez 1985: 84).

[27]MacDonald (1985: 63) suggests that in "1960, the Cuban revolution had not yet been designated by its leadership as 'communist' or 'socialist'. In many respects [its leaders were] … still trying to find [their] way and [were] especially hopeful of maintaining some sort of an amicable relationship with the U.S."

[28]This declaration occurred in the context of a massive (and highly successful) literacy campaign and just after a US-sponsored invasion of Cuba at *Playa Girron* (Bay of Pigs) (see MacDonald 1985: 33–34).

Cuban state" (Griffiths, 1998: 4). Or as Pedagogía '93 (1993: 7) discusses, "the Cuban child increasingly heard from his teachers and elders about the wars of independence. … [Promoting] love for the country, its heroes, founders, and traditions … [was seen as necessary] to confront the annexationists and foreign tendencies that … diminish the quality of [Cuban] nationality and cultural identity."

Subsequently, Castro and others supporting a socialist direction "added that the school would be critical in the preparation of the youth for the new socialist society being built in Cuba, and its program of independent, national, and socialist economic development" (Griffiths 1998: 4; see also López-Hurtado et al. 1996: 23).[29] Castro called for a "real educational revolution" (Paulston 1982: 116).[30] According to Carnoy (1990), this meant that schools should serve "the changing needs of the Cuban economy" (p. 174) as well as help "to redefine citizenship in collective terms and nationalism in international revolutionary term" (p. 155).[31]

In addition to redefining the content of education, Cuba's revolutionary government sought to expand access to schooling. Thus, on June 6, 1961, the *Ley de la Nacionalizacion de la Enseñanza* was passed, declaring that education was a public and free service offered by the state as a right of all Cubans (Pedagogía '93 1993). According to Carnoy (1990: 173–74), "the expansion of education was an expression of a new democratization of Cuban Society, where democracy was defined … primarily in terms of economic equality."

While the discourse around education – as was the case with other sectors – was framed in relation to socialist ideals,[32] as interpreted by Castro and others in the revolutionary leadership, much of the education designed to create the "new socialist person" was grounded in the ideas of José Martí. According to Buenavilla-Recio et al. 1995): 135): "With the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 they began a radical revolution in education that the Teacher [Marti] had demanded. Each … law which was promulgated carried with it the spirit of Marti's thought." For instance:

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[29]Carnoy (1990: 163), for instance, reports that "[a]fter the [literacy] campaign, formal education was viewed as the principal means to bring the population into full participation (high productivity) in the economy."

[30]According to Griffiths (1998: 43), "Fidel [Castro] had indicated the importance of radically transforming and expanding school education as early as his trial in 1953 for the attack on the Moncada Barracks, making the first serious attempt to remove the dictator Batista. In the now famous speech, *History Will Absolve Me*, … Castro attacked Batista's record on public education. He highlighted the lack of technical/industrial training, corruption, and the need to improve wages and conditions for teachers and integrally reform the national system to link it to the social and eocnomic projects of a revolutionary government."

[31]Carnoy (1990: 155) continues: "Schooling was to develop a motivation for collective rather than individual material success, and a sense of belonging to Cuba as a revolutionary society … and to build solidarity with and commitment to other revolutionary societies, such as Nicaragua and Angola" (see also Lutjens 2000: 3).

[32]Griffiths (1998: 58) states that "soon aftter Fidel's oficial 'declaration of socialist faith' in April 1961 (Mesa-Lago 1978: 5) … [in July] all school education was nationalised in line with the socialist politics and ideology now officially embraced."

> Law 559 [September 1959] emphasized a broader, 'integral' education with greater importance placed on advancing a sense of history and patriotism**,** including a call to reform the existing systems of student evaluation to include the evaluation of students' 'academic, civil and moral formation.' (*Gobierno Revolucionario*, 1960: 6; quoted in Griffiths 1998: 49)

> Law 680 [December 1959] addressed school education's role in preparing workers and citizens for the revolutionary state. … The law affirmed that the new schools would shape students' character sentiments, habits and attitudes towards 'a spirit of Cuban identity[;] … love of the homeland[,] … patriotism, citizenship and support for the state were to be developed. (*Gobierno Revolucionario* 1960: 23 and 34; quoted in Griffiths 1998: 50)

It should be noted that educating citizens and educating workers were not seen as separate processes. As Griffiths (1998) explains, "school education was directed towards imparting skills, attitudes and political consciousness in students so as to improve their eventual productivity in work, and constribute to the development of the nation" (p. 6) and focused on developing "the revolutionary citizens' consciousness[, that is,] … an internalised understanding of, and commitment to, national economic stategies and goals" (p. 56).[33] This "new socialist person," who was to be created by and for revolutionary Cuban society, was a worker-citizen in a very profound and broad sense. Griffiths (1998: 112–115) discusses the issues in some detail:

> Over the 1966–1970 period … the new socialist citizen was increasingly presented in policy documents and statements [, for example, *Educación – Hacia el Hombre Neuvo Mediante la Educación Integral* (Education: Towards the New Socialist Citizen through Integral Education, 1967)]. … Participation in productive work was to be a significant part of the (integral) education of the future, justified with Lenin's assertion that 'It was impossible to imagine the future society without the combination of study with productive work for the youth'. … In political terms, the Ministry of Education asserted that the new socialist citizens would be distinguished by their 'total integration with the working masses" and 'absolute identification with the people'. In addition, [they] would develop and express 'love for the homeland and international progressive movements evident in their faith to the principle of revolutionary internationalism, militant solidarity with peoples who struggle for their freedom, repudiation of wars of aggression and hatred of imperialism which promotes them.'

And other authors give similar accounts:

> Education would play a central role in creating the changed value system and a *New Socialist Person*. It was Castro's belief that education was the country's most important task alter having made the revolution, for it would create the ideological framework for the new generation. (Paulston and Kaufman 1992: 139)

> [T]he expansion of formal schooling became part of a vison of the transformation of Cuban society that centered in [Ernesto] Che Guevara (1973, p. 343) *socialist New Man*. 'To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with

[33] Griffiths (1998: 77–78) continues: Che "Guevara (1962: 39) made the point that the entire national plan for economic development was depending not only on students' political formation, but also on the "scientific, technological and technical training' of the cadres who would oversee these plans … [A]ll the work of education is intimately linked to production.'"

the material base,' wrote Guevara, and to achieve this, 'society as a whole must become a huge school.' (Lutjens 2000: 3)

After 1966 … the educational programs focused on "the correct" ideological development. Influenced by the writings of Ernesto (Ché) Guevara, schools took the responsibility of holding "the *new* person, a *socialist person* … dedicated to the sacrifice of the struggle against injustice and exploitation, to the increase of production, and to the defense of the revolution." (Paulston 1982: 109)

The revolutionary government's goal of creating the "new socialist person" required the "emergency training of thousands of teachers" (López-Hurtado et al. 1996: 14). This was the case not only because of "the exodus of thousands of Cuba's professionals and trained personnel in the first few years [after 1959], including half of Cuba's teachers" (Lutjens 2000: 4). There was also a need to reorient teachers who stayed, to insure their commitments to reaching all students and to promoting the nationalist, socialist line of the new society.[34] As Carnoy (1980: 45; quoted in Badia 1993: 29) explains, "it was necessary to create a cadre of teachers with new [socialist] values and capacities." Because of this need and because of the important status the revolutionary government accorded to teachers, in June 1961 "tertiary level Pedagogical Institutes (ISPs – Institutos Superiores Pedagógicos) were set up to train new (and provide in-service training for existing) teachers.[35] The training included inculcating teachers with a correct socialist political orientation" (quoted in Griffiths 1998: 61).

The importance of teacher socialiation was referenced many times by Fidel Castro in his speeches, as in the following examples:

> [C]hildren are the country's most valuable treasure. We would not be responsible revolutionaries if we were not preoccupied with this treasure being worked on by expert hands, [by] teachers who are the true revolutionaries." (Speech of 17 June 1962, quoted in Ministerio de Educacion 1977: 19)

> Teachers have in their hands an extremely important assignment, because they are ones who begin to develop children's mentality, to teach them the first letters and, at the same time, to inculcate habits of social life, and to forge in each child a future citizen of the republic." (Speech of 10 April 1963, quoted in Ministerio de Educacion 1977: 20)

And in his reflections on his ideas and experiences 30 years later, Fidel Castro emphasized that "the teacher should provide an example with his/her participation

[34]However, it should be noted that an important minority of teachers were already politically and ideologically aligned with the Castro-led revolutionary movement, having participated in the struggle against Batista and his Cuban and US collaborators. For instance, according to Esposito Rodriguez (1985: 35), with the triumph of the revolution on 1 January 1959, the "*Frente de Oposicion Educacional* (Educators' Opposition Front) … took over the offices of the *Ejecutivo Nacional del Colegio Nacional de Maestros Normales y Equiparados* (National Executive of the National College of Normal School and Equiped Teachers … [and provided strong support for] the Revolution's plans of … constructing 10,000 classrooms and initiating a literacy campaign among the rebel army."

[35]Before 1959, there were six official, secondary-level normal schools (one in each of the provincial capitals) and there were three *facultades de educacion* at the three official universities at the times of the triumph of the Revolution: Havana, Las Villas and Oriente (Pedagogía '93 1993).

in productive acitivities in schools" (Castro-Ruz 1992: 23).[36] Thus, teachers were conceived not only as workers or even as workers whose job it was to train future workers and citizens, but they were to be exemplary workers – in relation to academic learning as well as productive work activities in school. More generally:

> The combination of work and study that emerged in the 1960s as an enduring feature of Cuban education demonstrated the interplay of necessity with the nationalist and socialist ideas underpining educational reform. … The logic of joining productive work and academic study – combining mental and manual labor – drew from Guevara's 'New Man' as well as the much older ideas of José Marti. (Lutjens, 2000: 4; see also Carnoy, 1990: 182; Griffiths 1998: 90, 121)

Similarly, Paulston (1971: 391) reports that "[w]ork, according to Ernesto (Che) Guevara, brings out the best in man. Castro says that work is the great teacher of youth" (see also Pedagogía '93 1993: 14). During the late-1960s, Cubans (and citizens of other societies) witnessed a radicalization and mobilization, at least among youth. In this context[37]:

> the radical 'Revolutionary Offensive' (*Ofensivo Revolucionario*) [was] officially launched in 1968, extending nationalizations to small businesses and industries, and other other domestic policies as part of a 'push for communism'. The politised reforms of the 'Offensive' were connected to domestic economic problems, and thus acted to justify policies of economic austerity and individual sacrifice, until sustained socialist and communist development was achieved. The radical rhetoric and reform set a context for the first of the schools in the countryside (ESBEC – *Escuela Secundaria Básico en el Campo*), constituting the most radical departure from conventional models of school education. (Griffiths 1998: 88)[38]

To prepare the teachers needed for these schools in the countryside the Cuban government created "the 'Manuel Ascunce Domenech' Pedagogical Brigade, involving basic secondary school graduates moving directly into secondary teacher training

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[36] As with other leaders of the Cuban revolution, Castro-Ruz (1992: 14) emphasized that in "education we must impart to our youth … to respect and to admire those who work with their hands."

[37] Griffiths (1998: 88–110) notes that the Revolutionary Offensive also occurred at a time of strengthening of relations with the Soviet Union and full incorporation into the CMEA – this being after Ché [Guevara] (in 1965) and others criticized the Soviet model and its trade relations with "newly liberated, developing countries" as well as with Latin American countries that were "enemies" of Cuba.

[38] Griffiths (1998: 88, note 27) explains that the "schools in the countryside [initiated in 1972] were full boarding [lower and upper secondary] schools located in rural areas, in which students attended regular classes, and spent part of each school day (approximately three hours) engaged in productive (usually agricultural) work. These extended on the schools to the countryside [initiated in 1965–1966], in which secondary students spent part of the school year in the country doing productive work" (see also Lutjens 2000: 5). According to Carnoy (1990: 184), as a result of "the 'schools in the countryside' … [a]cademic performance did apparently increase, and dropouts decreased. … Collective consciousness was probably raised as well … But the schools did not come close to financing themselves." From another perspective, Badía (1993: 19) criticizes that "[t]he schools in the countryside are institutions that employ forced labor, constitute a form of slavery, worsen relations between parents and children, and [insert] youth in an indocrtination process by true communist teachers."

and work, as 'emergency and special plans for the training of teachers'" (Griffiths 1998: 178).

Also in this context the Cuban government announced on 16 February 1970 the long-promised *Plan de Titulación de Maestros*, which presented "the rationale and tactics for certification of 26,031 primary and secondary schoolteachers", or some 40 percent of the existing teaching corps. The *Plan* was designed "to prepare 'teachers who understand the essence of the educational process[, who have] … a mastery of the subjects they teach[, and who are] … capable of teaching children not encyclopedic facts, but how to learn'" (Paulston, 1971: 388). However, the more explicit political dimension of the teacher's role was signaled at the First Congress on Education and Culture, held in April, 1971, when it was reaffirmed that:

> 'education is not, nor is it able to be, apolitical or impartial, given that it is a social and historical phenomenon conditioned by the needs of the social classes and their struggles and interest throughout history'. … The Congress further observed that … the ideological formation of students [is] 'the most urgent' objective to be pursued in the subsequent restructuring (Tema 3: 9). (Griffiths 1998: 165–166)[39]

Teachers' responsibility for political socialization was also emphasized in a 1973 ministerial resolution (RM 126/73), which established the subject of Communist Morals and Marxism-Leninism for grades 10 and 11, respectively.[40] This resolution stated:

> that students' ideological formation 'is based in the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, is an integrated process that must be developed through the focus of the diverse learning materials in the curricula of all types of schools in the system, and complemented with the systematic theory to orient the practical activity of the students along firm and secure pathways in the construction of socialism and communism'. (Griffiths 1998: 170)

To educate teachers for these new curricular components, Education Minister "Fernández established [in 1974] … a 'National Centre for the Training of Teachers of Marxism–Leninism' … (1974c: 114) … [and in 1975] established more short courses for Marxism–Leninism teachers, and longer 4-year teacher training courses for specialist Marxism–Leninism teachers with knowledge of 'philosophy, political economy and scientific communism' (1975c: 119)" (Griffiths 1998: 170–171).

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[39] As Carnoy (1990: 167–168) observes, although "the Cuban leadership abandoned moral incentives and reliance on voluntary labor in the early 1970s to increase capital accumulation and economic growth, [it] did not abandon its ideological stance regarding equality and the ideological foundations of society that should be built on socialist consciousness" (see also Lutjens 2000: 6).

[40] Griffiths (1998: 162) argues that the "specific form and content of the secondary school reform in this period was in many ways directly influenced by Soviet thinking and educational practice. This influence strengthened efforts to link secondary schooling more directly to the hierarchical world of work, and promoted the first, systematic inclusion of students' political and ideological education into the core curriculum, as another discipline or body of knowledge to be assimilated by students for educational success."

Then in the mid-1970s the recently (re)formed Communist Party[41] stated that "one of the most important assignments of the national education system is to socialize and build the capacity of … teachers" (quoted in MOE 1977: 7), in relation to "their scientific and technical–pedagogical preparation; their political, ideological, and moral attitude; their personal conduct and habits" (quoted in MOE 1977: 3). Thus, in 1975–1976, when the "perfeccionamiento" campaign was launched to improve "the system created in the 1960s[, t]eacher training was stressed" (Lutjens 2000: 4–5).[42] As noted by Kolesnikov (1983: 346), teacher training was a high priority in Cuba and the Government allocated substantial financial resources in it during this and other periods. For instance, in October 1976, Resolutions No. 658/76 and 659/76 of the Cuban Ministry of Education were adopted. These resolutions were directed at improving the "political, scientific-ideological and technical–pedagogical formation" of teachers. Two levels of teachers' education were established: middle and higher pedagogical education. Middle Pedagogical Education was located in the basic secondary school, with the option to continue with the licenciatura at a higher education center.

Beginning in 1976–1977, these teacher education institutions implemented new study plans, which had four areas/cycles: sociopolitical (4.7%); general education (61.5%); psycho-pedagogical (24%); specials (4.6%); and facultative subjects (4.8%). The sociopolitical cycle familiarized teachers with the Marxist–Leninist theory:

> The study of dialectical and historical materialism served as the base for the scientific analysis of the subjects of the pedagogical cycle … [which] also contributed to the development of a scientific conception of the world, an ideological conviction and the socialist moral aspect of the teacher. (Kolesnikov, 1983: 340–341)[43]

However, during the early to mid-1970s education and teacher education not only focused on Cuban citizens' political socialization but also Cuban workers' preparation

[41]Carnoy (1990: 169–170) reports that starting in 1975 that Castro and other central government officials "handed over local, day-to-day decisionmaking to the Cuban Communist Party, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, Poder Popular [elected municipal-level legislatures whose members elected provincial-level legislators, who in turn elected national-level legislators], and plant and farm managers. … But political and ideological decisions, as well as decisions determining the general course of Cuban economic policy, although more influenced by the Party, the mass organizations, and Poder Popular, after the early 1970s, remained in the hands of the few at the top" (see also Griffiths 1998: 143).

[42]Lutjens (2000: 5) adds that a "separate Ministry of Higher Eduation emerged in 1976, while arrangements of *Poder Poplar* redistributed some of the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education to the municipal and provincial levels."

[43]Moreover, in 1977 "volunteers from the student-teachers training in the 'Manuel Ascunce Domenech Pedagogical Brigade' [were] called upon to undertake internationalist service in the Popular Republic of Angola. Ministerial Resolution 663/77 grouped these volunteers to form the 'Che Guevara Internationalist Pedagogical Brigade'" (Griffiths 1998: 120).

in line "with the level of social and economic development of the country and the demands of socialist society" (Minister of Education, Annual MINED priorities for 1977–1978: 26; cited in Griffiths 1998: 239). In fact:

> has characterised the political and educational changes in the 1970s and 1980s in terms of a shift from 'old cadres' to 'new professionals'. That is, a new or heightened emphasis on formal training and technical expertise, identified by formal educational credentials, de-emphasising the value of (revolutionary) political credentials in the labour force. (Griffiths 1998: 262)

Toward the end of the 1970s and into the 1980s important economic and political developments occurred that informed Cuba's policies in education and other sectors. As Griffiths (1998: 204–205) explains:

> The economic recovery that began in the first half of the 1970s moved into recession by the end of the decade, as the national economy continued to feel the impact of world commodity prices and a growing hard currency foreign debt. Domestic economic austerity associated with the recession contributed to a political crisis in 1980, when approimately125,000 Cuban citizens left the country for the United States ('Mariel exodus' or 'Mariel boatlift').[44]

The early 1980s, however, saw economic integration with the Soviet Union and the CMEA. Like the previous quinquennium, the early 1980s brought generalized, though uneven industrialization, expanded consumption, and economic growth. In the context of these dynamics, the political dimension of teacher education and teachers' work continued to be a focus of the Cuban government. For instance:

> A second major area of reform in this period, within the category of political objectives, relates to the training and re-training of teachers specializing in the subject area of Marxism–Leninism. RM 652/80 began preparations for a 'National Theoretical and Methodological Seminar for Teachers of Marxism–Leninism to be held in June 1981. … The following year RM388/81 called for municipal MINED 'methodologists' to make periodic visits to schools, particularly in the technical and vocational sub-system, to assess, monitor and control the teaching of Marxism–Leninism, and provide support for teachers'. More national meetings and conferences followed in the 1980s. RM 99/83 announced the 'IV Scientific-Methodological Conference on the teaching of Marxism–Leninism and History' to be held in November 1983. May 1984 saw the 'III National Theoretical-Methodological Seminar on the teaching of the subjects of Marxism–Leninism in the basic secondary level of Education.' (cited in Griffiths 1998: 232)

[44]There are various explanations of the Mariel exodus. "[F]or example, emphasizes tht racial composition of those leaving (the vast majority being Afro-Cuban); presents the event as a measure of the political discontent of the youth (p. 57); cites alienated youth and associated political problems as being behind the exodus; and refer to a combination of economic and political problems, citing increased unemployment, crime, school dropouts, and poor educational outcomes. Leaving aside the detailed analysis of the event, it can be seen as a sign of problems in the intended political education and socialization of youth in schools. These areas were subsequently emphasized in the documents of the Second Congress of the PCC the next year (Partido Comunista de Cuba 1981)" (Griffiths 1998: 217–218).

In a speech of 7 July 1981 Fidel Castro indicated why the political socialization of teachers in general was important:

> The educador must be, moreover, an activist in the revolutionary politics of our Party, a defender of our ideology, of our morality, of our political convictions. [The educador] [s] hould be, therefore, an example of a revolutionary, beginning by the requirement of being a good teacher, a disciplined worker, a professional with a spirit of improvement ... In the school, at home, in social activities, the teacher has to be an exemplarary citizen that all respect and admire… [and to be] involved in productive work... The educator should occupy the first places in the trenches of the ideological struggle. (cited in Kolesnikov, 1983: 349)[45]

The situation became even more challenging for Cuba during the mid-1980s, as Griffiths (1998: 205) chronicles:

> By 1985 the government again confronted domestic economic problems, linked to Cuba's terms of foreign trade and a large, hard currency foreign debt. Potential political problems also returned in the face of a domestic austerity strategy in response to these problems, and increased levels of inequality as a result of the decade's economic reform ["limited self-employment, private agricultural production sold on free markets, and private construction and sale of housing … combined with varying levels of decentralization for state enterprises in terms of budgeting, reinvestment of profits and labour relations] … By 1985–86 official critique and reform of the … practices of the 1970s and 1980s were building, leading to a renewed emphasis on politics and ideology under the banner of 'The Rectification of Errors and Negative Tendencies.'[46]

Given the centrality of education for achieving the goals of Cuba's revolution, it is not surprising that:

> In the context of outlining the rectification campaign, Fidel [Castro] publicly criticized teachers, and school education more generally, focusing on the quality of teachers' work, their fulfillment of educational objectives … In his July 26 speech in 1986, Fidel … also specifically addressed the problem of these tendencies and practices for the teaching of political subjects … [And in] a speech to close the Fifth Congress of the UJC in April 1987, he stressed the need for cadres and school teachers to model desired socialist and revolutionary behaviour, morals, attitudes, and the application of Marxism-Leninism, adding: 'We might have a teacher teaching Marxism, 400 hours in a semester if you like, and if they are a bad example to their students, all the books and the 400 hours of Marxism-Leninism are worthless'". (Griffiths 1998: 292–294)

[45] According to Kolesnikov (1983), a teacher could be fired (by law), among other reasons, if he or she maintained an attitude against completing the duty of defending the country with guns, reverencing the patriotic symbols and the other duties established by the constitution; and if he or she commits acts against the socialist morality or ideology.

[46] Lutjens (2000: 6) explains that "Rectification – the Campaign to Rectify Errors – formally began in 1986 by targeting deficiencies in economic performance, including the neglect of the social and political dimensions of production. Reasserting the idealism of the Cuban model of the 1960s and the pragmatism of the 1970s, Rectification directed both toward correcting problems and then to survival as the crisis conditions of the 1990s produced the Special Period" (for other explanations see Griffiths 1998: 278–279).

Educating workers remained a concern as well:

> MINED's Rafael Bernal Alemany [1988: 43] described the 'need to increase production and the productivy of work as a basic premise of the construction of socialism' (p. 42) … [T]he emphasis remained on secondary schools promoting a communist formation that involved the best habits of 'technical culture and labour efficiency,' and linked school work to the 'tasks of production and services.' (Griffiths 1998: 307)

> [At the Sixth Meeting of Youth Researchers held in Havana in 1989] … referred to an inadequate correspondence between economic and educational planning, … and acknowledged the 'high social status of university level professions … [and] … underevaluation of activities directly related to production' (p. 6). (Griffiths 1998: 295)

However, the Rectification campaign involved more than reflection and criticism; it was also about taking actions to address what were perceived as problems in education and other sectors of society. As Lutjens (2000: 7) reports:

> Rectification [sometimes labeled as continuous improvement or *perfeccionamiento continuo*] called quickly upon education, beginning with the participation of 170,000 educators in Party-organized discussions and an initial surge in construction of new educational facilities. … Education has had a vital place in Cuba's economic strategies since 1986[, including in relation to t]he search for import-substituting innovations, the Food Program for domestic self-sufficiency, and the stress on bio-medical and other non-traditional exports ...

As previously, this focus on the education of workers was joined with attention to the political socialization of citizens. For instance:

> Specific reforms involving the use of PCC documents and materials for students' political formation … [toward becoming] loyal citizens of the state. … [In addition], RM 256/88 established systematic political activities for secondary schools linked to the socialist or revolutionary figure after whom the school was named. The activities, as part of students' political formation, were … intended to promote their 'spirit of loyalty to the Party and the Revolution; love for the homeland; value and heroism; the socialist morals and the permanent disposition to meet internationalist obligations.[47]

And with respect to teacher education during the period of Rectification, we should note that:

> The long standing emphasis on upgrading teachers' qualifications continued, with RM [Resolución Ministerial] 170/87 reaffirming the policy of raising teacher training qualifications

[47] "These qualities or attributes of individuals' personalities were further extended in the return of the subject of 'civic education' in 1990, replacing at least one of the political subjects introducted in the 1970s. … The values expressed included qualities like 'modesty, loyalty, sincerity, veracity, patriotism, … solidarity between people'" (Colectivo de Autores 1990: 100; referenced in Griffiths 1998: 300–301). In addition, "[o]ver 1988–89 the subject 'Political life of my country' was replaced by the new subject: 'The world we live in (year 1–4); 'Fundamentals of political knowledge' was replaced by 'Civic education' (introduced into year 5 and replancing that in year 9); and 'Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism' remained for years 11 and 12. The latter, however, experienced significant changes to its content that are detailed below (p. 303)" (Griffiths, 1998: 301, footnote 146).

> and requirements in response to changing conditions and scientific-technical advances[48] … [and] in terms of the need for better prepared graduates … to benefit the nation's social and economic development. (Griffiths 1998: 306–307)

What was meant by the "nation's social and economic development" was reaffirmed at the Fourth Party Congress [1989], which was held as the Soviet Union was in its final stages of disintegration:

> '[T]he Congresss reaffirms the necessity of focus on quality … [in education.] … The basic goal is to train new generations of revolutionaries, educat[ed] about work and for work, with strong technical and cultural training and profound political and patriotic convictions" (Griffiths 1998: 311).

Revolution in the Post-Soviet Era (1991–2003)

Even as Cuba was engaged in a process of "Rectification," international political and economic dynamics presented new challenges for the leaders and other citizens of the island nation. "The decision to conduct all CMEA trade in hard currency in early 1990, followed by the complete demise of the organization and the impending restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by mid-1991 brought the beginnings of Cuba's 'special period in peacetime'" (Griffiths 1998: 288).[49] And as Lutjens (2000: 1) observes:

> Within the difficulties of the economic crisis that beset Cuba in the 1990s, producing what is called the "Special Period in a Time of Peace," … education remain[ed] a priority… 'How can it be explained,' asked [Fidel] Castro-Ruz 1993: 5] …, 'that a country that has lost 75% of its imports, a country that has to work with 40% of the fuel that it had [at its disposal] – and all as a consequence of the disappearance of the socialist camp and the disintegration of the USSR, countries with which we had 85% of our trade and just prices

[48] Griffiths (1998: 306) notes, furthermore, that the "Resolution [170/87] … targeted teachers without tertiary level qualifications for special courses in ISP [Institutos Superiores de Pedagogía] to gain bachelor level degrees … Other initiatives, like the 'National Institute for Educational Retraining' (IPE – Instituto de Perfeccionamiento Educacional), sought to characterize and categorise existing teaching personnel, so as to more efficiently target them for retraining".

[49] "As some limited signs of domestic economic recovery began to appear, … international socialist states, and critically the CMEA, began to break down first in Eastern Europe [in 1989], and then in the Soviet Union itself [in 1991]. … These changes, and their massive implications for the national political economy of the island, provoked the 'special period in peacetime' and clearly forced the wholesale revision of policies, institutions and strategies on the island. … This major shift in world conditions altered the world-system in such a way that revolutionary Cuba was forced to more actively pursue closer integration in the capitalist world-economy than ever before" (Griffiths 1998: 271–272).

> for our products – … that not a single school has been closed, not a single child has been left without a teacher.' (Lutjens, 2000: 1)[50]

Moreover, education's role in developing citizens and workers remained important:

> In the "context of the collapsing Soviet Union and Eastern Europe", the new subject of civic education 'was officially intended to: "strengthen the schools' treatment of moral, juridical and civic aspects … contribute to the development of knowledge, capcities, habits, abilities, sentiments, values and norms of behaviour required for the ethical formation of the new person" … . (Griffiths 1998: 302)[51]

In addition to political/ideological concerns, schooling and other activities within the education sector were focused on knowledge and skill related to production:

> Productive work remains important at all levels of the education system. … In 1992, primary students participated for the first time in organized summer activities similar to the mobilization [of secondary students] sponsored for many years. (Lutjens, 2000: 8)

> One of the changes that were implemented in education since 1989–1990 was to prioritize the development of qualified labor force by increasing the continuity of the 9th and 12th educational levels of the polytechnic centers and reducing access to *preuniversitarios* and to higher education (Pedagogía '93 1993: 43).

In line with the shifting foci and emphases in primary and secondary education, efforts were made to reform and enhance the quality of teacher preparation programs. The "development and improvement of teachers [were] directed … to perfect the professional preparation and to elevate the scientific level in order to respond to the qualitative changes that have taken place on the different subsystems of education and the [nation's] educational policy" (Pedagogía '93 1993: 29; Aquino 1994: 20). As Griffiths (1998: 325–326) observes that the (Griffiths 1998: 325):

> reaffirmed the principles and specific strategies for students' 'labour formation' as a part of the mainstream curriculum and subject programs … [and] stressed the teaching of Cuban history and activities for the commemoration of Jose Martí. Teachers were called upon to model exemplary revolutionary behaviour, values and attitudes, leading discussions

[50]However, based on interviews with teachers, administrators, parents, and students in Havana, Varadero and Matanzas between December 1994 and March 1995, Clark (1996: 44) reports that the post-1989–1991 withdrawal of the Soviet Union's 5 billion dollar annual aid package and, to a lesser degree, the USAs' economic embargo, has had negative effects on the Cuban education system: (a) deterioration of schools' physical infrastructure, (b) reduced attendance and commitment by students, and c) desertion from the field by teachers and education students. The latter dynamic is influenced by laws enacted in 1994–1995 "that [gave]… individuals …permission to sell their services or products for whatever price they can get on the free market, and keep the profit." This is because, as "professionals," teachers are not included in that free enterprise group, and they are not even allowed to take money for privately tutoring students (see also Gasperini 1999: 9).

[51]The new units listed by included: (1) "We are Martianos and Marxist-Leninists" …; (2) "The Cuban Revolution, a creative process" …; (3) "Socialism, the only alternative for the development of Cuba" …; (4) "Work, the source of wealth' …; (5) "The youth, in the centre of the current ideological struggle" …; (6) 'The scientific and technical revolution: its repercussions for contemporary social development" …; and finally (7) "Socialist Cuba and its relations with the world "(quoted in Griffiths 1998: 303–304).

> on daily political, economic, and ideological problems confronting the country and [on] concrete activities to overcome them. Work-study remained as a 'basic principle' of education, with the formative objective of developing students' political consciousness as producers; and an economic objective of students directly participating in national production and social activities…

In part, improving teacher education involved a restructuring (and upgrading) of preservice teacher education, such that preservice programs for primary teachers (in 1991–1992) and preservice programs for preschool educators (in 1993–1994) were transformed into postsecondary institutions (Aquino 1994: 20; Ministerio de Educación 1994: 20; Pedagogía '93 1993).[52] Overall, such moves to "professionalize" teachers were directed toward:

> improving prospective and practicing teachers' patriotic and civic formation in conjunction with the productive and social tasks to which they are committed... ; strengthening vocational motivation and labor training through the students' direct, systematic, and increasing link with the reality of the school; improving the students' educational, psychological, and sociological preparation to effectively guarantee their capacity as well-rounded teachers and as efficient links with the family and the community. (Aquino 1994: 21; Ministerio de Educación 1994: 20–21; see also Pedagogía '93 1993: 29)

Discussion

As has been observed with respect to the cases of Egypt and in Mexico (Ginsburg et al., 2003), the Cuban case reflects how teacher education is shaped by dynamics occurring with the national and global political economy. The institutions, programs, and curricula for teacher varied over time. However, although the conception of "good" worker-citizens and the nature of the political economy differed across historical periods, there remained a focus on socializing teachers as worker-citizens and preparing them for the job to educate the next generation of worker-citizens.

[52] *At the same time, "work continue[d] to be devoted to improving the level of practicing elementary schools teachers, who graduated from intermediate level pedagogiacal training, through workers'courses in the :Licenciate Degree of Elementary Education" (Aquino 1994: 20). Pedagogical schools and middle-level centers were integrated into the 15 higher pedagogical institutes (ISP or Institutos Superiores Pedagogicos), which offer 21 specialized licenses for Preschool Education; Primary Education; Secondary Education; and Special Education. (Gasperini 1999: 10). Teacher education programs last for 5 years for students taking regular daytime classes and 6 years for students who attend classes while working in educational institutions. The curricula include the following classes: Spanish Language, History of the Cuban Revolution, Physical Education, English, Mathematics, and Art Appreciation. In addition, there are a number of core education classes: Educational Development, History of Education, Teacher and Society, Adolescent Development, and Educational Psychology (Castanedo and Giacchino-Baker 2001).*

During the Spanish colonial period (sixteenth to nineteenth century) the limited forms of education and teacher education were directed at promoting allegiance and obedience to the Church and the Crown, while at the same time there was a focus on preparing competent (and not too restive) workers for various positions in the hierarchical division of labor. With independence from Spain, Cuba found itself under a US military occupation/administration and then under US neocolonial political and economic domination. During this period (1898–1959) we witnessed efforts in education and teacher to expunge Spanish influence – culturally, politically, and economically. The objectives were to have English language or at least North American culture, American capitalism, and the US government replace Spanish language and culture, Spanish mercantilism, and God and the King. At the same time, teachers were to be prepared to function as dutiful workers (though they did not always fall into line) and to prepare their students to be productive employees in the economic sector increasingly dominated by US corporations.

After 1959 the revolutionary government sought through education and teacher education to create "new" worker-citizens, Cubans who were capable and committed to building a "socialist" society. The notion of this society developed over time, due both to internal dynamics but also to relations with the US as well as the Soviet Union and Eastern European "socialist" societies. However, we can summarize by saying that education and teacher education were to promote (a) collectivism rather than individualism in how people thought about and enacted their work roles and (b) nationalism or socialist internationalism (dependency on the Soviet bloc?) instead of American neocolonialism in how people conceived and operated in relation to their citizen roles.

Even before the 1989–1991 transformation of the Soviet bloc, Cuban officials began a process – with education and teacher education involved in important ways – to redefine what it meant to be a citizen-worker in this island nation. As was the case in the transition between Spanish colonial and independence/American neocolonial periods, there were continuities between the revolution/Soviet dependence and the "special period in a time of peace." Collectivism and commitment to building a socialist economy remained important, though the challenges of doing so in the absence of like-minded trading partners were dramatic. With respect to citizenship, national identify perhaps was given more emphasis, both because of the reduced opportunity for identifying with socialist internationalism and because of (arguably) increased need to resist the cultural, political, economic, and (always seen as a threat) military penetration of the USA.

Conclusion

It is important to note that during all periods dominant groups' ideas of the "good" worker-citizen were not always accepted, even if effectively modeled and transmitted to and by teachers. We can say that Cuban teachers and other worker-citizens were often encouraged by those in power during a given period to resist the incursions

of previous elites or possible future elites (whether Cuban or "foreign"). Nevertheless, it is also the case that teacher and other worker-citizens sometimes resisted those in power – with more or less fundamental consequences for power relations within Cuba and internationally.

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The Reform of Chinese College English Teaching (CCET) in the Context of Globalisation

Zhang Xiaoqing and Holger Daun

Introduction

After China opened up internationally 20 years ago, the country has had continuous economic growth and has become one of the major economic players in the world. Nowadays China is highly involved in the globalisation process, both as a 'globalizer' and as an object of globalisation forces. In its communication and interaction with the world, China has borrowed not only the market-economy-oriented system, but also educational models prevailing in the world. Since English is 'the language of globalisation', the Chinese government and people see English as necessary for both the individual's and the country's progress under globalisation. In the past 20 years or more, China has implemented some educational reforms. This chapter discusses the reform in Chinese College English Teaching (CCET). Based on the brief review of the interdependence and interaction between China and the world in economic, cultural and educational domains and on the analysis of the background and the reason for starting the CCET reform in 2004, the chapter focuses on the major changes of CCET policies relating to the expansion of Chinese higher education. Finally, the authors outline the crucial issues and the biggest challenges facing CCET in the context of globalisation.

World System, Globalisation, Interdependence and Interaction Between China and the World

The world system (WS) is the structure and relationship between different interdependent components (states, transnational companies, organizations, etc.), while globalisation implies the processes and flows that take place in the WS.

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When the links between the components become more extensive and form chains, networks, exchanges and transactions, these processes may be seen as globalisation (Henderson 1996). Globalisation processes are mainly driven by market forces, which have spread to most areas of life, among them education (Cox 2000; Dale 2000). Technological innovations, especially in information and communication technology (ICT), have been a precondition for the acceleration of the globalisation processes since the 1970s. The globalisation forces also include the spread of ideas, among them the perception that different parts of the globe are interconnected.

Economic globalisation is more than an international exchange of goods and services; it is also an interaction of separate domestic economies and the extensive reach of capital. More than half of the world's goods and services are now produced using strategies, which involve planning, design, production and marketing on a global scale (Bretherton 1996). Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) are, among other things, a means to gain 'traditional' comparative advantages such as access to markets and/or cheap labour (Hansson 1990). Multinational companies in the north increased their investments in the north (Mulhearn 1996; Waters 1995), but since the 1980s, China has increasingly been involved in FDIs – both as receiver and provider. By the end of 2004, foreign capital invested in China reached more than US$562 billion (Hu 2005). More than 500,000 joint-venture and exclusive-venture enterprises have been established in the country with access to a huge market. Also, by the end of 2004, foreign capital had created more than 700 research centers in China (ibid. 2005). Only in 2004, foreign capital invested in China reached more than US$60 billion, listing China as the third largest country to draw FDIs, only after the USA and the UK (Cai 2005).

In what came to be labelled the Third World, existing differences and inequalities became greater after the Second World War. Several researchers argue that now there are 'four worlds': (i) winners in the new international division of labour, among them the newly industrialized countries (NICs); (ii) potential winners (Brazil, Mexico); (iii) large continental economies (India, China); and (iv) clear losers, which could be called the Fourth World (Cardoso 1993; Carnoy and Castells 1995). Today, China could most likely be placed in the first category.

Culturally, globalisation causes or encompasses standardization and homogenisation, secularization as well as de-secularization (Berger 1998; Norris and Inglehart 2004). In addition, as 'globalisation and English are closely connected, the rise of transnational corporations does much to promote the spread of English' (Gray 2002, p.153), English involves a majority of international activities, resulting from increasing economic exchanges, tourism and exchange of researchers and students. China is now one of the six top tourism countries. Between 2003 and 2004, the country's share of the global trade of goods increased rapidly, and China is now the third largest import country in the world (Gong, 2005). More than 400 of the 500 top corporations in the world have established their headquarters in China. Almost all the top world IT and automobile firms have started their businesses in the country (ibid.).

China has been very active in finding markets, in the spreading of Chinese culture (by means of the English language) and in establishing educational exchange. Prior to 2005, the Chinese government had set up more than ten Confucian colleges in the USA, Sweden, France and South Korea. So far, China has declared its plan to establish 100 Confucian colleges all over the world in the coming years. On September 29, 2005, UNESCO, together with Confucian international associations, simultaneously held a grand ceremony in China, South Korea, Singapore, Germany and the USA to celebrate the 2,556th anniversary of Confucius. (Wrap-up 2005, *People's Daily, Overseas Edition*[1]).

In education, the country has, during the past 2 decades, established exchange relationships with 154 countries and areas. From 1978 to 2003, 700,000 Chinese people went abroad either for study or research work, among them 170,000 returned. On the other hand, every year, an average of 200,000 foreign experts and professionals come to the country, either to lecture or to work, and this number has increased by 20% yearly. Moreover, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, Chinese higher education institutions had received around 210,000 foreign students from 160 countries and regions (Huang and Li, 2003). In 2005, the Beijing city received more than 50,000 foreign students (Zhan 2005). So far, China has accepted more than 400,000 foreign students from 178 countries and only in 2004, these Chinese institutions received the largest number of foreign students in history; 110,844 individuals went to China for studies (Yu 2005).

In addition, it could be argued that world models exist, which prescribe what content and form education should include and how the reforms should be implemented (Daun 2003; Meyer et al. 1997). The similarities between these models and the reform of English teaching in China indicate that a great deal of borrowing is taking place. And English accompanies all the borrowing. The following sections discuss how English accompanies China's development in the globalisation process.

Status of English in China Since the Reform

The last 2 decades have witnessed China's endeavors to implement a reform and its great achievements resulting from that reform. In the wake of significant events, like China's entry into WTO, Beijing and Shanghai's successful application for holding the Olympics in 2008 and the World Exposition in 2010, China attracts the attention

[1] *People's Daily Overseas Edition* is the most prestigious and authoritative newspaper run by the Chinese government uniquely distributed abroad. As *People's Daily, Overseas Edition* reports all the domestically and internationally important news concerning China to overseas Chinese. Zhang Xiaoqing, one of the authors of this paper, is a visiting researcher at Stockholm University where the paper is being written, and has access to the newspaper, which is sent by the Chinese Embassy. She uses data from this newspaper.

of the world and its relationship and interaction with the world have become more intensive and extensive. In the globalisation process, popularization of English is seen by the Chinese government to have much to do with the country's economic development in the following four ways: (1) It helps the country to attract more international funding and investment from transnational corporations; (2) it helps to improve the domestic investing environment for foreigners which will, in turn, provide more employment opportunities for the country's large population; (3) it helps to disseminate Chinese culture. Obviously, a nation with a command of English not only has more access and better approaches to spread its culture to other nations, but also attracts more foreigners; (4) it helps to reduce the cost of production, hence, it reinforces and enhances China's opportunity in the struggle to attract international capital. That is why under the current economic globalisation, the Chinese government sees English not only as a tool of international communication, but also as a drive 'to its national economic gains' (Grin 2001; Shen 2005).

If English brings economic and cultural benefits for the development of the country, what benefits does English bring to the average Chinese people? And how do the Chinese people view English against the background of the globalisation process? The answer can be found in Grin's survey (Grin 2001, pp 71–73) of 'Foreign Language Competence in Switzerland' – the project on the benefits that English brings to the individual in the Swiss labour market. It shows the economic value of the English acquisition. 'Grin finds a very strong correlation between the competence in English and earnings. The wage difference between the workers with high and low competence of English skills ranges from 12 to 30 percent' (Shen 2005, p. 6). What Grin describes in Switzerland is broadly affirmed by cases in China. China has kept its high economic growth for more than 20 years, especially in the twenty-first century. Millions of Chinese people, with college students forming the majority of the learning population, see the acquisition of English skills not only as necessary for job hunting, but also as a qualification 'for entry into an international community of wealth, power and influence' (Perren 1968. p. 3), i.e. for average Chinese people, a good command of English stands for more income, better living conditions and higher social status. So, English education nowadays in China has good reason to be reinforced both from the interests of the country and the individual. However, there is a huge gap between supply and demand, both in quality and quantity. CCET has been criticized widely because of its high cost and low efficiency. The following section presents a picture of what the traditional CCET looked like, indicating why the CCET reform should be implemented.

Three Phases of the Development of Chinese College English Teaching

CCET (with reference to English teaching to non-English majors at universities and colleges) has undergone three phases: (i) a period of restoration (1978–mid-1980s); (ii) a period of rapid development (late 1980s–first half of the 1990s); and (iii) a period of standstill (late 1990s–2003).

Phase 1: A period of restoration (1978–mid-1980s). Owing to China's close relations with the former Soviet Union in the early and mid-1950s, 'the teaching of English in Chinese schools was suspended. Russian had been made a required subject in all schools' (Lofstedt 1980, p. 62). Yet, as the result of the worsened relations between the two countries at the end of 1950s and early 1960s, 'the heavy reliance on Soviet Union soon produced reaction and opposition in China' (ibid. p. 63). So English began to dominate foreign language teaching in universities in the mid-1960s. But English teaching did not have a long time to develop because of the so-called 'Cultural Revolution' launched by Mao Zedong in 1966, which has been proved to have inflicted profound damage to China's economy, society, culture and education (Deng and Treiman 1997, in Huang 2005, pp. 38–39). Mao's death in 1976 resulted in two significant events: Firstly, it ended the revolution; secondly, it brought about the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, the general designer of China's reform and opening up. The first thing Deng did when he was empowered was to restore the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE), which had been discontinued for 10 years. 'In December 1977, 5.7 million young people sat for NCEE, of which only 278,000 (or 4.9%) were admitted' (Lofstedt 1980, p. 147). Yet all aspects concerning higher education quickly felt the devastating damage caused by the 10-year of 'cultural Revolution'. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Chinese educational institutions encountered a bad shortage of everything necessary for education. College English Teaching (CET) was no exception. During the first few years of early 1980s, 'when we began to offer English to all university students, we were badly short of qualified teachers whose four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) were sufficiently good. Most of them (English teachers) were either retrained teachers of Russian whose spoken English was particularly weak' (Liu and Dai 2004, p. 23) or workers-peasants-soldiers graduates.[2] English was mainly taught through reading and writing. Neither teachers nor students in and out of class spoke much English. However, poor conditions of higher education did not discourage students' strong aspiration. Both the teachers and students worked very hard to remedy the 'congenital deficiency.' Having experienced and overcome lots of hardships and difficulties, Chinese higher education, including English teaching, started again and began to develop in the mid-1980s.

Phase 2: A period of rapid development (late 1980s–first half of the 1990s). During the late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, a large quantity of qualified English-major graduates and post-graduates were produced. Many of them were sent to universities and colleges to teach English. Meanwhile, China's rapid economic growth made it possible to provide better facilities for higher education. Helpful

[2] During the 'Cultural Revolution,' though the NCEE was discontinued, in 1972 some higher institutions began to enroll young workers, peasants and soldiers to be college students without participating in any examination who 'attend, manage and reform' the universities while most university faculty were sent to the countryside 'to be reformed' by hard labor' (Huang 2005, p. 39). These college students are called Gong-nong-bin or workers-peasants-soldiers graduates in history.

facilities such as phonetics, sound-laboratories, FM/AM radio stations, TV sets and VCD were utilized for English learning in colleges. Some famous universities began to install and use computer clusters in CET. Although college English (CE) was still conducted in traditional ways, there were few complaints. Both students and society were so excited with the progress and achievements China had made during the period that they failed to notice the problems and weaknesses of the CET. In short, together with the country's prompt economic growth, CCET also experienced a short-term prosperity during this phase.

Phase 3: A period of standstill (late 1990s–2003). In 2001, China's entry into WTO brought the country both an opportunity and a challenge. Globalisation and China's rapid economic advancement strongly called for high-quality personnel, especially for people who, on the one hand, possessed some specialized subject knowledge and skills and, on the other hand, used English to communicate with foreigners. Sociologically speaking, 'higher education has always been more international than lower levels of education' (Daun 2003, p. 46). CCET, however, instead of presenting any new look or change, remained unchanged during this period. Neither advanced teaching concepts nor approaches were introduced and used. In class, teachers hardly taught anything but test-taking techniques and students hardly learned anything but how to pass tests (Liu and Dai 2004, p. 33).

The Background to the Reform of the CCET

The CCET reform can be seen as a result of pressures from a few intertwined factors, external and internal or external pressures to the CCET: the country's fast economic growth; the tremendous expansion of enrollment in higher education, and society's dissatisfaction with the English competence among the graduates. 'In 1999, when the growth of China's economy began to slow down because of the Asian economic crisis, the government deliberately focused on higher education expansion' (Huang and Li 2003, p.147). From 1999 to 2004, China maintained an average annual expansion of 27% in college enrollment.

English is a compulsory course in the first 2 years, but an optional course in the last 2 years, and therefore the English course takes up the biggest proportion of all basic college courses. 2003, the fifth year of college enrolment expansion, saw a sharper conflict between supply and demand for CET, i.e. in 2003 only 50,000 CE teachers had to lecture 9,500,000 university students four periods in a 5-day school week (Wu 2004, p. 2). The CE teacher to students ratio reached 1:190, which meant an average working load for each CE teacher of 16–20 periods per week (ibid. p. 4).

Furthermore, as the expansion of college enrollment is inevitable and is not accompanied with a proper increase of CE teachers, the conflict caused by the shortage of CE teachers will be fierce in the years to come. Early in 1998, a survey made before the revision of old National CET Syllabus throughout six provinces of

the country showed the following: (a) 'The employers were dissatisfied with students' general ability to use English, least satisfied with their spoken and written English' (Liu and Dai 2004, p. 24). The employers complained that the high scorers of College English Band 4&6 Test (CEB 4&6 T)[3] certificate could hardly use English properly nor could they communicate with foreigners effectively; (b) the order of importance of the basic skills of English language according to the mass media and employers was: 'listening 71.4%; reading 64.3%; speaking 61%'(ibid. p. 24). Nevertheless, even in the twenty-first century, CCET has been very tardy and slow to respond to the call and the need of the local community and hardly made any changes. In addition, students who graduated in 2003 had to face a hard competition in the labour market caused by the expansion of college enrollment, which meant that instead of being like their predecessors who could easily and quickly find good jobs after graduation, starting from 2003, graduates experienced lots of hardships and difficulties before finding jobs (let alone good jobs). While looking for jobs, when lots of graduates were rejected by employers not because of their subject knowledge and skills, but because of their poor English competence, then, it was high time for CCET reform. Since this year, CCET has one more potentially critical group to assess its teaching results – the group formed by students' parents who partially paid for higher education only to see their children fail to find jobs after graduation. Obviously parents' complaints may exert a strong negative effect on CCET since they stem from the bottom of society, and such complaints may cause a nationwide dissatisfaction with the state. And if the complaints spread, this will affect social stability, which is the principal concern of the Chinese government. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that the CCET reform is, in fact, connected with the Chinese people's satisfaction with the state. That is why the senior officials of Ministry of Education are highly concerned about CCET reform. They have personally attended various national CCET conferences, making important speeches and participating in the discussions of CCET reform with representatives of school leaders and CE teachers.

Between 2002 and 2003, the Ministry of Education launched 'a large-scale survey on the feasibility of implementing a nationwide CET reform in 357 higher institutions and universities'. (Wu 2004, pp. 2–3). The problems discovered by this survey can be summarized as:

1. Teaching concepts were out-dated. The survey showed that even in 2003 the CET continuously laid its emphasis on teaching reading and writing rather than on developing students' four integrated language skills, especially English communication competence.
2. Teaching models and approaches were old-fashioned and monotonous. Although the development of modern technologies and China's fast-going economy had made modern technical aids available in universities and colleges, the majority

[3] CEB 4&6 Test is to be held twice every year. So far, the two tests are the only nationwide tests taken by college students and few other young people. They are highly ratified by the authorities and therefore enjoy a high status among university students and the employment market.

of teachers still used traditional methods to teach English. A small number of English teachers did use multimedia classrooms, but only the computer as an electronic blackboard, with the teacher typing words on the keyboard while students wrote down what was shown on the screen.

3. CCET has been misled by the current evaluation system. Today, in China, leaders of many universities and colleges take students' pass rate of CEB 4 Test as the unique criteria to assess CE teachers' academic achievements. Under such a twisted situation, regular CE teaching had been replaced by preparation for test in order to get more students to pass CEB 4 Test. Today, CEB 4&6 Tests are so popular that CE education and evaluation cannot be referred to without mentioning these two tests. Since the Ministry of Education approved of the two tests, they have been very popular. The two tests are unique national English tests given to Chinese college students and have a similar design but various degrees of difficulty. Test 4 is easier than Test 6, but the former is a prerequisite for graduates in many universities. The present test has five parts: listening comprehension 20%; vocabulary and structure 10%; reading comprehension 40%; translation (or blank filling) 15%; and writing 15%.

The current format of Band 4 Test explicitly displays a negative effect: out of a score of 100, 80 points go for written and grammar work, only 20 points for listening and no points for speaking at all on the exam. Obviously, such a format and design go against the prevailing trend of foreign language teaching and testing. The past years have witnessed more negative than positive effects of the two tests to CCET because they disturb the regular college English teaching and in conjunction with the traditional teaching methods, they produce millions of 'deaf and mute' English learners in China. Therefore, English professionals ask for the two tests to be cancelled or, if they are kept, they should at least be removed from the campus, making them public tests like TOFEL and IELTS; be overhauled to meet the requirements of CE education; and give equal weight to the four language skills, emphasizing integrated competence of language use rather than reading and writing only.

4. College English teachers' professional quality needs to be improved. Rapid expansion of college enrollment makes it impossible for school leaders to arrange and for CE teachers to receive in-service training though both sides recognize the importance of teacher training. Obviously, lack of teacher training causes a decline in teaching quality that will directly weaken students' professional competence, further affecting their prospective job hunting.

To sum up, the pressures caused by China's fast economic development, the demand of employers under the global integration of economy and the pressures from within the CET itself make it obvious the necessity and urgency of a CCET reform. For this reason, a large-scale CCET reform, led and supported by the Ministry of Education, was first initiated in a few selected universities in 2004. If the experimental reform is successful, then it will be implemented in all higher institutions throughout the country in the coming years.

Reform of Chinese College English Teaching

The CCET reform is a systematic project, which is closely connected to the quality of higher education. In February 2004, Mr. Wu, the deputy Minister of Education made a speech at a national video conference for CET reform experiment, attended by the leaders of higher education administration of 29 provinces, four municipalities, and the Presidents of 180 universities who were selected as the first group to participate in the experiment of CCET reform. The speech at this conference was considered to be a formal campaign to start CCET reform. On the basis of the above-mentioned nationwide 2-year survey, Mr. Wu put forward three changes as an overall outline to guide the CCET reform, which are interpreted as follows:

1. Changes of teaching focus, conception and style: New Teaching Requirements for CE Curriculum issued by the Ministry of Education 2004 (http://www.moe.edu.cn) stipulates that the focus of CET should be to develop students' competence of English listening, speaking and communication rather than reading and writing. It further states that the contents and goals of CCET are to develop their language skills and language learning strategies and foster learners' sense of understanding and respecting diverse cultures. CCET aims to enhance the students' integrated skills of English competence and develop their sense of intercultural understanding so that by using oral and written English, they can, on the one hand, properly negotiate with foreigners and effectively express themselves in communication, and on the other hand, enhance their capacity of autonomous learning and develop an all-round personality to meet the needs of the local community and the requirements of the country's economic growth.

Nevertheless, putting the above-mentioned change of CCET in the context of global foreign language teaching, it is easy to see that such a change is a proper borrowing from the prevailing education model. Obviously, language use and communication are the key points and the current characteristics of English teaching in the high income countries. Therefore, the new requirements that focus on developing students' competence of listening and speaking can be seen as the proper amendments to old CET. However, the realization of the new requirements calls for the introduction and implementation of new teaching styles, including communicative approach, task-based teaching, autonomous learning among the students, aided with new media, individualized counseling, etc. The new approach includes the following four shifts: shift from teaching reading and writing to language communication and language use; from uniform teaching to individualized and diverse ways of instruction; from teacher-centered to student-centered learning; from caring for teachers' own teaching to caring for students' learning and learning strategies. The implementation of the CCET reform will be truly started only when CE teachers begin to consciously practice these new concepts in their classrooms.

2. Changes of teaching models and approaches. If a change in teaching models and approaches is at the heart of CCET reform, then the utilization of modern ICT remains the only ideal outlet to implement the reform. According to

Dumort (2000), since the end of the last century there has been a rapid diffusion of ICT equipment in schools in Europe while 50% of public schools in the USA had already well-arranged and widespread Internet equipment by 1998 (Mihoko 2005, p. 3). In China, from 2001, the central and local governments have made efforts to largely invest and introduce ICT into higher education. Between 2002 and 2004, a large number of computer clusters, multimedia classrooms, access to the Internet and broadband, as well as college web sites were built up and installed both in urban and rural universities. Meanwhile, other forms of media of English, such as CCTV-9, China Radio International, China Daily, The 21st Century, and Beijing Review are available to college students. Apart from the benefits proved by developed countries, ICT resolves the following problems inherent in China: big-size class, CE teachers' heavy load, out-dated teaching approach.

(a) Big-size class. Big-size class is the traditional solution to the problem caused by the expansion of college enrollment. Traditionally, one teacher can at most teach four to five classes per week (on the assumption that one class has four English periods per week). Yet, aided by ICT, one teacher can simultaneously teach hundreds of students. That is, the teacher first divides students into several classes in accordance with their aptitude and then gives different students different tasks in various multimedia classrooms. Students, either work independently at the language programme offered by computers, designed and selected by their teacher beforehand, or work with their desk mates to practice English skills with the help of ICT, and enjoy a great variety of texts presented in diverse ways without feeling bored and worried about the shortage of teaching resources. Therefore, modern technologies can not only effectively resolve the problem of big-size class, but also satisfy students' various learning requirements.
(b) CE teachers' heavy load. Learning a language requires lots of practice. When ICT facilitates teaching, it greatly reduces teachers' physical labor, which means that machines can do almost all the language teaching work for the teacher, such as work of listening, pronouncing, imitating, talking, reading and writing although all these activities must be pre-designed by the teacher and information-searching-and-processing may take some time. Thus, teachers can have more time to consider how to design classroom activities and how to further improve classroom teaching; receive part-time in-service training; and do some teaching research. All these activities will apparently help to raise teaching quality and finally benefit all students.
(c) Out-dated teaching approach. Teachers who use ICT not only have diverse means of teaching resources, but also make teaching: student-centered (as learning aided by ICT has a quick reflection from students, more flexibility for students and personal convenience of students) (Song et al. 2004); fun and interesting (texts and exercises using a great diversity of colors, sounds, and movement making learning enjoyable and more easy to understand); individualized and effective (ICT highlights the individual choices of time, space and

contents so that it makes leaning more individualized and efficient). The above-mentioned three points coincide with the heart of the new teaching concepts.

In short, aided by modern technologies, both teachers and students have far wider choices and resources and many more approaches to handle their work, therefore, ICT can not only effectively help to improve learning and teaching, but also stands for the direction and the road that CCET reform must follow.

3. Change of the evaluation system. However, the previous two changes are doomed to fail if the evaluation system of the CCET is not changed. Before New Teaching Requirements for CE Curriculum was issued, summative evaluation (SE) was the unique means adopted to assess English education. SE neither showed the actual and authentic learning conditions of students nor provided all-round 'information about what students have learned and can do' (Wang and Cheng 2000, p. 159). Nowadays, in order to comprehensively evaluate students' learning processes and achievements, 'New Teaching Requirements for CE Curriculum' advocate the use of formative evaluation (FE). The assumed proportion suggested by the Ministry of Education between FE and SE at all schools should be: FE: 70%, SE: 30%. In terms of an overall evaluation given to students, 'New Teaching Requirements for CE Curriculum' stipulates:

   – Teaching and learning assessment should include formative and summative evaluations.
   – FE should comprise self-evaluation; peer evaluation, teacher and school evaluation for the student; continuous evaluation (combination of the grades the learner has gained for various activities such as his classroom participation, performance and contribution); portfolios (collections of assignments and records of projects the learner has done over a long period of time, serving as basic data for the student's evaluation) (ibid., p. 160).
   – SE should consist of final-term tests and achievement examinations, which would check and show the student's integrated competences of English use rather than using their test scores for reading and writing to replace listening and speaking proficiency.

The document also distinctly states that students' learning attitude, approaches and interests, the degree of their involvement in various language activities and satisfaction with classroom teaching need to be evaluated. Furthermore, the student's learning conditions, his strengths in English learning must also be measured. The observer or his/her teacher must mainly use formative evaluation associated with summative evaluation – scores to gather all the data about the student so that a fair assessment of the individual can be established. Thus his/her family members, teachers and employers can read the student's archives, comprehensively describing the student's major qualities and his/her performance and achievements in English learning during his/her 4-year college life.

Although formative assessment is obviously affirmed and greatly promoted by the policy maker, implementation of it still encounters many difficulties. At present, educational administrators at all levels confess that the type of evaluation lags far

behind what is assumed. In terms of the reality of CET evaluation so far, FE is spread and implemented in developed provinces while in some underdeveloped areas, SE still dominates evaluation. Especially in the least developed parts of the country, testing may still function as the only means to check and show students' English learning achievements. Although quality-oriented education is promoted in all schools at all levels, classroom teaching is still fulfilled in the shadow of tests and examinations, when the assessment of English teachers' performance is still largely based on their students' examination scores, the dominance of summative assessment and the shortage of formative assessment in evaluation of English teaching and learning seem inevitable.

Issues and Challenges of China's CET

In terms of the CCET reform, the following three issues seem most pressing and call for urgent action to be taken by the policy-makers:

1. Shortage of financing. According to the World Bank Yearbook, the average educational share of GDP in the world is 4.8%, 5.7% in the developed countries (USA 7%), and 4.5% in the developing countries. However, China's average educational share of GDP from 1985 to 2003 is around 3% (Zhang 2005). The share in 2003 was 3.4%, but the goal the Chinese government has declared to strive towards was 4% (Shi 2005). Although in 2004, the Central government hugely increased its investment in some special programmes, such as the program of rural compulsory education (increased by 70%) and the programme of nationwide illiteracy eradication (increased by 66%) (Daily, 14 April 2005), generally speaking, the state's low investment in education increased the financial burden for the Chinese people. Besides tuitions of compulsory education, parents have to pay partial tuition of higher education no matter whether or not they have income, which may seem more difficult for peasants whose annual income is, by far, much lower than the basic annual cost of a college student. A survey covering urban and rural regions in eastern, central, southern, western and northeastern parts of China, published by News Center showed: 91.2% of the Chinese people thought that the State's educational investment was insufficient. Nearly 70% of the respondents chose 'low satisfaction' with current education in China; 42.5% were 'not satisfied', and 29.8% were 'very dissatisfied' (Zhang, 2005). Although ICT is regarded as an effective means to replace traditional teaching, utilization of it calls for a large quantity of money. Therefore, insufficient educational financing will, no doubt, make the CET reform more difficult to implement.
2. Quality of CET. China is no exception to the case proved by the history of developing countries that expansion of higher education tends to be accompanied by a fall in teaching quality. In 2004, when less than 1,000,000 CE teachers were teaching 20 million students (Daily, Overseas Edition, 14 April 2005), it was

Table 1 Expansion of Chinese Higher Education Enrollment, 1999–2005 (rounded numbers) (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2004. http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/ndsj)

Year	New student enrollment (million)	Numbers of college students (million)
1999	1.6	7.4
2000	2.2	9.4
2001	2.7	12.1
2002	3.2	17.0
2003	3.8	19.0
2004	4.5	20.0
2005	4.8	20.3

easy to imagine what a considerable load CE teachers have to shoulder and, therefore, what teaching quality they could offer! Here again quantity runs versus quality. Lack of ICT training, exhaustion with a heavy teaching load have driven many CE teachers back to the traditional teaching methods, which will inevitably lower down the teaching quality and accordingly, it will, no doubt, arouse and exacerbate dissatisfaction from three parties: college students, the CET reform policy makers and the local community. So, in order to prevent the decline of teaching quality and to reduce CE teachers burden, from Table 1 it is clear that 2005 witnessed a large reduction in college enrollment expansion – an increase of only 6%, almost 21% lower than the ones from 1999 to 2004. This reduction is seen as a step taken by the policy makers to guarantee the quality of the Chinese higher education (including the quality of CET).

3. Reform to CE testing and CEB 4&6 Tests. Early in the last century, linguist R. Lado stated: '…if the test is administered to native speakers of the language they should make high scores on it…' (Lado 1961, p. 323). And Klein-Braley also asserted: 'Any foreign language test should be a test in which an educated native speaker can obtain a perfect score' (Klein-Braley 1985, p. 83). Yet, in China, it is a well-known irony that educated native students (referring to those British or American students who study Chinese language or Chinese medicine in China) gained comparatively lower scores in comparison with the scores of their Chinese college students when the two groups were given the same CE tests typically showing characteristics of CE teaching and testing – grammar and structure analysis and exercises. As a result, native speakers are afraid of doing Chinese CE tests. In the past, such a strange phenomenon was seen as a success of CE teaching, but now it shows deficiencies in Chinese CE testing. Therefore, both CE testing and CEB 4&6 tests have to increase the score for English listening and speaking in examination. So far, under great pressure from the authorities and English professionals, the CEB 4&6 Test Committee has taken a lead in responding to the current situation. In February 2005, the committee issued a scheme to start its reform to the two tests (Committee of CEB 4&6 Test 2005) (www.moe.edu.cn., 25 Feb 2005). The two amended tests keep their major parts but increase the score percentage for listening from 20% to 35%. The Committee also declared that it plans to put more labour and financing on further research to explore the feasibility of performing a nation-

wide computer-aided oral English test so that more Chinese college students can participate in the oral English test. This will help CE teaching and especially help students enhance their English competence in listening and speaking. Therefore, from July and December 2006, Chinese college students were given the amended CEB 4&6 Tests with the following new format (www.news.163., 10–25 Oct 2005): listening comprehension 35%; reading comprehension 35%; integrated tests 15%; and writing 15%. Currently, it is still too early to see how much validity and credibility in the above-mentioned reform to CEB 4&6 Tests will be ratified by English professionals and society. The good news is that the committee has promised to produce new test papers to meet the needs of the 'New Teaching Requirements for CE Curriculum'.

To summarize the above, the biggest challenge that the policy makers of CCET reform have to face in the context of globalisation is, the sharp conflict between the ever-increasing demand for high quality of CCET and the current supply of CCET, especially relatively low and limited supply of high quality of CCET in distant and western regions of the country. To answer the challenge, efforts from three parties are required: (i) greater funding from the State for education; (ii) society's continued focus on and support for education; and (iii) joined efforts and good cooperation between English professionals and the administrators concerned. The challenge cannot be fully answered if one of the above three parties is missing.

Conclusion

The process of globalisation now taking place in the world system also implies a large number of 'contradictions and tensions' (Daun 2003, p. 26). These contradictions and tensions present a challenge to CCET: how to quickly and efficiently produce millions of effective English users. Therefore, to CCET, globalisation particularly means 'a challenge more than an opportunity' (Huang and Li 2003, p. 151). Although globalisation brings more English-speaking people to China and the Chinese people, especially people living in the four biggest cities, have more opportunities to practice oral English with native speakers, generally speaking, the Chinese people have more difficulties than European peoples when starting to learn English because in most European countries the mother tongue of the learner may have a close relationship with English. For example, German belongs to the same language family as English while Swedish has a grammatical system close to that of English and French vocabulary includes some English words, etc. The alphabets in European languages are almost identical. Besides, in European countries both the teachers and students of English will have the advantage of being in close touch with the UK and English-speaking people through holiday visits, contacts with tourists and easily receive BBC broadcasts (Hornby 1968, p. 95). But in China, there are few of these advantages for teachers and students. Furthermore, the

Chinese language has the least relationship with English in form, spelling, meaning and pronunciation. Therefore, in terms of an English learning environment, the Chinese students have far worse listening and speaking conditions than European students. But in terms of the macro-economical development, the Chinese students have one advantage that other nations may not possess, that is, China's fast economic growth and the Chinese government's determination to popularize English. However, this opportunity is only an external force acting upon the internal arrangements and processes of the CCET, for which a reform would largely and effectively improve it. The day when such a reform is completed is the day for Chinese universities to produce millions of young people capable of using their fluent English to help China communicate and negotiate with the world in a better and broader way; but if the CCET reform is not conducted, the backwardness of CCET will certainly not only affect the development of Chinese higher education, but will slow down China's economic development, particularly in the context of 'educational globalisation that makes the competition between national powers even more intense, more inclusive and broader in scale' (Zhang and Xu 2002, p. 105 in Huang and Li 2003, p. 151).

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Global Teacher Rec ruitment as a Challenge to the Goal of Universal Primary Education

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I owe him Descartes, I owe him Montesquieu, I owe him Victor Hugo, I owe him Molière, I owe him Balzac, I owe him Marx, I owe him Dostoyevsky, I owe him Hemingway, I owe him Léopold Sédar Senghor, I owe him Aimé Césaire, I owe him Simone de Beauvoir, Marguerite Yourcenar, Mariama Bâ and the others. I owe him my first love[1] poem written in secret, I owe him the first French song I murmured, because I owe him my first phoneme, my first morpheme, my first French sentence read, heard and understood. I owe him my first French letter written crookedly across my piece of broken slate. I owe him school. I owe him learning. In short, I owe him my Ambiguous Adventure Because I never stopped hounding him, he gave me everything: the letter, the number, the key to the world. And because he fulfilled my first conscious wish, to go to school, I owe him all my little French can-can steps towards the light.

Fatou Diome

The Millennium Goals and Schooling

The second of the Millennium Goals agreed to by the United Nations General Assembly in 2000 was universal, high-quality primary education for all children. The inclusion of universal primary education is a recognition that education plays a crucial role in the alleviation of poverty and the promotion of peace and security; however, the UN Millennium Project team estimates that there are more than 100 million primary age children not attending school for a variety of reasons (UN Millennium Project 2005). In most cases their families are too poor to afford the costs involved, in many cases their labour or their income is needed at home, in others there is no school available, but increasingly children are prevented from

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[1] Reference to *L'aventure ambiguë* by Senegalese author Cheikh Hamidou Kane.

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attaining full primary education because there are insufficient teachers to staff schools adequately (see also Zajda et al. 2008). The implications of the projected shortage are very serious as an inability to provide appropriate education will prevent many of the poorest nations from implementing poverty reduction strategies and exacerbate the gap between the developed and less-developed nations (Zajda 2005). Moreover, as poverty increases social and political instabilities are likely to increase as the most vulnerable citizens of the poorest nations see any hope of a solution to their distress receding.

Teacher Shortage

Concerns about the supply of teachers and warnings about a shortage of teachers have surfaced periodically since the early 1990s and have resulted in some heated arguments between commentators who regard the projected teacher shortage as a serious problem and those who regard it as a myth. Writing in *The Wall Street Journal* Feistritzer (1998) argued that talk about a so-called teacher shortage was nothing more than scaremongering. She continued by claiming that if there was a shortage of teachers in particular areas it was caused by overregulation of the profession that prevented school from employing a range of people interested in teaching. In contrast, there are anecdotal media reports relating to teachers shortages from Australia, the UK, Canada, and the USA. In addition, the OECD's Education Policy Analysis (UNESCO/OECD 2001) predicts a growing shortage of teachers worldwide and Aïcha Bah Diallo, Acting Assistant Director-General for Education UNESCO estimates that as many as an additional 30 million teachers will need to be employed to achieve the goal of UPE (Diallo 2005). The true extent of situation lies somewhere between these two extremes, but is extremely difficult to measure since there are a variety of ways of measuring teacher shortages including vacancy rates, the number of teachers with emergency registration, and the percentage teaching outside their discipline areas (OECD 2005). Moreover, as UNESCO's own report monitoring globally the supply and demand of teachers towards 2015 admits that this figure alone does not explain the complexity of regional and local differences. In fact, the global population of primary school-aged children is expected to remain relatively stable, which implies that the teacher population could also remain stable or even decline, but an analysis of the situation, region by region, suggests that the situation is vastly different (Santiago 2002).

China, Brazil, and India will not need to increase their stock of teachers to meet the goal of UPE in 2015, nor will Europe or North America. In contrast, the Arab states need to increase the number of teachers by 26%, South and West Asia need an increase of 7%, and sub-Saharan Africa requires an increase of 68%. There are also huge variations within the regions – Europe as a whole will have sufficient teachers, but Spain, Ireland and Luxembourg will not; the North American region will have enough, but the USA will not (Santiago 2002). Moreover, these figures do not adequately reflect the shortage of teachers in specific subject areas or disciplines; for

example, specific regions within Europe have moved from a shortage of information technology and communications (ITC) teachers to an oversupply of ITC teachers as employment conditions in the telecommunications industry changed.

Teacher Migration

The issue of teacher supply and demand leads inevitably to the issues of global recruitment and teacher migration. In this area, in particular, there is a shortage of reliable information that makes it difficult to determine just what is happening. One of the most pressing difficulties is that governments are either reluctant to report the number of teachers arriving from overseas or do not record the information in a meaningful manner. Recruitment is also decentralised – there are more than 100 private teacher recruitment agencies in the UK and around 70 in the USA. There is no national co-ordination and the immigration indictor systems are not designed to record their activities.

However, it is evident that a substantial number of teachers are on the move and it is clear that national governments attempting to cope with a shortfall in the supply of teachers in their own country are relying on recruitment outside their national boundaries more and more heavily. From their point of view this solution makes perfect sense in the short term – they can hire skilled teachers, who are immediately available and who have exactly the right qualifications to fill the existing places and many younger teachers from developed nations also enjoy the prospect of an extended working holiday overseas before returning home to settle down. Budig (2006) estimates that the USA will need to employ an additional two million teachers in the coming decade to maintain its current educational standards and closer to three million if it wishes to improve them in order to remain competitive with the newly emerging superstates in India and China. Budig does not advocate large-scale recruitment from overseas, but there are others who do. Writing in *USA Today* Magazine, Kirk Johnson from the Heritage Foundation in Washington suggested loosening the visa requirements for teachers (whom he described as a very low security risk because their daily actions were highly scrutinised) in order to recruit several thousand English-speaking technical, maths and science teachers to work in secondary schools and technical colleges (Johnson 2006).

Recruiting teachers on short-term contracts is not a bad solution to a temporary problem. In Australia, recruited maths and science teachers from the USA in the 1970s to staff laboratories and classrooms funded by the recently created Commonwealth grants, Zimbabwe recruited teachers from Australia and the UK to cope with the huge influx of students following majority rule in 1980 and Cambodia used a mix of volunteer and contract teachers in 1979 to replace teachers who had not survived the Khmer Rouge regime and again in the early 1990s to relieve temporary shortages caused by changes to recruitment and training policies (Duthilleul 2004). But this approach is inappropriate as a long-term solution and is a symptom of poor social and economic planning. Recruitment of

teachers through private or government-sponsored agencies is only a small part of the story of the global movement of teachers; a more insidious aspect of the issue is the use of skilled migration programmes to recruit teachers and other professionals. The United Nations has been monitoring the growth of international migration for almost 2 decades concerned at the impact on development of an obvious preference for educated workers demonstrated in Fig. 1.

Data collected by the International Labor Office (Ratteree 2006) show that university graduates are six times more likely to emigrate than those with secondary education – primarily because not many countries want to accept unskilled migrants. Around the world, 30 countries have immigration policies or programmes that promote the selection of skilled migrants – 17 of those are developed nations (Ratteree 2006). The existence of such programmes aimed at attracting individual teachers makes it hard for observers to accurately gauge the number of teachers on the move or to determine their reasons for relocating.

Many professionals, including teachers, also arrive in developed nations such as Australia or the UK as graduate students and then opt to remain for personal reasons. The number of persons studying abroad has doubled since the late 1980s and there is a strong connection between studying abroad and permanent migration. Some of these graduate students are already experienced teachers intending to upgrade their qualifications, but others change to education or add a degree in education to their existing qualifications after their arrival in order to qualify for residency under the skilled migration programme (Kuptsch and Pang 2006).

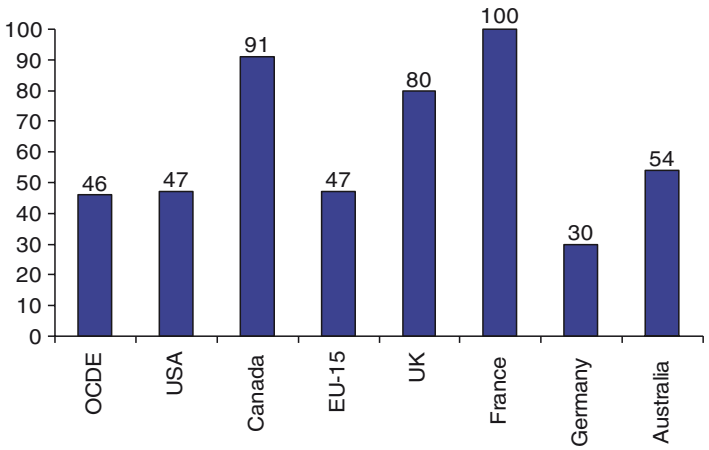

Fig. 1 Migrants with tertiary education as a percentage of the increase in all migrants aged 25 or over, 1990–2000

Education Policy Implications

National or regional shortages of teachers, or teachers in particular disciplines, will not necessarily have a serious impact on the overall well-being of the education sector in developed nations, who have the ability to recruit and/or retrain personnel locally although some developed nations are more than happy to avoid dealing with the root causes of the teacher shortage and rely on attracting teachers from other countries. Moreover, the shortage of teachers in some regions has a numbers of positive aspects as well. The International Labour Organisation suggests that migration from large developing nations may in fact be beneficial as it can stimulate growth and provide opportunities in the local labour market. This is what economists call the 'virtuous circle'; for example, recruitment of information technology and communications (ITC) specialists from India stimulated growth in the field as exiting personnel were replaced and there was a flow-on effect in the training and education sectors. Many of the Indian ITC specialists residing in other countries maintained strong links with their families and communities. They often continued to contribute financially through remittances, but also invested in property, holidays at home and through purchasing local products unavailable in their country of residence (Ratteree 2006).

The same is not true in small developing nations and the least developed nations such as many of the African and Caribbean nations. As they start from a worse position, the less-developed nations actually get less return for their education-dollars than developed nations (O'Neill 1995). Consequently, any loss of capital invested in skilled personnel has a very serious impact. In many instances, a higher proportion of their skilled workforce leaves and does not return, their knowledge and experience is lost to their country of origin and they are less likely to invest either in property or visits home – the ILO estimates that 50–80% of tertiary educated citizens from some of the smaller African and Caribbean nations now live abroad (Ratteree 2006). This represents an enormous loss of both economic and social capital and a major impediment to the achievement of the millennium goal of universal primary education, let alone the provision of secondary education (Zajda 2008; Biraimah 2008). As the quotation form Senegalese writer, Fatou Diome suggests, teachers enable to their students to discover many aspects of the world that would be otherwise unknowable. Moreover, the consequences of these losses extend far beyond the classroom walls; teachers are often highly valued members of the community, who occupy a wide range of leadership roles in the rural or regional areas where other professionals are seldom found.

Thoughtless and unregulated recruitment of teachers from less-developed nations by developed nations is a form of exploitation that is unsustainable in the long term and a danger to national and regional stability: lack of education is inextricably linked to poverty, and consequently to ill-health and unplanned population growth (UNESCO 2000). Families who see no alternatives are more likely to engage in behaviours that are inimical to community life and the development of

civil society: child marriage, debt bondage, human trafficking and the cultivation of narcotics can all be linked with poverty (Ayers 1998; Demombynes and Özler 2005) and although there does not appear to be a direct link to terrorism, turbulent societies that are struggling to deal with internal problems may provide convenient, if unwitting hosts (Krueger and Malečková 2003).

Education Policy Responses

Education policy responses to this issue need to be tailored to the specific circumstances of each country, but a global approach is necessary to avoid serious hardships in particular areas and in the least-developed nations. To begin with, the adoption of a protocol on teacher recruitment by Commonwealth nations is a very welcome step. The protocol, adopted by all Commonwealth Ministers of Education in September 2004, sets out the rights and responsibilities of both recruiting and source nations. Significantly, it also stipulates the rights and responsibilities of the recruited teacher in an effort to balance the rights of teachers to migrate either permanently or on a temporary basis with the need to protect national education services; for example, it discourages recruiting nations from arranging departure dates that occur within the school terms as these disrupt classes and encourages them to oversee the activities of private recruiting agencies. Source countries are encouraged to examine teachers' working conditions to determine if systemic problems are contributing to the exodus of trained personnel and to put in place policies that will assist in the reintegration of teachers wishing to return after a limited period. The protocol offers an excellent model of the type of multilateral agreement that should be extended to nations outside the Commonwealth, in particular the USA.

At the national level, developed nations such as Australia need to develop national codes of conduct for the ethical recruitment of teachers (and other professionals). These might include preferential recruitment from large developing nations where the effects may be positive or at least less-harmful, restrictions on recruitment of teachers from smaller developing nations where the loss of teachers has serious implications, for example, teachers from certain countries might be offered limited visas that enable them to work for 2 years but require them to return home before applying for an extension. The development of innovative schemes to off-set possible losses might be even more effective, for example, wealthy nations might provide targeted funding for a certain portion of a teacher training place for every qualified teacher they recruit from a less-developed nation or lend key personnel to establish or improve teacher training courses and facilities.

At the same time, the less-developed nations need to make education a priority in their budgets. They need to cultivate teachers by improving salaries and conditions: no matter how dedicated they are it is difficult to expect teachers to work in a rural school with no toilets when they know they can get a well-paid job in the USA, UK or Australia. Development of flexible systems of leave that allow

teachers to work in another nation for 6 months to 2 years include a guaranteed position on return and recognise foreign service/experience towards promotion would all help to ease the problem by encouraging temporary rather than permanent migration.

One possible solution to the teacher shortage in both developed and less-developed nations might be to reintroduce tied grants or bonds for teaching qualifications. These would recoup at least some of the expenditure involved and would ensure a guaranteed supply of teachers for a certain period of time; however, schemes of this type have obvious drawbacks as well.

In reality, both developed and developing nations need to develop a more sustainable approach to recruitment and retention of teachers. Nations like Australia and America need to consider the causes of the teacher shortage and to work towards local solutions. One key factor appears to be the relatively low salaries paid to teachers in comparison with other professions (Horsely and Stokes 2007). Figures vary, but some estimates suggest that in Australia teachers' salaries have experienced a decline in real terms of around 30% since the 1970s, while the nature of teacher's work has become more complex and demanding over the same period. Other forms of compensation also need to be investigated since there is evidence that high salaries are not the most effective incentive for teachers (Odden and Kelly 2001). In developed nations such as Australia, problems of recruitment centre on the type and quality of recruits (Commonwealth of Australia. House of Representatives Standing Committee on Employment and Vocational Training 2007).

Conclusion

The developed countries need to explore ways of encouraging more highly able young people to consider a career in teaching; these might include scholarships, reduced fees and the provision of living allowances. In addition, consideration should be given to attracting 'non-traditional' applicants such as older people and ethnic minorities. However, attrition among recently qualified teachers is a more serious problem for the developed nations. In Australia, there is a very significant drop out within the first 5 years of graduation and a smaller drop with the first 10. It is beyond the scope of this essay to examine the causes of attrition among recently graduated teachers in detail, but it appears that the demanding nature of the work, relatively poor chances of promotion combined with a salary structure that plateaus after a few years and better opportunities elsewhere lead many younger teachers to reconsider their career plans. Frequent criticism from government ministers and community members has also led to a loss of morale (Topsfield 2007; Ryan 2007). However, it also evident that if the shortage of teachers in developed nations can be addressed many of the issues facing the less-developed nations will be reduced. It is always easier to prevent a problem than to solve it afterwards.

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Power and Authority in School and Community: Interactions Between Non-Indigenous Teachers and Indigenous Teacher Assistants in Remote Australian Schools

Elizabeth Warren, Annette R. Baturo, and Tom J. Cooper

Introduction

Traditionally, education for Indigenous peoples within the Australian context has had a highly Eurocentric flavour (Matthews et al. 2005; Rothbaum et al. 2000). As such, many Indigenous people who form part of this education system have found themselves in positions where communication has lacked cultural understandings and clarity, leaving them with undefined roles of minimal cultural significance. This has contributed to a sense of disempowerment for those Indigenous people who otherwise hold positions of power, respect and value within their own communities (Zajda et al. 2008b).

In this chapter, we discuss the relationships between non-Indigenous teachers and Indigenous teacher assistants (ITAs) (community members employed to support the teachers in their classrooms) and how these relationships can enhance socially just school outcomes for Indigenous students. We examine the present situation in remote schools, apply Weber's authority types to teachers and ITAs within school and community, outline a professional learning (PL) project that operated in three schools, provide findings with regard to teachers' and ITAs' perceptions of school and classroom, and finally draw implications for socially just outcomes. Some remote schools employ non-Indigenous teacher assistants as well as ITAs; therefore, within this chapter, we will use the term *assistant* when description and discussion covers both non-Indigenous and Indigenous assistants and *ITA* when referring only to Indigenous teacher assistants.

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Social Justice, Schools and Pedagogy in Remote Schools

We have been studying schools and mathematics classrooms in remote Queensland Indigenous communities for the last 4 years, looking at the effect of classroom mathematical practices on Indigenous performance (e.g. Warren et al. 2004, 2005). There are examples of excellent classroom practice (Cooper et al. 2006; Sarra 2003), but the western cultural base of school classrooms and the type of mathematics commonly taught makes it difficult for Indigenous students to engage with mathematics or feel a sense of value of their culture (Matthews et al. 2005; Zajda et al. 2006).

Remote Indigenous schools are outwardly similar to schools in coastal cities, sharing the same physical and organizational structures. The classroom practices and mathematics teaching approaches of remote Indigenous schools also tend to reflect those of schools in coastal cities. Even though both the physical surrounds and population of students are vastly different, practices remain the same. However, teachers' expectations are not identical to city counterparts. They are commonly lower for Indigenous students (Reaburn 1993; Sarra 2003), resulting in limited educational impact on Indigenous students learning (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs 2001).

The teachers in remote Indigenous schools are predominantly non-Indigenous, young and inexperienced (most are new graduates) and new to the community, while ITAs are predominantly Indigenous, older, experienced and influential community members, especially within the local Indigenous community (Warren et al. 2005). Most of the teachers leave after 2 years (the incentive to attract them to remote Indigenous schools is that after 2 years they are able to transfer to any other school), while many of the ITAs tend to be long-term community members.

Most non-Indigenous teachers have received little training in how to work in remote Indigenous communities, and how to work with another adult in their classroom. By contrast, while the ITAs have received little training in how to assist teachers to educate Indigenous students, particularly tutoring at-risk students in literacy and numeracy (Cooper et al. 2005), they do possess a deep understanding of community matters. Classroom planning and preparation is emphasised as the sole responsibility of the teacher, as ITA remuneration does not pay for planning and communication time, resulting in minimal input into the components that are central to learning. Under such circumstances, it is difficult for teacher–ITA relationships to be equitable partnerships and not have the appearance of ITA subservience.

Student Responses and Learning Outcomes

Most teachers in Indigenous communities are very committed to their classroom preparation and care for their students. Most students are very capable learners if they are engaged, and most parents want their children to succeed (Howard 2001). However, remote community conditions and cultural disparity between school and community

mean that most remote community schools are plagued by quite extreme behavioural problems, low attendance and poor educational performance (Fitzgerald 2001).

Analysis of effective Indigenous schools shows that classrooms can become productive for both teachers and students if behaviour, attendance and performance are challenged through partnerships between teachers and communities. The premise for these partnerships are that they (a) build pride in Indigenous culture and associate indigenality with intelligence, (b) support teachers to have high expectations of students, and (c) set up Indigenous leadership and cultural study within the school (Sarra 2003). Without this, it is difficult, even with the best intentions on all sides, to prevent the outcomes from schooling replicating present social and economic disadvantages for Indigenous people (Cooper et al. 2004). Furthermore, because schooling's emphasis is on the individual, it is difficult to avert blame for these disadvantageous outcomes being assigned to the Indigenous students (Matthews et al. 2005). Sadly, and regardless of the best intentions, we are left with the conclusion that many remote Indigenous classrooms have outcomes that are socially unjust (Zajda et al. 2008a).

Power and Authority in Teacher–Assistant Interactions

The task of changing remote Indigenous classrooms into places where socially just outcomes are exhibited is beyond this chapter. The focus will thus be limited to examining the power and authority issues within the non-Indigenous teacher–ITA–Indigenous student relationships. Power and authority are common sociological issues, and the framework that will inform our analysis is based on Weber's notions as they appear in Haralambos et al. (2004), King (1980) and Smith (2002).

Within this framework, according to Weber *power* is the realisation of will against the resistance of recipients. However, we extend the definition to include: (a) power as realisation of will that harms recipients regardless of awareness (Luke 1974); (b) *positive* (exercised by decision making and direct influence) and *negative power* (non-decision making that prevents issues from surfacing (Bachrach and Baratz 1970); (c) *hegemony* (power exercised by ideas to which recipients consent (Gramsci 1971; Clayton 2006); and (d) the role of *knowledge*, *discipline* and *resistance* in power relations (Foucault 1991).

Authority Type Within School and Community

For Weber, *authority* is power legitimised by recipients (with the terms *coercion* referring to power not legitimised and opposed by recipients, and *sanctioning power* referring to power not legitimised but acceded to because of self-interest). Weber identifies three types of authority: (a) *traditional* authority, which is the 'taken for granted' or consensual authority given to a role (such as 'teacher'); (b) *charismatic* authority, which comes from the special personality qualities of authority

Table 1 Authority types applied to non-Indigenous teachers and Indigenous teacher assistants

Authority type	Non-Indigenous teacher	Indigenous teacher assistant
Traditional	✓ – Role of teacher in school	✓ – Role as elder or respected community member
Charismatic	? – Depends on teacher	? – Depends on ITA, but an elder or respected community member is more likely to have this authority
Bureaucratic	✓ – Part of legal structure of schooling	× – Unless a part of community's legal structure or if given by system or principal (e.g. as in Cherbourg – Sarra 2003)

figure; and (c) legal/rational or *bureaucratic* authority, which is based on legal structures. Within these categories, we theorise that the teacher's and ITA's authority changes according to two differing social structures, school or the Indigenous community. Table 1 summarises these conjectures.

Commonly, the non-Indigenous teachers' authority comes from the school (traditional and bureaucratic authority), while the ITAs' authority comes from the community (predominantly traditional authority). So it is likely for an ITA to have high traditional and possibly, charismatic authority within the community, but no bureaucratic authority within the school. It is also evident that an ITA with little community respect and poor charisma will have little authority in a classroom. It is possible for teachers and ITAs to cross over. A non-Indigenous teacher could build charismatic authority through improving relationships with students, while an ITA could be given bureaucratic authority by a principal or could train to become a teacher.

Impact of Race and Gender

Literature on race and gender differences (Smith 2002; Zajda et al. 2008b) argues that women and blacks have less authority because they have less human capital investment (e.g. training and accreditation) and status attainment (e.g. important employment positions, which exercise negative power and control hegemony). These explanations are not at all encompassing. For example, differential access due to remoteness and lack of workplace experience can affect training and promotion opportunities. But education generally improves authority particularly in terms of race. The case is not so clear for gender. In particular, *job authority* (the authority most at risk in terms of race and gender) is especially psychologically rewarding because it brings status, both inside and outside the workplace. It is also related to job satisfaction, personal identity and self-esteem (Ardler 1993).

Complex relationships can result within remote school communities due to the meeting of Indigenous and white Australian cultures, their differing belief systems and consequential social behaviours of both non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples. ITAs' low job authority will likely mean that within the school their higher traditional authority will be outweighed by non-Indigenous teachers'

bureaucratic authority, especially if they are of the same gender. Because of the gender inequality in Indigenous communities, with males commonly being afforded more status than females, it is possible that a male white teacher may have greater authority in the classroom than a female ITA. By contrast, a high-status male ITA may compete in authority with a female teacher. However, all of these are impacted on by the role of knowledge, who holds the knowledge and whether it is shared or not.

Professional Learning Project

As has been widely acknowledged, the Australian education system has failed to work in partnership with Indigenous communities to reverse low attendance and educational underperformance of Indigenous students (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) 2005). In an attempt to meet these challenges in our area of expertise, mathematics education, we are undertaking professional learning projects with schools in remote Indigenous communities across Queensland. One of these projects, a 3-year longitudinal intervention study, focused on three schools in West Queensland (each with a minimum of 50% Indigenous students). The specific aims were to Indigenous students learning outcomes through: (a) improving teachers' and assistants' mathematics content and pedagogy, (b) forming teaching partnerships between teachers and assistants; and (c) involving Indigenous culture (and community members) in mathematics classrooms.

For the 3 years of the study, we visited the schools at least four times a year. During these visits, professional learning for teachers and assistants was provided by us. We supported teachers and assistants as they trialled new teaching ideas and developed working partnerships in their classrooms. Data were collected through: (a) interviews with principals, teachers, assistants, students, carers and community members; (b) observations of the schools and their classrooms; (c) surveys of teachers', assistants' and students' beliefs and attitudes; and (d) tests of student performance, which was complemented with school results, government testing programmes and examples of students' work. The data for each school was combined, transcribed and collated into a rich description that highlighted change and delineated beliefs, attitudes, performances and practices. This chapter focuses on the data related to the semi-structured interviews with teachers and assistants. The particular focus is on their roles and relationship in the classroom and their interactions with regard to student learning.

Indigenous Teacher–ITA Interactions

To understand how authority operates in remote Indigenous classrooms, we describe: (a) the context of the project (outlining the situation for teachers, assistants and students); (b) the initial findings with respect to Indigenous teacher–assistant

interactions; and (c) changes that occurred across the project (including the effect of training). Representative quotes from teachers and assistants are in italics.

Project Context

Similar to other remote communities, teachers were predominantly inexperienced, young and non-Indigenous (only 1 of the 20 teachers and principals in the project schools was Indigenous), and rarely stayed in project schools for more than 2 years (only four teachers who started the project remained in the third year). This meant that the project restarted each year (as half the teachers were new) and it was difficult to build a programme of change.

Our results indicate that most non-Indigenous teachers had low expectation of Indigenous success and rarely catered for Indigenous culture and contexts. Their beliefs about differences between non-Indigenous and Indigenous students varied but had the same impact: (a) those who saw no difference taught every student the same and as if the class was not remote or Indigenous; (b) those who saw difference only in terms of learning style adopted what they believed to be the Indigenous learning style (physical materials and groups) for all students; and (c) those who saw wider differences believed that these differences were too deep seated to be changed in the classroom and taught as the first group.

Because of the special funding Indigenous students attracted and the way ITA employment could be partially supported by Commonwealth work-training funding, all classes in the project had at least one assistant supporting the teacher and the students although only 13 of the 19 assistants were Indigenous. ITAs were an important resource for the school and source of employment in Communities; many were long term in their position. They were often respected community members, but most did not have relevant qualifications for the role. Most teachers did not see any value in ITAs' knowledge of the Indigenous communities; they preferred non-Indigenous assistants because they *knew more* and *could be counted on*.

The Indigenous students' behaviour and attendance depended on the school, and on the economic situation within their home. A significant percentage of the students had low attendance, behaviour difficulties, educational underperformance and seemed uncommitted to education, problems that seem to be prevalent in a large number of Indigenous communities.

Initial Impressions

Analysis of the interviews with teachers and assistants showed that discussion of teacher–assistant interactions moved through four levels: (a) *teacher oriented* (teachers are in charge); (b) *communicative* (good communication between teachers and assistants); (c) *sharing* (teachers enable assistant to have authority positions in

the class); and (d) *partnerships* (equity in teacher–assistant interactions). This section discusses these levels as they were at the start of the project and raises two issues that impacted on these interactions.

Levels of Interaction

At the start of the project, teacher–assistant interaction tended not to be well developed.

1. Teacher oriented. At the commencement of the project, interviews showed that most non-Indigenous teachers at the project schools had teacher-oriented interactions with assistants. These teachers believed that: (a) the role of the teacher was to determine what the assistants did; and (b) the role of assistants was administrative assistance, classroom behaviour management and tutoring students individually and in groups. One teacher said that she: *did all the planning and then told the assistants what to do*. Other teachers' comments included: *Because I did it at home, I typed everything up that I could think of, and I just bought it in and photocopied and gave a copy to each of them*; and *I decided that she could do the photocopying*.
2. Communicative. Some interactions were communicative, for example, some teachers worked out routines for the aides to follow each day. One teacher spoke of the importance of communication and her disappointment with the results: '*Assistants need clear explanations – I have actually suggested a lot of things and she hasn't used it*.' However, most teachers did not see their role as working with assistants. One ITA spoke of her frustration with this: '*yes I do, like of course we live in the community and we know, hey, like we know the kids and the kids will come and tell us, before they will come and tell the teacher'*.
3. Sharing. Only a few teachers allowed assistants to have the role of translator and mediator, between teachers and students and teachers and community. Both teachers and assistants argued that assistants' weak knowledge of mathematics made sharing difficult with regard to teaching mathematics.
4. Partnerships. No teachers had equitable partnerships with their assistants, particularly involving collaborative planning of the mathematics program.

Issues Affecting Interactions

There were two issues concerning ITAs raised by teachers. The first concerned ITAs' lack of confidence and knowledge of mathematics to undertake tutoring. As a teacher described: *One of them* [ITA] *has just come down from the preschool. She's having trouble with understanding maths concepts and explaining things*. This lack of knowledge was supported by an ITA: *the teacher used to say to me,*

she was very brusque. 'Go and work with that child and work that out.' And I'd sit there and they'd say how do you this, and I'd have to say I don't know how to do it either! [chuckle!] *Cause I haven't done maths for a long time*.

The second concerned non-attendance and absenteeism by ITAs. As a teacher exclaimed: *Because so many days I'd turn up to school and have no teacher aide and my day would go out the window! Fully out the window! And I would get so stressed because I'd go "what am I going to do now?" Only planned in groups! I only taught in groups!*

Pedagogical Changes Across the Project

As the professional learning activities in the school started to take effect, there was a movement up the levels of interaction. As this happened, more issues regarding teacher–assistant interactions emerged, particularly those associated with training.

Levels of Interaction

Teachers' and assistant' roles changed in three ways: (a) teachers came to believe that assistants could be given responsibility for student learning; (b) teachers came to believe that assistants were important to their success (as one teacher exclaimed: '*I wouldn't have coped without her this year*'); and (c) teachers came to appreciate the respect students had for ITAs.

1. Teacher oriented. Some classes still maintained a strong teacher orientation with the teachers doing the planning. Teachers argued that it was *their role*, and assistants argued that planning *was not part of their* job (*not paid to do it*). Most classes remained strongly westernised and there were few places where Indigenous culture was evident. Thus, interactions had not reached the point where ITAs can be most productively used – to provide the local and cultural knowledge that can lead to authentic contexts.
2. Communicative. There was more emphasis on communication. However, some assistants were provided with no prior communication about the mathematics that was to be covered and as such they were often left 'to fend for themselves' in the classroom. Other assistants had good communication – teachers provided information on what was being covered in the lesson and used their aides to provide feedback about how the students are coping (this latter communication was strongly supported by assistants). However, few teachers asked for any contribution from the assistants into the curriculum decisions that affected what was taught.
3. Sharing. In an interview in the latter half of the second year, all teachers except two stated that the assistants' role in their classroom had changed towards more

involvement in mathematics lessons. The teachers stated that assistants were now more involved with teaching and had greater ownership and confidence of the classroom and that, as a consequence, they, the teachers, have to provide the aides with more information on how to teach concepts and processes. Teachers who's assistant was an ITA were realising that their assistants had knowledge of the community and were sometimes better able to explain and interpret ideas to Indigenous students than them, particularly when they used the students' home language.

One teacher put the change in these words: *When I first started, it was more teacher assistants were there to do your photocopying and help out with difficult art lessons, but this is different now … Now they are having to know more and more about how to teach children, and they take a group away they are actually teaching and they are having to use the right language and explain to children how things work, I guess and then report back to the teacher on which children understand the concept and which ones need more work, and quite often my teacher assistant picks out the kids that need more work and goes over the things that they are having trouble, so it is more like a teacher's role. It is a really good help in the class.*

4. Partnerships. Although most teachers had found roles in the teaching–learning process for their aides, few teachers had formed partnerships. In particular, few assistants were involved in planning and or asked to contribute their knowledge to the learning experience other than local knowledge they had about the Indigenous students. There was little realisation that assistants, particularly ITAs, could make contributions in other ways to the process of mathematics teaching and learning. However, there was some movement to involving assistants. As an observer of one of the classrooms wrote: *The teacher did the planning for Group A. Both the teacher and assistant did the planning for Group B so that the assistant could have ownership and input into what she would be carrying out. The teacher wrote out outlines for each lesson for Group B for the assistant to follow.*

Of course, partnerships are two way and the assistants, particularly the ITAs, had views on what teachers needed to do to make any partnership productive. The assistants felt that teachers needed to understand Indigenous students and their background, language and learning style, so that cultural and contextual relevance could be brought to mathematical activity.

Issues Affecting Interactions

There were three issues concerning the improved teacher–assistant partnerships. The first related to the integration of assistants into the teaching and learning process. Teachers were effective in organising this integration. However, there

were deficiencies. Some assistants (particularly ITAs) did not have the knowledge to take a cognitive role in the students' learning, others did not have a strong input into the overall planning of the sequence of lessons and others were placed in roles so restricted that they were not able to flexibly fulfil all the roles of a teacher aide.

The second issue concerned the harmony in the relationship with regards to students. Mathematics teaching appeared to be more effective if teachers and assistants had a common pedagogy to follow. This was a particular strength of some relationships; however, in other relationships in which there was no common pedagogical approach to follow, assistants appeared to have little influence on students' mathematics learning other than in encouraging the students or keeping records.

The third issue concerned the changes in the way teachers and assistants had to work to have an effective partnership. These included teachers doing extra planning to support the assistants in working with small groups, assistants ensuring that they were not absent as the teaching now depended on their presence, and assistants ensuring that they knew the mathematics to be covered. Teachers and assistants felt restricted by funding limitations that would not pay assistants for time before and after school to meet with teachers.

Pedagogy and Assistant Training

One of the major activities we undertook when visiting schools was to provide professional learning for assistants (particularly ITAs) on effective mathematics teaching and tutoring. None of the teachers appeared to have a plan for training their assistants even though most of the teachers were aware that their assistants had mathematics-knowledge weaknesses. However, most of the teachers came to believe that their assistants needed training; some teachers became quite vocal about it.

The professional learning appeared to have many positive outcomes on the teacher aides. These outcomes included increased understanding of mathematics. As an assistant shared: *Well I've changed my ideas on Maths a lot. Was useless at school. Maths meant absolutely nothing. To me it was totally illogical. Now things make sense, that are logical, hands on.*

The positive outcomes also included self-confidence and pride and feelings of self-worth. As an ITA commented: *I'm actually fascinated with maths – just with you guys coming out and doing those workshops. It's something I've sort of picked up and learnt. Because I have not – it's been 28 years since I finished grade 10, and the thing is, if you don't use it, you lose it. And because I was basically secretarial field, you never got to use your maths component very much*. Some assistants also felt that the training was building positive partnerships with teachers. Another ITA shared: *The project has given us – like last year I didn't do much – this has given us the chance to work together and be able to see what's happening and what is*

working. It became evident that a healthy sense of Indigenous identity within classrooms led to more effective teacher–assistant partnerships.

Implications for Socially Just Pedagogy and Classroom Practices

To date education for the Australian Indigenous students has failed. In the past, trends set by government curricula as well as by the lack of culturally specific professional development for non-Indigenous teachers of Indigenous students have resulted in everyone being treated the same, providing an escape mechanism for the provision of culturally significant pedagogical practices (Eckermann 1994; see also Zajda et al. 2008b). Although policy and some training has changed, practices in schools still have little Indigenous contextualisation, particularly in mathematics classrooms. As a result, Indigenous students' absenteeism and 'drop out' rates remain high and their educational success remains low (MCEETYA 2005). This section discusses and draws implications from findings of the professional learning project in relation to analysis of power/authority relationships with regard to improving remote Indigenous students' educational outcomes. This section will also focus on ITAs and the particular interactions of non-Indigenous teachers and ITAs.

Teacher–ITA Interactions and Indigenous Learning

Effective, productive and equitable teacher–ITA interactions can successfully challenge Indigenous students' behaviour, attendance and underperformance. They provide the foundation for the necessary components of a successful Indigenous school by (a) building pride in Indigenous culture and associate indigenality with intelligence, (b) supporting teachers to have high expectations of students, and (c) setting up Indigenous leadership and cultural study within the school (Cooper et al. 2004, 2005; Matthews et al. 2005; Sarra 2003). Analysis of project data leads to the conjecture that improved working teacher–aide relationships and improved student mathematics learning outcomes would be enhanced if the following were achieved:

- Teachers recognizing and valuing the distinct cultural nuances of the Communities in which they are teaching and the roles of ITAs in bridging gaps between school and Community
- ITAs being assigned to particular classes so that relationships can be established
- ITAs being confident and knowledgeable about their culture, their community, student learning and the subjects they will assist in teaching

- Teachers willing to let go of part of their authority and allow ITAs to control cultural matters and to participate in planning, facilitating and monitoring learning

Power Sharing and Positive Teacher–ITA–Community Partnerships

As argued previously, improved Indigenous educational outcomes have required schools to build effective teacher–ITA partnerships. This position is supported by a set of recommendations developed nationally in Australia in response to the disparity and subsequent failure of education systems for Indigenous (MCEETYA 2005). These recommendations acknowledged the importance of school and community educational partnerships as a major part of promoting successful outcomes for Indigenous. An effective way to develop such partnerships (and one we followed in the project) is to use ITAs as the conduit between school and community. However, this requires moving the ITAs' role from classroom duties controlled by teachers to a more independent partner role in which they and their teachers base teaching on home/school links. ITAs are in an excellent position for this role as they are often viewed by Indigenous parents as being more approachable than teachers (Logan and Feiler 2006).

As analysed from the project data, partnerships developed through four steps as in Fig. 1.

To move across these four levels requires a change in teacher–ITA power and authority relationships as well as teaching and liaison relationships. This necessitates ITAs gain some bureaucratic authority and to have their traditional community

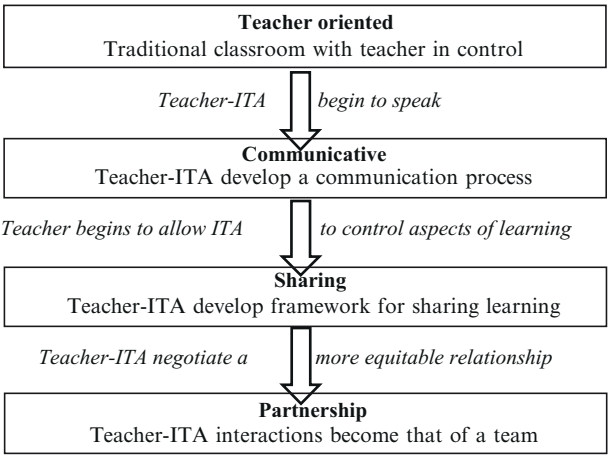

Fig. 1 Four levels of partnership development

authority acknowledged within the classroom (see Table 1). It would be extremely difficult for ITAs to do this if teachers resisted, and especially if principals and the system did not explicitly support such a move. Therefore, for teacher–ITA interactions to move from teacher-oriented to partnership entails teachers to relinquish power, to share their school bureaucratic authority and acknowledge the ITAs' community traditional authority. Successful Indigenous school programmes placed giving ITAs power and control as a keystone of their change programme (Sarra 2003).

The project showed that teachers are willing to cede authority to ITAs if they gain something from the change. The gain for teachers in this project was increased effectiveness in teaching Indigenous students. This seemed to work because any change from teacher-oriented to communicative to sharing and partnerships tended to improve classroom learning environments, and any improvement in learning appeared to motivate the teachers to move further. Our input into the schools also seemed to help; because of our role as external experts, we legitimised the changes in teacher–ITA interactions and provided a basis for giving high status to the new partnerships.

Power, Authority and Knowledge in Indigenous Classrooms

It is evident that socially just and effective classrooms for Indigenous learning need different authority relationships from those traditionally in classrooms (and described in Table 1). Changing power and authority is nearly always met with resistance, and effective methods to bring about change involve an analysis of the particular power and authority relationships in schools and classrooms. Although there are examples of direct decision making, power and authority tend to operate within schools and school systems by non-decision making or negative power (Bachrach and Baratz 1970), hegemony (Gramsci 1971; Clayton 2006) and knowledge (Foucault 1991). It is unusual for teachers to do anything that challenges the wishes of their principals because the principals control employment, placement and promotion. Bachrach and Baratz describe cogently how this happens. Schools run on the acceptance by all members of the dominant ideas, or hegemony behind the hierarchy of control and distribution of responsibility that is the school structure. This structure appears to be based on nested loci of control that principals control schools and teachers control classrooms. This is very difficult to challenge.

Conclusion

This project has reinforced the theory that power and knowledge are closely linked (Foucault 1991). The focus on communication and the provision of professional learning for ITAs appeared to be the key to ITAs gaining authority within the classroom,

and moving from the school to link with their community and take account of Indigenous culture in the classroom. Without knowledge, ITAs were powerless to both effectively teach and to confront the hegemony and non-decision making of the schools. Some teachers went to great lengths to keep knowledge from ITAs by inadequate communication (see Cooper et al. 2005). Teachers and schools allowed us to provide professional learning in communication and teaching to ITAs because of the promise of improved Indigenous learning outcomes. These happened but so did improvements in status and authority of the ITA. Interestingly, these improvements in ITA authority seem to be as effective for Indigenous learning as the ITAs' improved teaching knowledge; thus, the linking of socially just ITA roles with socially just student outcomes.

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Deliberative Pedagogy and the Rationalization of Learning

Klas Roth

Introduction

The Swedish government seems to be telling us to believe that schools should 'impart the more unvarying forms of knowledge that constitute the common frame of reference that all in society need' (Lpo-94 1994, p. 5), that the 'school has the important task of imparting, instilling and forming in pupils those fundamental values on which our society is based' (ibid., p. 3), and that those should underlie the basic approaches of learning in a democratic pluralistic society. This rationalisation of learning seems to increase the student's understanding, and to be a reason for the agent's – that is, the student's – action as an informed and responsible member of a democracy. However, public education is increasingly challenged by altered conditions in our post-national societies. Economic, technological and political issues are no longer exclusively a national-state matter, but a transnational and global one. Cultural homogeneity is being increasingly challenged by increasing recognition of difference. Should teachers then only impart 'the more unvarying forms of knowledge' to and instil the 'fundamental values' of our society in children and young people in order to educate them as informed and responsible citizens? Imparting and instilling do not self-sufficiently legitimise or rationalise learning in a deliberative sense. Democratic deliberation offers a more full-fledged view of learning in deliberative democratic and pluralistic societies or so I will argue.

I begin by discussing whether imparting 'unvarying forms of knowledge' and instilling 'fundamental values' should underlie the basic approaches of learning, especially in the education of deliberative citizens in a deliberative democracy. In the second part, I argue that deliberative pedagogy articulates conditions for rationalising learning holistically.

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The Initiation and Rationalization of Learning

We know that teachers initiate children and young people into public forms of knowledge such as maths, physics, biology, the social sciences, philosophy, and that they categorise and classify different concepts as belonging to each subject. In maths, they talk of rules and numbers. In physics, they speak about atoms as the building blocks of the universe and of man, in biology about molecules, genes and characteristics of different species and label animals and plants, categorising them according to a scheme. In social science, they lecture about different ways of organising societies and different ways of thinking how societies are or should be organised and in philosophy about how philosophers reflect upon philosophical issues; and they read the works of philosophers. Here we have specific, reproduced and public forms of knowledge for a specific culture at a specific time in history. The teaching of such knowledge exemplify how teachers instil in children and young people what Davidson (1980) calls a 'pro attitude' to what they are being taught. Such imparting and instilling rationalises the student's learning. Davidson says:

> A reason rationalizes an action only if it leads us to see something the agent saw, or thought he saw, in his action – some feature, consequence, or aspect of the action the agent wanted, desired, prized, held dear, thought dutiful, beneficial, obligatory, or agreeable. … Whenever someone does something for a reason, therefore, he can be characterised as (*a*) having some sort of pro attitude toward actions of a certain kind, and (*b*) believing (or knowing, perceiving, noticing, remembering) that his action is of that kind. Under (*a*) are to be included desires, wantings, urges, promptings, and a great variety of moral views, aesthetic principles, economic prejudices, social conventions, and public and private goals and values in so far as these can be interpreted as attitudes of an agent directed toward actions of a certain kind. (Davidson 1980, pp 3–4)

The student can, then, in social science, psychology and physics, learn to believe that the content of her thinking depends on her interaction with other thinkers or the features of the world that make her thoughts true; and that she ought to have a 'pro attitude' towards reproduced beliefs. She can also learn to believe that the laws, customs, practices and traditions of, especially, the majority culture in each nation cause the behaviour of citizens in any country.

It seems then that the concepts provided by teachers affect the ways children and young people learn to perceive, know and remember objects and events, and in this sense make them believe that their beliefs are true. It seems, too, that the teaching affects how they relate to what they learn and are brought to believe, and in general motivates in them a pro attitude towards it. Not that this is true in every single case and for all beliefs, but it is in general true for many of them in many cases. The language teacher may, for example, instruct an eighth-grade student to write words in different columns, categorising them as parts of speech explained by him to have different functions in language. The student may write 'I' in the pronouns column, 'think' in the verbs column. She may also be instructed to write 'I think' beneath the columns as an example of a well-formulated sentence. The student believes that this sentence is true, and she has a pro attitude towards it. Then the teacher in physics

may instruct her that atoms constitute all matter and are regulated by laws, and she learns to believe that this too is true. She may also believe that human beings have bodies extending in time and space, and therefore consist of matter, and hence of atoms. Should she then also learn to believe that atoms and hence matter think?

Does the teacher, who is imparting unvarying forms of knowledge and instilling fundamental values, and thereby provides the students with descriptions and explanations, also provide the legitimate reasons for their action? In social science, a teacher says that liberalism and market economy are ideologies in which many people in our modern societies believe. According to the teacher, this explains – as far as the students are concerned – why many people behave as they do. However, teaching liberalism and market economy does not necessarily cause the students, or others, to become adherents of liberalism or advocates of market economy even though they would be part of the cultural background of the teaching.

The supposed normative rightness of a specific teaching, imparting of specific knowledge and instilling of specific values, as well as a specific cultural background cannot be justified in itself. There are different teaching methods, knowledge and backgrounds of shared values in our world, and we cannot coordinate our action solely by appeal to one of them. According to Habermas, we should recognise a norm as morally binding, if and only if it can:

> be generalized from the perspective of all affected … [and] command general assent. (Habermas 1993, p. 8)

Such generalisation requires understanding on the part of all those affected. It presupposes that people have the right and possibility to participate in deliberation concerning the ways they understand themselves and others, the means and the ends, and what moral principles ought to guide such endeavours. Hence, the basic views of imparting and instilling suggested here have to take into account that the question 'What should I do?' be 'answered morally with reference to what one ought to do' (Habermas 1993, p. 8), which necessitates a hermeneutical clarification of the meaning of utterances as well as the social and cultural setting in which sentences are being used in communication. However, views on 'imparting' and 'instilling' do not necessarily promote this requirement of understanding in a deliberative sense. They seem to assume that communication between at least two interlocutors involves only the speaker and the listener, the message and its effect on the listener, plus a social and cultural setting. This suggests that when an interlocutor expresses herself, the intent is self-sufficiently clear, the meaning of the expression need not be interpreted differently, that the effect on the other can be checked; and that the cultural background is self-sufficiently clear and needs no interpretation. However, none of this is necessarily true. When one of the speakers expresses herself we cannot know whether what she says is what she intended. She may, for example, say that she would like to have an ice cream, while she in fact really wanted the other speaker to go away for a while so that she could buy her a present. Now it is true that we in general believe and have to believe that what people say also is what they intend, but this is not always true. She herself may not even know what she intended. She could have mixed feelings for her ex-husband.

When she meets him on the street with her new husband and says: 'I love you' she could be interpreted as intending to tell him that she now loves her new husband, but also to tell him that she stills loves him too. She could be meaning both, but because of the social situation, she will turn to her husband with a smile, despite mixed feelings. It is also obvious that single expressions can be interpreted differently, dependent not only on the speaker's intention, but also on the part of the understanding of the hearer and the social situation. The expression $e = mc^2$ means something different for a physicist than for a child. It also means something different for physics students studying Einsteinian relativity at Stanford University in the USA than for two agents with no physics training identifying each other in Wayne's Coffee at Götgatan, Stockholm, Sweden. It is also clear that the effect on the hearer cannot be controlled or foreseen in every single case. We cannot be certain that the expression 'I love you' will affect her husband in the sense she would like it to. He might feel happy when she turns to him with a smile, but there again, he might become jealous of her ex-husband hearing her, knowing her mixed feelings for the man.

A hesitant mind still holding on to the idea of imparting and instilling as the basic views of learning in schools can, however, assert that the content of thinking depends on interaction with other thinkers. Such a one may explain that the use of an utterance is correct only if used in relevantly similar situations, as others would do. Students should therefore use sentences as others would do in relevantly similar situations. The hesitant mind may also assert that our thoughts and language depict the world in the sense that the cause of our perceptions determines the propositional content of our beliefs. Because of this, the person says, children and young people should embrace the same utterances, the content of which depends on features of the world theoretically perceivable to all normal human beings in the same way. However, since the features of the world are not accessible to every single human being in every single case, the person holds that it is easier if children and young people learn only what teachers rightly are authorised to instruct them to learn and what has been checked by science. Their pupils, then, simply have to trust in the teacher's sincerity, the righteousness in application of preferred fundamental values and the truthfulness of the unvarying forms of knowledge. Hence, there is no need for a procedure and certainly no right to deliberate and argue in schools.

The views outlined above seem to require that teachers and students know how to go on: to follow a rule according to specific reproduced forms of knowledge and expressed values in institutionalised social settings. However, since such forms are linguistic expressions of objects or events, we can ask whether it is these interpretations or the training itself that show us how to go on. If we turn to interpretation, we face an infinite regression, that is, it is always possible to give an alternative interpretation of any utterance, and if we consider training, we face Wittgenstein's problem:

> "But how can a rule shew me what I have to do at *this* point? Whatever I do is, on some interpretation, in accord with the rule." – That is not what we ought to say, but rather: any interpretation still hangs in the air along with what it interprets, and cannot give it any support. Interpretations by themselves do not determine meaning. "Then can whatever I do be brought into accord with the rule?" – Let me ask this: what has the expression of a rule –

> say a sign-post – got to do with my actions? What sort of connection is there here? – Well, perhaps this one: I have been trained to react to this sign in a particular way, and now I do so react to it.
>
> But that is only to give a c.ausal connection; to tell how it has come about that we now go by the sign-post; not what this going-by-the-sign really consists in. On the contrary; I have further indicated that a person goes by a sign-post only in so far as there exists a regular use of sign-posts, a custom. (Wittgenstein 1984, §198)

If the student should learn how to proceed, it seems that he or she would have to avoid an infinite regression during interpretation, would have to anchor the interpretation in practice. This means recognising regularity in the occurrence of phenomena and in the teacher's behaviour. It also requires observation of 'the phenomenon of a kind of instruction, of shewing how and of imitation, of lucky and misfiring attempts, of reward and punishment and the like' (Wittgenstein 1978, VI–42) and that there is an agreement in the use of judgments and definitions:

> … the phenomenon of language is based on regularity, on agreement in action.
>
> Here it is of the greatest importance that all or the enormous majority of us agree in certain things. I can e.g., be quite sure that the colour of this object will be called 'green' by far the most of the human beings who see it.It would be imaginable that humans of different stocks possessed languages that all had the same vocabulary, but the meanings of the words were different. The word that meant green among one tribe, meant same among another, table for a third and so on. We could even imagine that the same sentences were used by the tribes, only with entirely different senses.
>
> Now in this case I should not say that they spoke the same language.
>
> We say that, in order to communicate, people must agree with one another about the meanings of words. But the criterion for this agreement is not just agreement with reference to definitions, e.g., ostensive definitions – but *also* an agreement in judgments. It is essential for communication that we agree in a large number of judgments. (Wittgenstein 1978, VI–39)

We see that Wittgenstein asserts that interpretations themselves hang in the air, that there is only a causal connection between interpretation and training, and that agreement in both use and definitions is a necessary condition for language. These comments need not, however, lead us to conclude that teachers ought to initiate children and young people into reproduced and public forms of knowledge, and to instil fundamental values legitimised in relation to the majority culture in our society without deliberation.

One way of interpreting the externalist position informed by Wittgenstein's comments is to assert the following that it is the interaction with other thinkers or the features of the world that determine the content of our thought. The 'interaction' interpretation (social externalism) would run something like this: a student learns how to proceed only if he or she uses the sentence as others (preferable the teacher and perhaps the other students) would do in relevantly similar situations. The 'world features' interpretation (perceptual externalism) would be that the cause of perception determines the content of our beliefs. I will begin by discussing the former interpretation.

Perhaps we can explain that the meaning of two expressions is the same by invoking sameness in use in relevantly similar situations, but how can we determine whether the content of thought is the same by observing the relevantly similar use of sentences by two people? All we can say is that the two express themselves similarly in relevantly similar situations. Agreement in judgment as a necessary part of checking the success of an interpretation does not answer the question of error or understanding concerning definitions. A student may very well repeat what the teacher says either verbally or in a textbook or a test. However, this does not show that he or she knows that he or she has understood or knows when it would be wrong to use the expression. The connection between the utterances is only descriptive, not normative. Nor does it help 'to say that the teacher, or society, tells me. They can punish me if I fail to toe the line, but fear of punishment can't, in itself, give me the idea that there is anything more wrong with my action than that others don't like it. What is missing, one might say, is the idea of understanding.' (Davidson 2001b, p. 3) It is clear that the others, too, have to agree on definitions. However, since the use of a sentence can raise at least three claims to validity (truthfulness, righteousness and sincerity) along ethical, social and cultural, political, moral and pragmatic dimensions of deliberation (see Roth 2000), it is not clear from the outset that we agree or ever will agree on definitions of all dimensions of deliberation in relation to different validity claims. Hence, we cannot be certain that the student knows how to proceed in a case of error because of the causal connection between teacher's and student's uses of utterances in relevantly similar situations. Davidson says:

> … mere crowd behavior in itself can't explain conceptualization; it can't even explain error. (Davidson 2001b, p. 5)

The teacher tells the student or the student reads in a textbook, 'Everything consists of atoms'. The student could write it down on a piece of paper in a test, but does this show us how to use the expression in similar situations? If, for example, she as a Jew meets him as a Christian and they talk about how they understand themselves and others, how do they know how to use a sentence heard from the teacher for this exchange (ethical dimension of deliberation)? Talking about how different cultures integrate and affect them, how do they know how to use the sentence mentioned correctly (social and cultural dimension)? Talking about political issues concerning how to organise their lives socially and in relation to each other, how do they know how to use the sentence correctly; or whether indeed there is a correct use at all for it in this situation (political dimension)? If they also talk about moral issues, considering how they should reflect upon all of this, should this discourse be in analytical terms, prescriptive terms or critical terms (moral dimension)? Moreover, if critical, should the terms be neo-Marxist or postmodernist, Habermas' discourse ethics or Foucault's governmentality? Should the two study the sense in which science as a tool of power regulates their dispositions and thinking? Should they study the intertwined relation between science and market economy? Should they study how science and especially natural science violates difference? If they come to talk about the consequences of their thinking

and acting for each other, how then do they know how to use ‘Everything consists of atoms’ (pragmatic dimension)? We conclude that imparting alone cannot explain error or understanding, and that we need a holistic approach to communication in terms of deliberation. Only when we deliberate upon the use and definitions of different dimensions of deliberation can we learn when we have got it wrong (and right) and how far we have grown in understanding whatever concern us holistically.

We now turn to the idea of perceptual externalism. It seems clear too that we cannot be wrong in believing that something is systematically causing our experience and thereby the content of our thought. Perceptual externalism asserts that our causal interaction with the environment determines the content of our words and sentences, that is, people’s reactions towards common stimuli and correlations of their actions in relation to the common stimuli cause them to react similarly. It explains how language and the world are connected, and how meanings of words and sentences are fixed. This, however, does not rule out social factors or the interplay between how at least two people use words and sentences. It is only through communication between at least two beings in an environment that we can ascribe meaning to words and sentences. Let me quote Davidson at length:

> The teacher is responding to two things: the external situation and the responses of the learner. The learner is responding to two things: the external situation and the responses of the teacher. All these relations are causal. Thus the essential triangle is formed which makes communication about shared objects and events possible. But it is also this triangle that determines the content of the learner’s words and thoughts when these become complex enough to deserve the term. The role of the teacher in determining the content of the learner’s attitude is not just the ‘determine’ of causality. For in addition to being a cause of those thoughts, what makes the particular aspect of the cause of the learner’s responses the aspect that gives them the content they have is the fact that this aspect of the cause is shared by the teacher and the learner. Without such sharing, there would be no grounds for selecting one cause rather than another as the content-fixing cause. A noncommunicating creature may be seen by us as responding to an objective world; but we are not justified in attributing thoughts about our world (or any other) to it. (Davidson 2001a, p. 203)

Communication involves at least two human beings checking their uses of utterances with one another in relation to a shared environment. Hence, one person can check the other’s use in relevantly similar situations and establish what the other means by asking whether the first’s interpretations of the second’s intention agree with the first’s own. Communication in a full sense requires, then, deliberation among participants wanting to communicate and thereby coming to understand each other. The traditional idea of instilling fundamental values and imparting unvarying forms of knowledge does not necessarily consider this. Habermas says:

> Participants must be mutually sensitized to one another’s understanding of themselves and of the world. Among the necessary presupposition of argumentation are: complete inclusion of all those affected, equal distribution of argumentational rights and obligations, the uncoerciveness of the communicative situation, and the participants’ orientation toward reaching mutual understanding. Under these exacting conditions of communication, all available information, suggestions, reasons, evidence, and objections that are relevant to selecting, specifying, and resolving an obvious problem are supposed to come into play such that the best arguments are introduced and that the best argument always holds sway.

> This epistemic function refers to sorting possible topics and mobilizing relevant contributions. What is expected from the participants is only sincere and unprejudiced testing of these contributions. (Habermas 2003, p. 269)

Many philosophers have abandoned projects for justifying knowledge and values or for reducing the objective, intersubjective and subjective dimensions of communication. Instead, many are concentrating on how we acquire knowledge. One reason for this is that the distinction between descriptions of empirical knowledge and theoretical terms stating norms for what is to count as knowledge is unclear. Another reason is that neither empirical nor theoretical terms, or sentences composed using them have been anchored in experience or reason. Thirdly, the first-person or Cartesian approach to knowledge, namely that a single individual acquires knowledge on his own either through experience or reason has been abandoned as a hopeless and meaningless project. This has inclined some philosophers who would like to naturalise epistemology to assert that we should not search for a foundation for science or common sense; we should just accept what they dictate (Quine 1960). However, it seems to me that we have to know what belief system a single proposition relates to in order to understand it since, to be meaningful a belief relies on a background of other beliefs such as the subjective, the intersubjective and the objective. The subjective concerns our inner belief system in terms of desires, experience, dreams and so forth. The intersubjective concerns our belief system in relation to our interpersonal relations. The objective concerns, inter alia, our belief system in relation to the physical world.

A deliberative and holistic approach to particular beliefs articulates conditions for democratic deliberation, how we acquire such beliefs and the character of such deliberation. Imparting unvarying forms of knowledge or instilling fundamental values does not test how far we understand specific beliefs in relation to different belief systems. On the other hand, deliberation concerning the subjective, the intersubjective and the objective, on, for example, ethical, sociocultural, political, moral and pragmatic dimensions does so. Hence, deliberation is more fundamental for learning to become a deliberating citizen of a deliberative democracy than is the acquisition of unvarying forms of knowledge and the conformity to fundamental values.

Discussion: Deliberation and the Rationalization of Learning

Models of representative democracy with their insistence on informed and responsible citizens also promulgate the idea that teachers should impart ‘the more unvarying forms of knowledge’ and instil the ‘fundamental values of our society’ in order to educate the young as informed and responsible citizens. The purpose of this ends-and-means-view of education is to achieve an acceptable level of informed, competitive and democratic citizens. An effective school, in this respect, rates high on test scores, and effectively prepares children and young people with

knowledge, values and attitudes required for successful competition in society, especially in the workplace. However, they can be criticised, inter alias, for not taking the importance of deliberation into account when attempting to understand and legitimise the knowledge, values and norms of action in a pluralist society (Roth 2000. See also Dryzek 2000 for a critique of representative models of democracy) They can also be criticised for using education as a means to specific ends, in terms of only preparing children and young people for the welfare society, specific jobs, and for coming to embrace common knowledge and values without being given the possibility to deliberate them or to say yes or no to them (Roth 2000, 2006). Moreover, they can be criticised for not considering globalisation and transnational issues, an omission which challenges the proposed idea of the nation in social, political and economic terms; and for not adequately emphasising criticality or deliberation as valuable educational goals. (Roth 2006) The lack of emphasis on criticality and deliberation suggests that traditional education for citizenship is a mechanism for training competitiveness in the labour market, promoting consumption, integration into fixed social roles or functions or into a fixed set of values and beliefs, or marginalisation and segregation of social, cultural, ethnic, religious or other groups in society.

Models of representative democracy also rely heavily on science as the source of legitimate knowledge, which understands language as a medium either for expressing Cartesian minds or for representing how the world really is. Here language depicts the world as it exists out there, and relies heavily on a split between facts and norms. However, a deliberative approach deviates from these ideas, suggesting instead a holistic, intersubjectivistic and non-fundamentalist approach to language, which takes into account the non-clear cuts between facts and norms. It does not distinguish between an imperturbable world of events and objects, values and norms; nor does it advocate a reductionistic posture vis-à-vis the subjective, intersubjective and objective. It stresses that communication between at least two language users is always incomplete. It relies heavily on the idea that understanding is always a matter of degree, whatever the subject. However, it emphasises that external factors affect the contents of our thoughts: these include an external world and other people using language differently in concrete situations with different rationalities, for example, to understand or to solve problems such as epistemological, aesthetic and moral conflicts. Understanding people from different cultures, religions and with different philosophical frameworks is, then, no different from understanding our next-door neighbour, except in degree.

Conclusion

Deliberative pedagogy, as I understand it, articulates conditions for communication and communicative processes especially in institutionalised settings between theoretically all concerned, and suggests some ideas for a theory on the education of deliberative democratic citizens, which we can use to test how far communication between at

least two people is deliberative (Roth 2000, 2004). It investigates how far the young understand and legitimise reproduced and public forms of knowledge and the conditions for rationalising learning. It contributes to an increased understanding, and clarifies our reasons for learning; but cannot justify it in any stronger sense. It focuses on how individuals acquire particular beliefs as part of belief systems on, inter alia, different dimensions of deliberation; whether and how they are able to deliberate, whether they have a right to deliberate, and on the character of the beliefs acquired. It also suggests that children's and young people's right to deliberate in compulsory schooling is contained in the Swedish national curriculum for the compulsory school system, the pre-school and the leisure-time centre (Roth 2000, 2003, 2004).

Hence, the views on learning in schools seemingly proclaimed by the Swedish Curriculum cannot be basic in the education of deliberative democratic citizens in a deliberative democracy, or so I have argued (see also Roth 2008). Instead, I have suggested democratic deliberation as more fundamental. It offers a more full-fledged view of learning than the conservative idea of imparting 'unvarying forms of knowledge' and instilling 'fundamental values' legitimised in relation to the majority culture within the nation.

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