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ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION • AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES •

GUEST EDITORS:
MICHEL CARTON AND SOBHI TAWIL

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EDITORIAL

Among the manifold aspects of the relationship between globalization and education analysed in this issue of *Prospects,* the most important is the lack of concern for the long term and for the heritage that we wish new generations to inherit, a common behaviour typical of many social actors, but particularly evident in those involved in business corporations. There is a sort of 'lack of purpose'[1] in the current period which assumes the form not only of an individual problem, but also a social and universal one. The termination of the Cold War signalled the end of two centuries of Enlightenment, in other words the domination of a conceptual, ideological and political structure which gave meaning to the activities of all those social actors involved. The breakdown of this conceptual structure is illustrated by the great difficulty in finding any way of representing the future proposed by globalization, enabling us to commit ourselves for intellectual or affective reasons, and to embrace principles that go well beyond simple economic needs. Uncertainty has become the most widespread manner of describing the future, and the social or political assurances of a 'better future' have paled considerably.

This 'lack of purpose' has had a direct impact upon education. There are numerous examples indicating an accelerating growth in requests intended to include in curricula such aspects as would satisfy the need to achieve particular objectives (ethical, religious, civic or other training), as well as a new approach to the role of teachers that would strengthen their moral authority and their function as model and guide for new generations. But education, and more particularly the school, cannot assume alone a task which belongs to the whole of society. There are, however, at least two lines of action that can be identified from the point of view of comparative education theory and research.

The first line of action deals with reviving the classic discussion on the goals of education, on whom will fall the responsibility of training the younger generation both concerning the cultural heritage, the values and conceptions of mankind and concerning the society that we wish to pass on. The philosophical dimension therefore assumes a significant place in educational research. It is obvious that we are not becoming involved in a metaphysical reflection remote from social, economic, cul-

tural or political concerns. On the contrary, we should attempt to carry out an analysis which would take advantage of important advances in the social sciences during recent years.

At the same time as this theoretical and political debate is proceeding, the second line of action concerns the study of the various ways in which societies achieve a consensus and agreement on educational objectives and strategies. It is not by chance that the present 'lack of purpose' is accompanied by a marked insistence on the fact that educational policies require long-term agreements among all sectors of society. The question of consensus and national agreements on education has become an indispensable condition to guarantee the continuity of national educational policies. The different approaches and the difficulties encountered in achieving this consensus represent elements which enable us to study and compare individual ways put forward to give 'purpose' to the evolution of society.

The implications of these questions affect not only developed countries. In this area, we must rid ourselves of the implicit assumption lying behind a large number of approaches to comparative education according to which 'philosophical' debates are of marginal importance given the pressing need to overcome the fundamental problems of literacy, access to basic education or the availability of school textbooks. Recent years have taught us some very sharp lessons on this point, particularly in Africa and in Eastern Europe. Indeed, the countries that have succeeded in overcoming these urgent problems are those that have achieved a fundamental social agreement based on the principle that any social undertaking must provide a place for everybody.

The 'Introduction to the open file' written by our guest editors—Michel Carton and Sobhi Tawil—gives a clear presentation of the different approaches and problems dealt with in this *Prospects*' 'Open file'. This theme will, no doubt, be the subject of numerous reflections, research and discussions in the future. *Prospects* will follow the evolution of this discussion and will participate in it according to its on-going interest in pluralism.

Two articles on teachers are published in the 'Trends' section, and contribute additional elements to those already published in *Prospects,* volume XXVI, number 3, September 1996. To complete this issue, the situation of educational reform in Kenya is presented by Abdelhag Rharade.

JUAN CARLOS TEDESCO
DIRECTOR

Note

1. See Zakï Laïdi, *Un monde privé de sens* [A world without purpose], Paris, Fayard, 1994.

VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES

EDUCATION AND WORK: DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Phillip Hughes

The universal and the personal

Education and work are both human activities of a fundamental and enduring nature.

Education is one of the most universal of human activities. It is also one of the most personal. When we think of our own education, we tend to think of particulars rather than universals: particular teachers or students; particular places; particular incidents. Yet education plays a universal role in human life and in every human society, expressing for each society the essence of what it values most highly, in its heritage from the past, in its hopes for the future. The extent of commonality between these expressions of different societies is an expression of the universality of education, a universality which has increased dramatically over time.

Work, also, is both individual and universal. It is a powerful identifying quality for each person, so much so that a failure to have access to work is a limitation on individual development. Yet its universality can be shown by the fact that the nature and structure of work is a dominant feature of any society, and any changes in that nature and structure impose tremendous tensions.

Original language: English

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The relationship between education and work is interactive. One of the most powerful influences on both the content and the structure of education is exerted by the nature of work. In turn, the capacity for work is defined by the outcomes of education. When the interrelationship works well, there exists a constructive tension between education and work. When it works badly, there is a danger that there will be two sets of monologues, with each group lecturing the other on what should be done and neither being prepared to listen. Our society is currently close to that lack of dialogue.

In our current situation, with work patterns changing so dramatically, there is a greater need than ever for a dialogue which can be constructive for both work and education. The coming century will continue to witness these changing patterns. What qualities of intellect, physique and character do we need from our schooling to face the experiences of the next century?

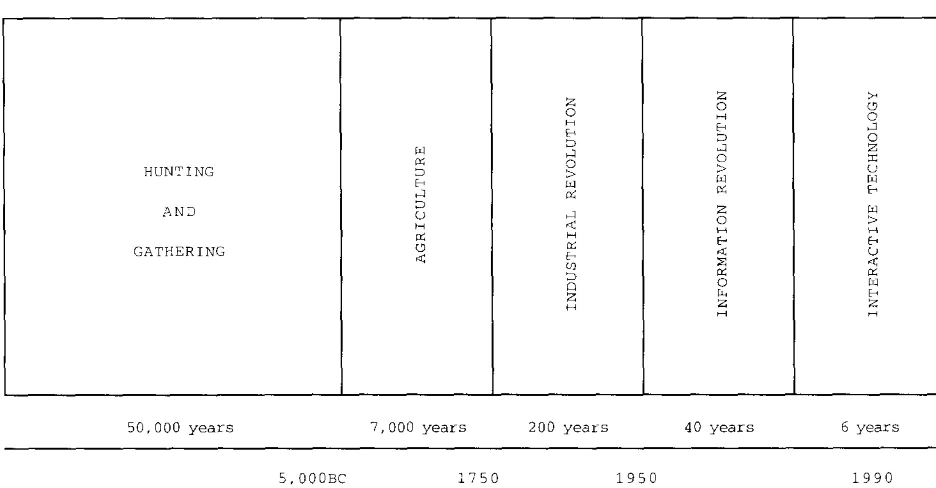
The new century opens wide horizons

We can be certain of one aspect only—the new century will be very different from this one. In the same way that the twentieth century has done for us and our predecessors, the twenty-first century will open up entirely new horizons for our children in the ways they organize the economy, the ways they structure their society, the patterns of their personal lives. In the past, there has often been conflict between these three aspects. The future offers a unique opportunity for harmony—provided we are willing to learn from the past.

As we look at the past, taking as an example the way that work is organized, we are conscious of the escalating pace of change (Figure 1).

For a long period, more than 50,000 years, humanity was a small scattered society of hunter-gatherers. The essential occupations were hunting, tool-making, food-gathering, creating shelter and personal care. Work and training for work were indivisible, both carried out in small groups developing a stable set of skills. The population grew slowly,

FIGURE 1. Occupational eras



to about 10 million by 5,000 BC. Most people were prepared for all aspects of work–generalists rather than specialists in nature. Effective work was the necessity for survival, so that it was highly meaningful.

The next period of approximately 7,000 years, through the technological capacity to produce crops, saw agriculture as the dominant occupation. Work was still generalist in nature, but more diverse, requiring more skills and training. Work was still meaningful, determining plenty or scarcity, and although centred in the home could still involve many different sites. Whole families were involved in work and were the locus of training. Dependent occupations began to arise: banking and clerical, defence and security, arts and crafts. For some of these areas, specialized training was involved. Populations grew to a total of about 625 million by AD 1750.

The 200 years from 1750, described as the Industrial Revolution, brought dramatic changes through human inventiveness. Better transport and mass production were features of the revolution. Assembly-line tasks were routine, repetitive and specialized, with the worker usually performing one task and not seeing the final result. As Lauren Resnick describes it, 'The workers were required to check in their brains at the factory gate' (Resnick & Wirt, 1995). The inventiveness of a few led to reduced opportunities for creativity and learning for the many. Mass production led to massive urbanization. In industrial societies, education and training were also mass exercises, based for the first time on universal primary education in a factory-like setting. Work had become very specialized–carrying out one simple repetitive task. It was also much less meaningful, with the final outcome seen by only a few and the visible result being limited to a pay packet. Under these circumstances, pride in the quality of work was hard to sustain.

The occupational pattern of the pyramid of unskilled, skilled and management staff was paralleled by the pyramid pattern of primary education for all, secondary for a selected group and higher education for an elite.

Andy Hargreaves emphasizes the savage social efforts of the Industrial Revolution, where the grim working conditions of the factories were matched by those of the schools providing the first mass education.

> Modern school systems [. . .] emerged as factory-like systems of mass education designed to meet the needs of manufacturing and heavy industry. They processed people in batches, segregated them in age-related cohorts called classes or standards, taught them a standard course [. . .] through teacher-centred methods of lecturing, recitation, question-and-answer and set work (Hargreaves, 1994).

The 'human resources revolution' or 'Information Revolution' has been still more rapid, less than fifty years. Technology led the way again, increasing productivity so that unskilled jobs were lost in heavy industry and skilled jobs were required in service and information industries. This is a revolution that has accelerated and taken new forms even in the past five years, with the arrival of yet more sophisticated technology.

By the end of this century, now so close, writers such as Handy (1995*a*) predict that less than 50% of people will be in conventional, full-time jobs. The familiar concepts of work and a career are being fundamentally changed, bringing consequent changes in social structure and in the shape of organizations. Handy sees successful organizations as hav-

ing a small core of permanent employees and a larger group of people brought in to carry out particular tasks.

In the past, a person commencing work could expect to work a thirty-five to forty hour week for a period of forty or fifty years, often in the same organization. This is changing dramatically with people having many careers and working very intensively for periods. Handy sees a new stage emerging as people 'retire' earlier to begin quite new career options or to pursue other interests.

These changes in the nature of work and career are a consequence of the trend away from labour-intensive manufacturing and towards knowledge-based organisations and the provision of services. As such, an increasing proportion of the available jobs in our community require high-order intellectual rather than manual skills (Handy, 1995*a*).

The new situation for work involves: new types of employees with higher education; greater skills and different expectations resulting from their involvement; new and continually changing technology; new organizational and management structures; new possibilities for the location of work.

Table 1 shows the massive nature of the change which has occurred and which continues to evolve.

TABLE 1. Work-place patterns

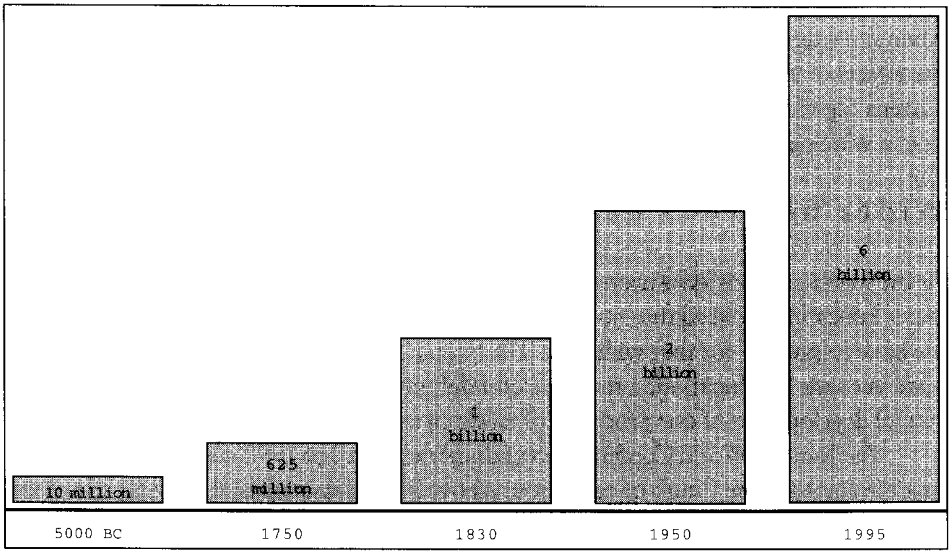
	Old	New
Production	Long production runs	Customized production
Nature of task	Fragmentation of tasks	Team tasks
Individual involvement	Small part of the process	Whole product
Workers' requirements	Decisions at top	Decisions where needed
Preparation	Minimal qualifications	Skills, abilities
	Minimal training	Continuous training
Promotion	Seniority	Capacity

With these changes came an explosive period of population growth: a world population of 1 billion in 1830, 2 billion by 1925, 3 billion by 1962, 4 billion by 1975, with 6 billion in 1995. Again, it is the accelerating pace of the changes, as well as the magnitude which is striking, and is a strong indicator of parallel social changes (see Figure 2).

There is a natural feeling that the pace of such change must decrease, that we cannot continue with the present rate of population growth. This may well be so, yet many writers see this as leading us to an even less predictable stage.

We are entering an age of unreason, a time where the future, in so many areas, is to be shaped by us; a time when the only prediction that will hold true is that no prediction will hold true; a time therefore for bold imagining in private life as well as public; for thinking the unlikely and doing the unreasonable (Handy, 1995*a*).

FIGURE 2. World population growth



This move towards a new period, with radically different requirements both for work and for social and individual development, puts schools in a position of particular tension.

As schools move into the post-modern age, something is going to have to give. It might be the quality of classroom learning as teachers and the curriculum are spread increasingly thinly to accommodate more and more demands. It might be the health, lives and stamina of teachers themselves as they crumple under the pressure of multiple-mandated change. Or it can be the basic structures and cultures of schooling, reinvented for and realigned with the post-modern purposes and pressures they must now address. These are the stark choices we now face (Hargreaves, 1994).

These profound technological and social changes have brought us to a world that is interlinked as never before. Communications make us one world, while population and resource pressures, and the rebirth of old rivalries, make us a deeply divided world. Formerly, we could live with those divisions, for we could live separately. Now, in a world where communication enables us to move people, products and jobs with equal ease, those divisions threaten to engulf us.

We are living through a transformation that will rearrange the politics and economics of the coming century. There will be no national products or technologies, no national corporations, no national industries. There will be no national economies, at least as we have come to understand that concept. All that will remain rooted within national borders are the people who comprise a nation. Each nation's primary assets will be its citizens' skills and insights. Each nation's primary task will be to cope with the centrifugal forces of the global economy which tear at the ties binding citizens together–bestowing ever greater wealth on the most skilled and insightful, while consigning the less skilled to a declining standard of living (Reich, 1992).

The pressures which act on schools to adjust to new patterns of work thus require that they consider simultaneously the social and the personal complications. It is of little use having an education system which helps to create a productive society, if it leaves untouched the effects of 'the centrifugal forces of the global economy which tear at the ties binding citizens together.' We require a society which is harmonious as well as productive, and one in which individuals can live a fulfilling and happy life.

Wider horizons demand a closer focus

As the world expands its horizons and recognizes its interdependence, sometimes in painful ways, education by its nature must widen its horizons also. As part of the world society, we have to prepare for that widening. This preparation demands a closer focus than we have yet seen in education, a more careful definition of our purposes and a more successful development of our processes of teaching and learning.

The Jomtien World Conference on Education for All of 1990 was a landmark in setting the stage for the future of education. Above all, it demonstrated not only the global interdependence that we all acknowledge, but the interrelatedness of our social structures. In assessing the progress of 200 nations following four decades of international effort, the report card was mixed: the grade was 'A' for effort, but only 'E' for achievement. While a few of the poorer nations had made substantial progress, many more had gone backwards. Instead of a spectrum of achievement, there is now a deep divide between the rich nations and the poor nations. The most affluent 20% of the world's population consume 90% of its resources; the least affluent 20% use 1%.

Equally disturbing, when social performance is down in one sector, it tends to be down in others. Agricultural production, industrial activity, health standards, access to basic needs such as clean water, access to communication, political participation: where shortfalls occur in one area, they tend to occur elsewhere, and often in all areas. This is what UNESCO called the 'convergence of disadvantage'.

The Jomtien report identified one common key: education. As levels of learning rose, so did the levels of performance in other social sectors. Education has become an enabler. To repeat the phrase used by Reich: 'each nation's primary assets will be its citizens' skills and abilities'.

It is precisely this quality of interdependence which sets the special challenge for education, nationally as well as globally. The same issues which occur in the world scene occur in individual societies.

The first challenge of internationalization, globally and nationally, is for a productive society which is also a just and cohesive society. If we refuse to accept the tensions of a permanent divide, between those who produce and those who only receive hand-outs, that challenge must be extended to include the achievement of a universally productive society, that is, a society where all members share in both the production and the consumption.

This is the aim that UNESCO has set for world society. We need to recognize the magnitude of this challenge, a task in which no nation has yet succeeded. A number of countries are approaching this goal through the development of national curriculum frame-

works and student-achievement profiles. A national framework seeks to establish an agreed foundation of learning. The statements and profiles seek to establish agreed levels of achievement. That beginning is an appropriate one.

Success is by no means certain. The largest part of this effort belongs to schools and teachers. They are asked to accept a quite different convention for learning. Instead of pupils achieving variable achievement within a set time, and according to fixed methods and organization, the requirement now is for them to reach an established level of achievement as a foundation, while the other aspects of schooling become the variables. The need is for a basic set of essential learnings for all, sufficient as a foundation for the lifelong learning that now becomes a universal requirement. On this base, individuals will construct over a lifetime the different educational profiles they require. This will demand different patterns of organization in schools, as well as different curricula. Charles Handy comments on the dysfunctionality of some current patterns:

> who would expose workers to an organisation which required them to work for ten different bosses in one week, in three or four different work groups, to have no work station or desk of their own but to be always on the move? What sensible organisation would forbid its workers to ask their colleagues for help, would expect them to carry all relevant facts in their heads, would require them to work in 35-minute spells and then move to a different site, would work them in groups of thirty or over and prohibit any social interaction except at official break times?
>
> The typical secondary school, I had to conclude, does not really think of its students as workers. Nor are they the customers, for they have no real choice, no consumer power, no right to complain or to be asked for their preference. Schools do not do much market research among their students. Instinctively, I felt, schools see their students as their products.
>
> Organisationally, that made sense. Products start off as raw material. The material is processed, in batches, usually at different work stations. It is graded and inspected, so are students. The fact that some 40 per cent are below par is regarded mainly as a sign that standards are high. Unfortunately, the inferior batch is not sent back for further processing but is turned out to fend for itself in the world of work (Handy, 1995*a*).

What are the possible future scenarios for schooling to move towards high levels of achievement for all students?

The second major challenge from internationalization is the recognition of the broader social implications, in addition to productive work. That task has already been outlined in Reich's earlier comments–'to cope with the centrifugal forces'. We are already seeing in dramatic terms the need for cohesion and harmony, both in global and national societies. Simply to concentrate on individual productivity is to ignore that societal need.

Václav Havel, the poet who became President of Czechoslovakia, in an Independence Day Speech that he made in the United States of America, stressed the transitional state of today's society.

> Today, many things suggest we are going through a transitional period when it seems that something is on the way out and something else is painfully being born. It is as if something were crum-

bling, decaying and exhausting itself, while something else, still indistinct, were arising from the rubble.

> The Declaration of Independence states that the Creator gave man the right to liberty. It seems that man can realise that liberty only if he does not forget the one who endowed him with it (Havel, 1994).

Many countries in the Asia-Pacific Region and elsewhere are reviewing the concept of citizenship, seeing it as one possible response to the uncertainties experienced by many societies.

The recent report to the Australian Government by the Civics Expert Group pointed out the lack of knowledge by Australians, and especially young Australians, about the national Constitution, the political system and processes, and the responsibilities which come with citizenship. Other surveys (cf. Eckersley, 1993) have identified a deeper concern, the 'increasing disillusion, discontent and disaffection' expressed by many young (and old) Australians concerning the political system.

The Civics Expert Group recommended to the government that preparation for citizenship should be a major national priority, at all levels: in schools, in the community, and in the universities and further education.

This is an appropriate and timely step. We need to support it, recognizing that citizenship is part of a wider commitment, part of belonging to a world community.

Preparation for citizenship is so much more than civic awareness and understanding, political knowledge and skills. It requires at its heart a commitment to a broader identity than the self, a wider community including, of course, those whom we know, but extending more widely to this nation and this world society.

The third challenge from internationalization, which is equally as important as the need for work and citizenship, is the development of people as individuals. While some Western societies may be justly criticized in recent years for over-emphasizing the rights of individuals and under-emphasizing their social responsibilities, the pendulum should not be allowed to swing too far back in the other direction. Fortunately, there need be no conflict. The demands of work require creative, gifted and co-operative individuals. A just and caring democratic society requires genuine individual participation. As was implied earlier, the ways of organizing the economy, the ways of structuring society and the patterns of individual life can be transformed from situations of conflict into a harmonious relationship. This will depend on a deliberate encouragement, through the earliest educating mechanisms, families and schools, of an individualism committed equally to its own fulfilment and to being part of a community.

John Gardner, that supreme example of the public servant in the true sense of those words, spoke of the personal commitment we should make towards a better society.

> I know that there is in each of you a flame that will not go out. I know that sometimes it burns low, that at times it is almost smothered by weariness and defeat—but I know it springs back to life.
>
> I know that each of you has within you more power to do good than you have ever used,

more faithfulness than has ever been asked of you, more strength than has ever been tested, more to give than you have ever given (Gardner, 1984).

It is precisely here, in this deep expression of being a person, that we find a quality which can never be mandated by legislation or planned for by a system. It can only be a product of a genuine community, such as a family or a school, where the individual is both valued and seen as responsible for others.

Internationalization opens up to us wider horizons—the three challenges of building a productive society, of enhancing its sense of common purpose and meaning, and making it the locus and the encourager of individual development. The achievement of these aims requires schools which can focus on the processes of learning in two distinct ways: to build a common foundation; and to awaken that sense of personal commitment to continued growth which is the heart of education. The penalty for failure will be high. The prizes for success are less dramatic but more lasting and significant. Handy's words make an appropriate final point:

The world is up for reinvention in so many ways. Creativity is born in chaos, what we do, why we do it, when we do it–these may all be different and they could be better [. . .]. Change comes from small initiatives which work, initiatives which, initiated, become the fashion. We cannot wait for great reasons from great people for they are in short supply at the end of history. It is up to us to light our own small fires in the darkness (Handy, 1995*b*).

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ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

INTRODUCTION TO THE OPEN FILE

Michel Carton and Sobhi Tawil

Globalization has now become a fashionable concept and a wide range of hopes and fears are continuously being expressed through the channels of the media, scientific reviews, and the statements of politicians, company directors and national governments regarding a phenomenon that is presented as being inevitable. Two authors, whose articles have recently been published in this same review, have largely launched the debate on globalization and educational policies. The first was L. Ratinoff with an excellent article devoted to the culture of globalization,[1] while the second was E. Ottone with an article devoted to modernity and citizenship in the perspective of globalization.[2]

Concomitantly with the development of this phenomenon, however, schools continue to teach increasingly complex programmes, vocational training centres certify levels of skill competence, and adult education programmes attempt to address the training deficiencies of segments of the population that have been excluded from education and production systems. The round-table organized in

Original language: French

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Geneva by the Northern Policy Research Review Advisory Group on Education and Training (NORRAG)[3] in October 1994[4] set the stage concerning the theoretical and strategic issues that globalization raises relative to educational and training policies. The discussions also emphasized the urgency of pursuing this analysis among those concerned by the future of education and training systems, if the challenges posed by globalization are to be adequately addressed.

The overall framework for this analysis, however, was defined by the recent UNESCO report on education in the twenty-first century, *Learning: the treasure within.*[5] A number of these issues are taken up or further developed in the present collection of contributions. Needless to say, other axes of research deserve to be explored in order to go beyond the current binary vision in which the process of (economic) globalization is all too often depicted either as a panacea or as a threat. The study of education and training systems is consequently confined within the same binary vision.

In fact, globalization consists of a series of phenomena which are not at all new. Religions, institutionalized in the form of churches, for instance, which professed universal visions (at least in some cases) were born long before the emergence of transnational corporations. Also, the first universities that appeared in different continents attracted students and professors from a multitude of geographical and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the Black Plague spread across the mediaeval world threatening human lives much in the same way as the AIDS epidemic does today. In addition, non-European regional economic zones were in interaction as early as 1250-1350, much before the birth of European capitalism. Furthermore, a greater proportion of the world's population was concerned by population movements across national borders in the nineteenth century than is the case today. Finally, periods of globalization ensuing the birth of empires were, until very recent epochs, often followed by periods of isolation. These events are either universal, worldwide or global phenomena.

Globalization therefore appears to be a set of planetary phenomena that have already affected the lives of numerous generations throughout the world. Viewed in such a way, globalization may be considered to be a component of the universal heritage of mankind. This, however, is not an entirely accurate perception particularly if the universal, worldwide and global aspects commonly associated with the phenomenon are taken into consideration. Although the term 'universal' clearly implies a whole, it is generally applied to the realm of ideas and values. The term 'worldwide', however, applies more directly to the interconnection between various regions of the world, as in the development of world trade dating back to the sixteenth century. Finally, the term 'global' suggests the idea of an entirety, be it economic or ecological.

The terms universal, worldwide and global, commonly used to qualify globalization, may thus be associated with institutions such as the church, the State and corporations. The impact that these three institutions have simultaneously had, and continue to have, on the lives of men and women varies in time and across societies. While churches often claimed to bear universal messages, States have a long tradi-

tion of trade relations within an international context. Furthermore, associating the terms globalization and corporations[6] helps to clarify the ways in which many firms are evolving today. Such trends are characterized by the waging of renewed economic wars on existing investment markets or those yet to be created. This is done in complete ignorance both of the underlying value systems, as well as of the political and social regulatory mechanisms that have, until now, been accepted by many States. The market, much like the ecosystem, has become a global concept. One is consequently tempted to reason in a linear fashion whereby the collapse of values, ideologies, policies and cultures is perceived as being unavoidable.

Although reality may be different, it remains ambiguous. It is important to remember that globalization has been promoted primarily by economic agents. Unlike churches and States that mobilized societies on the basis of projects defined through religions, nations and education, the economic agents behind globalization do not embody any new or mobilizing project. In the absence of any such projects in today's global world, the recourse to societal projects rooted in ideological and cultural traditions becomes both a tempting response, and a defence mechanism. Such responses have as powerful a mobilizing capacity today as they have had in the past, precisely because they are based on a variety of constituent elements of identity, such as ethnicity, culture, belief, language, class, history, family and so on. The recourse to such projects may be largely explained by the fact that the search for identity addresses the need for individual and collective security that globalization neglects. This neglect arises from the weakening of the role of governments in ensuring a set of norms and regulatory mechanisms that are now perceived as being both too expensive and counter-productive, in terms of the innovative and creative capacity required in risk-taking. The constituent components in the lives of individuals and societies have, consequently, been rendered permanently mobile and flexible. It is only by becoming risk-taking entrepreneurs that individuals and groups may define an uncertain position for themselves in today's global society. As Ratinoff rightly points out, insecurity is becoming the unique universal theme.

Education systems are thus confronted with a number of challenges resulting from the absence of societal projects inherent to the process of globalization. The dilemma regarding the role of education systems in the context of globalization may be formulated in the following terms: are education systems to provide support for social movements based on the reaffirmation of culturally-specific local or regional identities, or are they to help individuals become efficient entrepreneurs capable of ensuring their personal development and security? A plethora of intermediate scenarios do exist, but they must all take into consideration certain new trends imposed by the more recent form of globalization:

- Nations-States are, for the most part, no longer in a position to influence economic policies strongly, including financing, budgets and customs taxes. This also applies to educational policy formulation and explains why regional groupings have often presented themselves as the only viable alternative to reintroducing a necessary political actor in the functioning of markets.
- Not only have civil societies largely shouldered the consequences of the

process of economic globalization in terms of changes in employment, incomes and security patterns, but they have also developed responses which can no longer be neglected. This is particularly true in the field of education. Despite the risk of seeing the establishment of corporate education systems that both reflect and reinforce social and economic inequalities, the wealth of responses observed may also set the stage for potentially interesting innovative solutions.

- The traditional organization of knowledge by disciplines is an example of how education systems have largely reproduced Taylor's model of labour and production. This perception of the labour market, however, has undergone radical change. Stable employment is now becoming the exception to the rule (or even a privilege) in a labour market in which the driving forces are mobility, flexibility, adaptability and versatility. The implications of this change are that general transversal knowledge is becoming as important as specific types of knowledge, that the notion of individual and personal skills is becoming as important as qualifications transmitted and validated by institutions, and that on-going training is once again on the agenda.
- The resulting multiplicity of actors, delivery systems and combinations of educational and training processes have rendered the distinction between the world of education and that of production much less visible and more unstable. This trend is largely reflected in the development of human resources programmes that combine work, production and training activities.
- Globalization is also simultaneously contributing to increased exclusion, economic inequalities and educational disparities and knowledge gaps. It is also a contributing factor to the exacerbation of ethnic, religious and nationalist conflicts, the disruption of societies and States, and the weakening of bonds of solidarity that world culture is supposed to reinforce in the global village. Furthermore, some argue that the development of information and communication technologies in a globalizing world renders educational institutions useless if not dangerous. Education is consequently confronted with a dual challenge. One the one hand, education is to propose societal projects based on values, such as peace and solidarity, which have been significantly weakened by globalization. On the other hand, education is to contribute, in the short run, to the resolution of more pressing and urgent problems.

* * *

The variety of contributions in this issue of *Prospects* clearly illustrates the multitude of issues that are in question relative to education and training in a context of economic globalization. *C. Comeliau* sets the stage by situating the general challenges that globalization poses in the search for a development process that is willingly chosen by individuals, groups and societies. He insists on the need to acquire the means to be in control of the expansion of the specific system of globalization. The political and intellectual implications of this task translate into an urgent need for the collective construction of a theoretical and conceptual framework that

would allow us deal with the fundamental issues that globalization poses to the future of mankind.

Economic globalization is characterized by technological innovations and changes in production techniques. *W. Haddad* examines the impact of such changes on State policies regarding the acquisition, transmission and application of knowledge and skills. Indeed, governments can reap the benefits of economic globalization on condition that they succeed in setting up differential training policies adapted to their specific contexts. Such strategies imply a simultaneous reinforcement of both primary and secondary general education, the encouragement of enterprise-based training and skill formation, as well as an increase in the endogenous technological capacity produced at the tertiary level.

Based on the observation of profound economic and political changes associated with globalization, *N. McGinn* attempts to assess its impact on education. Through an examination of decentralization as a reform policy often associated with globalization, he shows how such policies have translated into little significant change in the content and operating mode of education systems.

It is perhaps at the level of transnational corporations then, that the impact on education and training systems must be sought. As crucial actors in the process of economic globalization, transnational corporations play an important role in human resource development. *P. Mallampally* examines the contribution of such corporations at different levels in the process of human capital formation in the developing world and identifies the potential implications for joint training policies between the public and private sectors.

After an overview of issues relative to the process of economic globalization and educational policies, the second section presents a regional perspective through an examination of various challenges posed to education systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Mediterranean region.

If African countries are to make an original contribution to the collective construction of a world system, education systems must provide the foundation for the mobilization of endogenous cultural resources. This is how *M. Ndoye* defines the major challenge that African education systems face in the context of globalization. This can only be guaranteed through participatory policies that promote cultural identity through the introduction of national languages in education and training programmes. Such an approach would allow for the formulation of adequate responses to overcome the obstacles resulting from the process of economic globalization characterized by the restricted vision of the social, cultural and human functions of education, the progressive dispossession of the responsibilities incumbent on national governments and the marginalization of Africa in an increasingly binary global society.

Structural adjustment is one of the reform packages that constitute an important component of the integration of national economies in a globalized world market. It is precisely the impact on the development of education of these adjustment programmes that *J. Tilak* examines in a number of Asian countries. By using a series of indicators to monitor the patterns of financing, output and quality, his compara-

tive study of adjusted and non-adjusted countries in Asia reveals a general pattern of decline in educational development that can be associated with adjustment programmes. The impact of these programmes, however, varies considerably from one case to another.

In an international context characterized by the hegemony of a global model of development, it is instructive to examine innovative endogenous models of education and training. C. *de Moura Castro* does so by looking into the original model of vocational education and training in Latin America. Indeed, in a region in which thinking on education remains largely polarized between European and American influences, the Latin American model of vocational training constitutes a notable exception of endogenous creation. Although there are few examples of South-South exchanges in the field of educational policies in Latin America, the basic model of SENAI is an illustrative and enriching example.

Finally, *T. Mitri* raises important questions as to the role of education, in an enlarged vision, as a means of supporting dialogue between Europe and the Arab world, as well as between Islam and Christianity in the Mediterranean region. This dialogue is crucial when placed within the paradox of globalization that is producing homogeneity and uniformity while exacerbating the need to (re)affirm cultural specificities. This dialogue constitutes the foundation of any pluricultural civilization project and requires the reconsideration of both our conception of progress and the objectives we ascribe to human action, as well as of our relation to the past.

Notes

1. Ratinoff, L. Global insecurity and education: the culture of globalization. *Prospects* (Paris, UNESCO:IBE), vol. XXV, no. 2, 1995, p. 147–74.
2. Ottone, E. Globalization and educational change: modernism and citizenship. *Prospects* (Paris, UNESCO:IBE), vol. XXVI, no. 2, 1996, p. 227–40.
3. NORRAG is a network of individual and associate members based in universities, public and private research centres, development agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) committed to improving interaction among research, policy and practice in the 'North' as a means of supporting education and training in the 'South'.
   The objectives and strategies of NORRAG are the following:
   (a) The collection, critical analysis and synthesis of research on policies and strategies in the North concerning education and training in the South.
   (b) The conduct of applied collaborative research relating to education and training policies.
   (c) The dissemination of information in the North and in the South.
   (d) Advocacy of education and training policies and strategies to governments, NGOs and other organizations in the North.
   (e) The provision of advisory services to governments, NGOs and other organizations in the North.
   (f) Co-operation with other networks in order to share information, carry out joint programmes, join efforts in advocacy and strengthen the research and advisory groups (RAGG) networks.

NORRAG started in 1986, but several of its members have been involved with the original RRAG, funded by International Development Research Centre (Canada), since 1977. Today it is funded by Swedish SIDA, the Swiss Development Co-operation, and its own members.

4. Held on the occasion of the forty-fourth session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 3–8 October 1994.
5. Delors, J., et al. *Learning: the treasure within.* Paris, UNESCO, 1996. Report to UNESCO by the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century—the Delors Report.
6. Corporations may be viewed as a mode of organization of actors defending their specific interests in an entirely independent fashion from that of other categories of actors.

PART I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ISSUES

AN OVERVIEW OF THE ISSUES

THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

Christian Comeliau

International trade and various other forms of exchange have existed for centuries and an awareness that the planet has limits is nothing new. However, globalization presents a rather new challenge at the end of this century and we must ask ourselves why. In the brief analysis that I offer below, I first attempt to show in what way it is a new phenomenon and then mention certain consequences for development prospects in the world. I conclude with a few remarks on the resulting need for widespread training and public debate.

The many dimensions of globalization

What is new in the phenomenon of globalization is not the existence of international trade and exchanges, but above all their remarkable *acceleration.* Economists have tried to measure this acceleration by comparing (albeit in approximate terms) the growth rate of global production with that of trade and financial exchanges: over the past 200 years the latter has almost always been higher than the former—which means that national economies have gradually become increasingly interdependent—but this gap has widened considerably since the Second World War and over recent decades. Such exchanges take place mainly between the most industrialized and powerful countries in the world (North America, Western Europe and Japan), but they are spreading increasingly to new regions, notably East Asia and

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Latin America, so that we can now talk of the integration of a growing number of countries and regions into a *global system* based on the rapid growth of economic exchanges.

This growth in the exchange of goods, services, capital and technology has been so great that it has led to far-reaching changes in the way *decision-making* power is distributed in the world economy, especially since it is happening against a background of liberalization, deregulation and privatization. Certain players have acquired overwhelming influence, such as multinational companies and banks and certain international organizations, the most prominent being the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) and the World Trade Organization. Obviously, the role of national players, in particular States, is also transformed: in the new power relationships, national economies are forced to 'adjust' to the new requirements of the world economy, in particular as regards product specialization, competitiveness and macro-economic balances.

However, the global system which is growing stronger in this way does not just consist of economic exchanges. If we are to properly understand the challenges involved, we should bear in mind that, as a network of exchanges and power, the global system encourages the dissemination of what we might call *a development model.* This consists of: habits of consumption and forms of production; ways of life, institutions and criteria for social success; ideologies, cultural references and even forms of political organization. The power relationships ensure the very real domination of this development model over all others and thus this 'globalized' world system tends to encourage the homogenization of society and civilization, even though it is clear that social groups and societies react in each case in their own particular way.

Development prospects in the context of globalization

On the whole, it is clear that globalization is mainly driven by economic aims, but that its impact extends well beyond the economy, and that it transforms people, States, societies, cultures and civilizations. It is no longer possible to talk of development in a particular region without taking into account the risks and opportunities that accompany globalization.

We must go further though. We are aware of the ambiguities contained in the concept of development and in the various objectives it may have: it includes, haphazardly, greater opportunities for individual fulfilment, the satisfaction of basic needs, industrialization, military and political power, the autonomy of communities, the reduction of social inequality and the elimination of unacceptable forms of exploitation. The global system has now become so powerful and so coercive that it brings, in short, its own response to the ambiguity of this concept, i.e. the dominant development model just mentioned.

This leads to a statement that is ideological, but is also tautological: the global system, it is said, *is necessary for development, since development is precisely what*

the global system provides. That is its main promise, but it is also, in practical terms, the result of the way it operates: technological progress, higher output, consumption, profits, accumulation and also a salaried work-force, urbanization and demands for greater democracy and equality. However, this process also clearly has harmful results: growing inequality, marginalization, exclusion and even the increasing poverty of hundreds of millions of people, as well as congestion, pollution and the irrevocable destruction of some ecological balances. These harmful results are regarded as a kind of unavoidable cost and despite the prestige of economic calculations, the costs of the system are rarely systematically compared with its benefits. This is probably because the beneficiaries and the victims are not exactly the same people.

That is where the true challenge lies. If we refuse to accept indiscriminately and in their entirety all the positive and negative effects of an anonymous, sprawling and all-powerful system, if we want the word 'development' to mean the freely chosen fulfilment of individuals and groups, if we aim to promote a form of 'social development' which is not just a derisory compensation for the abuses of the economic machine, but the development of society in all its parts, then *it is absolutely essential to acquire the means needed to control the expansion of this global system and of globalization.*

Such control requires the following elements:

(a) A clearer understanding of the many different aspects and specific implications of globalization, so as to be better able to reject the supposedly unavoidable *diktats* of its economic demands, in particular those of profitability and competitiveness, that are regarded as the sole criteria for decision-making. On the contrary, we must assert the relativity of these criteria, take into account *the need for the political regulation of globalization,* and make it the subject of genuine debate among the citizens of the emerging world society.

(b) Within this framework, a search for the components of *pluralist* development—pluralist in two senses at least. This means, first of all, rejecting homogenizing tendencies and respecting more fully the *diversity of local cultures.* This involves, in particular, not letting free trade be the be-all and end-all of international exchanges, and also providing for various ways of protecting the interests of the most deprived. Pluralism also means, however, acknowledging *the diversity of the objectives* and components of development. There is no overriding principle which allows us to give greater importance, as a matter of course, to the maximization of profits or growth than to collective autonomy or the reduction of social inequality. The choice of these various objectives is not based on technical grounds but is a value judgement, and thus a political choice. However, such pluralism is clearly at variance with the dominant thinking and practice in international circles, which shows once again the systematic bias of the latter in favour of certain interest groups.

(c) The formulation of *conceptual and political instruments* which could allow such an expansion of the concept of development. However, it is here, in fact, that the real *danger of 'economism'* lies: narrow economic arguments—

I would go so far as to say trade arguments—are raised to the level of categorical imperatives and as such declared to be beyond question, as all other considerations are regarded as subordinate to them. Hence the fashion—which is slightly suspect, even if the sincerity of those who advocate it is not called into question—for political recommendations along the lines of the 'social dimension of adjustment policies' and, more broadly, 'social development'. Against this fashion it should be clearly stated that there will never be social development worthy of the name while the currently accepted dichotomy between the economic field and the social field is maintained, with the former held to be unassailable even in its abuses and the latter only called upon to mitigate what is considered to be unavoidable damage. As of yet nobody has discovered the secret of a new synthesis for this approach and hence the importance of research on these apparently elementary issues.

(d) There is still another dimension that this work of conceptual and political analysis must address: the reintegration of the development process into the perspective which it should always have, the *long-term* perspective. Observing the current development process in the context of globalization is a brutal reminder of this need. It is true that production has been increasing rapidly for two centuries and trade even more so, but never has mankind consumed such a large proportion of its capital of natural resources in such a brief period for the benefit of so few. The field of human activity on Earth is constantly expanding, but the size of the planet remains the same and development becomes an absurd race to the death if it is defined in terms of the indefinite growth of the quantities of goods produced.

If there is a major lesson to be learnt today from the conjunction of industrialized modernization and this much vaunted globalization, it is the absolute impossibility of pursuing such a process in the long term: *development as a continuation of the Western-style industrial revolution quite simply cannot be extended throughout the world, and it is high time this was realized.* However, those who hold power in this system pretend not to know this and have no intention of putting forward a different concept of development; they bury their heads in the sand and all their efforts, whether they be the strategies of multinational firms, of obsessively 'right-thinking' governments or of international organizations, are directed towards such an extension. The mere extrapolation of present trends indicates the many different obstacles that lie ahead, but such extrapolation exercises are no longer part of the received wisdom in a society that has learnt not to reason unless it is in the very short term, to the extent of ignoring what kind of world it will leave to its children.

Globalization and education: new prospects?

I should like first of all to refer to the general analysis of the 'culture of globalization' and its relationship to education, as recently put forward by Luis Ratinoff.[1] Without attempting here to recall the main features of his particularly rich and

complex analysis (even if, in my opinion, it is not always perfectly clear), I should like to mention two of his most noteworthy contributions.

The first is his emphasis on the far-reaching social upheavals characteristic of our times and on the resulting global disorder: he refers to it in a striking fashion by stating, in short, that anything could happen.[2] Hence the identity problems of individuals and groups and, even more so, the difficulties of achieving social integration in a climate of insecurity, individualism and growing poverty. The second is that of the very possibility of education ('educability') in such a climate of uncertainty and 'short-termism', whereas, in fact, 'education is always a longer-term projection'.[3] The two arguments converge to show that the relationship between globalization and the prospects for education is one of the most difficult problems there is.

On the practical level, however, torrents of ink have flowed on the new imperatives for education in the context of globalization: we need to know how to manage and calculate, we must develop advanced technological knowledge, we must acquire 'flexibility', learn foreign languages and be receptive to 'intercultural' dialogue, and so forth.

I am hardly competent to discuss educational and training programmes and I shall make no attempt to add to this list of imperatives. I just wonder whether this whole problem has not been wrongly stated and whether it would not be more appropriate to examine it from a completely different angle. Of course, the practical requirements mentioned above cannot be ignored: they are simply good sense. However, when a vehicle has no brakes, good sense is not enough to drive it: you must either repair it or choose another. The process of gobalization we are now experiencing has no brakes and we cannot just recommend that communities 'adjust' to it or accept and manage any globalization of development *as if the original decisions that created it were absolutely irrevocable.*

On the other hand, I am not seeking to ignore the complexity of these issues and to reduce the challenges of development to the level of a friendly conversation at the local pub. I am not unaware of the many technical aspects which condition any form of development, and it will always be essential to train good engineers, good technicians, good financiers and good specialists in many fields; but such specialists cannot act alone. Likewise, I do not deny the need for theoretical analysis, even in that discipline which considers itself to be sovereign with regard to globalization, namely economics. On the contrary, I am a keen supporter of it and I believe that current development problems will remain insoluble if we do not find a different conceptual and theoretical approach for the examination of such problems. But the theoreticians cannot act alone either.

However, I believe that over and above these specific requirements (which can hardly be denied), and indeed even ahead of these requirements, there is one priority which cannot be put off any longer: *that of a more searching and more systematic debate on the most crucial conditions for the survival, equilibrium and full development of human societies in the context of globalization, and on their room for manoeuvre.* The debate I am advocating is not the disembodied, unworldly meditation of an anchorite, but the very opposite: it is the collective work of a wide

range of social groups, conscious of their aspirations, differences and limitations. Nor should such a debate be restricted to an élite keen on abstract ideas and convinced of its intellectual superiority, but should involve a basic awareness, by people as a whole and by their political leaders, each according to their own capacities and with the assistance of experts, of the practical and specific needs which determine their future—a future which may be much closer than they suspect.

Understood in this way, the collective debate required is not only an *intellectual* task (whether it be philosophical or technical), but also a *political* task. It therefore requires learning how to think politically, in the sense of having the capacity to take a world view, to be open to the necessary negotiations and compromises and, lastly, to be able to take decisions. We know that the main obstacle to the emergence of such an approach is the very absence of a social base to support it when no one is aware of the real issues. Then can we not sum up the requirements of this new education as being *a collective awareness of the real issues involved in long-term development* (which are very different, as we have seen, from those of growth) *and progressive training for the many tasks needed to respond to them?*

This is a complex task if ever there was one, and one which does not lend itself to a simplistic response. Is education a priority? Of course it is. And yet, just like globalization, which is said to be inevitable, that does not mean that there are no choices to be made.

Notes

1. Luis Ratinoff, Global insecurity and education: the culture of globalization. *Prospects* (Paris), vol. XXV, no. 2, June 1995, p. 147–74.
2. 'The idea that this is a crisis stems from our present inability to perceive new organizing principles behind the apparent disintegration of institutions and value systems. It seems that whatever is to come is not here yet, and what is still with us may not last after it arrives' (ibid., p. 151).
3. Ibid., p. 167.

GLOBALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND SKILL FORMATION

Wadi D. Haddad

The global environment and changing demands

The world has entered a period of significant shifts in its economy characterized by two major developments: changing patterns of trade and competition; and technological innovations.

In recent years economic policy reforms have been designed to promote trade liberalization and encourage greater competition. The lowering of trade barriers internationally has made nations more interdependent. Countries now have to react and adjust to economic shocks and demands generated elsewhere. Moreover, producers of tradable goods and services now operate in a global market place where competition spans national borders. The ability of producers to meet this competition is a key to improving national welfare in a rapidly changing world economy. In

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addition, rapid technological changes and the opening of economies to competition are affecting modes of production. Industrialized countries, facing competition from developing countries, are moving away from mass production toward high-performance systems. These altered conditions have changed the requirements for economic success. In a more competitive global economy, firms, countries or individuals can compete in only two basic ways: they can reduce wages or improve productivity. Success, therefore, requires greater emphasis on factors that were less important in traditional mass production systems, i.e. productivity, quality and flexibility in production.

A transition from an economy protected from competition to an economy that accepts and promotes competition has significant implications. First, firms are obliged to allocate resources more efficiently to increase productivity. Second, domestic firms, when forced to compete internationally, have to develop and mature technologically and managerially. Third, a more competitive economic environment is more sensitive and vulnerable to changes in demand for types and quality of products. As a consequence, it will be more difficult to predict which skills will be needed in the future and for how long. These factors necessitate a more mobile work-force that is flexible in adopting new skills.

The changing patterns in trade and competition have been accompanied by dramatic innovations in telecommunications, computers and technologies. As new technologies and production processes transform the international economy, the future of world development and the place of individual nations in it hinge much more than even a generation ago on the capacity to acquire, transmit and apply knowledge to work situations and everyday life. Manufacturing and high-value services no longer filter down 'naturally' from high-income to low-income countries based on labour costs alone. Because of new goods, such as consumer electronics, and new processes, such as numerically-controlled machine tools and computer-assisted design and manufacturing, the location of manufacturing and high-value services depends increasingly on the producers' capacity to control quality and manage flexible, information-based systems. Comparative advantage is now a function of labour and management quality, as well as low wages.

Skill formation and technology

Together, the significant economic and technological changes are producing a new world economy that is global, high-speed, knowledge-driven and disciplinarian. Developing countries have to meet the competitiveness challenge in terms of agility, networking and learning, and to arrange production to achieve quality, productivity and flexibility. In the short run, however, workers and producers in developing countries are unlikely to be able to adapt as quickly to the demands of a more competitive global economy. These countries may experience, on the one hand, displacement of workers who lack the necessary skills and the prerequisite general education to learn new skills rapidly and, on the other hand, a shortage of qualified workers for the new industries and modes of production.

In order to minimize such risks, the response to the globalization of the economy points in three directions:

- a sound framework of macro-economic policies affecting such areas as inflation, trade, the exchange rate, investment, consumer and business spending and savings, etc.;
- a workforce that has the foundation to enhance the quality and efficiency of product development, production and maintenance, and the flexibility to acquire the new skills required for new jobs; and
- a cadre of highly-trained scientific, technical and processing personnel, including some with sophisticated research skills, who can fully understand developments in the material, biological and information sciences and technologies, and who can take the lead in their assessment and local application.

What are the implications for education and skill training?

STRENGTHENING PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

A solid basis in general education, including science and mathematics, is important for the following reasons:

(a) It provides the pre-requisite cognitive and theoretical knowledge required for skilled occupations that are becoming more sophisticated following technological changes.

(b) In modern-sector manufacturing and services, broad competencies are important, not only for immediate productivity, but also for the ability of workers to learn new skills throughout a career.

(c) General education, particularly secondary education, encourages self-employment and improves its productivity.

ENCOURAGING SKILL AND ENTERPRISE TRAINING

While general education provides the foundation and flexibility to acquire skills for new jobs, there needs to be a training system in place to enhance the quality and efficiency of product development, production and maintenance. Ideally, enterprise training, based on sound general education, can be the most effective and efficient way to develop the skills of the workforce. It has the following advantages:

(a) Employers train workers as quickly as possible and place them straightaway in jobs that use their skills.

(b) Costs are low compared to pre-employment training.

(c) Large enterprises usually have the technology and expertise to train their staff in both traditional and newly emerging skills. Even the small enterprises in the rural and urban informal sectors can provide the training needed for existing jobs and production practices.

(d) Enterprises must function in the market place and be quick to adapt to the demands of new technologies and processes—all of which translates into an adjustment in the training content.

Despite these advantages, it is unrealistic to limit all skill development to enterprise training. The extent and quality of private-sector enterprise training is constrained by the nature of the economy and the level of enterprise development. These constraints require a continuing presence on the part of the government to ensure an adequate amount and quality of training. Public training, however, has not had a consistently good record in efficiency and flexibility. International experience has pointed to three elements that could improve the role of the government in training:

(a) *Appropriate focus.* Publicly provided or subsidized training must focus primarily on areas of significant external benefits, market imperfections or weak enterprise training capacity. For example, training for higher skills can be important to growth in economically strategic sectors or industries in which technological change is rapid. Public pre-employment training may also be justified when employer and private training capacity is weak. Also, retraining for workers to cope with new technologies and production processes minimizes displacement and improves competitiveness.

(b) *Responsiveness to market forces.* At the institutional level, responsiveness can be improved by encouraging training institutions to specialize in the needs of different skill markets, and to develop strong information links with employers. At the national level, responsiveness can be achieved by building capacity for labour-market analysis, the monitoring of training costs and outcomes, and information gathering from employers to determine the situation regarding the supply of training.

(c) *Complementing equity strategies.* In focusing on productivity and competitiveness, the government should not lose sight of the need to bring the poor into the development process. Poor people's principal asset is their labour, and improving their productivity and earnings is their main ticket out of poverty. A menu of traditional apprenticeships, appropriately strengthened, formal training programmes and even the location of vocational schools in poor areas can be a major source of skill acquisition for the economically disadvantaged.

PROVIDING FOR ADVANCED KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS AND TECHNOLOGIES

While it is important to strengthen general education and skill training, providing opportunities for acquiring advanced knowledge and skills must be pursued *concurrently* in order to advance development of the economy and harness new technologies. Technological capacity—the ability to assess, select, adapt, use and develop new technologies—is becoming a critical determinant in a country's prospects for competitiveness. Institutions of higher education and training must be strengthened to equip individuals with the advanced knowledge and skills required for positions in government, business, industry and the professions. These institutions are expected to produce new knowledge through research and to serve as channels for the acquisition, transfer, adaptation and dissemination of knowledge generated elsewhere in the world. The challenge for these institutions is to introduce into their curricula new kinds of programmes in science, mathematics, infor-

mation technology and technology management, and to establish new linkages between universities and industry and agriculture.

Different strategies for varied conditions

The structure and dynamics of an economy, as well as the level of education, training and technology, vary significantly across nations. Thus, skill formation and technology policies will need to vary as well.

The *highly industrialized countries,* such as Japan, the United States, Canada and most western European economies, have by and large achieved universal secondary education and send a significant percentage of young people on to university. Almost all of these countries consider that, in the new context of international competition with its emphasis on scientific innovation and creative management, educational quality requires close attention. The industrialized countries are especially concerned with the relationship between higher education (training), scientific research, and the application of research results and training to the production of goods and services (technological diffusion).

A number of *newly-industrialized developing countries (NICs),* such as Mexico and the Republic of Korea—like the developed countries— are capable of mobilizing domestic resources to increase the quantity and quality of education and vocational training, but still need to make efficient and effective investments in order to sustain growth and equalize access to knowledge. They need to develop strong scientific and technical education to consolidate and then improve their competitive position in a changing world economy. Some are beginning to innovate and, therefore, like the highly industrialized countries, are concerned about linking university training to research and to local industrial and service applications. Many of these countries must also confront inequities, particularly in the education of females and the education of lower-income students.

Many middle-income countries (for example, Colombia, Peru, the Philippines, Thailand) *and some large, low-income countries* (China and, to a lesser extent, India, for example) have essentially achieved universal primary schooling and have rapidly increased secondary and university enrolment. By focusing on new technologies and increasing telecommunications and computer infrastructures, they are trying to transform their industries to play a more advanced role in the newly emerging world division of labour. The most important educational problems of these countries revolve around improving the quality of education, particularly making it relevant for high-technology development. They must also make important decisions regarding the introduction of new kinds of scientific, mathematical, information technology and technology management programmes into their curricula, and new linkages between universities and industry and agriculture.

Countries in a fourth group have some industry or have high-value exports and could industrialize. These include most of the Central American countries, some Sub-Saharan Africa countries such as Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Botswana, for example, and countries such as Pakistan. They conceivably could fit into the

world's new industrializing process if they could improve and expand their knowledge base and labour skills, and begin to focus on appropriate technological strategies. These countries are concerned with secondary and university educational reforms to meet the information revolution, but they also have to focus on basic education.

A fifth set of countries is still primarily agricultural, grappling with providing basic education to their populations. Many Sub-Saharan African countries fall into this category, as well as countries such as Bangladesh and Nepal. They face severe financial and human resource constraints in developing their education systems. At the same time, the information and bio-technology revolutions are placing increased pressures on them to produce cadres of highly-trained scientific and management personnel, as well as highly productive skilled and semi-skilled workers who will give them some chance of participating in the new world economic system. Their basic education must receive primary attention. At the same time, low-income countries need to develop the scientific personnel who will understand fully the latest technological advances coming out of the industrialized countries and be able to adapt and apply them for the local production of goods and services. These countries must therefore also be concerned about delivering high-quality university education—even for a relatively small number of young people—and its relationship to research and development, especially for the packaging of new (and old) technologies for local applications.

In conclusion

The globalization of the economy offers enormous possibilities, but in return demands significant modifications in production behaviour and training policies. Individual countries will have to make hard choices to achieve, in a rapidly changing world economy, both international competitiveness and national welfare.

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THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Noel F. McGinn

There are, these days, many interesting experiments in education, some of which are directly related to the new form of capitalism promoted as globalization (see, for example, Robertson, 1995). Those for whom globalization is a cause for concern (e.g. Friedman, 1993) and those for whom it promises a rosy future (e.g. Adkins, 1989) both call for change. Educational reform is preached and practised with the hope of improving global competitiveness (e.g. Howarth, 1991; Appelbaum & Batt, 1994; Business Mexico, 1994, p. 113). Many educators call for an education to improve the possibilities for world peace and justice (Horvath & Mihaly, 1990; Smith & Steward, 1995).

The current wave of economic integration has been proceeding apace at least since the early 1960s. Nevertheless, even after forty years of unceasing emphasis on economic integration, no national system of education is very different to what it was fifty years ago. The most recent wave of globalization appears to have had relatively little effect on the content of national education systems. To date, not much of import has taken place, especially in comparison to the enormous changes occur-

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ring in other sectors. The absence of profound change in education systems challenges our understanding of globalization. The objective of this paper is to suggest why globalization has had less effect on education systems than might be expected, given the attention it receives (for other perspectives on the limited impact of school reform, see Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Weiler, 1988).

The effects of earlier globalization

The relative stability of national education systems in the face of the current wave of economic integration is remarkable given the profound changes in education that occurred in previous phases of the development of a world economy. Globalization, whether defined as economic integration or in terms of a complex of processes that link different societies together (Appadurai, 1990; McGinn, 1994), is not a new phenomenon. The process of construction of a world economic system began as early as the fourteenth century (Abu-Lughod, 1989) or at least with the emergence of capitalism in the sixteenth century (Wallerstein, 1987). The first major impact of globalization on education was the creation in Europe (and later in the United States) of what we recognize today as national education systems (Boli, Ramirez & Meyer, 1985; Ramirez & Boli, 1987).

One nineteenth century impact of globalization was the transfer to and imposition of these systems by colonial powers on other nations (Carnoy, 1974). All the peoples of the world were, before the beginning of the current wave of globalization, affected by 'Western' values and penetrated by external economic forces (von Laue, 1987). All nation-states in existence before 1945 had an education system whose goals, structures and contents were recognizably similar to those of all other nations (Adkins, 1989; Benavot & Kamens, 1989; Meyer, Kamens & Benavot, 1992; Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992). Most of the nations that achieved independence after 1945 sought to expand the systems put in place by their colonial masters, but changed little of the content or process. A few (e.g. the United Republic of Tanzania) sought to construct unique systems, but later fell back on European models. Countries varied significantly in terms of who received education but, whether in *apartheid* South Africa or in socialist Cuba, the content and processes of schooling remained the same.

Impacts of current globalization on political and economic systems

There is no doubt that the current wave of globalization has already had profound and intertwined effects on economic and political structures. For example, no nation-state now has control over the value of its currency, nor can it control flows of capital in and out of the country (Thurow, 1992; Drucker, 1993; Barnet & Cavanagh, 1994; McMichael, 1996). No nation now controls what it makes, or what it buys. 'For the first time in human history, anything can be made anywhere and sold everywhere' (Thurow, 1996, p. 115). Governments no longer control their

national economies, and the implementation of national policies depends on co-operation from corporations and other governments. National sovereignty, once defended by governments and States with military force, is now publicly challenged as an undesirable limitation on the freedom of transnational corporations (Wriston, 1992; Marshall, 1993). Today even the world's only 'superpower' has to contemplate serious consequences if it takes military action outside its borders without consultation with other countries. Governments can no longer close their borders to isolate themselves from the scourges of disease, drugs and terrorism. Private owners of the mass media control propaganda systems more extensive than any totalitarian ruler ever dreamt of (Merenda & Irwin, 1989).

Effects on education

The magnitude of changes in our economies and cultures is such that we should expect to find that globalization already has wreaked profound changes on national education systems. There certainly is lots of talk about how education must change. Some proposals emphasize increased awareness of other cultures (e.g. Horvath & Mihaly, 1990; Garrido, 1991-92; Lincicome, 1993; Benitez, 1994). Others call for knowledge and skills that will make a nation 'globally competitive' (e.g. Blair, 1991; Reich, 1991; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 1992; Thurow, 1992). Some attention has been given to the implications of globalization for higher education (e.g. Groennings, 1987; Gagliano, 1992; Alexander & Rizvi, 1993; Aboites, 1994; El-Khawas, 1994; Buchert & King, 1995).

There are a number of reports that document how the various processes included in economic integration, under the rubric of structural adjustment, have affected the inputs to and outputs of education systems (Reimers, 1989; Carnoy & Torres, 1994; Samoff & Sumra, 1994). Most governments have responded to external pressures for adjustment by reducing expenditures on education and other social services. The net effect has been a reduced and increasingly unequal access to education, and a decline in educational quality. There are effects on gender equity (Ilon, 1994*a*). Structural adjustment also carries pressures for privatization of public education (Ilon, 1994*b*).

In higher education, the effect has been a move towards uniform requirements for professional certification, and consequently standardization of curriculum offerings. Various agreements of the European Community have required institutions to seek uniformity in their programmatic offerings and to modify their definitions of the professions for which they provide training (Orzack, 1992; Orzack, 1994). Universities in North America are actively seeking ways to facilitate exchanges of students and graduates across borders (Aboites, 1994; Adelman, 1994). Critics of these moves argue that we are opening a 'Pandora's box' without any concern for the consequences (Calvert & Kuehn, 1993).

Only a small amount of published research assesses the direct effects of globalization on education systems. There is, however, a fairly large body of research on

the implementation and effects of an education reform policy associated with globalization. Proposals for 'decentralization' of education originated in the late 1950s, co-terminous with the introduction of the global development model born in Bretton Woods. Decentralization has been promoted by UNESCO, the World Bank and other multilateral and bilateral assistance agencies for a number of years (Berman, 1990; Samoff, 1993). Some countries have implemented policies of decentralization, and many others are contemplating doing so (Cummings & Riddell, 1992; Prawda, 1992; Hannaway & Carnoy, 1993; Carter & O'Neill, 1995). An examination of the impact of decentralization reforms may, therefore, tell us something about how globalization affects education systems, and why the effects have been so small.

The rationale offered for the decentralization of education systems (e.g. Winkler, 1988) is consistent with the explanation of the shift from centralized production (known as the 'Fordist' model) to decentralized or localized, or 'flexible,' production (Oman, 1994; McMichael, 1996). This shift is seen as one of the driving forces of economic integration. The new technology of production increases the use of information in all aspects of the production and distribution process. This requires localization of decision making and increased participation by all workers, but permits reduction of inventories and greater matching of products to consumers and clients. The process generates new knowledge instead of just applying existing knowledge. Knowledge production in the decentralized workplace is growing and threatens the privileged position of universities (Gibbons et al., 1994). We might expect, therefore, to find significant changes in the organization of education systems, in how and what students are taught, in the sources of knowledge employed, and in the methods of assessment utilized.

Based on published research, however, it is difficult to find any major changes in education (as distinct from the governance of education), at either the primary/secondary or tertiary level, that can be attributed to decentralization. If we use the research reports as evidence of action, we conclude that few changes have occurred in how education is operated (as opposed to governed). Further, the conclusion drawn from the research to date is that decentralization policies do not lead to increased learning by students, do not lead to increased efficiency in decision-making, and often do not even increase local participation in decision making. Perhaps most important, experiments with governance consistent with the logic of flexible production have not changed in any recognizable way the content and delivery of education. Schools may now be run by local authorities, but they seem no different than those run earlier from the centre. How can we explain the discrepancy between the enthusiasm and the reality of decentralization?

Why decentralization has had so little effect on education

Here are four possible explanations. The evidence relevant to each explanation may help us to understand why globalization appears to have had so little effect on education.

1. Current decentralization policies may have little noticeable effect because education systems are, in fact, already 'decentralized'. This hypothesis challenges conventional classifications of the degree of centralization of education systems. Even when management systems are officially centralized, the organization may in fact be 'loosely coupled'. The 'chain of command' has many weak links. Given infrequent supervision, mandates from the top are re-interpreted by local officials to fit their own reality. Teachers in classrooms teach what and how they want, knowing that the annual visit of the inspector will be announced in advance. There are no 'accountability' mechanisms. Given prior practice in local management, policies that announce a new era of decentralization are likely to have little effect.

There has been no systematic comparative study on the extent of 'loose coupling' in education systems. The most compelling evidence to support its existence is the repeated failure to implement centrally-dictated plans (Malpica & Rassekh, 1983; Carter & O'Neill, 1995). The most frequent explanation of the failure in implementation is that local implementors were not taken into account (e.g. Warwick, Reimers & McGinn, 1992). In other words, central leaders can have little power even when they have much authority.

Not all efforts to implement central policies efforts fail, however, even in systems known to be loosely coupled or with a tradition of local management. It is possible for central policies to suit local values and knowledge, and therefore to mobilize support. This match between central and local values and knowledge is most likely to happen in two kinds of societies, those that are highly integrated, and those with a homogenized or uniform culture. Integrated societies are those which have developed effective means for communication between actors. Even though actors maintain their unique values and knowledge, they are able to define common objectives in co-operation with others, including the centre.

The distinction between uniformity through control, and uniformity through integration or shared culture, is important for understanding how an education system is likely to respond to globalization, that is, to pressures for change that originate outside national boundaries. Some globalization effects on education are translated through national institutions. An example would be common-market agreements like MERCOSUR that dictate curriculum content (McGinn, 1993). In the centralized systems of these countries all schools will be required to teach both Spanish and Portuguese. Implementation of a policy of this kind will be greatest in societies that are integrated, or homogenous in culture, e.g. it is more likely in Argentina or Paraguay than in Brazil. Implementation will be most inconsistent where central management has little effective control over states and districts (e.g. in Brazil. See Plank, 1990).

The impact of globalization on education through centrally-imposed policies will be less in societies that already are decentralized or in which there is considerable diversity or fragmentation among and between groups. The latter condition characterizes many of the countries in Africa. Another possibility, to be discussed later, is that the impact of globalization on education will be felt independently of the State's system.

2. A second hypothesis to explain the apparent failure of decentralization argues that, in fact, there has been little of the real thing. Or rather, what has been decentralized does not decentralize the most critical aspects of education. Proponents of this perspective might point to decentralization experiments in the United Kingdom (Rust & Blakemore, 1990; Carter & O'Neill, 1995), Chile (Espinola, 1992), or Mexico (Ornelas, 1987). These reforms transferred management of schools downward, but maintained or increased control over curriculum and assessment.

In Chile, for example, there were few changes of any significance in what teachers were actually doing in classrooms. Instead, teachers increased the amount of time they spent on fund-raising and extra-curricular activities, similar to those carried out in elite schools. The effect was increased social differentiation but not better education.

> Unlike rituals in public schools, which encouraged identification with historic and patriotic values that called for integration on a national level, rituals in new private schools identified parents and students with elite groups. While each private school stressed a different distinguishing feature, these schools as a group [. . .] stressed unifying features and rituals which promoted their identification with the private middle-class schools [. . .]. Private schools separated families from the poor, from the mass of 'those in need' (Espinola, 1992, p. 48).

In some countries decentralization is slow to occur because local actors are unwilling (under existing conditions) or slow to recognize that they can take over the responsibilities handled previously by the central government. In Hungary, reduced central control over curriculum did not (quickly) result in teacher implementation: '. . . we find many people still clinging to the notion that all they can do is carry out centrally taken decisions' (Bathory, 1986, p. 41). In Colombia, a number of municipalities ignored an invitation from the central government to assume control over primary education. Local governments concluded they lacked the resources to manage education effectively (Hanson, 1995). In Spain schools were given permission to appoint their principals or directors from among their staff. In many schools none of the teachers were willing to assume the position (Hanson, 1994). Much the same occurred in the state of Kentucky in the United States when new legislation allowed schools to take over many responsibilities (Goldman, 1992).

The conclusion to be drawn from these experiences is that weakening of the central State by globalization will not necessarily result in an increase of local initiative. Creation of 'spaces' for local action by the forces of globalization does not ensure that local actors will change their relationships with other levels of society. Pockets of change are likely only in those societies in which there has been limited cultural coherence (or limited hegemony by the dominant group), and among those groups in society that are least incorporated into the dominant culture and have a tradition of self-governance. The rate of spread of isolated instances of change in education induced by globalization will depend on the degree of integration of the society.

3. A third explanation states that even when real decentralization occurs, it does

not go beyond people who act to maintain and reinforce the present education system rather than to change it. In some instances, the 'conservative' forces are teachers. In Hungary, for example, teachers in decentralized schools defined themselves as the guardians of 'quality' education. Their students achieved high scores on international achievement tests, but this was because teachers emphasized knowledge acquisition within the conventional curriculum (Howell, 1988). In Australia, variations in degrees of teacher participation in school management were unrelated to changes in curriculum or instruction. Concerned about the failure of decentralization reform to produce a dramatic change in education, Sturman suggests that:

> Policies need to be linked with satisfactory support structures otherwise schools will be left in a vacuum [. . .]. Faced with such a vacuum it is [. . .] not unreasonable that many schools or teachers may have clung to more traditional and recognised practices (Sturman, 1989, p. 245).

Education (as opposed to the governance of schools) is least likely to change, Sturman suggests, when controlled by communities with little understanding of alternatives in education. Extensive reform of curriculum in Australia occurred most frequently when the central authority provided strong support and direction for the change.

In some case the 'conservative' forces are parents. Unused to democratic decision-making, school councils may find it hard to achieve consensus and therefore do nothing (Johnston & Hedemann, 1994). Radical decentralization reform in Chicago has failed to create fundamental changes in education, although levels of participation were initially high (Bryk & Rollow, 1992). This reform created local school councils that hire and fire principals and gave teachers more autonomy with respect to the curriculum. Schools varied widely in terms of participation of parents and teachers in decision-making. Overall, however, few fundamental changes were made in the curriculum and in teaching, and learning outcomes were not significantly improved (Quinn et al., 1993). The Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990 mandated school-based decision making by 1996. Three years after the act, little change had occurred in patterns of decision making. Parental involvement has been difficult to achieve (Van Meter, 1994; Kannapel et al., 1995).

Change does occur, however, when local actors with clear ideas of new kinds of education are given authority to act. Teachers in a district in New York City, under the leadership of an inspired superintendent, created a highly innovative high school that has had very positive learning outcomes (Tyack, 1992).

These results suggest that when globalization operates through the central government it will have most effect on societies with passive local communities. If the national leader 'buys into' globalization, vertically-organized societies are more subject to cultural transformation by the forces of globalization than are disorganized or democratic societies. This may be the insight of national leaders who discourage democratic participation. The Prime Minister of Malaysia justifies restrictions on democracy in his high-growth country by suggesting that democracy is the

end, not the means. 'Should we enforce democracy on people who may not be able to handle it and destroy stability?' (quoted in Mavall, 1994, p. 18). Conversely, globalization will have least effect on education in societies in which local communities enjoy considerable autonomy from the central government, either because of decentralization or because of central government incompetence.

4. The fourth hypothesis argues that even when real decentralization is achieved and there is full local participation, education may still remain the same. Three conditions are required for local actors to change (the content of) education profoundly: they must be discontented with the current content; they must be able to distinguish between changes that will have profound effects and those that will merely adjust certain processes or content; and they must be able to make changes (that is, have resources, authority and technical skills). Systems that have been centralized for some time are not likely to have local communities with skills and understanding of how to reform education. Social relationships have to change before local actors can act in a different way than they have in the past (Ross, 1993).

In many countries, parents and communities are in fact 'conservative'. That is, they are not interested so much in changing education as they are in influencing access to it, the quality of its process and the consequences of its outcomes. They seek refinements and reforms of the current system. Those parents who benefited by access to education say 'things were better before' rather than 'what we had in the past and have now is not good enough'. Knowledge of alternative forms of education is the property of professionals; there are few ways for lay persons to learn about new and innovative forms of education. As a consequence, even where parents and the local community do participate actively in school affairs, they make few attempts to change content, teaching methods or the general philosophy of education.

In Kentucky, even where community participation was high, there was little change in curriculum and instruction practices (Kannapel et al., 1995). Similar results are reported for Chile (Espinola, 1992). Perhaps because local actors have not attempted radical changes in education, active participation in Chicago has made no difference in terms of student attendance, achievement and graduation rates (Walberg & Niemiec, 1994). A general review of school-based management reforms in the United States reports no effects on achievement (Peterson, 1991).

The point here is not that decentralization cannot lead to improvement of schooling, but rather that it often does not result in major changes (other than in governance). Decentralization most often results in significant change, with consequent improvements in learning outcomes, in schools and systems in which teachers, parents and community members participate together in decision-making (Sturman, 1989; Wood & Caldwell, 1991). The dialectical relationship between these two groups leads to the construction of new solutions, as well as to the mobilization of energy and resources to implement them. Significantly, decentralization reforms are most likely to succeed (in terms of increases in participation) in schools that are internally well-integrated. A study of 130 schools in Los Angeles,

California, found that decentralization was most likely in schools with a greater ethnic and linguistic student and faculty diversity, where there were also high levels of student achievement (Robertson & Buffett, 1991).

The implication is that the impacts of globalization on education will be 'filtered' by local actors who are likely to choose what they want and to construct their own innovations. Globalization may bring new ideas and new opportunities, but these will have little effect in communities with no tradition of self-management unless imposed by the central government. Even then, because education systems are not highly integrated, the effects will be slight. Communities with a strong tradition of democratic self-management are those most able to select those elements of globalization to which they will respond, and to build their education systems accordingly.

Other ways in which globalization can affect education systems

Perhaps unintended effects of globalization are most likely to occur not by direct changes in State education systems, but by changes in the environment in which those systems operate. Other global influences by-pass central institutions and affect local groups directly. Videos, tourists and television broadcasts carried by satellites, for example, operate independently of central authorities. They carry with them images and information which can transform knowledge, skills and values, just as teachers do in schools. These media are owned by transnational corporations that can operate with impunity in almost any country (Reiffers, 1982; Smith, 1991; Aksoy & Robins, 1992). There is, therefore, not necessarily any relationship between their content and the content taught by the education system (Watson, 1994). There may be, in fact, contradictions between the knowledge and values acquired through these media, and those obtained from the school (Orozco Gómez, 1988).

Because 'education' has been defined as the task of the formal education system and schools, we have made little progress in understanding the way in which globalization can influence education. Given the analysis above, however, we might conclude that the impact of the messages carried by the mass media are likely to be greatest in homogenized or uniformized societies. They should spread more slowly in complex and differentiated societies. And they should have least effect in societies in which local communities are not only well-integrated but also accustomed to making decisions for themselves.

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TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT[1]

Padma Mallampally

Introduction

Human resource development is central to economic growth and development. Although its precise contribution is difficult to measure, human capital created through investments in education and the development of skills emerges as one of the most significant determinants in econometric studies of economic growth. High levels of education, the most important element in human resource development, lead to high productivity through improvements in the ability to adopt sophisticated technology and efficient organizational structures. Education also shapes values, attitudes and behavioural patterns which are instrumental in influencing the pace and form of social and economic development. Not surprisingly, the most rapidly growing economies have made considerable investments in education. For example, between the 1950s and the 1980s, the share of education in government expenditure in the Republic of Korea rose from 2.5% to 22%; in fact, the latter represented only one-third of total educational expenditure when private spending was included. Between 1945 and 1986, enrolment in tertiary education in the Republic of Korea rose by 150 times (Tan, 1992, p. 52).

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Human resource development is a principal determinant not only of economic development, but also of international competitiveness (Porter, 1990). Investment in education and training represents a major form of created assets that offer a more sustainable basis for competing because they are more difficult for competitors to imitate. It contributes positive externalities in the form of a growing pool of ideas, information and creative personnel, offering the potential for on-going innovation and upgrading.

Building up a stock of created assets generating development and increasing competitiveness may require more than the simple investment of public money in education. National education systems focus on the provision of general training that has applicability in more than one activity or industry. Industry-specific or specialist training has more limited applications, but is fundamental to the creation of a sustainable competitive advantage. The development of such skills is also riskier and may require funding from the private sector. Private sector organizations have closer links to the market and are in a better position to judge priorities in skill formation. This suggests that private enterprises, including transnational corporations (TNCs), have an important complementary role to play in the provision of education and training.

The management of production activities within TNC networks implies the possibility of a mutually beneficial relationship between globalization, upgrading of competitive advantage and human resource development. This potential interaction is explored in this paper. More specifically, the discussion focuses on the contribution that TNCs can make to human resource development, particularly within developing nations. This has major implications for the design of policy and for the encouragement of co-operative relationships between TNCs and national governments in fostering human resource development.

The role of transnational corporations in human resource development

In the course of their production activities and the formation of sophisticated assets necessary for maintaining and exploiting their competitive advantages, TNCs have a significant direct effect on human resource development through the provision of employment opportunities for skilled labour, the provision of additional training opportunities and the creation of incentives for employees to augment their skills. They also provide opportunities for informal learning through contacts with experts and through the creation of a business culture conducive to economic growth and development. Industries in which TNCs are active, both in manufacturing and services, are characterized by a marked reliance upon highly skilled labour. In addition, TNCs may be involved in the provision of formal or general education, directly as transnational educational service providers or indirectly through support of and collaboration with national educational institutions. Transnational corporations also have important indirect effects on human resource development, through their impact on educational investments by poten-

tial employees, their impact on government programmes and educational institutions, and on technical assistance to enterprises linked to them through backward and forward linkages.

FORMAL EDUCATION

In most countries, TNCs play a limited role in primary and secondary education. Foreign affiliates do provide their employees and others with opportunities for basic education if local circumstances make it necessary (United Nations, Transnational Corporations and Management Division (UN-TCMD), 1992), as in situations when their production facilities are located in remote or isolated areas, and access to public schooling is limited. This may occur, for example, in the case of some transnational agricultural or mineral operations. In such cases, TNCs are typically responsible for a range of services, including, among others, education and health provision.

Transnational corporations may also influence pre-tertiary education in two more general ways. The first is through the provision of financial support or specialists to schools. The donation or subsidization of capital equipment, such as computers, is widespread, even within developed countries. The second influence is where TNCs offer remedial education opportunities, typically to those who have been denied or poorly served by the public education system. Poorly qualified employees may have access to remedial reading, writing and mathematics education at the workplace. Such education is typically provided through classes organized before or after work hours. As well as benefiting the individuals concerned, such education may lead to more effective internal communication, reduced labour turnover and lower accident rates as employees have a better understanding of instructions and warnings.

However, it is within the tertiary, or post-compulsory schooling stage, that TNCs exercise their principal influence on formal education. Their most obvious direct impact is in the provision of employment opportunities to highly skilled science, engineering and commerce graduates. While there are no precise estimates of the employment of such graduates within TNCs, their clustering within technology-intensive industries as well as the higher skill-intensity observed in foreign affiliates than in comparable domestic firms (within both developed and developing economies),[2] are indicative of their importance in employing graduates. Transnational corporations also play a direct role in the provision of scholarships and the sponsoring of employees in higher education. This assistance encompasses both formal education and work experience which may form part of the study programme.

Apart from assisting actual and potential employees, TNCs—partly because they are among the largest and best endowed firms, partly because they have a special interest—provide, in a variety of ways, assistance to institutions of higher education. Their demand for highly trained graduates manifests itself in the form of financial support, particularly to business schools and science facilities, the provi-

sion of assistance and advice through membership on advisory boards, curriculum review committees, councils and senates. The senior management of many TNCs play a similar role in training organizations and certification agencies. In a number of countries, as public funding to higher education has been restricted in recent years, the links between large businesses and educational establishments have increased significantly. In the United Kingdom, for example, TNCs have provided considerable funding for the establishment of professional chairs and the creation of business schools in a number of universities. This has long been true in the United States of America. It is increasingly the case that senior appointments made by universities and polytechnics draw upon a pool including international business leaders.

The links between international business and business school education are particularly close. Indeed, the *Institut pour l'enseignement des méthodes de direction de l'enterprise* (IMEDE) and the International Management Institute (IMI), two of the most prestigious business schools in Europe, were originally founded as company training centres (of Nestlé and Alcan, respectively). In large part, they were established to meet the specific needs of international business or were a response to the then limitations of training provided by publicly-funded universities and business schools.

Mirroring the internationalization of production, an acceleration in the expansion of transnational educational institutions has also been seen in recent years. A considerable number of universities have internationalized their operations through the establishment of overseas facilities, international strategic alliances and by a range of agreements for the exchange of knowledge. Most of this internationalization has occurred in the field of management education. An international survey of business schools engaged in teaching international business programmes reported that 33% of respondents were involved in at least one consortium, of which 38% were abroad. Twenty-three per cent of respondent schools offered their programmes in another country (Arpan, Folks & Kwok, 1993). The Belgian-based European University operates affiliates in sixteen European cities. The Netherlands International Institute for Management operates joint ventures with local institutions in a number of European and Asian countries.

Management education has long been exported in the form of distance learning. The British-based Henley Management Centre is one of the longest established institutions in this field and offers its programmes in a number of European, Asian and Pacific-Rim centres. Business schools are developing cross-regional alliances; a good example is provided by the Macau-based Asia-Pacific International University which links students, faculty and employment experiences between Asia, Western Canada, Australia and the Pacific. United States/European, United States/Japanese and European/Japanese links are now being forged by a number of schools. Leading United States schools, such as Harvard, play an important role in management education in Latin America; the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is now linked with a Hong Kong university; and Canadian business schools are active in China (UN-TCMD, 1992, p. 174). Eastern Europe represents an important emerging mar-

ket for Western management schools. In a number of Asian economies, TNCs, sometimes as the result of a request by the government, have established technical training schools serving not only their needs, but also those of other firms (Watanabe, 1993, p. 142, chapter X).

These initiatives with respect to formal tertiary education have significance for TNCs as well as for other firms in that they provide a source of managerial skills and also influence business culture. The global spread of international business training contributes to local pools of management talent and facilitates the localization of management, which is important for TNCs as well as host countries. Among others, the high costs and failure rates of expatriate managers encourage TNCs to localize management where possible.

The internationalization of management education by universities and other institutions and the introduction of 'best-practice' management methods complements the educational contributions of TNCs engaged in the production of goods and other services. This is because, in large part, the curricula, faculty experience and research programmes of transnational schools are determined by the present and future operational needs of TNCs. This may not be without drawbacks. For example, one might question the appropriateness for Asian managers of management programmes dominated by the United States.[3] Asian management, for example, places a greater emphasis on co-operative approaches; it is, moreover, less concerned with short-term financial performance than United States business education.

Growing local educational capability means that new training paths are likely to be developed in the near future, further strengthening the importance of national differences in the valuation of, and approach towards, education. For example, the United States system places a high value on formal education, with perhaps 85% of top managers in the United States holding university degrees. This investment in education is seen as largely the responsibility of the individual. Since the return on such investment may be maximized by frequent job moves, external certification is important. In contrast, while education is also highly valued in Japan, the approach to management education is quite different. The Japanese view is that management skills are best acquired through a process of tutelage under the supervision of older, more experienced colleagues. This focus on internal training, coupled with lifetime employment and promotion based on service and seniority, reduces the importance of external credentials. There are probably no more than 3,000 Japanese managers who possess Master of Business Administration degrees (MBAs). In contrast, the United States produces more than 65,000 each year (Warner, 1992, p. 69).

TRAINING OF EMPLOYEES

Factors influencing training

The provision of training for their employees is perhaps the most important contribution of TNCs to human-resource development in the countries in which they

operate. The amount and types of training provided by TNCs, as well as their probable impact on local labour markets, depend on a range of factors. Among others, they include the type of industry, the size of the investment, the duration of the commitment to operate in a country, and the nature of activities undertaken; the latter are themselves likely to depend upon the size and quality of the existing domestic manpower (including the skill intensity) of the country.

Also significant for the amount and nature of training is the mode of entry, with 'greenfield' (i.e. establishing new production facilities from zero) investments likely to require greater initial investments in training, in contrast to firms that are acquired by a TNC. Another factor is the extent to which new technologies are imported and require new skills: unique technologies reduce the opportunities for TNCs to add to pressures on local labour markets by poaching fully trained employees from competitors or by increasing the demand for skilled labour. The location of production facilities (including higher value-added ones) in the home or host country, and the extent to which the investing firm chooses to tap completely new sources of labour, are also important because they may require a company to provide basic training in the early stages of investment. Government policies encouraging the promotion of training programmes by TNCs, including provision of incentives or other schemes for TNCs and workers, as well as the availability of alternative training programmes (for example, national educational training institutions) also play a role. The type of training provided by TNCs is also influenced by the values and business culture prevalent in the home country. Some TNCs tend to emphasize technical, individual training and monetary rewards, while others stress group training and non-monetary rewards to those undertaking such training. The size of the foreign affiliate is also a relevant factor with respect to the type of training undertaken: large affiliates are more likely to have formal and specialized training programmes for their employees, while small affiliates may rely more on *ad hoc* training schemes and informal training.

The strategies of TNCs with respect to the functional scope of activities in different locations have implications for the amount and quality of training and the way in which it is distributed across the parent company and its various affiliates worldwide:

— In companies pursuing 'stand-alone' strategies, the amount and quality of training is most likely to be determined by the conditions that govern production for the local market. Firm-specific capabilities, such as technological and marketing skills, may be an important factor for the success of a company operating abroad, and distinctive training efforts may be required to consolidate such skills in foreign affiliates. Training packages can be developed on the basis of what has been successfully experienced at home and then exported, sometimes in an adapted form, to foreign affiliates, but the gist of training is framed nationally, and training programmes and human resource management policies are drawn up primarily at the affiliate level, taking into account local needs and requirements.

— In simple integration strategies, particularly when they are geared towards taking advantage of a local supply of labour at low cost, employment in foreign affiliates is mainly constituted by unskilled and semi-skilled workers. For these workers, training is likely to be limited to the acquisition of elementary skills. The tasks of the affiliates are circumscribed, and training at the managerial and technical levels is correspondingly narrow.
— Complex integration strategies are likely to require greater commitment and co-ordination of training because of the greater interdependence they involve between the parent firm and affiliates and among affiliates. In an integrated structure, the profitability of the entire corporate system depends upon achieving satisfactory performance in each unit of the value chain. Thus, an internationally integrated approach towards human resource management may be an important element for complex integration strategies to be successful. Such an approach is more evident for some corporate functions, such as marketing, accounting, research and development that are more frequently globalized.

International executive development is particularly important for companies that adopt complex integration strategies. The move to such strategies implies that the human resources function becomes more significant and more centralized as it is more closely linked to the overall corporate strategy. Indeed, attention by corporate boards to the management of key human resources has gradually increased in a number of companies (Evans, Lank & Farquhar, 1990). Many TNCs have developed mixed human-resource management policies, in the sense that human-resource management is global and centralized for senior executives and those with such potential, while for other employees a decentralized, country-based approach prevails (Evans & Lorange, 1990). The wider distribution and deepening of training efforts at the affiliate level mentioned above are likely to be greater in those integrated TNCs that adopt new flexible forms of production and best management practices, such as 'just-in-time'[4] or 'lean'[5] production. Within these new forms, labour tends to be seen as an innovatory resource whose potential has to be maximized, rather than as a factor whose cost has to be minimized. Thus, these developments are likely to influence human resource development by TNCs in several ways. First, training is increasingly directed towards production workers. Such training will have to be more intensive if these workers are to carry out their new tasks. Indeed, the distinction between blue-collar and white-collar workers is already becoming blurred in some industries, as growing emphasis is being placed on 'knowledge' workers; TNCs carry such approaches and practices to their host countries. Second, the recruitment of production workers will have to be more selective, and recruitment standards generally higher, as basic education is a requisite for workers to take full advantage of training. Third, training will also include both technical and motivational or behavioural aspects. Without this, workers' involvement in the new production methods can decline markedly over time and the expected gains in productivity may not be achieved.

Cross-border integration and the interdependence of tasks across affiliates also imply that inputs of production and services increasingly flow across borders

within a firm's system. Intra-firm communication at various levels is ceaseless and requires widespread language competence within the firm. People that participate in these intra-firm networks have to be equipped with the capacity to understand and manage interpersonal cultural diversities. A similar capacity is also needed to sustain the galaxy of international inter-firm arrangements that characterize integrated producers, ranging from international outsourcing to joint-ventures and strategic alliances.

One result of integrated international production may be that the training function becomes a more specialized function within the firm. Formal corporate training centres may be established outside the home country in the most convenient locations for the firm from a global or regional perspective. Formal corporate training would not only allow employees, particularly managers, to gain cross-cultural expertise rapidly and share cross-border experience, but also to contribute to shaping and disseminating common corporate values. As technical and production workers are increasingly the target of training efforts, training packages can be developed centrally for dissemination to foreign affiliates. Training for specific purposes can also be outsourced to international specialists or business consultants, and links can be developed with local training institutions and universities.

Extent and pattern of training

Subject to these variables, most TNCs provide facilities and programmes for training their employees. Often, the extent of training in their foreign affiliates is comparable to that provided at the headquarters. For example, in six out of ten industries, expenditure on education and training in the foreign affiliates of the largest Swedish manufacturing TNCs was comparable to that provided by those firms at their homebase (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD-DTCI), 1994*a,* fig. V.1, p. 221). Overall, average training expenditure per worker in Swedish foreign affiliates was three-quarters of that in the parent firms. Transnational corporations from Japan have also been observed to undertake significant expenditure on training and retraining of workers in host countries, comparable to that of their parent firms (Watanabe, 1993).

Transnational corporations often spend more on training in their foreign affiliates than do similar local firms in the host country. For example, Japanese affiliates in the United States spend significantly more on training than their domestic counterparts (Campbell & McElrath, 1990, p. 78). The proportion of workers in Japanese-owned plants who received training (24%) in 1985 was almost twice that in comparable indigenous United States plants. The cost of training per worker was two-and-a-half times as high and the cost of training per newly hired person was over four-and-a-half times as high as that in United States plants (Mincer & Higuchi, 1987, table 10). That included not only training for new employees but also continued training. More was spent on recruitment as well per newly hired person by Japanese-owned plants, although the degree of newness of Japanese plants

may have accounted for some of these higher costs. The purpose of the training was apparently the building up of specific, rather than general human capital—that is, the purpose was to develop a workforce with the specific skills and consistent with the affiliates' management style. Japanese firms were also less interested in training subsidies offered by governments or in external tuition grants than other foreign investors (Watanabe, 1993).

Studies on training activities of TNCs in other host areas, such as Scotland (Scottish Development Agency, 1986), Thailand (Sibunruang & Brimble, 1989), Malaysia (Yong, 1988), Nigeria (Iyanda & Bello, 1979) and Turkey (Erden, 1988), also confirm that foreign affiliates often spend more on training than their local counterparts. There are, however, variations, depending, among others, on firm size and industry. For example, among the relatively large non-oil-manufacturing firms promoted by the Board of Investments in Thailand in 1990, a higher proportion of employees was trained locally by Thai-owned firms than affiliates of TNCs from developed countries, but there were wide variations according to size and industry, making it impossible to reject the hypothesis of identical ratios at the industry level. However, training provided abroad was greater in the case of TNCs from developed countries.[6] In Kenya, the average number of weeks of training per year provided to managers by joint ventures, as well as national public enterprises, was greater than that provided by other foreign affiliates, according to a 1982–83 survey of seventy-two top- and middle-level managers from forty-one firms (Gershenberg, 1987, p. 935). Where comparable levels of training expenditure are found, it is important to note that some of the training provided by TNCs may be undertaken outside the host country, perhaps at headquarters, and may be financed by the parent company (Gonçalves, 1986).

As mentioned earlier, training opportunities in TNCs vary according to the industry, as well as the types of workers involved. For example, training by Swedish manufacturing TNCs tended, by and large, to be positively related to the research-and-development intensity of TNCs by industry (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*a*, figs. V.1 and V.2, p. 222–23). Data for Japanese foreign affiliates also show considerable variation, with affiliates in electrical, machinery and chemical industries providing training to a larger proportion of workers than those in other manufacturing industries or services (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*a*, table V.1, p. 225). In Malaysia, considerable differences existed in the frequency of training among industries and among types of workers in thirty-one foreign affiliates that responded to a questionnaire survey in 1988 (Yong, 1988). While 18% of employees attended training of one kind or another, training was concentrated in the managerial and professional staff: about 45% of the managerial employees and over 40% of professional and technical employees received training, but only 16% of sales employees, and less than 2% of others, including clerical, production and service workers (UNCTAD-DTCI, table V.2, 1994*a*, p. 226). Clearly, the investment in training was directed mainly to higher-level staff. However, while training was heavily concentrated in the managerial and professional/technical categories, it was not concentrated in the higher-technology industries according to the survey mentioned above. The proportion of

employees given training was highest in non-metallic minerals and beverages, where almost all the managerial and professional/technical employees benefited from it. More technologically-oriented industries, such as chemicals and electrical machinery, were about average in the extent of training, and the chemicals industry was below average in the proportion of managerial and professional and technical workers trained. This is related, of course, to the kind of employment placed in the host country. In the case of electrical machinery, 90% of the employment placed in Malaysia at the time was clerical and production work that apparently required little in the way of training of the labour force (Yong, 1988).

The amount of training varies not only according to the category of worker and industry, but also according to the entry strategy and the nature of technology or management methods used by an affiliate. For example, when the Ford Motor Company established a 'greenfield' plant in Hermosillo, northern Mexico, it invested heavily in training for the new 'just-in-time' production system. All new workers received nearly 700 intensive classroom hours before starting work, and the 300 technical and supervisory workers spent between one and three months in training abroad (Shaiken, 1990). A study of the introduction of new production methods within Brazilian manufacturing reported similar levels of investment in training for quality management and 'just-in-time' (Fleury & Humphrey, 1992). In Malaysia, electronics TNCs have more recently introduced new production concepts with implications for the quality of production workers hired, as well as training provided to them. According to an empirical study of twelve electronics TNCs in Malaysian export-processing zones conducted in 1990, the qualifications for operators entering employment had been upgraded to twelve years of schooling, and the training provided had also increased significantly (Liebau & Wahnschaffe, 1992, p. 192).

Transnational corporations may also provide training opportunities for certain specific groups, such as rural migrants and women workers, who may find themselves disadvantaged in gaining access to training and promotion. For example, Japanese electronics TNCs have preferred to employ women with limited work experience (Oliver & Wilkinson, 1989). Although the majority of women and migrant workers are likely to be employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in labour-intensive industries, when compared with alternative employment opportunities, such as agriculture or domestic service, TNCs offer above-average wages and conditions, and the opportunity for acquiring some skills. In some countries, such as Singapore, the entry of foreign firms—by accentuating labour shortages—has increased the employment opportunities of those from non-traditional groups, including women in white-collar occupations (Lim, 1985).

Nature and types of training activities

The training provided by TNCs may be formal or non-formal. Formal training involves classroom instruction, courses of specific duration or structured apprenticeship programmes, and may be provided either in-house or by external experts.

Non-formal training takes many forms and is largely located within the employing organization and on the job.

Training of production workers is undertaken mainly to satisfy the staffing requirements essential for the functioning of the enterprise. However, an important secondary objective may be for workers to adjust to the culture of the corporation or the type of corporation. The latter factor, in particular, leads to greater emphasis on the use of on-the-job or in-house training, as, for example, in the case of Japanese TNCs (Watanabe, 1993).

Systematic vocational training programmes are implemented by many large TNCs particularly for skilled workers who usually get a significant share of TNCs' training budgets (International Labour Office (ILO), 1981).[7] These may be established at or close to the production facility or local or regional training centres. However, on-the-job training for varying durations is the most common avenue for training production workers. In Malaysia, new production employees in twelve electronic foreign affiliates studied in 1990 were first put on a training programme lasting from three days to a week, which finished with a test that the participants had to pass in order to be given a permanent job. This was then followed in all of the firms by on-the-job training lasting up to three months. The management systematically aimed at expanding and raising the qualifications of the production workers by offering, both internally and externally, further training courses, and corresponding opportunities to rise within the company. Multi-tasking with multi-skilled workers was the principal goal of the firms' educational and training policy. Each company had its own educational and training department with a number of full-time teachers. One of the United States affiliates, with 200 employees, had forty full-time teachers, and an annual expenditure on education and training of $750,000 or 1% of total wage costs. Another United States firm reported spending 2.5% of its total wage costs annually on education and training (Liebau & Wahnschaffe, 1992, p. 192).

Training programmes for professional employees in management as well as technical fields are generally the most important part of TNCs' training activities. Here again, the objective is generally to provide training in job-related skills, as well as (frequently) to imbue staff with the corporate culture that many firms consider essential for effective management. Some TNCs—for example, Citibank, Pepsi Cola and IBM—implement global human resource and training strategies. In others, such as Glaxo, the United Kingdom's largest pharmaceuticals company, personnel and human resource policies and programmes are completely decentralized, with each affiliate having its own human resources director reporting to the local managing director, although these policies and programmes take their general direction from a broad framework of corporate values developed centrally.[8] In still others, such as Nissan, centralized programmes are combined with a significant amount of foreign affiliate autonomy.[9]

A distinct advantage enjoyed by TNCs in their training is the ability to utilize international networks of facilities and expertise in employee development (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*b;* ILO, 1991; Foley, Watts & Wilson, 1993). For example,

a study of foreign-owned firms in Ireland showed that almost 90% of respondent firms had sent employees abroad on training visits to the parent company (Whelan, 1980, p. 39). Another example is that of Japanese affiliates in Germany, which show a high propensity to send qualified staff for training and exchange visits to Japan. Overseas assignments are widely used for key executives and technical staff. In developing countries, too, the most popular mode of training for foreign affiliate employees is to send them to the parent firm (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1993*a*, p. 125). In developing countries, the provision of such training may have increased over time. A study of foreign firms in Indonesia in the early 1980s found that TNCs were more likely to attract managers from local firms than to provide their own training (Okada, 1983). On the other hand, a more recent study concludes that most local managers and technical personnel obtained their expertise mainly through on-the-job training and additional training by working for a certain period at the TNC's plant in the home country or other foreign locations (Thee, 1990, p. 232).

The growing globalization and functional integration within TNCs and the spread of international strategic alliances further broaden both the scope of training opportunities and the diffusion of skills. For instance, Ford (United States) and Mazda (Japan) have sent production workers from their jointly operated factory in Hermosillo, Mexico, to Japan and to Ford factories in Europe for training. The engineering team that set up the production line for Ford's 'Mondeo' in Belgium performs the same function in the United States, and trains local engineers in the process. Motorola (United States), as part of its expansion in China, has sent Chinese engineering recruits to Motorola facilities in Hong Kong, Singapore and the United States for training, and rotates top management trainees for its Chinese affiliate through almost all of its semiconductor manufacturing operations world-wide (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1993*a*, p. 125). Philips (Netherlands), for example, has operated a systematic management development programme for more than a decade. As the global scope of Philips has expanded, it has attempted to increase both the general and the international experience of its managers. One way in which this has been achieved has been to extend job rotation to involve ventures with other companies. As well as contributing to management development, this programme has extended considerably the diffusion of Philip's training investment (Houten, 1989). In some cases, this ability to disseminate experience may allow a TNC to introduce genuinely innovatory approaches, including those related to new organizational procedures and 'best practice', and provide the necessary training.[10] The experience of TNCs in a range of cultures and environments provides exposure to alternative training approaches and an enhanced sensitivity to the learning process. Their experience of cultural gaps may assist in determining the optimal amount and type of training.[11]

Transnational corporations that are large in size and scope can achieve considerable economies in training through the development of global or regional training centres. One example is Motorola University, which trains in-house personnel and operates a number of co-operative arrangements with both private and public university business schools around the world. This university has estab-

lished, among others, a branch in Beijing which provides training to Motorola employees, customers, partners and suppliers in management practices and technology.[12] Another prominent example is Nestlé's Rive-Reine training centre near its headquarters in Switzerland, which, in 1993, held seminars attended by over 1,200 participants drawn from its staff in sixty different countries (Nestlé S.A., 1994). Similarly, Nestlé's INDEC professional training centre, located in Mexico, provides training for employees within the entire Latin American region. McDonald's Hamburger Universities are global training centres for management trainees in the final phase of their training operations. Many transnational banks have also established training centres, some in host countries. One of the few consulting firms to have a training centre is Andersen Consulting, which has its own college at St. Charles, Illinois, intended to ensure a consistent approach and methodology to problem-solving (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1993*a,* p. 16). In a number of Asian host economies, TNCs, sometimes as a result of a request by the government or with governmental collaboration, have established technical training schools serving not only their own needs, but also those of other firms (Watanabe, 1993, p. 142; UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*a,* chapter X).

While TNCs that are large in size and scope are best-placed to provide training and other activities contributing to human resource development, small and medium-sized enterprises also undertake similar activities (Table 1). There are, however, some differences in the extent and nature of their training programmes in comparison with large TNCs. According to survey data, formal technical training (other than on-the-job training) was undertaken in 44% of developing-country affiliates of small and medium-sized TNCs, compared to 73% of those of large TNCs. Affiliates of large TNCs are also more involved in other forms of technical training. For example, in-plant or in-office training by technical personnel from parent firms is undertaken in more than one-half of affiliates of small- and medium-sized TNCs, but at a higher rate of about four-fifths of large TNCs (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1993*b,* p. 125). Training of affiliate employees in parent firms of TNCs was carried out in 80% and 93% of affiliates of small and medium-sized TNCs and large TNCs respectively. However, for affiliates of small and medium-sized TNCs, this form of training is by far the most popular method. Inviting foreign affiliates' employees to parent firms is a channel likely to be chosen if the technical experts are based at the parent firms and involved in another job, if there are no training facilities in host countries, or if parent firms wish local employees to feel directly the rigour of management and establish relations with home-country employees. However, the national origin of small and medium-sized TNCs, as well as the type of affiliates, has a bearing in this respect. For example, most Japanese small and medium-sized TNCs tend to provide training at their headquarters (more than four-fifths of the affiliates) rather than on-site (51%), but affiliates of United States small and medium-sized TNCs use on-site training to a greater degree (85% of affiliates, as opposed to 90% for training at headquarters) (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1993*b,* p. 125).

TABLE 1. Training of employees in foreign affiliates in developing countries, by region (percentage of affiliates that provide training)

Type of training and host region	Affiliates of small and medium-sized TNCs	Affiliates of large TNCs
On-the-job training		
South, East and South-East Asia	61	75
Latin America	60	69
All developing countries	61	73
Technical training (other than on-the-job training)		
South, East and South-East Asia	46	71
Latin America	35	74
All developing countries	44	73

Source: UNCTAD-DTCI, 1993*b*, p. 110, based on a survey conducted in 1991–92.

Formal and non-formal training and professional development, as well as the informal transmission of values, attitudes and behavioural patterns through contacts with expatriates, are particularly important in the economies that are in the process of transition to a market-oriented system. In central and eastern Europe, entrepreneurial, technological and managerial capabilities required for a market-oriented economic system were largely unavailable, due to the centrally-planned production and the administrative nature of management under the previous economic system. Furthermore, the earlier isolation of the region had greatly reduced the access to modern product and process technologies. After their opening up to foreign direct investment (FDI), to a large extent, therefore, the operations of foreign affiliates in the countries of the region required an adjustment of the work force to the requirements of the world market through training and education. This situation was characterized as follows in a statement of a director of ABB in Poland: 'From the beginning, our approach was to transfer the software first, the hardware second. We began with a lot of training, for instance in marketing and sales. Then we started the technological transfer'.[13]

Human resource development has thus become a main feature of all major FDI projects in the region. A great number of major foreign investors in both manufacturing and the services sectors have established some kind of employee training scheme. Fiat Auto (Poland), for example, trained all of its 19,000 employees in schools in one or more of its various operations in six-week courses, during which employees were placed on a so-called 'training line', cutting by half their normal workload. This enabled the introduction of technology that resulted in productivity, as measured by cars per employee per year, rising from five in 1991 to nineteen by the end of 1993.[14] Similar training efforts have contributed to ABB Zamech

achieving rapid productivity increases and winning export orders of some $150 million. It expects that the injection of new management skills and technology will generate 4 to 5% of ABB's global revenues by 1996.[15]

Similarly, local managers and business leaders in the economies in transition—who had been trained under a centrally-planned system—were largely unable to conduct managerial functions required for a competitive market environment. Marketing, price-based procurement, 'hard' budgeting, etc., were largely unknown, since these were unnecessary functions under the centrally-planned system. Apart from training in these new principles of business conduct, adherence to old management practices had to be overcome throughout management and factory levels. To deal with these problems, ABB Zamech, for example, created a 'mini-MBA programme' in Warsaw in order to introduce the top management to basic business concepts and to enable them to transfer these concepts to the staff. The courses covered five key modules—business strategy, marketing, finance, manufacturing, human resources—and were taught by faculty members of the European Institute of Business Administration (INSEAD) (Taylor, 1991, p. 103).

Training efforts often go beyond the transmission of technological skills needed in the modern world. In general, basic 'market' concepts and production philosophies (and, most importantly, language skills needed for basic communication between Western management and the local labour force and management) usually form part of the educational process. Apart from basic technological skills, Fiat (Italy), for example, also tried to instil in its Polish workers concepts of competition and quality as well as co-operation and teamwork.[16] These training and professional development activities and the informal transmission of values, attitudes and behavioural patterns are important features of TNC affiliates' activities in central and eastern Europe, with direct consequences for efficiency and productivity.

The upgrading of the workforce through training is an important aspect of foreign affiliates in China as well. Despite the fact that the education system in China provides substantial and diversified vocational training and technical education, the demand for skilled technicians and, in particular, managers exceeds the supply. Most foreign affiliates have organized their own training programmes. Some, particularly those in tourism, electronics and chemical industries, have established their own staff training centres. Motorola, for example, has set up two centres in China for its Chinese employees. On-the-job training for Chinese managers and employees is also widely practised (Zhan, 1993).

Training and the transfer of soft technology in services

Training in TNCs is closely related to the transfer of technology. Training of production staff in manufacturing is generally intended to provide know-how on how to use the machinery and equipment in which technology is embodied. In manufacturing as well as in services, however, the principal channel for the transfer of soft technology, such as management systems, marketing know-how and quality con-

trol is training itself, supplemented by knowledge embodied in manuals, blueprints and the like. In the service industries, which are generally customer-specific and involve the application of knowledge and know-how by each service provider, most technology is of this latter kind.

Because of their intangible and customer-specific nature, it is not possible for many services to be traded at a distance across borders. Transnational service corporations cannot, therefore, split up their production process to take advantage of differences in labour and skill availability that may exist between developing and developed countries. Thus, they tend to reproduce in host countries the technologies used by their parent companies. To some extent, this is seen in the smaller differentials in home and host country compensation levels in service TNCs as compared with those in manufacturing TNCs (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994a, chapter IV); this suggests that average skill levels in service affiliates are closer to those of their parent companies than is the case with skill levels in manufacturing affiliates relative to those in their parent firms. In other words, unlike in the case of manufacturing TNCs, the skills required for the production of services do not tend to be centralized in parent companies; rather, they are spread to host-country operations, primarily through training.

Indeed, training practices in transnational banks and financial institutions, for instance, suggest that training, particularly of management personnel, is given considerable importance (ILO, 1991). Such training is intended to provide managers with both the technical skills and the wider knowledge required to direct an enterprise. As opposed to the earlier approach of focusing on particular jobs, the emphasis of management and supervisory programmes is increasingly placed on modern management skills, such as setting goals, defining tasks and building teams. Such training is provided either through internal courses, which most banks run at residential or non-residential training establishments, or through external courses, whereby the management-development department selects managers to attend courses at a business school or management department of a university. Another focus for training is that of senior managers, who, as occupants of leading positions, have to be able to articulate the long-term goals of the corporation, based on a global market perspective, to manage large-scale changes in strategy, organizational structure and management practices, while at the same time being responsible for building and maintaining public credibility. While the extent and variety of training is largest in home countries and developed host countries, transnational banks also make a useful contribution by training their management staff in host developing countries. The most common form is on-the-job training, provided in the bank itself (ILO, 1991). Some banks, however, establish special training courses for their foreign-affiliate staff, as illustrated by Citibank's training programme for its affiliates in Asia and the Pacific (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*a*, p. 233).

In Latin America, according to a study that examined the training activities of selected foreign affiliates of TNCs (including equity as well as non-equity arrangements) in five service industries, training activities were common in firms among all five industries (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*b*, p. 234). In all cases, training occupied

each employee for an average of at least nine days per year, ranging upward to an average of twenty-two days per year for hotel workers and twenty-three days per year for consulting-firm staff. Most training was done in-house in the local country, although a good deal of training was provided at the parent office to officers in all of the industries. Visits by home-office experts for training purposes were common across the services, though most frequent in the software and consulting firms (UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*b*).

The soft technologies required by service industries are by no means static, but rather undergo continuous change, owing to forces such as increased competition and the growing use of data technologies. For example, the skill structure of banks and insurance companies is changing rapidly towards more sophisticated and flexible tasks than used to be the case a decade or so ago (Bertrand & Noyelle, 1988, p. 8). The quality of human resources of service firms has become a major factor determining the rate at which new technology can be introduced and productivity increases can be achieved. This not only creates increased demand for better educational preparation by formal education institutions, but has also led to the development of in-house training systems for employees by many service companies. This is particularly the case where firms, including foreign affiliates, must compensate for deficiencies in national education systems (United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC), 1989). This has particular relevance for developing countries and economies in transition to a market-oriented system. For example, Citibank's affiliate operations in Poland, providing foreign trade and cash-management services and electronic banking services for large foreign investors, such as International Paper or McDonald's, are conducted with a workforce comprising 120 locally recruited staff and several expatriates. Training young Polish staff (for one in three of them it is their first job) in electronic banking has become a priority for the company, which claims to spend $400,000 per year on training.[17]

In addition to equity investment, arrangements such as licensing and franchising are important modes for the transfer of soft technology and skills.[18] In recent years there has been a rapid growth in international franchising, particularly business-format franchising (Welch, 1992). Business-format franchising is of particular importance in contributing to human resource development, because it requires the establishment of an on-going relationship between the franchiser and franchisee as the total business system is transferred. In addition to the rights to relevant products, patents or trademarks, this type of franchising provides training in business management. The use of a standard package ensures comparability and adherence to high quality standards. This is achieved through a careful selection of franchisees, a detailed operations manual, thorough training and continuous supervision. Franchisers are prepared to make considerable investments to maintain standards. Other kinds of non-equity arrangements with TNCs also provide scope for training and human resource development. For example, management contracts with hotel chains incorporate training (and localization) as a contractual obligation. Transnational hotels are in a position to perform the training function very well, as they have established procedures, manuals and training programmes that

have been revised over the years in accordance with their experience (UNCTC, 1990, p. 20). Such training can benefit not only employees of affiliates with equity participation, but also those of non-equity associates, especially if the training requirement is incorporated into the agreement. Management, licensing and technical assistance contracts with TNCs in other industries offer similar opportunities for training and human resource development.

Conclusions

The relationships between TNCs and human resource development are complex and multi-faceted. The operations of TNCs have the potential to make a considerable contribution to human resource development, particularly in developing countries. The contributions of TNCs to human resource development lie mainly in the areas of education and training. In education, their role is largely confined to direct or indirect investment in the provision of tertiary-level education, especially in business management. The major role of TNCs in the development of human resources stems from the training and other learning opportunities they provide to their staff in various forms. Such training may be valuable for workers in developing countries and others in which opportunities for acquiring vocational, technical and management skills are limited.

Training and other forms of learning provided by TNCs are directed towards all categories of workers, although the main focus is on managerial and technical personnel. Evidence suggests that the size and scope of TNCs enable them to provide substantial formal and informal learning opportunities for employees. Moreover, the learning provided by TNCs often relates to new or different production and management methods. Under appropriate conditions, the contributions of TNCs to knowledge, skills and management expertise of their employees can be disseminated more widely in the host economy and complement domestic human resource development in promoting growth and strengthening competitiveness.

As the tendency of TNCs to pursue complex integration strategies proceeds and the links between parent companies and their affiliates become more complex, the training requirements that are needed to manage successfully the corporate production system and its geographically dispersed segments are likely to increase and become more sophisticated. Foreign affiliates may be progressively involved in higher value-added and more specialized activities, and more training needed to improve the quality of local personnel. The commitment to training in affiliates could be considerably reinforced by the growing interdependence between operations at home and in the various affiliates. This may lead to a wider distribution of training packages throughout the TNC.

The trend towards complex integration strategies and the increasing competition for foreign direct investment (FDI) make it more important than ever for developing countries to build up their own human resource capabilities. In addition to providing the basis for the development of the domestic economy, such capabilities would allow labour and national enterprises to interact more effectively with

TNCs. They would contribute to increasing the volume and raising the quality and sophistication of the FDI that a country could attract, thereby strengthening the prospects for further human resource development. At present, only a limited number of developing countries attract sizeable shares of FDI, particularly in areas that are technologically sophisticated. For those countries, foreign affiliates linked to TNCs' value chains are an important complement to national programmes and efforts for upgrading human resources. However, other developing countries that do not offer similar locational advantages may also benefit, in terms of improving their human resource development from FDI and the emerging integrated international production system. They need to consider how to formulate and co-ordinate policies so as to maximize the benefits to their human resource capabilities.

Notes

1. This paper is a summarized version of chapter V of the *World investment report 1994: transnational corporations, employment and the workplace.* New York, United Nations. (Sales publication no. E.94.II.A.14.)
2. See, for developed countries, ILO, 1981; Buckley & Enderwick, 1985; and Simoes, 1985. For developing countries, see Hughes & Seng, 1969; Willmore, 1986; Kumar, 1990.
3. H.C. Bettignies, The challenges of management training in Asia, *Euro-Asia business review,* vol. 2, no. 4, 1983, p. 34–39.
4. 'Just-in-time' production refers to a production system in which suppliers deliver parts and components at the moment and in the volume that the factory requires. It reduces inventory costs, handling costs and eliminates testing for the products delivered.
5. 'Lean' production conceptualizes Japan's new manufacturing system, which uses half the human effort, half the manufacturing space, half the investment in tools and half the engineering hours to develop a product in half the time. It requires far less than half the inventory of parts, resulting in fewer defects and a greater variety of products.
6. On the basis of data for 1990 obtained from the Board of Investment, Office of the Prime Minister, Bangkok, Thailand.
7. See UNCTAD-DTCI, 1994*a,* p. 224, for some examples.
8. Based on information obtained from the companies.
9. See UNCTAD-DTCI, op. cit., box V.2, p. 228.
10. See UNCTAD-DTCI, op. cit., box V.3, p. 229, for an example.
11. See UNCTAD-DTCI, op. cit., box V.4, p. 230, for an example.
12. On the basis of information provided and statements by company executives at the International Conference on Transnational Corporations and China, organized by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Programme on Transnational Corporations and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation, and University of International Business and Economics, China, Beijing, 9-11 September 1993.
13. Tony Jackson, Pioneer looks east for profit: the challenges facing ABB's engineering ventures in the former communist bloc, *Financial times* (London), 16 April 1994.
14. Anthony Robinson, The Financial Times 500: on the trail of new potential markets, *Financial times* (London), 13 June 1993.

15. Christopher Bobinski, Lame ducks are the target: survey on Poland, *Financial times* (London), 18 March 1994.
16. Automotive survey, *Business central Europe* (Vienna), vol. 2, no. 8, February 1994, p. 34.
17. Henry Copeland, Top jobs in East Europe becoming tough to find, *The international herald tribune* (New York, Marseille), 28 October 1993.
18. See UNCTAD-DTCI, op. cit., box V.6 for an example.

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PART II

A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

GLOBALIZATION, ENDOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Mamadou Ndoye

Introduction

Economic globalization is generally seen as representing the interpenetration and interdependence of the world's economies, the worldwide unification of markets and areas of production, the internationalization of performance criteria and economic management precepts, and the 'transnationalization' of capital, technologies and economic information networks. These processes have gone ahead since the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the conclusion of the Uruguay Round, both of which spurred international trade and transnational movements of patents, technologies and financial flows. However, they are not taking the same forms in all the regions of the world. Nor do they have the same implications.

Economism and loss of educational goals

As regards Africa, I do not claim to cover all African countries since they represent a wide range of situations. But I am thinking of countries similar to my own, Senegal,

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in terms of economic development, the current policy imbroglio and procedures for entering what is called the world economy.

It seems first of all that globalization is perceived, rightly or wrongly, as an all-out, exclusively market-based policy. It signifies that the economism championed by liberal philosophy has invaded almost all sectors of human activity, including education.

In this respect, the first factors have already emerged that point to the obstacles encountered by educational policies on the African continent owing to use of the criteria of competitiveness, performance, output and profitability imposed by the world market. Indeed, the methodical application of these criteria tends to limit the vision of education and, above all, the vision of its goals. In particular, the social, cultural and human goals of education are subordinate to other criteria of an economic character.

Should education serve the transmission and development of a society's culture? Does it make for the personal fulfilment of individuals and citizens? Or is it simply designed to turn out producers? These albeit essential current issues are often eclipsed by the predominant simplistic concepts associated with the 'market first' outlook.

Budgetary priorities are likewise based on cost-effectiveness and immediate payoff to the detriment of education, often just seen as a source of expense. Examined from this angle, the long-term investment that education constitutes and its rightful importance as a factor in and condition of development are equally lost sight of or, at least, not taken sufficiently into account.

Economism, privatization and loss of identity

The second reflection of this triumphant economism is privatization presented as a panacea. The goal nowadays is to privatize everything, including education. State education is reckoned not to encompass all the potentialities of education and, above all, not to meet the needs of families in the fullest possible way. And since countries have difficulties in operating State education, it is concluded that the solution is to privatize education. The State is thus gradually stripped of its responsibilities for determining curricula and hence for educational goals.

The effect of this is to impair the image and actual situation of State education. This trend is particularly dangerous for the advancement of African society since it comes in an environment marked by the hegemony of a cultural model, a hegemony also bound up with the media explosion that is invading all areas of society—by competing not only with the school as regards the values and knowledge to be disseminated in society but also with families since, within homes, the educational models to be developed come face to face with what the media lay on so copiously.

Indeed, the predominant model is conveyed by television, newspapers and the radio. In reality, growth centres emerge from the globalization of the economy and these centres are backed by a cultural model spread throughout the world. In other words, it is a local model that becomes hegemonic and not the globalization of a

composite model. This distinction seems to me important particularly since, with respect to culture, there is no exchange, reciprocity or joint construction of a culture because what we have is the hegemony of a local model being spread throughout the world. It can then be seen why, in the case of the Uruguay Round, difficulties and discussions arose until some countries with more clout than Africa demanded the exclusion of cultural products from the free trade provisions of GATT in this regard.

Globalization and the division of North/South roles

The third factor to be taken into account is that the globalization of the economy is now creating an even wider gap between the North and the South. This gap reinforces the vision that we have of the world today, i.e. a binary world society consisting of a very rich North and a very poor South, which is an even more cogent reality where Africa is concerned and one whose implications in the field of education are considerable. It is often said that Africa occupies a marginal place in the world economy. It is added that, for Africa to become successfully integrated into this world economy, two major problems have to be resolved. The first is that Africa should try to obtain a market share for its goods and services and, for this purpose, increase its competitiveness through lower production costs, i.e. less social welfare for workers and reduced unit costs.

The second is that Africa must become more attractive to private capital and thus gain access to the capital market. This requires a macro-economic environment that is conducive to private investment and attracts capital. Hence the policy advocated in Africa by all financial institutions is turned toward structural adjustment. However, this policy has a number of repercussions on education.

A reduction in resources allocated to education, which increases pressures within the education system, slows down school enrolment and impairs the material and teaching conditions, resulting in a gradual decline in the quality and standard of education. This is to be noted in most African countries.

In this vision of the two-tier world society, education is almost marked out to serve both to maintain Africa in and to doom it to a state of underdevelopment. It seems that, for Africa, the exclusive priority comes down to basic education. There is a need to develop an educational model specific to underdeveloped countries. In other words, secondary education and higher education are now, in the policies being implemented, practically regarded as a luxury. Since Africa is accordingly not destined to have a hand in producing fundamental knowledge, it is not expected to invent advanced technologies either. Africa is reduced to the role of client and consumer, with the result that the education prescribed it must match that role. For this reason, there are more and more reforms along cost-effectiveness lines that affect the quality and the level of teaching.

Africa is thus being pushed to the fringe in relation to the world's progress prompted by the scientific and technological revolution, and the gap is constantly widening with the rest of the world. Within Africa a social divide is also coming

about since those sectors with the means to avoid this situation through such channels as private education are able to escape the common lot.

Participatory development and new partnerships for education

So what are the options to consider and the right responses to this situation? The development of Africa is certainly going to be contingent upon the observance of a number of criteria that have become universal, but Africa can only succeed by mobilizing and enhancing its endogenous potential for development. And education is required to play a decisive role in mobilizing this endogenous potential. To ensure that it does, educational policies must be participatory policies to a much greater extent—meaning policies framed not only by States or in conjunction with international financial bodies, but also with citizen involvement.

Community participation in the development of education means that new resources can be mustered for education that extend and reinforce:

— dialogue for the construction of a more relevant and effective educational model from the standpoint of the specific needs and realities of contemporary African society;
— mobilization of the cultural heritage, historical gains and distinctive social practices of populations as educational resources so as to heighten content, objectives and training processes in the interests of historical continuity and the accumulation of developmental factors; and
— opportunities for broader access to education and better material conditions in schools.

Partnerships between States and civil societies likewise emerge that encourage the participatory framing of policies and the elaboration of programmes for monitoring and support, plus evaluation of the results achieved.

As partnership overtakes the old hierarchical relationship, a current of exchanges and co-operation based upon trust and sharing is developed between the State and organizations in civil society, resulting in:

— greater social mobilization that has increased demand for education, notably through literacy training for women and the school enrolment of girls; and
— a corresponding increase in supply as a result of wider participation and the new interaction achieved, with special reference to the linkage between the formal system and non-formal education, a strengthening of the capacities of all the actors in the system with the tools for concerted action and technical and financial support which activates and underpins exchange processes at all stages (conceptual, methodological and instrumental support for reflection and practice, support funds, resource centres for education, etc.).

These channels are the only way to supplement the efforts of States and enable African societies to have an educational model adapted to their needs and resources, in accordance with procedures for taking charge of educational needs in unison. This gave rise in Senegal to the 'let someone else fix it' strategy, which entrusts non-

governmental operators with the tasks of negotiating functional literacy projects with the target populations, designing and implementing these programmes with a decentralized approach making the grass-roots actors fully responsible. The State, for its part, provides policy guidance and co-ordinates the various programmes.

Promotion of cultural identity and endogenous development

Endogenous development postulates the promotion of cultural identity. There can be no endogenous development founded upon extroverted behaviour patterns, cultures and modes of life. And education in Africa must serve to enhance African cultural identity, which in turn will rally and foster the distinctive cultural traits of the populations. Then will Africa ultimately be able to become an integral part of the world economy and contribute something specifically African.

To that end, it is vital to bring African national languages into education systems. There can be no serious disputing of this option, which is warranted on many grounds. Here are just a few:

1. As regards making education more effective, everyone learns better in the language they really know. The basic learning acquired through literacy programmes and elementary education must be carried out in the language of the target linguistic community. This is essential to success and cuts down on learning time. Current experiments, substitution models included, open up new opportunities for catering better to educational needs and society's demand for education.
2. The promotion of cultural identity through the use of African languages in education is also achieved by promoting the active use of written language through: standardization and conceptual enrichment of languages, revival of the cultural heritage through literary, philosophical and other productions by the newly literate and intellectuals initiated in the transcription of African languages, together with the encouragement of endogenous capacities for invention and for creation in all areas of human activity.
3. Additionally, there is the converging interaction between school and community, between education and development, between the formal and the non-formal and between the élite and the public at large through the linguistic and cultural reconciliation brought about by the introduction of African languages into education systems. Such interaction draws on the enormous educational potential of African societies in the shaping of practical community-based skills.

Planning such introduction presents a number of problems, including:

- the status of African languages in school compared with the present media of instruction;
- curricula;
- linguistic and educational research to produce the dictionaries, grammars and teaching materials needed for good teaching; and
- personnel training.

The challenge of basic education for all and the forming of a sufficiently

broad-based endogenous potential to promote sustainable development cannot be taken up until such time as this option becomes a tangible reality.

Conclusion

With this in mind, the globalization sought must be regarded not as an unwavering concept but rather as a process that all nations and regions are called upon to construct. To achieve this, they must pave the way for their own self-fulfilment. It falls to education in Africa to advance this process.

THE EFFECTS OF ADJUSTMENT ON EDUCATION: A REVIEW OF ASIAN EXPERIENCE

Jandhyala B.G. Tilak

The context

The importance of human resource development in general, and human capital in socio-economic development in particular, has been well recognized ever since the 'human investment revolution in economic thought' was initiated by Theodore Schultz in 1960 (Schultz, 1961). Of the various components of human capital, education and health have been found to be the most important. Accordingly, several developing and developed countries have invested huge resources in education. Education witnessed a 'golden period' during the 1960s with a substantial flow of public investments. Both the rates of growth in enrolments and public investments in education were highest during the 1960s. This phase was followed by a decade of setbacks, with the human capital theory being jolted by critics who argued that the role of education in productivity was negligible, and that education served only as a screening device and a mechanism for awarding credentials (Arrow, 1973; Spence, 1973).

But the setback proved to be only temporary. The screening and credentialism

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theories lacked empirical support, and the 'hard-core' aspects of human capital theory remained intact. Accordingly, the basic tenets of human capital theory have been the least questioned. A slow and steady re-emergence of faith in human capital marked the 1980s. Both developing countries and international agencies began paying serious attention to investment in human capital. The contribution of education to economic growth is found to be positive and significant, when measured not only in monetary terms, but also in physical terms, such as agricultural efficiency, labour productivity, etc. The contribution of education has also been found to be significant not only for economic growth, but for poverty reduction, improvement in income distribution, and for various dimensions of social, demographic and political development (Tilak, 1989*a;* 1994*a*). The relative significance of human capital has also been found to be higher in developing countries and among poor people, than in developed countries and rich people (Psacharopoulos, 1984; 1994). But, as national and international agencies began expressing their commitment to education and their faith in human capital for development, the world economic crisis was unveiled with the first and the second oil crises, inflation, mounting foreign debt, structural adjustment and readjustment policies, and recessionary trends. Very soon it was realized that the last decade of the century—the 1990s—was going to be the decade of containment.

The decade of containment in certain Asian countries, such as India, began with the introduction of new economic policies, commonly known as 'adjustment policies', associated with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It is strange that, while many countries had adopted these policies after long periods of economic problems, including balance of payments crises, India had to resort to such policies rather suddenly after becoming an adjusting country with the introduction of a package of sweeping policy reforms in July 1991. These policies have been hailed by some as the most promising ones to make economies like that of India into 'a tiger', and at the same time criticized by others as a signal of derailment from the Nehruvian path of planned development and welfare in India.

Such reforms are being implemented in as many as 105 countries. But, unfortunately, these policies are neutral to time as well as to space. *Inter alia,* they seem to question the dominant role of the State in development, and to encourage an increased role for the market mechanism. They also specifically stress reductions in government expenditures. The most direct consequence would be a drastic reduction in public subsidies across the board, although reduction need not necessarily be—and most often is not—uniform across all sectors. These economic policies are feared to have an adverse effect on all sectors of the economy. The effects of these reforms were found to vary significantly across the three major developing continents: Africa, Asia and Latin America. Latin America fell into a debt trap and Africa suffered very severely in standards of living and levels of educational development. The experience of Asian countries, however, is generally believed to be different, and that of East Asian countries indeed favourable. Due to this, many countries seem to be keen on emulating the East Asian experience. Hence, a review of Asian experience may be of particular use.

A majority of studies have focused their attention on African and Latin American countries, and not much documentation exists on Asian countries. This article is an attempt to fill this gap in research and information. Such a review may also benefit the Asian countries that have just adopted, or are likely to adopt, similar adjustment policies, as well as countries in other regions of the world. It may also benefit the financial lending institutions that may be examining the need for a modification of their policies in Asian countries.

With the help of some readily available data collected from UNESCO and World Bank publications, and some recent research studies, a few comparisons are made in the following sections between the adjusting and the non-adjusting countries in the development of education, following the classification of countries made by Kakwani, Makonnen & van der Gaag (1990). The aim is to examine whether there is any discernible difference in educational development trends between the adjusting and the non-adjusting countries. For this purpose, a select list of indicators on educational development has been chosen, concentrating on the allocation of financial resources, growth in enrolment ratios, and on quality and equity. The focus of discussion is also biased in favour of primary education. But, first, a brief discussion on how education is generally treated during periods of crisis and austerity.

Education under economic austerity

INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

Generally, *the relationship between investment in education and the state of the economy is not simple and straightforward.* Under conditions of economic well-being (including situations of economic progress), the allocation of resources to education is generally found to be the least significantly influenced by economic factors. Economic ability factors, such as gross national product (GNP) per capita and public spending on education, are not significantly related. Economically poorer societies, like Kerala in India and Sri Lanka in South Asia, spend a higher proportion of their GNP on education than many economies that enjoy higher GNP or higher income per capita (Tilak, 1984; 1986). Efficiency criteria, such as the rate of return on educational expenditure, are not significantly related to levels of public spending on education (Tilak, 1982). Further, neither the manpower needs of the economy nor even social factors, such as constitutional directives on the universalization of elementary education and widespread levels of illiteracy, guide educational planners in their decisions on investment in education (Tilak, 1980).

On the other hand, there seems to be a strong and positive relationship between economic conditions and public investment in education during crisis periods, such as adjustment periods. Worsening economic conditions do have a strong influence on the allocation of resources to education, as policy-makers find education an easy scapegoat under such circumstances. Moreover, the nature of investment in education is not widely recognized. Expenditure on education is still treated not as investment that needs to be expanded, but as consumption, a social burden,

even as social welfare where economies need to be made, and the tighter the general problems the more needs to be saved. That the benefits of education are not tangible and not immediately evident contributes to the tightening of the flow of resources to education. As a result, education becomes a highly vulnerable sector under deteriorating economic conditions (see Tilak, 1989*b*, 1989*c*, 1990*b*).

Thus, while under normal economic conditions there does not seem to be any significant relationship between the economic situation and public investment in education, under worsening conditions there seems to be a strong positive relationship, with a deterioration in both the economy and investment in education.

PRIORITIES

During economic deterioration, priorities become distorted, and some desirable aspects of education are traded off for some optional aspects. In most modern political systems, popular pressures are important. No modern welfare State can afford to face popular unrest and the associated consequences of closing down the human development sector, such as educational institutions, even during a severe economic crisis. Gripped by the two forces, i.e. worsening economic conditions on the one hand, and socio-political popular pressures for educational expansion on the other, policy makers make a few trade-offs.

First, *the quality of education gets traded off for quantitative expansion.* Policy makers find a compromise solution for apparently maintaining the *status quo* by satisfying the quantitative demand fairly well, by diluting the quality of education as reflected through the inadequate allocation of physical and monetary resources. More and more schools, colleges and even universities are opened, but with insufficient teachers and inadequate allocations for buildings, classroom materials, books, libraries, laboratory materials, etc. As a result, not only schools, but also colleges and universities are found to be under-funded, opening in dilapidated buildings and in open spaces with no furniture. Under-qualified or untrained teachers are appointed. Brief crash courses receive preference over long-duration programmes, and short-term training programmes over long-term training programmes, and so on. In other words, resources get spread very thinly, adversely affecting the quality of education.

Secondly, *equity in education is traded off for quantity.* Although total enrolments increase due to the existence of a large unmet demand for all levels of education (particularly higher education), the internal composition of enrolments undergoes a drastic change. The distribution of student enrolments moves in favour of higher-income groups to the detriment of socially and economically weaker segments of society. Although total public expenditure on education might increase, the allocation for items such as scholarships for the disadvantaged and student welfare in general is reduced. Total numbers of schools might increase, but special schools exclusively intended for poorer sections, such as Ashram schools in India, and hostels for the disadvantaged, etc., will not increase; they may in fact decline. Equity thus appears to be sacrificed in favour of quantitative expansion.

Thirdly, under economic austerity, it is mainly *the middle- and upper-income groups that benefit, even at the cost of the sectors relating to mass education* (see Tilak, 1990*a*). Investment priorities generally shift from primary education, adult education and other mass education programmes to higher education. Literacy programmes may pass into oblivion in favour of expansion of the university sector. In societies where higher education is relatively democratic, with a large number of students coming from lower- and middle-income groups, higher education also suffers. This is due to several factors, including the vested interests of the ruling class—the politicians and the bureaucracy. Thus, even during periods of economic crisis, the rates of growth in elite higher education institutions are higher than those in mass education.

Fourthly, *apparent expansion takes place along with hidden erosion in public investments.* Although increases in total allocation for education may be reported, they tend to be in current market prices, whereas in real prices there could be a significant decline. This has happened in annual budgets, and also (quite unbelievably) between the third, fourth and fifth five-year plan outlays for education in India (see Tilak, 1995; 1996). Due to popular pressures and populist strategies, the wages and salaries of teachers and other staff in educational institutions increase, but only in monetary terms, and the increase would normally be less than the increase in prices, resulting in a decline in real terms. Thus, hidden erosion actually takes place in public investments although, on the face of it, one may find significant increases.

UNDESIRABLE POLICIES

Thirdly, *in the process of seeking new strategies and methods of funding education, certain undesirable methods are approved and legalized.* Recent policies and policy shifts with regard to foreign assistance to education (see Tilak, 1995) and privatization in India testify to this. Countries that have previously refused external assistance on political, social, economic and educational grounds, relax their policies and seek external assistance (see Tilak, 1993). The whole approach towards foreign aid for education changes, as is the case in India.

Privatization of education may take different forms (see Tilak, 1991; also 1994*c*) including: (a) an 'extreme' degree implying total privatization of new schools, colleges and universities managed and funded by the private sector, with little government intervention, and motivated by profit (e.g. capitation-fee colleges in India); (b) a 'strong' form of privatization, which implies recovery from students of the full cost of even public education; (c) a 'moderate' form of privatization, implying public provision of education but with a reasonable level of financing from non-governmental sources through increased student fees, student loans, taxes, etc.; and (d) 'pseudo' privatization, characterized by private schools and colleges receiving nearly all of their expenditure from the government, thereby causing distortions in the allocation of public resources. All these forms of privatization are approved and encouraged by the government and society at large.

Adjustment in Asia

Due to the consistently worsening economic situation, and of governments in particular, together with long-term and externally complicated problems, since the beginning of the 1980s several countries have embarked on adjustment policies. These policies have produced mixed effects on various social and economic sectors of the countries concerned. It has been mainly found that the effects of this 'blunt instrument' are adverse and 'heavier' on social sectors, notably education, than on other sectors. Decline in public investment in education (total, and per student—in real and sometimes in current prices, and as a proportion of GNP, and of total government expenditure), decline in gross enrolment ratios, particularly at the primary level, and a decline in indicators pertaining to quality and equity in education have been found to be strongly associated with structural adjustment policies in several developing economies. Within the education sector, it has also been found that the axe falls more severely on primary education than on higher education, on capital budgets as compared to recurrent budgets, and on equity and quality as compared to quantitative expansion.[1]

What is the experience of developing countries in Asia? Although Asian countries were less severely affected by the global economic crisis of the 1970s and the 1980s, several countries were to adopt adjustment, including structural adjustment policies, having received adjustment loans from the World Bank/IMF and also from other bilateral and multilateral institutions that insist on similar adjustment policies. The Philippines was one of the first Asian countries to adopt structural adjustment programmes, starting in 1980. Pakistan was to follow suit in 1982. Even the newly industrializing countries of East Asia that have achieved rapid economic growth 'have not been free of necessary structural adjustment' (Koo & Nam, 1990, p. 261). The Republic of Korea and Thailand were granted their first structural adjustment loans in 1981 and 1982 respectively. In 1987 Nepal had to resort to the same practice. India is the latest entry into this arena of structural adjustment and the positive effects of adjustment are yet to be observed.

There are thus more than half-a-dozen major countries in Asia that have had some experience of structural adjustment. Several other countries, such as Bangladesh, China, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, had also taken other (sectoral/programme) adjustment loans, beginning with Bangladesh in 1980. Pakistan had taken sector adjustment loans in 1980, followed by structural adjustment loans in 1982, while in many other countries, structural adjustment loans preceded sectoral adjustment loans (see Nicholas, 1988; Noss, 1991, p. 51–55). Some countries adopted adjustment-like policies 'voluntarily'. In Indonesia, for example, a series of 'adjustment' programmes were undertaken starting in the early 1980s, with currency devaluations first in 1983, and later in 1986 (Azis, 1990, p. 242). Singapore underwent a phase of 'economic restoration' during 1979–84, but the programme included policy components such as wage increases, fiscal incentives and training activities that are somewhat different from other 'adjustment' programmes (Tan,

1990, p. 400). Many other East Asian economies had adopted some sort of adjustment programmes even in the 1970s, if not earlier (see Agrawal et al., 1992; Kohsaka & Ohno, 1996).

The remainder of the present paper concentrates primarily on the effects of the World Bank/IMF structural adjustment programmes, since these programmes are clearly distinct from others in their nature and effects, and it is the structural adjustment programmes that have no direct reference to education or to any social sectors, but whose effects are generally found to be the most severe. With respect to these adjustment programmes, it was claimed that 'Asia as a whole achieved better results in adjustment and growth than have other regions, its experience nevertheless comprises a range of successes and failures' (Karaosmanoglu, 1991, p. 412).

As in many other countries, structural adjustment policies in Asian countries did not express any explicit policy towards education. Nevertheless, educational adjustment programmes that 'could parallel and reinforce the larger economic strategies of structural adjustment' (King, 1990) do have policy conditions on education attached to them.[2] During the whole process of adjustment, several Asian countries did try to protect education from the negative impact of adjustment policies; many succeeded, some achieved 'limited success', 'partial success' or 'semi success', while others failed in their efforts.

While public expenditure in general, and on social sectors like education in particular, declined in many regions/countries, it has been found to have risen in most countries of the Asian region due to—or in spite of—adjustment policies. It was found, for instance, that the share of health and education in government expenditure increased between 1980–81 and 1985–87 in nine out of the ten Asian countries studied (Cornia & Stewart, 1990, p. 16). Generally, it is felt that the impact of adjustment policies in Asian countries has not been as severe as in African and Latin American countries. This is partly because many of the Asian countries had adopted 'inward'-looking policies, with less reliance on foreign debt. These policies included reduced imports (e.g. South Asian countries), penetration into export markets (e.g. mainly the newly industrializing countries of East Asia), and reliance by countries such as India and China on the expansion of domestic demand. Other countries (e.g. Philippines and Thailand) adopted policies 'neutral' to inward- and outward-looking strategies (see International Labour Office, 1987; Lo, Song & Furukawa, 1989; Asian Development Bank (ADB), 1992, 1994).

In the long list of Kakwani et al. (1990),[3] Asian countries figured in only three groups: the intensely adjusting countries (Pakistan, Philippines, Republic of Korea and Thailand), the post-1985 adjusting countries (referred to here simply as adjusting countries, Bangladesh, China, Indonesia and Nepal), and non-adjusting countries (of type I) that did not need World Bank/IMF type policies and loans (Myanmar, India, Sri Lanka and Malaysia). The former two categories together are also referred to here as adjusting countries. Following this classification, in the present analysis, India is regarded as a non-adjusting country, although since 1991 India has adopted adjustment policies. Sri Lanka is also regarded as a non-adjusting

country, although it had adopted IMF-World Bank stabilization and adjustment policies since 1965 (Jayalath, 1995).

CHANGES IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

One of the strongest effects of stabilization and structural adjustment policies is found to be a reduction in public expenditure in general, and on social sectors like education in particular. This is due to the fact that stabilization and adjustment policies aim at a reduction in deficits in public budgets, and envisage a reduced role of the State and a correspondingly enhanced role for the market mechanism. Paradoxically, some governments declare that the adequate financing of social sectors, like education and health, are 'precisely the objectives of [our] stabilisation-cum-structural reform programme' (Singh, 1992, p. 31). It is argued that macro-economic stabilization and structural reforms release funds for public investment in sectors like education. However, with the introduction of adjustment policies, education budgets were slashed and the role of the State began to decline in many developing countries. Asian countries are not a strong exception, as shown in Table 1.

On the whole, expenditure on education, as monitored by the proportion of GNP allocated to it, diminished in six out of eight adjusting countries. The steepest decline is to be noted in the adjusting country of Indonesia and to a lesser degree in the intensely adjusting countries of Pakistan (1987–91) and the Republic of Korea (1985–90). The share of education in GNP declined to a lesser extent in Thailand in the late 1980s (with a subsequent increase between 1989 and 1992) and more marginally in China during the post-1985 period. In a number of these countries on which data are available, public investment in education as a proportion of total government expenditure also declined. This is the case for Indonesia where educational investments fell from 9.3% in 1985 to 4.3% of total government expenditure three years later. The decline was equally dramatic in the Republic of Korea where the share of education in total government spending diminished from 28.2% in 1985 to 14.8% in 1992.

In contrast, however, in the Philippines, which has been undergoing intense adjustment, there has been a steady increase in the priority accorded to education in GNP since 1980 (although a slight decrease may be noted between 1991 and 1993). In Malaysia, a non-adjusting country, the share of education declined from 7.8% in 1986 to 5.6% in 1991. The changes in other countries, including declines, are marginal and correspond to what would have probably taken place even in the absence of adjustment operations.

However, it is not only the cut in total expenditure on education, but also the nature and quality of the expenditures subject to being cut that are important. In situations of economic hardship, it is not uncommon for current expenditure to increase at the cost of capital investments in education, as current expenditures (comprised primarily of the salaries of teaching and related staff) cannot be reduced even during adjustment and economic restructuring. Accordingly, there tends to be an increase in the relative share of current expenditure in total expenditure on education.[4] This does not seem to be the case in almost all Asian countries considered

TABLE 1: Trends in public expenditure on education

	1975	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP											
Intensely adjusting countries											
Pakistan	2.2	2.0	2.7	3.0	3.2	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	na	na
Philippines	1.9	1.6	1.3	1.7	2.0	2.2	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.3	2.4
Rep. of Korea	2.2	3.7	4.5	4.0	3.9	3.3	3.6	3.5	4.0	4.2	na
Thailand	3.6	3.4	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.5	4.0	na
Adjusting countries											
Bangladesh	1.1	1.5	1.9	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.3	na
China	1.8	2.5	2.7	2.1	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.9
Indonesia	2.7	1.7	2.2	na	na	0.9	na	1.1	1.2	2.2	1.3
Nepal	1.5	1.8	2.8	2.6	na	na	na	2.0	2.7	2.9	na
Non-adjusting countries											
India	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.5	3.7	3.0	3.0	2.7	3.2	3.3	3.1
Malaysia	6.0	6.0	6.6	7.8	6.9	6.1	5.7	5.5	5.6	5.5	5.1
Sri Lanka	2.8	3.1	3.0	3.5	3.7	3.0	3.0	2.7	3.2	3.3	3.1
AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE											
Intensely adjusting countries											
Pakistan	5.2	5.0	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Philippines	11.4	10.3	7.4	na	na	12.7	11.5	10.1	10.5	na	na
Rep. of Korea	13.9	23.7	28.2	27.3	26.6	23.2	23.3	22.4	25.6	14.8	na
Thailand	21.0	20.6	18.5	19.4	17.9	16.6	na	20.0	19.1	19.6	na
Adjusting countries											
Bangladesh	13.6	8.2	10.5	10.5	9.9	10.3	10.5	10.3	11.3	8.7	na
China	6.3	9.3	12.2	na	11.1	12.1	12.4	12.8	12.7	12.2	12.2
Indonesia	13.1	8.9	9.3	na	na	4.3	na	na	na	na	na
Nepal	11.5	12.7	10.8	10.8	na	na	na	8.5	12.3	13.3	na
Non-adjusting countries											
India	9.4	10.0	9.4	na	8.5	na	na	10.9	11.9	11.5	na
Malaysia	19.3	14.7	16.3	16.9	na	18.5	18.2	18.3	18.0	16.9	na
Sri Lanka	10.1	8.8	8.0	9.4	10.9	7.8	7.8	8.1	8.4	8.8	7.8

na = not available.
Source: Statistical yearbook. Paris: UNESCO, 1995 and earlier years.

here, as only marginal changes may be observed in the composition of educational expenditure. One notable exception is China where the share of current expenditure has increased sharply from 80.9% in 1986 to 93.9% in 1991.[5]

ALLOCATION TO PRIMARY EDUCATION

Under adjustment conditions, the general pattern of intra-sectoral allocation seems

to favour higher education and to discriminate against primary education, as demonstrated by the decline in the relative share of primary education in educational budgets in a number of developing countries. According to UNESCO figures, this was the case in Bangladesh where the relative share went down from 51% in 1985 to 44% in 1992, and, to a lesser degree, in Pakistan (from 39.4% in 1980 to 36% in 1987). The decline in the Republic of Korea from 50% in 1980 to 42.2% in 1992 need not be a matter of concern, given that primary education is nearly universal. However, Pakistan and Bangladesh have a long way to go to make primary education universal. Among the other adjusting countries, one finds some increase in the share of primary education in China and Nepal. Among the non-adjusting countries, India has made a concerted effort to provide an increasingly higher share of total educational expenditures to primary education.[6] Finally, the share of higher education did not increase remarkably during the same period in any country of the region except India and Malaysia. The decline in the share of higher education is found to be remarkable in India during the 1990s, i.e. after the adjustment policies were introduced.

More importantly, the real expenditure per pupil in primary education (as a multiple of GNP per capita) did not show any decline between 1980 and 1988 in any country, though the increase is very small; but there is a modest decline between 1990 and 1992 in China, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan and Thailand.[7] In contrast, higher education suffered between 1980 and 1990, with a decline in all the countries, except Pakistan, an intensely adjusting country, and India during the non-adjusting phase. More clearly, current expenditure at the primary level registered a significant increase in real terms in almost all countries of the region on which such data are available for the period 1980–85. The exceptions are only the Philippines and Nepal, where there was about a 30% decline between 1980 and 1985 (Table 2). In all other countries, the growth is positive and rather substantial.

TABLE 2: Expenditure on primary education (in 1985 US$)

	1980	1985	% Change
Intensely adjusting countries			
Pakistan	23.6	28.0	19.13
South Korea	162.1	310.9	91.80
Thailand	53.5	101.7	90.09
Philippines	39.2	26.9	-31.38
Adjusting countries			
Bangladesh	7.4	16.4	121.62
Nepal	19.6	13.7	-30.10
Non-adjusting countries			
India	22.5	30.6	36.00
Sri Lanka	17.3	20.8	20.23
Malaysia	205.1	282.2	37.59

Source: Lockheed, Verspoor and Associates, 1991.

GROWTH IN ENROLMENTS

One of the most significant and dominant effects of adjustment policies on education that is well documented is a consistent decline in gross enrolment ratios in primary education. Even Kakwani, Makonnen & van der Gaag (1990), who found no 'discernible evidence' of the adverse impact of adjustment on various social indicators, discovered that regressive trends in enrolment ratios were a notable exception.

Growth in enrolments (in absolute terms) in primary schools in Asian countries is basically positive (though the rate of growth itself may be decreasing), except in those countries where (a) primary education is nearly universal, and/or (b) where the rate of growth of the population of the relevant age group is negative—which is understandable. However, a significant decline in the primary 'gross' enrolment ratio may be noted in Pakistan, falling from an already low level of 48% in 1985 to 44% in 1990 making it one of the lowest enrolment ratios in the world, and only better than Afghanistan and Bhutan in the Asian region (Table 3). Net enrolment ratios would be expected to be even lower. The intake level in Grade I[8] in Pakistan has also decreased from 74% in 1980 to 69% in 1988, while in many other countries it is above 100%, and was on the increase during the period 1980–88 (except in Thailand). Indeed, both the primary enrolment ratio and the apparent intake level declined in Thailand (from 98% in 1980 to 85% in 1988) although the gross enrolment ratio seems to have increased remarkably in the subsequent years. This is not a matter of great concern as Thailand is well on the way to achieving the goals of 'Education for All' (WCEFA, 1990),[9] compared to Pakistan (see Haq, 1988; World Bank, 1984).

TABLE 3: Gross enrolment ratios in primary education (percent)

	1975	1980	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Intensely adjusting countries											
Pakistan	41	39	48	44	45	44	44	44	na	na	na
Thailand	84	99	96	96	95	87	86	88	99	98	na
Adjusting countries											
Bangladesh	73	62	60	60	59	70	70	77	na	na	na
Nepal	51	88	82	82	83	82	95	103	105	109	na
Non-adjusting countries											
India	81	83	96	98	99	99	98	98	99	101	102
Malaysia	na	93	101	na	na	na	96	93	93	93	93

Note: Countries with 100% gross enrolment ratios in 1980–85 and continue to be above 100% are excluded.
na = not available
Source: Statistical yearbook. Paris: UNESCO, 1995 and earlier years.

Declining enrolment ratios or in the demand for education during adjustment and economic restructuring may be explained through the diminishing real incomes of households. Even though the unit opportunity costs also fall, the need to increase the supply of labour (including child labour) increases in an attempt to boost the falling levels of household income.[10] Although this might be the case in Pakistan, the opposite is true of Bangladesh, another adjusting country. In the latter case, the gross enrolment ratio has registered a significant increase from 60% in 1985 to 77% in 1990. Even the net enrolment ratio in Bangladesh increased significantly from 54% to 69% during the same period. Moreover, Bangladesh was able to maintain a stable enrolment ratio at the secondary level, though at the very low level of below 20%.

Enrolment ratios increased in all other countries where primary education is still not universal; and it stabilized in those countries where the ratio is above 100%. After all, a decline in the gross enrolment ratio, say from 130 to 120, may not mean any decline in enrolments. It might, in fact, suggest an improvement in efficiency levels, as the difference between gross and net enrolment ratios narrows. This is also referred to as 'age-efficiency' (Psacharopoulos & Nguyen, 1986).

QUALITY OF EDUCATION

While there are several aspects to the quality of education, one standard indicator that is commonly used is the number of pupils per teacher. In the absence of data on other quality indicators, and despite a school of thought that argues that class size is irrelevant to quality, the pupil/teacher ratio continues to serve as the single best measure of quality. This is particularly true in countries where such ratios are rather alarmingly high. Perhaps a threshold level (or a range) of the pupil/teacher ratio may be identified whereby a ratio higher than the threshold could indicate an erosion in the quality of education. Inversely, a pupil/teacher ratio below the threshold may reflect an increase in the quality of teaching, although a very low ratio may also be indicative of economic inefficiency, or inefficiency in the utilization of teaching manpower.

Although the Republic of Korea and Bangladesh had similar pupil/teacher ratios of around 50:1 in 1975, the former was able gradually to reduce it to 31:1 by 1993.[11] The ratio in Bangladesh, however, has consistently increased ever since 1985 to become (at 63:1) one of the highest in the world in 1990. Surprisingly, there has been a simultaneous increase in primary gross and net enrolment ratios in Bangladesh, indicating that quality seems to have been traded off for quantity. Indeed, the number of teachers in primary schools in Bangladesh has been declining over the years. With a growth rate in the number of teachers of 4.3% per year during 1980–85 as compared to -0.4% during 1985–89, the total number has been brought down from 191,000 in 1987 to 187,000 in 1989.

Another country that has experienced falling teacher numbers is Pakistan where the number of teachers declined by -3.42% per year between 1985 and 1987, compared to an annual rate of growth of 5.9% between 1980 and 1985. In

Thailand the rate of growth was also negative (-3.03% between 1985 and 1988, compared to -0.67% between 1980 and 1985). Moreover, the proportion of under-qualified and untrained teachers in the total number might have increased.

Internal efficiency at the primary level, in terms of repeaters and drop-outs, does not seem to have been affected by the adjustment and economic restructuring policies adopted by several Asian countries.[12] According to the coefficient of efficiency,[13] there has been a remarkable increase in Bangladesh, and a negligible increase in other countries. On the whole, in only few Asian countries did internal efficiency deteriorate in primary education. This may be largely due to policies such as automatic promotion or non-retention of students adopted by many countries.

COMPOSITION OF ENROLMENTS

During the adjustment process, living standards are adversely affected rendering economically and socially weaker sections of the population more vulnerable, thereby reducing their levels of participation in education. However, no detailed data are available on temporal changes in the socio-economic characteristics of students during the adjustment and economic restructuring phases to examine whether enrolments from poorer groups fell and, therefore, whether or not equity in access to education was affected.

However, data on female enrolments and gender disparities are available. Gender disparities in educational levels of the adult population seem to have widened in three out of four intensely adjusting countries (Pakistan, the Republic of Korea and Philippines), and in two adjusting countries (Indonesia and Nepal) (Table 4). In Pakistan, the coefficient of discrimination (defined as the ratio between male and female enrolment ratios minus one) increased from 2.8 in 1980 to 3.3 in 1990. In Indonesia, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea it has also increased marginally. In contrast, in all of the three non-adjusting countries the evidence suggests the contrary; there was a significant improvement in Malaysia and a marginal improvement in India and Sri Lanka.

At the same time, female enrolments as a proportion of total enrolments increased in all the countries. Also gender discrimination in enrolments, in terms of coefficients of discrimination, decreased in all countries at primary, secondary and higher levels of education with the exception of higher education in Sri Lanka (UNESCO [a]; Tilak, 1994*a*).

EFFECTS ON OTHER POLICIES

Adjustment policies are generally associated with 'conditionalities'. But rarely have structural adjustment policies included conditions on educational policies, although educational adjustment policies do contain such conditions (see Stevenson, 1991, p. 53–55). Educational loans/credits in Bangladesh contained conditions on quality, access and institution building. Conditions that are feared to have adverse effects on education include: (a) privatization; and (b) measures relat-

TABLE 4: Changes in mean years of schooling of adult (25+) population and gender discrimination

	1980				1990			
	Total	M	F	CoDis	Total	M	F	CoDis
Intensely adjusting countries								
Pakistan	1.7	2.7	0.7	2.8571	1.9	3.0	0.7	3.2857
Philippines	6.6	6.8	6.4	0.0625	7.4	7.8	7.0	0.1143
Rep. of Korea	6.6	8.1	5.1	0.5882	8.8	11.0	6.7	0.6418
Thailand	3.5	4.1	2.9	0.4138	3.8	4.3	3.3	0.3030
Adjusting countries								
Indonesia	3.1	3.9	2.3	0.6957	3.9	5.0	2.9	0.7241
Nepal	1.8	2.7	0.9	2.0000	2.1	3.2	1.0	2.2000
Non-adjusting countries								
India	2.2	3.3	1.1	2.0000	2.4	3.5	1.2	1.9167
Malaysia	4.0	4.7	3.3	0.4242	5.3	5.6	5.0	0.1200
Sri Lanka	5.5	6.2	4.8	0.2917	6.9	7.7	6.1	0.2623

Source: Tilak, 1994*a*.
Note: CoDis = coefficient of discrimination.

ing to cost recovery, such as the introduction or enhancement of fees in schools. Both of these conditions result in significant changes in educational policies.

It is suggested that economic restructuring contributes to the growth of private schools, as public expenditure is reduced. According to the available data on growth of enrolments in private schools,[14] the role of the private sector seems to be limited to primary education in several Asian countries. Private schools include privately managed, but not necessarily privately-funded, schools. A large number of private schools are financed by the State. Hence, the distinction between private and public schools refers mainly to management. In Sri Lanka, a non-adjusting country, the share of private enrolments in primary and secondary education is negligible, and has remained rather constant at those low levels over the years. The corresponding figure for primary education in Nepal, however, was the same (1%), but increased fourfold between 1980 and 1990 and to 6% in 1992. In the Republic of Korea, the Philippines and Thailand, enrolments in private primary schools constitute a small percentage of total enrolments at primary level. However, in all of these three intensely adjusting countries, there has been an increase in the relative share of private schools. In Bangladesh and Indonesia, the other adjusting countries, the relative proportions are higher. Between 1985 and 1990–92, the more relevant period, the corresponding proportions have increased in Bangladesh, and remained stable in Indonesia.

With respect to secondary education, the share of enrolments in private insti-

tutions declined in several countries, except in Indonesia. Indonesia is exploring the possibility of enhancing the role of the private sector by having the government assist the private education system, which operates on a full cost-recovery basis (Julius & Alicbusan, 1989, p. 48).[15]

In Thailand, the share of private enrolments in higher education increased from 5.1% in 1980 to 6.4% in 1985. It may be noted that, though the relative shares are small, the absolute numbers of enrolments in private schools may be sizeable, and there might have been significant growth in absolute enrolments. Furthermore, there could also have been growth of 'unrecognized' private schools, data on which might not be available. In Pakistan, after the lifting of the ban on private schools in the mid-1980s, private institutions were booming again (World Bank, 1986, p. 34). As Tilak (1992) has argued, private enrolments might increase, but the increase would not balance the decrease in enrolments in public institutions, and as a result, social investments in education would be sub-optimal.

Fees are the most important cost-recovery measure. However, there is not much information available to determine whether fees were introduced or enhanced as part of or due to adjustment and economic restructuring programmes. But reforms in fees are generally consistent with the adjustment policies of the World Bank/IMF. The World Bank's loans to Bangladesh, for example, included covenants for cost recovery in the textbook programme (Julius & Alicbusan, 1989, p. 48). China introduced an 'additional educational fee' in 1986, contributions from which were double the contribution from the earlier forms of fees (Ahmed et al., 1991). Though reforms in fees are largely expected to be confined to higher education, primary and secondary education have also been subject to such reforms, and the contribution of fees in primary education—which is expected to be 'free'—may be rather substantial and ranges from 7.4% in Bangladesh, 7.1% in Indonesia, to 3.7% in Malaysia (Tan & Mingat, 1992, p. 190; and on China see also Burki & Yusuf, 1992, p. 44). Furthermore, the contribution of fees to total (government and non-budgetary) expenditure on primary schools in China increased from 4.8% in the early 1980s (Tan & Mingat, 1992, p. 190) to 24.6% in 1988. There was an 83% increase in the total fee contributions in primary schools between 1986 and 1988 compared to a rate of growth of only 3.5% between 1986 and 1987.[16]

Although a one-to-one relationship between fees and enrolments cannot be established from these figures, it is interesting to note that primary enrolments in China decreased at an annual rate of 2.34% between 1987 and 1988, and this was the highest negative annual rate of growth since 1975. Indeed, there was a consistent pattern of declining primary enrolment in China between 1975 to 1989 (from 151 million to 123.7 million). Compared to a rate of growth of -1.75% during 1980-85, enrolments declined at a rate of growth of -1.92% during 1985–89 (UNESCO [a], 1991). Similarly, the rate of growth of primary enrolments in Pakistan declined from 7.16% during 1980–85 to 2.7% during 1985–89.[17] It should be noted that Pakistan's sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) proposed 'user charges at all levels of education to recover a sizeable part of the costs of education through the introduction or enhancement of fees'. It may be argued that, in general,

reduction in public subsidies in primary education and the introduction of cost-recovery measures, such as fees, will have a serious adverse effect on enrolments and on the goals of 'Education for All.'

Summary and conclusions

It is difficult to isolate the effects of adjustment policies on education. Even elaborate country studies could not properly assess the definitive effects of adjustment. As Stanley Fischer (1991, p. 526) observed, 'the evaluation of adjustment lending is not only extremely difficult, but also essential. None of the methods of evaluation are entirely satisfactory'. Here, an attempt has been made to examine the association between adjustment and the development of education. The effects identified can, at best, be treated as *probable* effects. While no causal relationship could be found, intense adjustment is generally associated with declines in a variety of indicators on educational development in Asian countries, similar to patterns observed in many other regions. At the same time, it should also be noted that, on the average, while the education sector in Asian countries suffered during adjustment, it also seems to have been relatively well protected from the brutal effects affecting developing countries in other regions experiencing adjustment.

The effects of adjustment, however, have not been uniform on all countries of the Asian region, and several economies suffered severely. It has been found that, during the adjustment processes, the proportion of GNP or of total government expenditure allocated to education declined in a majority of the adjusting (including intensely adjusting) countries, even though the corresponding figures also point to a decline in some of the non-adjusting countries. In a large number of the adjusting countries, the relative share of capital expenditure on education declined and that of current expenditure increased.

The allocation of resources to primary education seems to have been protected in most countries, except in Pakistan and Bangladesh. This is also true of non-adjusting countries, such as India and Malaysia, where the relative share of primary education actually increased. More importantly, the real expenditure per student in primary education increased significantly in all countries, with the exception of the Philippines and Nepal, during the first half of the 1980s (the only period for which these data are available). Expenditure per student in primary education as a ratio of GNP per capita also increased in all countries, while the corresponding proportion relating to higher education declined in all countries, except in India. All this indicates that concerted efforts have been made by the adjusting as well as the non-adjusting countries in Asia to protect primary education; a remarkable achievement when compared to other developing countries of the world (see Berstecher & Carr-Hill, 1990). Adjusting countries could have protected primary education from budget cuts through social safety-net programmes introduced as a part of adjustment policies in several countries, as in India during the 1990s.

However, enrolment ratios in primary education declined in two of the intensely adjusting countries, namely in Pakistan and Thailand. Although the gross

enrolment ratio in Pakistan is deplorably low (44% in 1990), Bangladesh registered remarkable progress with increases not only in gross but also in net enrolment ratios, which went up from 54% in 1985 to 69% by the end of the 1980s. The number of pupils per teacher in Bangladesh, however, has increased to one of the highest levels in the region, suggesting that quality was traded-off for quantitative expansion.

Internal efficiency also increased in all countries of the region. While gender discrimination has been found to have increased as far as the stock of the educated people is concerned, gender discrimination in enrolments has been coming down in all the countries.

Lastly, the relative share of the private sector, although limited at present, seems to be increasing. Fees appear to have been introduced even in primary schools in some countries and have had a negative effect on the demand for education and on total enrolments. Increases in the degree of privatization and the introduction/increase of fees in education have been dominant, thought not necessarily explicit, components of adjustment policies.

While, on the whole, the effects of adjustment on education seemed to be mixed, and no striking difference could be observed between adjusting/intensely adjusting and non-adjusting countries in short-term educational development trends in Asia, the tentative evidence from a few countries does suggest a strong association between adjusting policies and a deterioration in educational situations. Such a strong association is clearly discernible with respect to several important indicators of educational development, although not with respect to all. It would be useful to look into this association more closely in one or two selected countries to clearly understand the effects of adjustment on education. Though the problems that will be found and the associations observed in a particular country may be unique, and may not be relevant for others, such country studies would be valuable to draw lessons, not only for the countries concerned, but also for others.

The experience of both the Asian (and even other) countries, as well as of international agencies with structural adjustment programmes is short (about ten or fifteen years). As 'adjustment' is a long on-going process, analysis of its effects over a short period of time would be premature and problematic, as quick results cannot be expected. More importantly, it is probable that the 'positive impacts are realized with a considerable time lag, while its adverse effects are immediate and highly visible . . . [but these programmes] may not be sustainable, economically and politically, if their immediate [negative] impacts are not mitigated' (Yanagihara, 1989, p. 319–21). Otherwise, programmes may not be taken to their logical conclusion. Further, gradual adjustment policies have been generally found to be successful in the East Asian economies, rather than a 'big bang' approach involving shocks and sudden simultaneous shifts in all policies in an attempt to move forward quickly (Agrawal et al., 1992, p. 182). The latter approach can, in fact, be counterproductive.

As a result of the growing research in the area and the interest of international organizations, such as UNICEF, the adverse effects of structural adjustment on

social sectors are being monitored by both the donor agencies, such as the World Bank/IMF, and the countries concerned. Accordingly, structural adjustment programmes are being supplemented in a number of countries with sectoral adjustment and 'social safety nets' and other contingency programmes, so that the poor are not severely affected. Primary education is one of the important components of such programmes. In general, it is necessary that structural adjustment programmes and education sector adjustment programmes be integrated, and that the adjustment programmes include agreements on increasing public expenditure on education. Structural adjustment policies without such education sector adjustment programmes and social safety-net programmes that guarantee increases in public expenditure on education are likely to cause serious adverse effects. Hence, 'it is important that structural adjustment agreements recognize the need for countries to commit new resources and reallocate existing resources toward investment sectors, such as basic education, which affect both social welfare and medium- and long-term economic growth' (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1992, p. 63).

Further, it is necessary for the success of the adjustment programmes that the primary responsibility for the conception of structural adjustment programmes lie with the national authorities that will implement and sustain the programme; imposed programmes may not work (Malan, 1991, p. 539). The Republic of Korea is a good example of how structural adjustment programmes could succeed because it was undertaken on the basis of its own conviction. This will also help in reducing the political costs of adjustment programmes. With the level of expertise and competence available in the Asian countries one should expect that shifting the primary responsibility to the national governments is perfectly possible, compared to those regions that do not have indigenous expertise.

Of late, some flexibility in and softening of the World Bank/IMF's hard-line views of precisely what an ideal package of structural adjustment reforms should consist of are visible (Ranis, 1987, p. 97), though it may have to be further improved (Tilak, 1992). Lastly, it should be realized by all—the lending institutions and the countries concerned—that education becomes an important input in the success of the adjustment programmes, and hence investment in education is necessary for the very success and sustenance of structural adjustment programmes.

Notes

1. See Tilak (1992) and Stewart (1994) for a recent summary of the effects of adjustment on education. Research in this area is rather limited. Important recent studies include several World Bank studies, particularly, Kakwani, Makonnen & van der Gaag (1990), Noss (1991) and Stevenson (1991). See also International Labour Conference (1992) and Jayarajah, Branson & Sen (1996).
2. See Jones (1992) for a detailed discussion on the World Bank's lending policies for education and the policy conditionalities attached to the loans. See also Tilak (1994*b*).
3. In the context of studying the impact of the World Bank/IMF adjustment policies on

standards of living, Kakwani, Makonnen & van der Gaag (1990) classified eighty-six developing countries of the world into five categories, based on their adoption of adjustment policies: (a) 'intensely adjusting' countries that have relatively long periods of experience with adjustment policies and processes, having taken three or more structural adjustment loans by 1989, having started on or before 1985 (twenty-five countries); (b) 'pre-1986 adjusting' countries that have received less than three structural adjustment loans, but were included in the programme before 1985 (eleven countries), (c) 'post-1985 adjusting countries' that received adjustment loans between 1986–88 (nineteen countries); (d) 'non-adjusting countries' (of type I) that did not need IMF/World Bank types of adjustment measures, and which had an increase in average annual growth in GDP per capita during 1980–87 (seventeen countries); and (e) 'non adjusting countries' (of type II) that were 'potential candidates' for World Bank adjustment loans with a decline in the average annual growth of GDP per capita during 1980–87, and were 'probably the closest one can get to a counter-factual' (fourteen countries).

4. Traditionally, international assistance to education used to concentrate on capital investment items. But, of late, items of current expenditure (e.g. provision of textbooks and teacher training) have received priority.
5. UNESCO, *Statistical yearbook,* Paris, 1995 and earlier years.
6. The share of primary education seems to have declined in India (down to 38.5% in 1992 from much above 40% in the 1980s) only after adjustment policies were adopted.
7. Data are from UNESCO, *World education report,* 1991, 1993 and 1995. Paris.
8. The 'apparent intake level' is defined as the number of new entrants in Grade I, regardless of age, and expressed as a percentage of the population of official admission age to first grade. See UNESCO [a] (1991, p. 102).
9. The total gross enrolment ratio at all levels of education in Thailand (age group 4–23) also declined from 45% in 1980 to 43% in 1988.
10. In Indonesia, the urban population living below the poverty line increased from 9.3 million individuals in 1984 to 9.7 million in 1987. Further, the adverse impact of adjustment included an increase in open unemployment and a fall in earning levels (see Azis, 1990 and Ahmed et al., 1991, p. 377). In India, the level of employment was estimated to have declined and unemployment to have increased as a result of the structural adjustment policies adopted (see Mundle, 1992).
11. UNESCO, *Statistical yearbook,* op. cit.
12. *World education report,* op. cit., 1991 and 1993.
13. The 'coefficient of efficiency' (at the primary level) is obtained through the 'reconstructed cohort method'. It is the ratio between the normative number of pupil years that it would have taken the graduates to complete the cycle of education, had there been no repetition or drop-out, and the number of pupil years actually spent by the cohort (UNESCO [b], 1991, p. 103). The value of the coefficient varies between zero (maximum inefficiency) and one (maximum efficiency).
14. *World education report* op. cit.; Lockheed, Verspoor and Associates, 1991; and Tan & Mingat, 1992, p. 18.
15. It is not clear, regarding the nature and rationale of government assistance, if these schools run on a full-cost recovery basis.
16. These are the author's calculations based on Ahmed et al. 1991, p. 203.

17. In general, declining enrolments or a decline in the growth of enrolments in primary education may not be inexplicable in countries where enrolment ratios are very high (e.g. 90% or above), as the children to be covered would be small in number. Also it may be due, *inter alia,* to declining population growth of the relative age-group. Declining growth in enrolments in Pakistan, however, should be a matter of concern since Pakistan has low gross enrolment ratios and a high rate of population growth.

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LATIN AMERICA: THE BATTLE BETWEEN BORROWING AND CREATING

Claudio de Moura Castro[1]

Introduction

Compared to Africa, Asia and the Arab world, Latin America is a continuation of Europe. Except for some Andean countries where a native culture had a stronger grip and some scattered regions with African influence, Latin America is just an outpost of Europe, as Portugal and Spain could have been considered not long ago. After all, many Latin Americans are descendants of Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Italians and a few other nationalities. Therefore, the penetration of European culture is not usually considered an invasion but the natural spread of influence from richer to poorer regions within a seamless culture.

And indeed, this is the way it has been with education in the past. While in several Latin American countries it was the United Kingdom that had absolute reign on economic matters, in these same countries it was France that provided the obvious

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and natural source of inspiration in matters of culture and education. Until recently, this French pre-eminence remained virtually unchallenged—except in vocational education where German influence had some impact. However, in more recent times, the United States has progressively expanded its influence in all spheres, including education.

One could expect that, parallel to the powerful influences of the North, there would also be local forces competing for the centre stage. This has indeed happened in economics with the strong presence of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) creating a Latin American school of economic thinking which was both admired and resisted. Beginning with concerns about the deterioration of terms of trade for Latin American products, Raúl Prebisch created a controversial and innovative economic movement, having Santiago as its epicentre. Structuralism and protectionism offered a conceptual platform for the strong emphasis on economic development and industrialization of the region. ECLAC and its thinking have practically disappeared from the economic scene and no comparable replacement has emerged. Nevertheless, Latin America has a strong establishment of economists who acquired intellectual maturity decades ago. Most major economic or stabilization plans of the last few decades were conceived and executed by local economists and did not have any significant participation by foreigners. Granted, Latin American economists are not isolated from foreign influences (such as the so-called 'Washington consensus'), but this is no longer a continent 'colonized' in the area of economic policies. Of all the import substitution processes taking place in the region, none was more complete and successful than that of economics.

However, nothing comparable happened in the area of education. It remains dominated by imported thinking. In education, there is much less that is native. Despite a major effort to send students abroad and to create master and doctoral programmes in the region, education thinking remains polarized in the main by an alternance between European and American influences.

There is only one sharp exception to that, which lies in the area of training. Indeed, in vocational training, the creation of the Brazilian Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial (SENAI) in 1942 was followed by other similar institutions in just about every country in the region. Vocational training became an area in Latin America where major innovations took place.

This paper follows the above arguments. The next section illustrates the spread of French influence on education, followed by the growing presence of the United States. The third section presents a few examples where there have been some regional exchanges. Lastly, the case of training institutions is examined in greater detail.

A long history of borrowing from the North

French influence has dominated educational thought for many years. The structure of primary and secondary education borrowed much from that country. By the

same token, curricula have undergone the same influence and many of the text-books utilized were translated from French. While the division of schooling cycles into primary, middle school and secondary has varied a lot from country to country, the French influence is pervasive in the entire style of teaching, and even the names of programmes and institutions are often borrowed from France.

The tendency towards very ambitious curricula and a large number of disciplines is clearly French, in stark contrast to the American tendency to have fewer disciplines. The idea of shorter curricula, meritorious as it might be, comes into collision with the chronic difficulty of subtracting anything from the existing curricula.

Another major difference is the *baccalauréate,* which in France is a serious obstacle on the way to graduation from the secondary level. While the number of students failing this examination is modest in France, in the French-speaking countries of North Africa this proportion can be devastating. In a country such as Tunisia, about 95% of the students have failed either at the 'bac' or at an equivalent examination at the end of eighth grade. Some countries in Latin America tended towards this model in the past, but in recent decades, as ideological objections mounted, all testing was abandoned. The good part is that examinations are not preventing large segments of the population from graduating. The bad part is that education systems were left with no quality control whatsoever. This is again beginning to change, as discussed later on.

Another major French influence was the technical school. While the combination of secondary academic courses with technical training is widespread, this formula seems to have been imported to Latin America via France, at least in most countries. Technical schools inherited from their French ancestors show a tendency to have strong academic programmes with an emphasis on science and mathematics with, at the same time, technical elements that are not sufficiently connected to the labour market.

Perhaps the oldest import in education were the professional schools, such as medicine, law and engineering. For a very long time, much of higher education in Latin America was composed of such independent professional schools. The curricula followed the French model closely and the same was true of the books, either translated or read in the original.

In some instances, the model of the *grandes écoles* was brought in to Latin America, together with their French professors, as was the case of the Escola de Minas de Ouro Preto, organized by Jean Gorceix as a copy of the famous *École des mines* which he had attended. By the same token, the University of São Paulo was created with the strong support of very well known French intellectuals (e.g. Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roger Bastide).

In a more recent past, the most notable French import has been the *instituts universitaires de technologie* (IUT). These are short higher-education courses, combining a good academic tradition with practical research and development. Argentina has been following this model in the last few years.

Chile has had considerable German influence in its education system, no doubt due to the strong immigration flows to the Southern region. By the same

token, until the Second World War there were German enclaves in Southern Brazil with their own schooling system, conducted entirely in German and receiving technical support from the German government. With the declaration of war on Germany, teaching in German was outlawed and there was a strong effort to eliminate German influences, due to the suspicion that Nazi propaganda was being sneaked in as part of cultural programmes. As a result, all German influence in basic education disappeared.

During the period of rapid growth in Latin American universities, the idea of going beyond the mere reproduction of knowledge took hold. Universities were also expected to be institutions where knowledge was created. The idea of research and its seamless blending with teaching became a shibboleth of the new universities. This was the moment when the ideas of Humboldt and his plea for universities doing research and engaging in the pursuit of practical solutions became fashionable in countries such as Brazil.

Otherwise, the recent presence of Germany has been mostly restricted to vocational training and apprenticeship. But in this field it has been overwhelming! Latin American systems have had a strong German heritage, be it directly from Germany and its experts or via systems like SENAI which were strongly inspired by Swiss-German influences. The single most important contribution of Germany has been the emphasis on apprenticeship. The German tradition puts much emphasis on the links between theory and practice, and the materialization of this effort is the alternance of periods spent in classrooms with periods in enterprises—under the supervision of a *meister*. While the so-called German 'dual system' never spread beyond scattered experiments—strongly backed by German co-operation—a variation of that formula was adopted by the SENAI-SENA system.

The United Kingdom, despite its strong economic presence, never had much influence in Latin America on matters of education. Perhaps the only exception is Uruguay in which the education system bears a strong British imprint.

After the Second World War, the influence of France progressively ebbed and was replaced by that of the United States. At the beginning, this was less a deliberate choice of the local intellectuals and educators than a product of the weight of American aid programmes offering fellowships to study in the United States and direct technical assistance. But, progressively, the overwhelming number of Latin Americans with post-graduate degrees from United States universities made it much easier for American influences to flow freely in the region. Today, American influences predominate over any other, both the good and the bad.

The first round of United States exports in matters of education was the diversified school model. Instead of schools which offered either pure academic or technical education, the American high schools provided a wide menu of alternatives, in such a way that all students go to the same type of school and, once inside, decide how much they want in academic subjects and how much in practical or vocational disciplines. While the success of this system inside the United States remains an issue of debate, attempts to export the model were an unambiguous disappointment. Academic schools turned out to be averse to the practical and vocational orienta-

tion and ended up devaluing these disciplines. The efforts of USAID and the World Bank to create such schools met with little success.

In contrast to the disappointment of the diversified or comprehensive high schools, the graduate schools of the United States (or should we say, post-graduate schools to avoid ambiguity) were a clear case of success. The much more structured and streamlined graduate schools of American origin took hold of the region and are responsible for the modest but significant flow of research coming out of Latin American higher-education institutions. At the origin of these schools was a very earnest attempt on the part of the Ford and the Rockefeller Foundations to identify the best talent around and send these people to obtain masters and Ph.Ds in the United States. Once these students returned, they were quite eager to reproduce the graduate school structures they knew so well, instead of returning to stale universities. Like their American models, and instead of the emphasis on individual work of European universities, there was stress on research and publications, competitive funding from outside sources, a strongly meritocratic strain, and a well-structured and long sequence of disciplines. While this formula did not always work, on the whole, it has been quite successful.

But also at the undergraduate level there were other relevant American imports. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were attempts to reform higher education. The power of the tenured professors was curtailed and teaching became organized around a departmental structure, instead of around the 'Herr Doctor Professor'. Some institutions tried to adopt the credit system, not always with success.

Overall, the American influence at reforming the undergraduate level has been far less convincing than the construction of the graduate schools. The latter were created from zero by homogeneous groups who had undergone similar experiences in the United States. By contrast, the long-established universities resisted change and, in most cases, implementation was incomplete and carried out under heavy resistance from powerful groups.

Another strong influence from the United States has been on student testing. Under the leadership of institutions like the Educational Testing Service, many countries modernized their higher education entrance examinations. The use of computers, multiple-choice tests, the development of question banks and a strong battery of procedures to gauge the quality of the tests themselves were some of the major features of this movement. The testing of skills developed in the selection process for higher education has more recently been deployed to assess learning achievement at lower educational levels. It seems reasonable to say that American influences in testing have led the region to turn completely away from the exit tests, such as the *bac* and *Abitur*, which in the past were used or attracted the attention of some countries.

Community colleges are becoming a clear reference for growth in short, post-secondary courses. The practical orientation and the strong emphasis on adapting quickly to market changes are some of the desirable features identified in community colleges. We are far from being able to say that this model has also worked well in Latin America. There have been ups and downs in the fate of post-secondary

courses. The market for graduates is not clear and the status attached to the diploma even less. Nevertheless, the formula utilized by the community colleges seems more attractive than that of the *Fachhochshulen* or *instituts universitaires de technologie* (IUTs). The British polytechnic model is not very different from the community colleges and is also quite attractive as a post-secondary alternative.

As higher education systems struggle with problems of quality and lax quality control, the idea of improving accreditation mechanisms grows in importance. Here, the two interesting alternatives being examined are the new American education accreditation movement and what is being done in the United Kingdom along the same lines. Following the institutional traditions of the United States, the new accreditation movement is based on voluntary participation and a strong role for professional associations. By contrast, the United Kingdom accreditation and certification system is mandatory and far better integrated, with a stronger role for the government. It is not possible at this moment to evaluate which model will work best or will be favoured in Latin America.

A few scattered examples of borrowing within the region

By and large, there have been fewer exchanges taking place within Latin America. This is somewhat surprising, considering that the two major languages of Latin America are closely-related and countries have relatively similar historical backgrounds—compared to any other region of the world. The reasons for this lack of South-South exchange are not very obvious, especially considering that in areas such as economics there has been much more exchange. Be that as it may, there are still some interesting examples of South-South borrowing, as illustrated by the following cases.

INNOVATION IN TEACHING METHODOLOGIES

Most of the ideas that spread through the region had to do with teaching methodologies. Of course, the first example that comes to mind is that of Paulo Freire. And his is a particularly important contribution because it deals with the difficulties of teaching to students—or adults—coming from very different cultural backgrounds. The connection between education and political participation is also very strongly related to Latin American political and social development. Freire used literacy and reading to promote political goals and, in turn, the political magnetism of the ideas used in learning increased the motivation to overcome the difficulties of teaching reading codes to peasants and their children. However, it is interesting to note that Freire's teaching spread much more widely outside the region. In fact, under the military regimes that prevailed in several countries, his methods were considered as subversive and dangerous.

Following approximately the same lines has been the spread of *constructivismo,* encapsulated in the ideas of the Argentinian educator Emilia Ferreiro, who

now works in Mexico.[2] This pedagogical school of thought emphasizes student-centred learning and lays much stress on teacher-developed training materials. The constructivism movement spread as far as Argentina and polarized teaching methods for several years. It was loosely connected with the 'Left' and challenged conventional methods of teaching. In the last few years it has lost momentum or, at least, the most radical versions have lost ground.

Another major contribution is the *escuela nueva* of Colombia.[3] Single-classroom rural schools are the most neglected form of education in Latin America. No other manifestation of schooling is considered as more helpless and hopeless. While most educational authorities try either to get rid of these schools or to pretend they do not exist, Colombia took a different direction and developed a methodology by which the students from these schools are given special projects to work on and older students help the younger ones. The method stresses participation and student activities. To make a long story short, achievement tests show that rural students end up performing at least as well as their urban counterparts. While the *escuela nueva* has received much attention from researchers and there is considerable literature on the subject, the copying of the model has been more limited than one would imagine, considering the success of the original experiment and its successful replication in other areas of Colombia.

SCHOOL NUCLEARIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

Another area in which Latin America has innovated is in school organization. One interesting example of this is the nuclearization of primary schools in several Andean countries. This idea consists of using one central rural school as a support for the other smaller and less-equipped units. This nuclear school helps its neighbours in matters of teaching methods and the preparation of instructional materials.

But more important and increasingly polarizing the region is the movement towards decentralization. Anglo-Saxon schools were born decentralized. They were local initiatives, often associated with organized religions. To a large extent, they remain highly decentralized. Continental European schools—and in particular the French ones which had a great influence on Latin America—have a long history of centralization. While there has been some modest decentralization in recent years, many European schools remain centralized.

Latin America inherited the French tradition of highly centralized school systems. But the lack of a strong professionalism in educational bureaucracies, accelerated expansion, impoverishment of the system and widespread geographical isolation have made centralization dysfunctional. This has convinced many Latin American educators that education systems would gain much from decentralization. Decentralization in Latin America is not a matter of giving back decision and power to the local level (or to schools) because they never had this power to start with. Decentralization is something to be invented. And recent experience indicates that it requires empowering local clienteles. In other words, if the locus of control becomes local, it is necessary that the power equation be placed at this level, lest

chaos and laxity take over. Countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico have been struggling with these processes and there seems to be considerable exchange of experience between them.

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Student testing was a normal procedure in the past and the European tradition of national examinations at the end of the primary and secondary cycles was adopted in some countries. After the 1960s and 1970s, with the expansion of left-wing thinking (initially inspired by French educational sociologists), examinations were progressively abandoned. Worse, they became taboo.

Chile and Costa Rica were the first countries to reverse this trend in the 1980s. Subsequently, Chile has assumed significant leadership in the administration of tests to students. By contrast to the previous practice of giving all students an examination to be graded manually, the new movement emphasizes the use of samples and multiple-choice tests. The purpose is not to promote or fail students, but to evaluate the performance of schools or even the entire education system. There are a growing number of countries moving in this direction and Chile remains a source of technical inspiration or consultation in helping other countries to mount similar operations.

WILL MERCOSUR BECOME A COMMON MARKET FOR EDUCATIONAL IDEAS?

The development of a common market among the Southern countries of Latin America surprised even its most optimistic proponents. Inter-MERCOSUR trade more than trebled in just a few years. Chile, which was hoping to join the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), quickly joined MERCOSUR, so as not to be left out of the action.

The first consequences for education are beginning to be felt. There are several MERCOSUR commissions dealing with different levels of education (higher education, vocational training, etc.). This is a very recent development and no concrete consequences are yet to be observed—other than an increase in the study of Portuguese and Spanish as foreign languages. Yet, if the speed and the depth of penetration of MERCOSUR in the member countries is an indication, it is not absurd to imagine that education will also be affected.

Latin American training systems

In an area in which most innovations come from the North, it is interesting to examine more carefully the only major discrepancy from this tendency. In no other educational area is there anything comparable, be it in terms of the geographical spread of the ideas or the comprehensiveness of the package. Vocational training systems in most Latin American countries are patterned after a single model. This is

clearly the only example in which the region has developed an innovation which is copied by just about all countries (only Uruguay and Mexico have not followed the pattern).

THE BIRTH OF SENAI, THE FATHER OF THEM ALL

In the early 1940s, Brazilian industrialization was beginning to pick up speed. The country, however, was completely lacking in a network of vocational training schools. President Getulio Vargas was undecided, being torn between the demands of the Minister of Education, who wanted to bring training into regular schools, and the position of the Federation of Industries of São Paulo, which claimed a stronger role for industry. A committee composed of training experts was appointed by Vargas and asked to develop a blueprint for the new system. Its final report set the ground for SENAI, created in 1942, and it became the model imitated by practically all Latin American countries.

The SENAI formula has a comprehensive package, including funding, organization of training and instructional materials. In many ways, it turned out to be a very robust set of solutions which have survived the test of time relatively well. SENAI is more than fifty years old and its basic structure and rationale have not undergone any major change. Moreover, it remains a solid and efficient organization.

The first and the boldest feature of SENAI is the fact that it is under the responsibility of the federation of industries. In other words, all industrial training is offered by a private institution under the direct responsibility of associations of industrialists. No other country in the world has its industrial training in private hands.

Even though other countries have copied the SENAI solution, none went as far as Brazil in keeping the entire system private and in the hands of industrialists. In most other Latin American countries, training institutions acquired considerable independence and avoided close proximity to regular academic schools. This has been a positive feature, but not as efficient as that of SENAI.

The second major feature of SENAI is the funding mechanism. By contrast to regular schools, which are funded out of national budgets, the creators of SENAI proposed a levy on the payroll of enterprises. This created a greater proximity between the revenues and their utilization. Moreover, there are mechanisms by which firms can do the training themselves—or contract directly with SENAI—and reduce their payment by the corresponding amount. Therefore, this 1% levy on the payroll turned out to be a simple idea that worked well for a long time—despite mounting opposition from economists who criticize expenditures tied to specific taxes or levies.

The payroll levy ensured financial stability to the institution, provided it with a significant budget and eliminated the fluctuations and vagaries that do harm to so many educational budgets. As a result, SENAI has had the luxury of planning for the long run and operating with a distant time horizon. Financial independence also

granted an administrative independence which regular schools cannot achieve. This has protected SENAI from nepotism, corruption and the usual maladies of public institutions.

SENAI was born very close to industries and their decision foci. This has been a most important factor in ensuring that SENAI serves the needs of industries, rather than be a victim of inertia or the interests of its cadres. A SENAI director can be dismissed overnight by the Federation of Industries. Choosing the managers of such an institution is a prerogative incumbent on the managers of employer institutions (notice that there is one independent SENAI for each Brazilian state). This prerogative has been used several times. Hence, principals and executives of SENAI know full well who is in charge. Being under the rule of someone who represents the users of the training provided has been a most important source of health to the institution, since a refusal to respond to the demands of enterprises carries a heavy penalty.

Another area in which SENAI innovated was in instructional materials and methods. The first administrator of SENAI, Robert Mange, had links with the railway training tradition and chose a method of training attributed to a Russian engineer who developed it for the Czarist railroads of the mid-nineteenth century. It was further developed by SENAI and became known in Latin America as *séries metódicas.* It is based on a careful analysis of each occupation and its breakdown into elementary tasks. These tasks are then ordered by increasing complexity and applied to a series of practical projects. The first project consists of the fabrication of a part requiring only the most basic skills of an occupation. The second project includes the previous task and a few new ones, and so it proceeds. Instead of separate disciplines, such as is the case in regular schools, the entire course is a sequence of practical projects. Inside each project there is a seamless combination of the skills that need to be learned, ranging from manual dexterity, as in holding a metal file correctly, to technical drawing, to a written description of the task to be performed and the tools required, as well as the mathematics required. Instead of having the students integrate by themselves the knowledge of all disciplines offered independently, the integration is already built into the *série metódica.*

SENAI had a strong German and Swiss influence from its very beginning, since Robert Mange, the first executive of the São Paulo SENAI, was a Swiss engineer who kept strong links with Germany and his own country. This influence was instrumental for nurturing in SENAI the strong emphasis on pride in craftsmanship and the development of the value of the occupations learned, so typical of Germanic countries.

However, the famous German 'dual system' was soon abandoned in its original form. The alternation of two days in school and three days in the factory turned out to be too difficult to implement. Among other reasons, this system required the presence of highly competent *meisters* in every firm receiving apprentices. It was replaced by the easiest solution of having students carry out internships after graduating from the training programme.

Overall, this integrated package was very effective in SENAI and this probably led to its replication in other countries.

THE SPREAD OF THE 'S AND I'

The SENAI formula worked. The first to realize this and imitate it was the Brazilian Association of Commerce, the counterpart of the Federation of Industries for the service sector. SENAC was created in 1946 with the same structure as SENAI and operated under similar rules and philosophy. It started by offering courses in sales, catering occupations and a collection of simple occupations in the service sector. Today, it is almost as large as SENAI and is progressively evolving towards the use of computers, chef training, and catering and hotel management. An interesting difference between SENAI and SENAC is the effective locus of control of the institution. Brazilian industrialists are highly organized and tend to be very demanding of SENAI. By contrast, service sector firms are a lot less interested in the management of SENAC. Therefore, SENAC has progressively moved to respond to the demands of students themselves. Since SENAC charges for its courses, it operates more or less like a private training institution which has had to adjust its courses to students' requirements.

In 1957, SENA was created in Colombia, with the technical assistance of a former SENAI staff member, João Batista Salles da Silva. SENA did very well from the beginning and, together with SENAI, became the source of inspiration for the creation of many other clones throughout the region: INCE of Venezuela and ITECAP of Guatemala are also from the same vintage.

INA of Costa Rica followed, becoming the leading institution in Central America. It turned out to be a creative and vigorous institution, innovating through its *talleres del pueblo* [people's workshops] which offer informal and flexible training to workers in the informal sector. Many others followed, beginning with an 'S' as in *servicio* (e.g. SENAI, SENAC, SENA, SENATI) or with an 'I' as in *instituto* (e.g. INA, INACAP, INCE).

A latecomer to the 'S and I' tribe was the Brazilian SENAR, catering to agriculture. Interestingly enough, SENAR was created with several retrograde steps, compared to SENAI and SENAC. It was a totally public institution, working under the regular—and constraining—rules of public administration. It had a very poor record, until it was closed down in the early 1990s. In recent years it was reborn again, this time following the SENAI formula to the last detail. Initial reports indicate that it is performing well.

An often forgotten institution was the Commision Nacional de Aprendizaje y Orientación Profesional (CNAOP) created by Peron in Argentina, under the Labour and Social Security Secretariat. While CNAOP was abandoned in the 1950s in favour of the technical school model, it was quite successful while it lasted. What is instructive to notice is that it had just about all the ingredients of the 'S and I' model: it belonged to the Ministry of Labour rather than the education ministries; it had a tripartite board; it favoured apprenticeship; and it was funded out of a tied tax.

With greater or lesser success, just about all countries in Latin America set up their own 'S and I' institutions. In fact, the 'S and I' formula was also cloned in

Africa with moderate success. Overall, its record is quite positive, especially when contrasted with regular education institutions which have had a disappointing performance in most countries.

FROM SUCCESS TO CRISIS IN THE 'S AND I' INSTITUTIONS

While Latin American industrialization was performing well, so were the 'S and I' institutions. However, as the economic crisis constrained the growth of industry in most countries, training institutions also started having problems. These institutions were conceived to cater to modern industries in the formal sector. As their traditional markets lost momentum, they started to experiment with other alternatives, such as training for the informal sector and training municipal agents. But, by and large, their ability to deliver to these alternative markets has not been particularly satisfactory. They tend to be too expensive *vis-à-vis* the simpler occupations of the informal sector and too reluctant to abandon their old markets.

Some of them also became senile and acquired administrative 'fat'. Their administrative costs increased and their ability to adjust to new markets declined. In some cases, they were not even able to spend all their budgets. Considering the chronic state of poverty typical of primary schools, their wealth and prosperity became coveted by other bureaucracies. In addition, having a budget that was stable and secure may have been a positive factor initially, but it runs the risk of removing incentives to adjust and respond to new demands.

All of these factors helped to create a situation of crisis in the 'S and I' institutions. To a greater or lesser extent, most of them are threatened if not with extinction then at least with serious downsizing or the loss of their secure budgets. Most of them have attempted to react either by fighting back or changing. It is too early to tell whether the system will survive with modest adaptations or if some institutions will change drastically or even disappear.

Perhaps the most curious case is that of SENAI and SENAC, which are the oldest of all. Looking at their present performance one realizes that they are better off than just about any other institution in the region. In other words, the two oldest institutions are also the ones in better health. Four factors seem to account for this superior performance.

The first is the continuous growth of Brazilian industry and the corresponding advances of the service sector, even during dismal periods of crisis. In other words, the markets for their graduates have not been saturated. Therefore, they did not suffer a major crisis, as happened with the formerly aggressive, proud and successful SENA of Colombia.

A second and equally important factor is that the Brazilian institutions are the only ones which are totally private. This has protected them from the progressive lethargy that seeps into public institutions.

A third factor is the high degree of organization and political activism in the Brazilian federation of industries. They have actively protected SENAI from outside influences and fought fiercely to keep their independence from the government or to

have other agencies impinge on their budgets, as happened with SENA and INA. While the Federation of Commerce has a less belligerent attitude, SENAC has benefited from the defences mounted by their colleagues in industry.

Finally, both SENAI and SENAC successfully diversified their production line. The case of SENAI is perhaps more innovative as it opted to support industry, not only with training but with a wide panoply of other services (technical assistance, trouble-shooting, quality control, R&D projects, etc.). This naturally led SENAI to move up in the training ladder, focusing its expansion on technician training and even post-graduate courses. For all practical purposes, SENAI is a technical arm of industry which also invests in training.

WHY DID THE 'S AND I' MODEL SPREAD IN A REGION WHICH MOSTLY IMPORTS FROM THE NORTH?

The reasons why this model was copied by almost all countries are not at all evident. We can only speculate on probable causes.

One hypothesis is the initial success of SENAI and its first foreign clone, SENA. These were institutions that responded to a dire need on the part of industries and did so with training centres that were very effective in producing the requisite manpower for Latin American industrialization.

On a more superficial level, SENAI schools impress all visitors enormously. When a Moroccan delegation visited SENAI schools a few years ago, its field-notes were published in book form in their own training institution. The visitors were struck by the immaculate cleanliness of the schools, the high level of internal organization and the close links with industry. Not only are they effective schools, but visual impressions seem to be a very strong selling point for them.

A second and complementary hypothesis is that the entire package (training materials, funding mechanisms, links to industry) made much sense. It constitutes a self-contained solution, with well-rounded solutions to all pertinent dimensions. The formula is robust, resisting well the not-so-favourable conditions of a middle-income region.

A third hypothesis is the support that was offered by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) during a period in which it had ample funds and an aggressive training department, both in Geneva and in Latin America (CINTERFOR, located in Uruguay, still assembles all heads of training institutions every year). Several of the 'S and I' institutions were created with the strong backing of ILO technical assistance. In more ways than one, this model was a successful mutation and adaptation of the Germanic traditions in training and was supported by the European-minded ILO. In other words, despite the strong local flavour and attitude towards innovation, the system received consistent support from the most active players in the area of training during that period. It is interesting to observe that American influences on Latin American training remain very modest indeed, despite the avalanche of American influences in education in recent decades.

Notes

1. The author is very grateful for the extensive suggestions and comments offered by Viola Spinola, João Batista de Oliveira, Ricardo Morán and Pedro Daniel Wainberg. But of course, none of these commentators nor the Interamerican Development Bank—where the author works—have any responsibility for any errors and the opinions here contained.
2. See: Emilia Ferreiro, The acquisition of cultural objects: the case of written language, *Prospects* (Paris, UNESCO:IBE), vol. XXVI, no. 1, March 1996.
3. See: Rosa Maria Torres, Alternatives in formal education: Colombia's Escuela Nueva programme, *Prospects* (Paris, UNESCO), vol. XXII, no. 4, December 1992.

A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

INTERRELIGIOUS AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA DURING A PERIOD OF GLOBALIZATION

Tarek Mitri

The conflicts in which the Mediterranean has often been embroiled have not prevented constant contacts and exchanges between its different populations. In the new North-South configuration, it is a place where new equilibria are gradually emerging in the wake of the collapse of the bipolar order.

On almost all its shores, at a time of globalization, there is a passionate desire for group allegiance, identity and 'roots' which at times resembles a resurgent tribalism or rather neotribalism, encouraging withdrawal into one's own specific cultural identity and producing anything from 'ghettoization' and its attendant xenophobia to social exclusion and racism. Fiercely resistant to globalization and cultural 'uniformization', neotribalism is obliged to target people rather than systems, effects rather than causes. It is a manifestation of rejection and offers no alternative solutions. This inability often nurtures an ideology of resignation which regards globalization as a fatality, an irreversible process governed by hidden forces and endowed with an almost magical power.

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Somewhere between the fine words advocating internationalism, stressing interdependence and playing down power relations and those advocating particularism, stressing a specific cultural identity and focusing attention on frontiers, interreligious and intercultural Mediterranean dialogue, whether seen as Euro-Arab or Islamic-Christian, is seeking a new paradigm which will make the existing situation intelligible and give hope and a sense of purpose to those men and women who wish to work together and think through their common future.

Education, which in all its forms supports and facilitates this dialogue, is thus grappling with the questions that it throws up. We shall address some of these questions.

Globalization, homogenization and difference

Globalization is a multi-faceted process of technical, economic, social and cultural transformation that upsets the internal equilibria of regions and individual nations.

This process strengthens a complex system of tightly woven interdependent relations in which networks are replacing territories and the State is simply a vast legal, bureaucratic and financial engineering system working to improve economic performance and commercial competitiveness. The State is decreasingly the political expression of the public interest. Governments are said to have become too small to deal with major problems and too big to deal with minor ones.[1]

The globalization of the economy and communication is said to herald, in some sense, the death of politics. Whilst economic logic urges 'globalization', interdependence and regional integration, political logic is leading towards the fragmentation of the State. The process does not involve a decline in nationalist feelings. It has to be acknowledged that the world market and the universal *homo economicus* do not dispel ethnic particularism, whether within nations or at the supranational level.[2]

The paradox of globalization, with the development of the consumer society and the global entertainment industry, is that in homogenizing and standardizing it makes the need for distinction and recognition more acute. The more individuals—and peoples—are alike, the more they seek to emphasize their differences. The smaller the actual differences, the more their importance is exaggerated. It seems that to deny one's resemblance to another is the key to remembering a long forgotten difference.

Thus, the first task of any fruitful dialogue would be to be more aware of the tendency to over-emphasize differences between oneself and the other person. The views of communities in Bosnia and Lebanon, to name only two conflict-ridden countries, of themselves and their differences with the other community are an illustration of this. The over-emphasis of the Islamic origins of Muslims in Europe after having long played them down is another example.

Religious pluralism and

the organization of diversity

An essentialist approach, aggravated by the reductionist sensationalism of the media, amplifies the differences between Europe and the Arab-Muslim world. Islamism, which claims that Islam is 'under threat', is seen as evidence of the threat posed by Islam itself.

The 'culture' of Islam would explain to a large extent the distinctiveness of the Middle East with regard to democracy and human rights.[3] Islam is said to have created conditions likely to prevent Muslim countries from gaining access to democracy and to condemn them to a perpetual conflict with the Enlightenment.[4]

It is true that extreme doctrines from Islamic fundamentalists or rather interpretations of the scriptures impervious to any idea of political participation or the sovereignty of the people, not to mention actions which provoke strong security measures—sometimes justified but often excessive—make dialogue difficult.

But the force of the fundamentalist message has to be recognized. It is based, in Muslim countries, on a denunciation of genuine grievances and pleads the cause of the oppressed and victims of despotism. Its opposition to the increasing trivialization of life is a call for a return to basic values. It seeks the promise of utopia in a world suffering increasingly from loss of meaning and amnesia. In European countries, it fulfils a need for self-assertion when confronted by the difficult choice, whether real or imagined, between marginality and the loss of identity.

The basic question, beyond Islamism and the fears to which it can give rise, remains that of a model of society in which pluralism is accommodated by reconciling the principle of citizenship and civic and political equality with that of the right to be different.

Nowadays, heightened pressure from the Islamic communities living in secularized European societies in the throes of cultural and social homogenization is a problem to which neither of the two approaches—unitary and community-based or, on the other hand, unifying—have yet provided a satisfactory solution.

But it should be remembered that cultural and religious plurality does not mean the same thing on the two shores of the Mediterranean. It would be dangerous, indeed unjust, to equate them and see a symmetrical relationship between a majority/majorities and a minority/minorities or to require reciprocity between the Muslim Umma (community) and the 'Christian' West. An ancient legacy of religious plurality shaped over centuries by an all-embracing culture and a feeling of national identity, cannot be compared to a situation caused by contemporary migrations and characterized by economic inequalities and ethnocultural differences.

Reaffirming citizenship

Dialogue not only between the two shores of the Mediterranean but also among the peoples that live on each shore will not get underway unless the idea of citizenship is

reaffirmed, perhaps rehabilitated. For citizenship remains the basis for free encounters among individuals who although they have been influenced by their own culture, religion and nationality cannot be reduced to the roles that are assigned to them either by market forces or by neotribalism. Individual men and women should not be seen solely in terms of their needs and capacities as consumers but nor should they be subjected to the—often fictitious—interests of one community defined in terms of its opposition to others.

The modernization of citizenship, which is at once a necessary condition for dialogue and its outcome, would offer a basis for exchanges of views within society, making social acceptance possible without needing to sacrifice one's identity. But a question mark continues to hang over the possibility of a secular or simply non-religious basis for citizenship in the Mediterranean area.

Ties to the past

Interreligious and intercultural dialogue must inevitably deal with the many problems involved in the Mediterranean peoples' links with their past. Arabs are still described as a people of memory 'drawing their future from the past',[5] and Europeans, faced with the spread of 'post-modern' culture, are said to have a tendency to hark back to their past more often.[6] But, paradoxically, as we have already seen, we are witnessing at the same time the loss of cultural identity and amnesia caused by the consumer economy, a television culture and the Americanization of young people's life-styles. Given this dual phenomenon some fear that, instead of combining the best of both worlds, we face the prospect of having the worst of both worlds, i.e. a culturally homogeneous world in which people meet their need to feel part of a community by expressing hostility towards their neighbours.[7]

When this kind of situation develops, history is neither an ancestral memory nor a collective tradition. It is what is mediated by contemporary education and communication. Hatred is inculcated as much by education in the broad sense as by memory. It is more often stirred up by radio broadcasts, articles in the press and television programmes than inherited from past conflicts. After all, if the past does not meet the needs of the present, another one can always be invented.[8]

It is therefore vital to distinguish the real effect of historic events from their use and abuse in political discourse for the purpose of legitimizing power, mobilizing a community and justifying recourse to violence. The effectiveness of using group identity to mobilize a community is not determined so much by atavistic forces as by political strategies applied for the purpose of seizing or holding on to power. It was not ancestral hatred that caused the war in Bosnia (or the sectarian conflicts in Lebanon). It was the war that created hatred.[9]

Rethinking progress

The ideology of globalization allows it to be assumed that access to development and modernity is still dependent on access to technology, and it fails to draw suffi-

cient attention to the fact that access to technology is often barred in order to protect markets and positions of power.

The history of technology is, at best, a history of ambivalence. There is no need to repeat that technology now possesses the most monstrous potentialities that can possibly be imagined.

Discussion of the progress of human activity and its final goal is, again, at the heart of any dialogue between different religions and cultures. It sometimes uses the arguments exchanged throughout the Arab-Muslim world in the twentieth century. But that debate was partly conducted in terms of the duality of endogenous and exogenous influences, whereas today there is no society that can escape the grasp of 'technopoly',[10] subjecting cultural life to the supremacy of technology.

In fact, globalization imposes its own agenda on us, while the rejection of this process, passionately and perhaps clumsily, proposes another. Dialogue between different religions and cultures is therefore more than ever obliged to tread the narrow path that will lead to a place where an authentically pluralistic civilization has freedom to develop.

Notes

1. According to the often-cited formula of Daniel Bell.
2. Jacques Rupnik, Le réveil des nationalismes [The awakening of nationalisms]. *In:* Jacques Rupnik, ed., *Le déchirement des nations,* Paris, Seuil, 1995, p. 17.
3. John Waterbury, Une démocratie sans démocrates? Le potentiel de libéralisation politique au Moyen-Orient [Democracy without democrats? The potential for political freedom in the Middle East]. *In:* Ghassan Salamé, ed., *Démocraties sans démocrates: politiques d'ouverture dans le monde arabe et islamique,* Paris, Fayard, 1994, p. 94–128.
4. Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs McWorld,* New York, Times Books, Random House, 1995, p. 208.
5. Expression coined by Jacques Berque.
6. It suffices to mention by way of illustration the various 'commemorations' last year of the preaching of the First Crusade and the more recent controversy in France over the baptism of Clovis.
7. Rupnik, op. cit., p. 265.
8. Eric Hobsbawm, A new threat to history, *The New York review of books* (New York), 16 December 1993, p. 62.
9. J. Rupnik, op. cit., p. 24.
10. Neil Postman, *Technopoly: the surrender of culture to technology,* New York, Alfred A. Knof, 1992, p. 52.

TRENDS/CASES

SCHOOL-BASED IN-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING VERSUS INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES: COMPARATIVE POLICY PERSPECTIVES

Abraham Yogev

Introduction

During the last two decades the in-service education of teachers (INSET) has undergone a revolutionary change by being gradually moved to school premises. The shift of INSET from institutions outside the school to school-based in-service education (hereafter SBI) is aimed at increasing teacher professionalism in aspects relevant to school practice, and inducing school reform in teaching and learning processes, as well as in school structuring. The shift toward SBI started in Western industrialized countries, but has spread to developing ones in various regions. While literature on SBI in industrialized countries is widely available, written accounts of SBI experiences in developing countries are relatively rare, especially from a comparative perspective.

The purpose of this paper is to compare policies of school-based in-service education of teachers between developing and industrialized countries. The aim of

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this comparison is three-fold: (a) to eliminate the stereotype that SBI is mainly the product of recent educational reforms in Western industrialized States and is therefore seldom practised in developing countries, which presumably face more 'basic' issues of education and teacher training; (b) to examine principal differences and similarities in SBI policies and programmes between the two types of societies, and (c) to assess the prospects and strategies for SBI enhancement in developing countries.

The basic premise underlying the comparison is that SBI may support effective schooling in both industrialized and developing countries, and is therefore relevant for both. SBI is essential in the recent worldwide revival of INSET in general. After a long period of partial neglect and poor resources for the in-service education of teachers in many countries, school-focused reforms have raised the status of teachers' further training (Eraut, 1995; International Labour Organization (ILO), 1996*a*, p. 27). But, in contrast to more traditional INSET programmes outside the school, which are mainly aimed at the career development of individual teachers, SBI programmes are mainly regarded as important means for the professional development of teachers (Fullan, 1991; Bridges, 1993). In some Western industrialized countries SBI is frequently considered part of 'school restructuring' (Murphy & Hallinger, 1993) or of 'professional development schools' (Darling-Hammond, 1994). The professional training of teachers is thus often linked with school processes, such as self-management, staff development and the enhancement of the school-based curriculum. Some SBI programmes are specifically aimed at developing reflective practitioners, capable of improving their classroom teaching and interaction through practical action-research.

The shift away from theory-laden university training to the more practical school-based teacher improvement has not gone unnoticed in developing countries. As later elaborated, SBI projects aiming at similar school improvements have become common in several East Asian countries since the early 1980s, concomitantly with their development in Western Europe, North America and Australia. They are now spreading to some African and Latin American countries. Subsequently, SBI plans have been stressed in recent regional meetings organized by the International Bureau of Education in preparation for the UNESCO's International Conference on Education on the theme 'Strengthening of the role of teachers in a changing world' (International Bureau of Education (IBE), 1996*a*). The Latin American meeting recommended the upgrading of teacher training within the school in direct relation to the specific needs and programmes of the schools. The meeting in the African region emphasized the teachers' need to acquire 'pedagogic skills through a properly supervised in-school practical experience', coupled with the requirement for action-research: 'Teachers should conduct studies on problems that they encounter in the classroom; e.g., research on coping with large classes. The results of such studies would help in enriching the content of teacher education' (IBE, 1996*a*, Africa, p. 8).

What, then, are the prospects of SBI development within the framework of school reforms in the developing world? In order to evaluate these prospects, we

must first compare existing SBI policies and programmes in developing versus industrialized countries. Based on a search of the documentation at the IBE, on numerous national reports presented at the International Conference of Education on the role of teachers, and on additional material available, the comparison is divided into two parts: (a) an overview of SBI development in various regions emphasizing the extent of school focus in teacher training throughout the teaching career; and (b) differences and similarities in SBI policies, programmes and experiences.

School focus in teacher education throughout the teaching career: a comparative overview

A major issue in SBI development is whether the school-focus in teacher education is merely limited to the in-service training of practising teachers or, alternatively, is linked to an ideological trend which envisages shifting teacher training altogether from higher education institutes into the schools. In the United Kingdom, which, in a sense, may be considered the cradle of SBI, the school-focus in initial and in-service training has developed separately, but is now considered part of a continuous process. As a recent reviewer contends, both pre-service and in-service training 'appear to express several common principles concerning, for example, the school as a unit of educational responsibility, the extended professionalism of teachers and the nature and sources of teachers' professional knowledge' (Bridges, 1993, p. 51).

While the linkage between the school focus in initial and in-service teacher education exists, to a certain extent, in Western industrialized states, this is hardly the case in developing countries. The differences in ideologies of school-based training may be further explained by separately examining three stages of the teacher education process: pre-service training, induction programmes for new teachers, and in-service education.

THE SCHOOL FOCUS IN PRE-SERVICE TRAINING

As already mentioned, the shift toward school-based initial training has been especially noticeable in the United Kingdom since the early 1990s, with the introduction of the articled and licensed teacher schemes (Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), 1993*a,* 1993*b*). It has been further extended with the requirement for substantial proportions of pre-service training courses for secondary education to take place within schools (Department for Education, 1992).

The shift is particularly noticeable in the United Kingdom since it was a politically initiated reform subject to a wide-open debate (Whitty, 1993). The debate concerned the relevance of teacher preparation carried out within higher education to the practice of school-teaching. Subsequently, partnerships between universities and schools enabled the creation of school-centred courses which were less theoretical or subject-matter oriented and were geared more toward school practice (Bines & Welton, 1995).

Such university/school partnerships in initial teacher training may also be found in some projects of the 'professional development' school in the United States and Canada, and in several Western European countries, in particular the Netherlands (Wubbels, 1992). However, they are not part of a nationwide reform in pre-service training. In the United Kingdom, the policy of school-centred initial training has been officially evaluated as capable of producing competently trained teachers (OFSTED, 1995), but has been criticized by academic writers as being in reality too pragmatic and sometimes over-simplified (Bridges, 1993; McCulloch, 1993).

This is perhaps the reason why most industrial countries, except for the United Kingdom, advocating some sort of university/school collaboration have combined school practice with a lengthened university preparation time (ILO, 1996*b,* p. 90–91). In principle, however, the greater role of schools and their empowerment as learning environments for teacher trainees are linked, in a feedback process, to SBI programmes—frequently handled within the same school/university partnerships. The recent European preparatory meeting for the International Conference on Education has indeed acknowledged this stand by adopting the conclusion that 'both initial and lifelong training are elements of the same process of permanent training within the framework of partnership between teacher-training institutions and schools' (IBE, 1996*a,* Europe, p. 19). Judging by the reference papers prepared for this meeting, this stand better represents Western European countries than the transitional societies of Central and Eastern Europe, which have just recently abolished teacher-training institutions in favour of upgraded university training (Fernandez, 1996; Savova, 1996).

In no way is it possible to regard initial teacher training in developing countries as a source of inspiration for professionally-oriented SBI programmes. Many developing countries facing teacher shortages are still struggling with the universal upgrading of pre-service training into higher education, and thus use school-based initial training out of necessity. According to a recent ILO report, in industrialized countries 'a lengthened school-based practicum is combined with a lengthened university preparation time; whereas in developing countries, a lengthened school practicum often replaces a portion of university or teachers' college course time. Sometimes, increased time for teacher preparation is absorbed mainly by increased practical work in school classrooms' (ILO, 1996*b,* p. 90).

The inclination toward school-based initial training in developing countries is also driven by financial reasons, since investment in higher education is more expensive than placing teacher trainees in schools, especially if one-to-one supervision by mentor teachers is not provided. In any event, such provision of school-based initial training does not usually aim at professional school-based teacher development, and cannot inspire SBI as a continuous process.

SCHOOL-BASED INDUCTION PROGRAMMES

In contrast to school-based initial training, induction programmes within schools

for newly appointed teachers may have been a source of inspiration for professional SBI programmes in some developing countries, particularly in East Asia.

In most Western industrial societies, there are no specific induction programmes for new teachers. Although some of the professional development school projects in the United States have established such special programmes, most of them treat the needs of beginning teachers within the more general framework of SBI (Darling-Hammond, 1994). Only a few industrialized countries have institutionalized induction programmes, but not in relation to school-based learning. In Israel, where the Ministry of Education has launched a large teacher-induction project just prior to an ambitious SBI programme, the teacher colleges and the academic schools of education were put in charge of the induction programmes (IBE, 1996*b*). Most European countries which used to have an induction system for beginning teachers, like some Central and Eastern European States, have abandoned it (Savova, 1996).

It appears that the notion of teacher induction, which used to be related to the concept of probation, was phased out in most industrialized countries as a result of the upgrading and lengthening of initial teacher training. This has not been the case of various developing and industrialized countries in East Asia, which traditionally maintain school-based induction programmes for new teachers. Starting as a traditional apprenticeship process, teacher induction has developed in these countries into large-scale school-based programmes. In Japan, a statutory system of one-year induction school-based training was created in 1988, and became compulsory in all primary, secondary and special schools in 1992 (IBE, 1994, Japan). The induction programme (approximately two days per week and at least sixty days per year) is carried out by advising teachers with the co-operation of other experienced schoolteachers, and covers the entire spectrum of teachers' work at school (Japan. Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1995, p. 104). The induction programmes include meetings in which experienced and beginning teachers of each school collaborate in discussing teaching techniques and lesson plans (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, p. 159). Similarly, schools in China take responsibility for training new teachers through a minimum three-year apprenticeship programme, which some schools extend to five years (Yi & Ma, 1992). Even in East Asian countries which did not enforce compulsory school-based induction, such programmes are still popular and widely practised. In the Republic of Korea, the rate of teachers participating in school-based induction has risen from less than 10% in 1992 to about a quarter of all teachers in 1994–95 (IBE, 1996*b*, Republic of Korea).

Teacher collaboration during training, their mutual support and the relevance of such induction programmes in East Asia to school improvement have been cited by Western writers as worthy examples of professional teacher education (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Fullan, 1993, p. 131–34). Since most of the East Asian countries that have developed school-based induction also became involved in SBI projects, it is quite possible to assume that the placement of induction in the school has facilitated, in one way or another, their openness to SBI projects as a continuous process of teacher development.

SCHOOL-BASED IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

SBI programmes are much more common worldwide than either school-based initial training or within-school teacher-induction policies. Therefore, while the school focus on initial and in-service training as a continuous process characterizes several industrialized countries, and school-based induction may have facilitated SBI in East Asia, the broader world distribution of SBI signifies its acceptance separately from other stages of teacher education. Thus, from a universal perspective one must seek the sources of school focus in INSET programmes in regional or international influences on school reforms in various countries, rather than in original conceptualizations or restructuring of the teacher-education process.

Let us first consider the industrialized world. As shown in an early SBI study by the OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (Howey, 1980), SBI programmes were initiated in the mid-1970s in the United States and Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand as 'a new concept and strategy of INSET'. Since the mid-1980s, these countries have developed SBI programmes on a larger scale, frequently associated with the school restructuring movement or with the ideology of professional development schools. They were later joined by other industrialized countries, such as Japan (Sato, 1992), Israel (IBE, 1996*b*) and various Western European countries. A recent comparative SBI study conducted by the Association for Teacher Education in Europe (Evans, 1993) shows that SBI programmes have been widely accepted in Western European countries, such as the Netherlands and Germany, which are more readily open to educational innovations of the Anglo-American type. They have developed at a slower pace in France and Belgium, in Austria, in Mediterranean countries such as Spain and Greece, and in the Scandinavian region. Norway and Sweden hold activity planning periods of about one week's duration at the beginning of the school year during which teachers are involved in school-based training. Although this is a required INSET activity, the decentralized in-service agreement in Sweden led to a sharp decline in teacher participation during the early 1990s (ILO, 1996*a*, p. 27).

The notion of SBI is also being slowly introduced in the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In some countries, such as the Russian Federation, the recent reorganization and upgrading of teacher-training institutions have resulted in a wave of INSET programmes. The INSET courses provided by these institutions are more theoretical than practically oriented (IBE, 1994, Russian Federation). However, recent attempts to establish SBI programmes are noticeable in the Czech Republic (IBE, 1996*b*) and in parts of the former Yugoslavia, particularly Slovenia and Serbia (Savova, 1996; IBE, 1996*b*, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

It should be realized that not all SBI programmes in industrialized countries are necessarily geared toward professionalism in the sense of school-centred teacher development. Italy is a case in point. Lacking the provision of INSET on the national scale, Italian teachers mainly satisfy their INSET needs on the school level, frequently with the help of regional and provincial institutes (IBE, 1994). A recent study of the Italian case by ILO/UNESCO revealed that teacher participation in

courses planned by the school is quite high on all school levels, but the courses themselves tend to concentrate on theoretical or subject-matter issues rather than on school practice and development (Magni, 1994).

Similarly, the discussion of SBI distribution among developing countries depends on the way SBI programmes are defined. One approach mainly relies on the site of training and regards INSET programmes as school-based if they take place entirely on school grounds (e.g. Gardner, 1995). An alternative definition, the one used in this paper, relies on the contents of training and regards as SBI all in-service programmes centred on school improvement and the professional development of school staff, whether they take place entirely on school premises or are partly handled on the basis of school clusters, community-based operations or in co-operation with local teacher centres. According to this approach, SBI does not always take place on the school site, to the same extent that not all the content of school-based INSET programmes should be considered as SBI.

If we consider the latter definition of SBI for developing countries, SBI development has been particularly noticeable in South-east and East Asia since the early 1980s. As earlier mentioned, the inclination of countries in this region to regard teaching as a profession requiring personal development through apprenticeship might have inspired SBI development, though international influences, though the involvement of UNESCO and other organizations have certainly enhanced the process. In 1986, UNESCO's Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific had already counted and evaluated SBI programmes in five countries: Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Republic of Korea and Thailand (Asia and the Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID), 1986). They were joined by Indonesia, Malaysia and Sri Lanka (APEID, 1990; Gardner, 1995).

The adoption of SBI has been slower in other developing regions. Yet, since the late 1980s, SBI programmes have been recorded in Latin America, either as part of specific school development projects in Brazil (Leonardos, 1991) and Colombia (Arboleda, Chiappe & Colbert, 1991) or, more recently, as part of the reform of secondary education in Chile (IBE, 1996*b*). Toward the mid-1990s, SBI policies were adopted by several African countries such as Lesotho (IBE, 1994), Ghana and Swaziland (IBE, 1996*b*).

This short comparative overview demonstrates, first, that the notion of school-based training for practising teachers is not uncommon in developing countries, though it is growing more slowly than in industrialized states. Regional variations in the popularity of SBI programmes exist in both developing and industrialized parts of the world, and may be partially attributed to cross-cultural influences. However, the notion that SBI is part of a continuous process of school-centred teacher training starting with the pre-service stage has not been adopted by many countries, either in developing or industrialized regions. SBI policies tend to develop as part of specific or general school reforms, rather than as concrete reconceptualizations of the teacher-training process.

Differences and similarities in SBI policies and programmes

We now turn to substantive comparison of SBI policies and programmes between developing and industrialized countries. As the previous overview indicates, there are many variations among particular countries in the orientation and operation of SBI programmes. We will concentrate only on basic differences between the two types of societies which appeared to be more common in our documentary search. The comparison is made with respect to: (a) the context and organization of SBI policies; and (b) the contents and methods of SBI programmes.

CONTEXT AND ORGANIZATION OF SBI POLICIES

The basic difference between developing and industrialized countries is in the contextual orientation of SBI policies. Until recently, most SBI programmes in developing countries were carried out as part of special projects of educational development, while in industrialized countries they were specifically initiated for the purpose of professional development of teachers within school.

Subsequently, the professional school-based development of teachers in developing countries has been limited to rural areas or to urban schools for disadvantaged populations, where reforms aimed at educational development have been taking place. The school-based training of teachers was usually considered an integral part of producing change in the reformed schools, in order for them to become more involved with the local communities of parents and students. This has been the case of many SBI programmes in South-east Asia during the 1980s, such as the Field-based Teacher Development (FBTD) programme in northern areas of Pakistan or the Cianjur project of Active Learning through Professional Support (ALPS) in Indonesia (Gardner, 1995). In Latin America too, SBI programmes during the 1980s were rather limited to development projects, such as the New School Programme in rural Colombia (Arboleda, Chiappe & Colbert, 1991) or the Integrated Centers of Public Education (CIEPs) for Brazilian disadvantaged students in Rio de Janeiro (Leonardos, 1991).

From the viewpoint of policy making, the earlier limitation of SBI to projects of economic and educational development has had two consequences. First of all, SBI was mainly based on programmes of foreign aid through international or bilateral organizations, and sometimes also by local aid organizations—such as the Aga Khan Foundation in Pakistan. This meant that SBI was mainly developed as a project-oriented programme. Secondly, this arrangement has limited the role of national governments in SBI initiation and enhancement as a national policy, at least during the 1980s. Only toward the 1990s the Cianjur/ALPS model in Indonesia spread and led to the adoption of active learning as a national policy for both primary and secondary schools. Some other projects, like FBTD in northern Pakistan, remained experimental and regional, though the number of schools par-

ticipating in the training programme has increased throughout the years (Gardner, 1995). UNESCO's Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific noted long ago that 'strong governmental policies and a sympathetic political will' are needed in order to develop SBI on a national scale (APEID, 1986, p. 48).

In industrialized countries SBI initiation takes two forms. In many Western European countries, as well as in Japan and the United States, it may be considered a grassroots movement, originally started by teacher associations or other organizations and later implemented on a larger scale. The organization of SBI in many of these countries remains locally-oriented and depends on voluntary participation by the schools. In some other countries, such as the United Kingdom and Israel, SBI was decreed a national policy. In the United Kingdom its organization was assumed by the local educational authorities (LEAs) through special-scheme grants, transferred to local schools upon approval of their SBI proposals. Israel probably presents the most extreme case of forming a national SBI policy. In January 1994, the Ministry of Education and Culture implemented a compulsory SBI policy, forcing all schools in the entire education system to start SBI courses in which all teachers had to participate for two hours per week. Under the pressure of the teacher associations, this SBI policy became voluntary half a year later, but its compulsory stage has triggered over three-quarters of the entire school system to become further involved in the voluntary SBI programme (IBE, 1996*b*). In the Israeli case, SBI programmes are controlled by the school inspectors, but are initiated and organized by school principals and their teaching staff.

A national policy of SBI obviously encourages its implementation by individual schools, but also presents some drawbacks. As noted by Bradley, Conner & Southworth (1994) with respect to the United Kingdom and by Yogev (1995) regarding Israel, a national SBI policy pressures the schools to respond to centralized demands, puts the burden of SBI development on the principals' shoulders, and hinders staff development in individual schools on the basis of collaborative work and reflective practitioning. Such drawbacks notwithstanding, the tendency of various industrialized countries to develop national or otherwise widespread policies of SBI tends to influence developing countries, and recent developments in this respect indicate a growing similarity between developing and industrialized countries in governmental SBI initiatives. The recent reform of secondary education in Chile has been accompanied by a massive attempt to institutionalize SBI in all secondary schools in order to enhance changes in teachers' attitudes toward classroom teaching and learning experiences (IBE, 1996*b;* Avalos, 1996). Ghana, in which INSET is compulsory, has made SBI the cornerstone of reform efforts since the late 1980s. This was done by gradual decentralization of INSET programmes, so that 'training will finally shift down to become school based', and by preparing school principals to organize their own programmes 'so that the special needs of schools and individual teachers will be better catered for' (IBE, 1996*b*, Ghana, p. 8). Although it is too early to predict how many developing countries will follow this trend, the tendency to initiate national SBI policies in the developing regions has already been set in motion.

CONTENTS AND METHODS OF SBI PROGRAMMES

Information about exact contents and methods of SBI programmes is scattered and unsystematic with respect to both industrialized and developing countries. Nonetheless, some generalizations may be drawn regarding differences and similarities between the two types of societies.

The contents of SBI programmes tend to be more diversified in industrialized countries than in developing ones. This is especially true of those industrialized countries that have launched SBI as a national policy and left the issues of contents and organization of specific SBI programmes in the hands of individual schools. Despite the common notion that such freedom might lead to the misuse of SBI programmes, the evidence indicates that schools in these countries have developed SBI programmes in accordance with centralized national guidelines. A survey of SBI projects in various LEAs in England and Wales (Mortimore & Mortimore, 1989) shows that SBI was geared toward the staff-development needs of the whole school and concentrated on legislative and educational initiatives of that period: the national curriculum, team building and management changes in school, and assessment and testing. Also, a large number of schools have developed SBI programmes on specific educational issues emphasized in the United Kingdom, such as multicultural education (Tomlinson, 1990). But recently, with the development of university-school partnerships in the United Kingdom, and with the growing criticism of the politicization of SBI (e.g. Fielding, 1994), there has been more emphasis on the individual needs of teachers by developing SBI courses aimed at reflective teaching (Bradley, Conner & Southworth, 1994).

Israel, which to some extent has emulated the British experience in its comprehensive SBI policy, has also set forward national goals for the content of school programmes:

> SBI is aimed at the continuous development of autonomous school staffs. It should focus on goal fulfilment and problem solving in topics such as curriculum development, teaching improvement, alternative teaching methods, school climate, relations with the community, or other topics deemed important for school work in order to adapt its educational frameworks to student needs (Israel. Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, 1993, p. 4).

A survey of SBI topics reported by all schools participating in the 1995 voluntary SBI programme (Yogev, 1995) reveals that, while the national directives have been followed in general, there was a great variety among schools in the topics or combination of topics dealt with, depending on school level and sector (the Arab, Jewish secular and Jewish religious school sectors). Over two-thirds of the participating schools dealt with curriculum planning and teaching methods, but almost the same number of schools included in their SBI programme courses on 'general topics and enrichment'. Other popular topics were staff development, computers and their teaching applications, and the teaching of specific curricular subjects.

In developing countries, perhaps due to the concentration until recently of SBI

programmes on development projects, the range of topics undertaken by schools is rather limited. The comparison of SBI programmes made by UNESCO among five countries of South-east Asia and the Pacific (APEID, 1986) shows that the most common topics were teaching methods and techniques, and subject areas of the curriculum. Although SBI programmes were part of innovative projects aimed at school change, their contents were frequently geared towards the training needs of teachers in general, resembling to some extent the content of pre-service academic training. Only in technologically more advanced countries, such as Thailand and the Republic of Korea, new and innovative skills—such as staff development through SBI planning—were specified in the content as a means of responding to contemporary changes in schools.

Differences in the range and emphases of SBI contents between developing and industrialized countries may reflect, to a certain extent, general public attitudes toward teachers in the two types of societies. In most industrialized countries, teachers are regarded as autonomous professionals, capable of defining their own professional needs and accordingly developing their school-based programmes. In many developing countries, while teachers struggle for professional recognition through their associations, they are still treated as 'civil servants' who are expected to follow national guidelines and serve their country's needs, even within the framework of innovative school projects. This attitude, coupled with shortcomings in pre-service academic training, is reflected not only in the pre-organized contents of SBI programmes, but also in their methods—the modes and techniques of training, and the extent of teacher participation in SBI decision making.

SBI courses in industrialized countries, especially those sustaining a national SBI policy, tend to be administered on a regular prolonged basis, frequently on a weekly or bi-weekly basis for a whole semester or the entire school year. However, descriptions of a variety of SBI courses in South-east Asia and Latin America (Levin & Lockheed, 1991) indicate that such courses in developing countries tend to be short-term, lasting from a few days to about a week. They are frequently administered as 'introductory' SBI instruction which is limited to school principals or to groups of experienced teachers, and only sometimes to the whole school staff. The participants, in the case of school representatives, are expected to disseminate the acquired knowledge within their school. If organized on a continuous basis, however, SBI frequently takes the form of informal discussions among teachers, sometimes handled outside the school, such as in local teacher centres.

While this way of organizing SBI may obviously reduce its cost, it may also limit its scope and innovative nature. As found in the above-mentioned comparative study of SBI in South-east Asia and the Pacific (APEID, 1986), the training techniques used in SBI by most countries were formal lectures in pre-organized workshops and teacher discussions. Creative strategies, such as simulation, brainstorming and role playing, were used only in Thailand and the Republic of Korea. Similarly, the workshops relied mainly on materials prepared in advance in the form of handbooks and leaflets. An attempt to change the 'leaflet-based approach' has recently been made by the UNESCO project 'Special needs in the

classroom', which aims to develop and disseminate in several developing countries a resource pack of ideas and materials for a more reflective practitioning SBI (Ainscow, 1994). This project reflects SBI trends in industrialized countries, which put the emphasis on teacher involvement and participation in the instruction and training itself, including the preparation of materials for the courses and for classroom use (e.g. Yogev, 1996).

As already stated, the differences in modes and techniques of training also reflect differences in attitudes toward teachers and their professionalism between the two types of societies. The worldwide leading role of school principals in SBI initiation and promotion notwithstanding, the leaning toward principals' decision making in detailed SBI organization is more noticeable in developing countries. In Australia, Japan, Israel, North America and Western Europe—even in those Western European countries where SBI is developing more slowly (Evans, 1993)—teachers within schools and their associations in general are much more active in deciding on their own SBI programmes. In Israel, the change from a compulsory to a voluntary SBI policy has shifted part of the decision-making power from principals to teachers. In the majority of schools, teachers not only decide on whether the school will participate in the programme, but also become involved in determining the contents, organization and techniques of SBI courses (Yogev, 1996).

There are, however, three major problems of SBI development common to developing and industrialized countries. First is the issue of the formal status of SBI programmes. Though various ministries of education in Western Europe are interested in SBI development, formal time allocation for SBI courses may be very limited, such as in Austria (IBE, 1996*b*), and the bureaucratic approval of SBI during school hours is complicated, as in Germany (IBE, 1996*b*). With the exception of some leaders in the field, the formal status of SBI has not yet been established in most countries, neither developing nor industrialized. This is especially noticeable with respect to teachers' rewards for participation in SBI. These courses are not usually recognized for academic credentials, and only in Israel do teachers receive salary remuneration for SBI courses similar to that received for academic INSET (IBE, 1996*b*).

Secondly, both industrialized and developing countries suffer a shortage of specific SBI trainers, who can help schools build up their own programmes. This problem has been tackled to a certain extent in industrialized countries following the model of university/school partnership, but even such partnerships are not widespread enough to cover SBI in all schools. A survey of this issue in Western Europe has found only a handful of countries which have special SBI trainer courses (van Lakerveld, 1993). The training of such 'change agents' for schools may be especially acute in developing countries that are adopting national SBI policies in an attempt to increase teacher professionalism.

Last, but not least in importance, is the problematic issue of SBI evaluation. Ideally, the development of an SBI programme should be based on the school's own need assessment, and implementation should be followed up by some systematic

evaluation of the outcomes. In reality, however, the initiation of SBI programmes is frequently based on intuition or some general movement, and their evaluation—if it exists at all—tends to be impressionistic and unsystematic. Most systematic evaluations of SBI programmes, in either industrialized or developing countries, tend to originate outside the school and are academically oriented. But such evaluations do not usually provide systematic information on the effects of SBI on classroom behaviour or on actual changes in teaching practices, nor on the impact of SBI on students. While there is still much confusion about who should evaluate what and how with respect to SBI programmes (Kerry, 1993), it is clear that schools need to develop some research skills in order to assess their programmes, and that such skills are scarce among teachers in all countries. The recent worldwide emphasis on teachers as researchers, evident in various developing countries through both the requirements for research methods during pre-service academic courses and the stress on action research within the school (ILO, 1996*b*, p. 91–92), may help to develop the research skills of teachers and enhance systematic SBI evaluation within practising schools.

Prospects and strategies of SBI enhancement in developing countries

Our comparison reveals that there are still large differences in SBI initiation, organization and operational modes between developing and industrialized countries. Many of these differences result from the fact that, until quite recently, most SBI programmes in developing countries have been incorporated in economic and educational development projects, and thus were limited in scope and orientation. This situation is gradually changing. As earlier noted, there are already some developing countries that have adopted SBI as a national policy for developing teacher professionalism and induce educational reforms from within the school. Some other developing countries will probably follow this trend, either by governmental initiative or through pressures from teacher associations, which have recently become more professionally active. A recent study of the opinion of educational experts (Andrews et al., 1990) has demonstrated that they give their strongest support to the school-based model of INSET organization in developing countries, followed by the local teacher-centre model and then the centralized teachers' college model.

The shift from project-oriented SBI to the stage of national SBI policies raises several questions regarding the relevance of school-based teacher education for developing countries. Should SBI be encouraged on a national basis in terms of its expected products? Is such a policy financially reasonable for developing countries? What strategies of SBI enhancement should be followed?

In order to answer these questions, it should first be realized that the above-mentioned limitations of SBI in developing countries do not result merely from its inclusion in development projects. Rather, there are some more fundamental factors that have hindered SBI in achieving its full potential. I shall refer to three basic

reasons resulting in SBI limitations in developing countries, namely the demographic, political-cultural and financial factors.

First, it is clear that SBI has been mainly developed in small to medium-sized countries, rather than in very large countries with disperse populations. The latter, such as India (Gardner, 1995) or Mexico (IBE, 1994), tend to concentrate their contemporary efforts of school reform on community-based rather than strictly school-based operations, or rely on distance education techniques for INSET purposes. Population dispersion correlates, among other factors, with a lower level of pre-service teacher training and with a lesser degree of national control over SBI operations. It is obvious that national SBI policies are better adapted to the smaller countries, whose teachers have been better educated prior to entering service. This size factor is also the major influence, to some extent, affecting SBI development in Western industrialized countries. In Australia, Canada and the United States there are large variations among states or provinces in the extent of SBI initiation. The United Kingdom had to delegate SBI administration to the LEAs, not simply for ideological reasons, but also because a centralized control of school operations was inconceivable. The ability of Israel to launch a centrally controlled comprehensive policy of SBI is partially due to its small size.

Political and cultural factors are no less important in determining SBI distribution among developing countries. It is obvious that democratic regimes are more inclined to initiate SBI. The shift toward such school-based operations entails decentralization of the education system, and delegates power to individual schools and their teachers. Therefore, it requires a democratic atmosphere both over the national territory and at the school level, in terms of principal/teacher/student relations and collaboration among the teachers themselves. Even on a limited scale, SBI initiation follows political democratization. In Brazil, for example, the Integrated Centres of Public Education (CIEPs), which have encouraged SBI, were created during the first democratically elected state administration of Rio de Janeiro in the 1980s (Leonardos, 1991). The lack of a Western-type democratic milieu perhaps explains why SBI has not yet been initiated, even on an experimental scale, in most Arab States, although there are sporadic examples of SBI in internationally-modeled schools (e.g. Law, 1989). Leaning toward Western democratic patterns, Jordan has recently launched projects of school-based development and of co-operative schools, which at present are aimed at training school principals, but may result in the creation of SBI at a later stage (IBE, 1996*b*).

The political atmosphere, both outside and inside the school, is rooted in deeper cultural factors which, as already explained, influence public attitudes toward teachers. An SBI policy requires at least some recognition of the professional abilities of teachers and of their subsequent autonomy. In countries where teachers are still treated as 'civil servants' who merely serve their country's needs and goals, and whose self-identity depends on the goodwill of outside forces, there is no opportunity—and essentially no need from a public viewpoint—to develop SBI. In many developing countries, especially in Africa and Latin America (IBE, 1996*a*) this approach has recently been replaced by a more professional approach

to teachers and their work, coupled with increased empowerment and growing involvement of teacher associations in professional matters. This partly explains the tendency of some countries in these continents to adopt comprehensive SBI policies.

Indeed, there may be vast differences between the nature of teacher professionalism in developing and industrialized countries. In Western countries, teacher professionalism and the tendency to make the school a more humanistic environment may be interpreted as a reaction to the confusion and uncertainties of the post-modern age (Hargreaves, 1993; Hartley, 1993). In various developing countries the growing appreciation of teachers mainly results from the upgrading of pre-service training and from the expansion and increasing importance attributed to education in general. Whatever the case, the recognition of teaching as a profession enables teacher empowerment through SBI.

Financial factors have obviously been a crucial deterrent of SBI enhancement in both developing and industrialized countries. Recent worldwide constraints on public expenditure have resulted in structural adjustments in the field of education, including cuts in teachers' salaries in various countries (ILO, 1996*b*). This is why the recent ILO report is skeptical with respect to future developments of school-based training. Indeed, the cost of SBI on a national basis is very high, and its cost-effectiveness remains unknown. One must consider not only the direct cost of SBI programmes within schools, but also the indirect expenses related to the administration of an SBI policy on the local and national levels. LEAs in the United Kingdom have started noticing the financial pressures of SBI long ago (Mortimore & Mortimore, 1989), and Israel has recently announced that its new budgetary cuts include part of the US$25 million spent last year on the national SBI programme.

Taking into account these financial, political and demographic considerations, what then are the prospects of SBI enhancement in developing countries, and what strategies should be followed in its further development? In general, given the proper political and cultural climate, and a well-educated corps of teachers, the recent shift in various developing countries toward school-based reforms, including SBI, should be encouraged. The delegation of responsibility for educational outcomes to the school has been the cornerstone of educational reforms in industrialized countries during recent decades, and the avoidance of school accountability in some developing countries may further increase educational gaps between them and the industrialized States. Such a shift obviously requires the empowerment of teachers both individually and collectively, through teacher collaboration in school work. Thus, SBI becomes a national necessity rather than a luxurious enterprise, despite its cost. Even the recent budgetary-conscious ILO study cautions that 'policies that have emphasized the "cost factors" in promoting in-service education may in the long run actually increase expenses as workforce capacities become more widely differentiated' (ILO, 1996*b*, p. 99). Obviously, this does not apply to developing countries which have substituted school-based INSET for initial teacher education. SBI may become effective only in conjunction with pre-service training at

the level of higher education, providing the necessary academic and pedagogical background for teachers.

Nevertheless, from the financial viewpoint, it seems that strategies for SBI enhancement in developing countries should include collaboration or partnership with forces outside the school in order to save costs, as well as for other reasons. One such strategy is partnership with universities and other higher-level institutes of teacher training. Institutes of higher education are capable of providing the professional help, based on academic knowledge of educational and pedagogical innovations, to schools attempting to establish their own SBI programmes. Such co-operation, if developed into a true partnership, may save part of the expenses involved in SBI implementation by individual schools.

Another strategy, well developed in Thailand (Tsang & Wheeler, 1991), is the development of school clusters which co-operate on a community basis to induce change in school management and in teaching and learning processes. SBI becomes part of the school reform initiative, and is less costly due to collaboration among schools. Moreover, it increases the relationship between schools and their communities, including students' parents. However, not all community-based SBI operations in developing countries were necessarily successful in this sense. Some, like the community-based school reform in Papua New Guinea, were criticized for being based on 'technical rationality', which serves bureaucratic purposes rather than contributing to teacher empowerment and school leadership (Berry, 1994).

It seems, finally, that SBI may be further enhanced in developing countries if treated in the proper perspective. While it may be an important tool in inducing school change and increasing teacher professionalism in the classroom, it should not be regarded as the ultimate solution to all educational problems, nor as an isolated strategy for school reform. As already noted by Joseph Murphy with respect to the school restructuring movement, 'two things often occur. On the one hand, with so much to consider, people tend to focus on only one piece of the larger picture (e.g. teacher professionalism) [. . .]. Or, on the other, restructuring takes on so much baggage that it begins to lose meaning' (Murphy, 1993, p. 3). When setting out to adopt SBI as an essential part of national policies for school-based reforms, developing countries might well take this cautionary note into consideration.

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WHO CHOOSES TO BE A TEACHER IN ARGENTINA'S PRIMARY SCHOOLS TODAY?

Andrea Alliaud and María Cristina Davini

Most of those who take up teaching in Argentina today are women—very young women, living with their parents, who spend their free time listening to music, watching television and, in some cases, reading books for their personal development. The previous schooling of these young people reveals the deficiencies of our education system in regard to the acquisition of basic skills. Choosing teaching is for them a way of gaining access to the labour market and/or university (many of them take up teaching after a negative experience in some university course). It is therefore not surprising that only 39% of them intend to devote themselves exclusively to teaching once they have completed their studies.

The data presented are taken from a research project[1] carried out with students in State and private teacher-training institutions in the federal capital and in greater Buenos Aires.[2] In each of these administrative areas, institutions were selected having regard to their location as well as their sector and the authority responsible. The survey was accordingly based on the replies to 1,097 question-

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naires administered to students in teacher-training institutions located in different parts of the capital (south, north, west, centre) and in greater Buenos Aires.

It should be mentioned that, although the study was not nationwide, the administrative areas covered are highly representative. They account for approximately one-third of the country's population and, as will be seen later, about 50% of the education available at the level most concerned with teacher training in Argentina. This said, some basic information on teacher training must be given before the ideas put forward are discussed.

Teacher training in Argentina

Training for primary-school teachers is provided at the level known as non-university higher education (NUHE). Unlike training for secondary-school and university teachers, it is provided by very few universities in our country, and in such cases usually in connection with some local project (see Table 1).

NUHE comprises courses for teachers of different educational levels and also technical and technical/vocational courses. While it appears from Table 2 that 67.9% of the NUHE institutions train teachers, this does not mean that they do so exclusively. Teaching courses and non-teaching courses are often found in the same institution. This type of education, which is also called 'tertiary', differs from university education basically in the length of the curriculum,[3] the organization of the course and qualification procedures. It is more like secondary education than university education.

Training courses for primary-school teachers account for more than 50% of the education dispensed by NUHE institutions. Of a total of 1,649 institutions of this type, 834 train teachers for the primary level (see Tables 1 and 2). Of the latter, 68.8% are State institutions and 31.2% private institutions. The preponderance of the State sector holds throughout most of the country. In fact there are some provinces in which there are no private training centres for primary-school teachers. In others, however, the private sector predominates: the federal capital, Córdoba and Santa Fé (see Table 1). It should be mentioned that the great majority of these private institutions are denominational.

In conclusion, it must again be stressed that in Argentina primary-school teachers seldom receive their training at universities. Their training is provided by institutions offering a variety of courses of different educational levels. Although the training is administered by the provinces[4] for the most part, the State and some of the municipalities are also responsible for this type of training.

Profile of the student in teacher training: enrolment, employment and educational background

As has constantly been the case in the past, 90% of the students presently studying to be teachers are women. As in the past, too, students are mainly young people, 90% of them being under 30, and half of those under 20.

TABLE 1: Non-university (NUHE) and university institutions of higher education (UHE) that train teachers for the primary level by sector for administrative purposes.

Administrative area	NUHE institutions			UHE institutions		
Sector	Total	State	Private	Total	State	Private
Total country	834	574	260	10	5	5
Buenos Aires	258	194	64	1	1	-
Capital	59	20	39	-	-	-
Catamarca	21	20	1	1	1	-
Chaco	28	26	2	-	-	-
Chubut	11	10	1	-	-	-
Córdoba	82	36	46	-	-	-
Corrientes	36	36	-	-	-	-
Entre Ríos	37	21	16	-	-	-
Formosa	20	19	1	-	-	-
Jujuy	17	17	-	-	-	-
La Pampa	12	7	5	1	1	-
La Rioja	22	20	2	-	-	-
Mendoza	22	13	9	2	1	1
Missions	22	17	5	-	-	-
Neuquén	11	11	-	-	-	-
Río Negro	6	6	-	1	1	-
Salta	24	15	9	1	-	1
San Juan	11	9	2	-	-	-
San Luis	7	5	2	-	-	-
Santa Cruz	4	4	-	3	-	3
Santa Fé	62	28	34	-	-	-
Santiago del Estero	24	22	2	-	-	-
Tierra del Fuego	2	1	1	-	-	-
Tucumán	36	17	19	-	-	-

Source: Prepared by Alicia Merodo on the basis of data obtained from the Regional Council of Higher Educational Planning (CRPES), 1995, National Department of Higher Educational Planning, and the *Censo de estudiantes y universidades nacionales, 1994,* Department of University Policies, Ministry of Culture and National Education.

Correspondingly, more than 80% of them are single and live with their parents in homes with the material comforts and other features typical of the middle and lower strata of Argentina's so-called 'middle class', although some of the households are not so well off. A survey of the occupations and educational levels of the parents of these young people reveals a similar picture.

Of the fathers in the federal capital, 30% were in employment and 26% were self-employed workers. The next largest group was that of the 'professionals', who

TABLE 2: Institutions offering non-university education and institutions training teachers by sector for administrative purposes.

Administrative area	NUHE institutions			Institutions that train teachers		
Sector	Total	State	Private	Total	State	Private
Total country	**1,649**	**956**	**693**	**1,122**	**718**	**404**
Buenos Aires	456	262	194	312	200	112
Capital	174	63	111	69	29	40
Catamarca	28	23	5	25	22	3
Chaco	38	32	6	35	29	6
Chubut	14	10	4	13	10	3
Córdoba	166	73	93	122	49	73
Corrientes	55	45	10	47	41	6
Entre Ríos	85	61	24	61	43	18
Formosa	29	25	4	26	23	3
Jujuy	26	20	6	20	16	4
La Pampa	17	9	8	14	8	6
La Rioja	38	35	3	30	28	2
Mendoza	41	20	21	27	14	13
Missions	45	33	12	24	18	6
Neuquén	20	18	2	14	14	-
Río Negro	18	16	2	12	12	-
Salta	67	38	29	43	30	13
San Juan	19	15	4	15	13	2
San Luis	20	14	6	15	10	5
Santa Cruz	4	3	1	3	3	-
Santa Fé	163	69	94	95	44	51
Santiago del Estero	49	39	10	42	36	6
Tierra del Fuego	8	7	1	4	3	1
Tucumán	69	26	43	54	23	31

Source: Specially prepared on the basis of data obtained from the *Censo Nacional de Docentes y Establecimientos Educativos 1994,* Federal Network of Educational Information, Ministry of Culture and National Education.

accounted for 12% of the sample surveyed. For greater Buenos Aires, the percentages for the category of the father's occupation were similar, but there were fewer professionals (9%). The difference between the two administrative areas is more marked in the case of low-status occupations. Whereas in the capital only 2% of the fathers were factory workers or building workers, in greater Buenos Aires this category represented 12%.

With regard to the students' mothers, 50% of them were housewives and 14% were in employment. In the federal capital, 13% were primary-school teachers. In

greater Buenos Aires this category represented 8%. A difference between the two administrative areas is again evident in the case of mothers employed in factories or in domestic service: in the federal capital they represented 1%, whereas in greater Buenos Aires they represented 4%.

To the foregoing it might be added that most of the fathers and mothers of the students in the capital (37% and 44% respectively) had completed secondary education, whereas most of the fathers and mothers of those in greater Buenos Aires (52% and 57% respectively) had completed only primary education. University education had been reached by 19% of the fathers and 16% of the mothers in the federal capital and 10% of the fathers and 9% of the mothers in greater Buenos Aires. In both administrative areas, 3% of the parents had not completed any educational level.

The variables used so far seem to indicate that, as in the past, most of the students of teaching in our country come from the different strata of the so-called 'middle class'. In view of the family situation of a smaller number of individuals (in the region of 10%), it could be said that young people from much lower classes also aspire to become teachers. Factors also regarded as indicators of poverty are a head of household in unskilled employment, having not gone beyond primary education, and also having very limited means (not owning a home or a car, lacking a telephone and other services).

To throw further light on the family background of students training to be teachers, a social category known by sociologists as the 'new poor' should likewise be included. As a result of the economic and social situation of Argentina, particularly over the past decade, the 'new poor'—those reduced to poverty—may be defined as members of the middle class 'that can no longer afford basic consumer goods' and therefore 'sacrifice what is least necessary'[5] (Murmis and Feldman, 1992, p. 45–46).

In the past, students studying to be primary-school teachers came from the middle and lower strata of the so-called middle class. In some institutions, mainly in the interior, students from the upper stratum were also to be found.[6] Today, the latter seem to be absent, their places filled by students from lower strata. This is particularly evident in greater Buenos Aires.[7] The fact remains that students studying to be teachers at the secondary or higher levels still come mainly from the middle and lower strata of Argentina's middle class today. In this respect there has been no change in social origin. What has changed is the living conditions of these groups, many of them being reduced to poverty.

While the social composition of the group (with the presence of new and old poor) differs somewhat from that of the middle class of the past, the expectations and motivations of students preparing to be primary-school teachers today are of a completely different kind.

- More than 70% expressed a desire to take other courses (generally university courses unrelated to education); only 39% intended to devote themselves exclusively to teaching once they qualified.
- Approximately one third of the students studying to be primary-school teach-

ers took up teacher training after a negative experience in some other course. The so-called 'frustration' theory (Ezpeleta, 1991) would appear to explain the real situation of this group of young people.

- However, most of the students studying to be primary-school teachers (more than 80%) were seeking employment in the profession. A 'safe' job at a time when the labour market is increasingly slack—especially for young people (as are the majority of students in teacher-training centres)—will enable some of them to take up the studies they really want to pursue. Others will be quite content with obtaining the employment they were looking forward to so much. This last point is confirmed by the employment situation of the students presently in training.
- The majority of the young people in teacher-training courses today are working and studying at the same time (54%), and another 35% are seeking employment. Only 10% have chosen not to work.

A detailed analysis of the activities of the working students reveals that 37% work in educational institutions providing formal education. Some 4% of them perform administrative duties, the others carry out teaching activities. Those who act as teachers will be able to 'regularize' their situation when they qualify.[8] Another 35% of the students work in business or administration. Yet another group (16% in the capital and 11% in greater Buenos Aires) are engaged in independent activities connected with education or child-minding.

The difference between the two administrative areas is again apparent in the performance of tasks requiring less skill. In greater Buenos Aires, almost 5% of the students are employed as domestics, factory workers or building workers. In the capital, however, there are only two people corresponding to such cases. In greater Buenos Aires, too, the percentage of students engaged in independent activities unconnected with education is double that of the capital (6.4%).

The fact that the majority of young people studying to be primary-school teachers see in the profession a 'short' but sure way to a job may explain the increase in enrolments that has begun to be noted over the past two years. In 1994, when unemployment was on the increase, student enrolments in teaching courses correspondingly increased. This rise in enrolments contrasted with the 'falling' trend of the decade.

In fact, at the beginning of the 1990s, enrolments in teacher training fell by about 30%, both in the federal capital and greater Buenos Aires, and in the rest of the country (Braslavsky & Birgin, 1993). Although fluctuations were recorded in ensuing years, the downward trend prevailed in the two administrative areas under consideration (see Tables 3 and 4).

Until 1995, in the federal capital, there was no increase in entrants or total number of students that exceeded the figures of the early 1990s by more than 26%. In greater Buenos Aires, on the other hand, it will be noted that in 1995 the number of students increased in various districts, although not to the extent of reversing the trend of the decade.

TABLE 3: Enrolment trends in primary teacher training institutions in the federal capital, 1990-1995.

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Total students	1,534	1,794	1,394	1,422	1,472	1,938
Entrants	953	969	833	745	865	1,101

Source: Base de Datos Institucionales (BADIN), National Department of Programme and Project Management of the Ministry of Culture and National Education, 1995.

TABLE 4: Enrolment trends in primary teacher training institutions in Buenos Aires, 1991–1995.

District	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
La Plata	1,178	1,070	889	859	937
Avellaneda	1,613	1,318	1,147	1,081	937
La Matanza	963	871	957	1,015	1,010
Morón	1,285	989	725	682	685
General Sarmiento	699	596	532	551	497
San Isidro	544	501	504	490	532
Pergamino	95	107	90	107	99
Junín	194	238	228	234	253
Mercedes	124	103	95	138	161
Trenque Lauquen	174	148	110	99	125
Pehuajó	272	205	181	167	169
Saladillo	274	198	172	159	136
Olavarría	416	367	308	254	190
Bahía Blanca	535	538	506	386	422
Necochea	292	286	260	267	260
General Pueyrredón	531	398	418	427	496

Source: Culture and Education Office, Department of Higher Education, Province of Buenos Aires.

Investigation of enrolment trends in training centres for primary-school teachers up to the beginning of the 1980s showed that these trends were strongly influenced by external factors stemming from the situation prevailing outside the profession. Unlike enrolments in other courses, teacher-training enrolments appear to rise and fall in response to the prevailing economic, social and cultural trends. If to this is added the reasons given by students for entering the teaching profession, the increase in enrolments noted in 1995 in particular can be regarded as directly related to the marked increase in unemployment in Argentina.[9]

In this connection, the theory of social advancement as a subjective perception of a rise in status (Varela and Ortega, 1984), which was said to explain the choice of the teaching profession, is receding into the background. Instead, a real advancement is experienced by a few (the poorest), whereas for a number of others it is not so much a question of advancement as of not losing caste.

At the same time, the profession itself has been declining. The social composition of the student body is both a cause and an effect. The deterioration of working conditions (low salaries, limited resources at the workplace, etc.) comes in addition to the loss of the social prestige formerly attached to the profession. Nowadays, primary-school teachers do not even have intangible compensations. While the teaching profession is becoming discredited and the situation outside is getting tighter, the training centres are filled with students who see in the profession a halfway house. However, it is these selfsame students, the future teachers, who will in turn give the profession its profile.

Insofar as social recognition is concerned, other disseminators and purveyors of knowledge to all (audio-visual media) have triumphed over schools and teachers. The cultural consumption of students training to be teachers is to be seen as in line with these changes. The great majority of the students watch television (60%) and listen to music (69%), but only 20% said that they went to the cinema or visited museums. The majority of the 'readers' (50%) read self-help texts or study materials.

Such is the situation with regard to the profession and its future primary-school teachers seen from the standpoints of quality and quantity. What can be done in two years' training in institutions closed to the outside world and providing mainly programmes and courses that are quite outdated?

What can two years' training do for students with serious deficiencies resulting from their previous education? Spelling mistakes in common words, difficulty in drafting a text or understanding instructions, and problems of grammar and mathematics in particular, are indicative of the series of prior inadequacies dragging on from earlier years in the system. The subjects that are a basic part of any curriculum (grammar and mathematics), unlike more specific subjects, were identified by the students themselves as being of prime importance for their training. In this respect, the State institutions are not the only ones responsible: 40% of the students in teacher training come from private schools.

Social representations and future prospects

Any study of the social and cultural background of students in teacher training, of their family history and future expectations, would be incomplete without an analysis of the underlying factor that draws them together, i.e. the mental picture the group carries, constructs and reconstructs of the profession and of education itself.

In this connection, disjointed statements and reformulations were observed in the discourse of the students, obscuring the motives behind their choice of the pro-

fession, or serving as a means of self-justification for the group. Deeper investigation of these disjointed statements and reformulations might reveal the contradictions with which the teaching body is confronted at present, considering its reputation in the past.

Despite the deterioration of the social standing and prestige formerly attached to the profession, students continue to have an idealized mental picture of the teacher. When the future teachers were presented with a series of occupations and asked to classify them according to a scale of values, most of the replies (63%) placed the teaching profession at the top of the list.

Their mental picture of the teacher was built up chiefly of personal attributes (70%) such as 'understanding', 'kind', 'sociable', 'good' and 'fond of children'. In short, teachers were 'good people'. Emphasis was laid on their 'exemplary' role, their 'transmission of moral values', in which altruism plays an important part (34%). Professional qualities connected with the transmission of knowledge and teaching methodology were less strongly emphasized (20%).

This definition of a personal ideal takes us back to the old model of teaching in which it originated. Serving as signposts to 'what ought to be', these representations would appear to keep alive the tendency to set up models that aspire to a homogeneous and homogenizing world (Carrizales, 1991).

However, while holding it in high esteem, students are aware of the deterioration of the social prestige attached to their chosen profession. The replies indicate that teaching and education are not appreciated nowadays, that salaries are derisory, with the result that teachers have to take two jobs to make ends meet, and that they have lost the respect of society. Some 13% mention teaching as one of the occupations with the lowest prestige, which may fit in with the intention of 'escaping' from it.

How can this high esteem of the teacher as a person go hand in hand with low recognition and social status? In this paradox we may perceive the reconciling aura of 'vocationist' discourse. Asked why they had chosen teaching, the majority of the students said 'by vocation' or because they were 'fond of children' (65%), to legitimize or justify their choice, as it were.

A large number of replies, too, gave as a reason the desire to 'contribute to bringing about radical changes' (18%). Although this reason seems to indicate a different concern, the significance of the statement has to be clarified. It suggests an altruistic attitude, but it must be relativized in view of the limited participation of students in political, social or cultural activities. Of those who replied, 80% said that they had never participated in such activities.

Another inconsistency is apparent in the discourse of the students in respect of their relationship with a social calling for the school. In Argentina, in the past, the State organized the teaching profession and shaped its course. In this sense, the teaching body was the 'right hand of the State' in the process of nation-building in the context of a civilizing project. Nowadays, on the contrary, the future teachers see themselves as the 'left hand'.

Analysis of the texts produced by new members of the teaching profession

reveals a disillusioned outlook, depreciation of the profession, impoverished schools with reduced resources, a disadvantaged population with serious conflicts to be settled (including marginalization and violence), teachers kept busy with trying to meet the basic subsistence needs of pupils, and a lack of political responses that might point to ways of overcoming the crisis.

In some cases, the whole set of problems was regarded as a personal matter: 'The Minister should become aware', or 'the Ministry is unaware of the real situation', as if the right hand did not know about the problems of the left.

Conversely, about two thirds of the replies noted the withdrawal of the State with what were its grand plans, in the context of an apology for individual competition.

Feeling abandoned as they do, students understandably take refuge in a 'vocationist' discourse as the justifying, integrating force, and in an idealization of the teacher's role, subjectively returning to basics. This discourse may also conceal the personal motives of new recruits to the teaching profession.

At present, the profession is attracting new members belonging to economically and culturally impoverished social strata. Although the material and psychological conditions attached to teaching work are most unsatisfactory, they may make it possible to establish status vis-à-vis the family and social group, especially for students whose parents did not go beyond primary school, or of getting around the difficulty of obtaining 'secure' employment. This situation aside, the questions raised are indicative of the falling apart of the ideological project that gave birth to the teaching body, and of the school's uphill task if it is to reposition itself in the field of the production and dissemination of knowledge.

The study carried out sheds some light on the set of problems involved and the prospects of an answer.

For one thing, the attraction exercised by the profession and the fluctuations in enrolments in teacher training have been largely governed by the vicissitudes of economic life in general and by university entrance policies in particular. While no profession can develop independently of these processes, they cannot be the sole driving forces. Basically, the academic performance and moral impact of the profession should be enhanced so that it will not become exclusively a refuge for those seeking protection from changes in employment or from the demands of other studies.

At the same time, implicitly or explicitly placing the blame on teachers for pupils' underachievement calls for the utmost caution. While this has reduced the tendency to make the pupil feel guilty, there is a danger of going to the other extreme, especially in countries such as Argentina which have undergone the prolonged effects of dictatorships and political crises.

Disparaging talk about the work of teachers taken over and adopted wholesale by the new members of the profession can create very dangerous tensions. For example, how can one get pupils to value knowledge and learning when the teaching profession is discredited? Attaching value to an ideal based on personal attributes does not seem to be a wise course, for it could encourage restoration of the most conservative ideas in the history of teaching.

What is more, the fragility of the teaching profession has to be assumed now with the new division of labour in the cultural field resulting from social changes, including the new media providing a more dynamic transmission and flow of information than could be provided by the school system.

The complex set of problems involved in education calls for fundamental answers and not just compensatory measures or individual incentives. The educational blueprint must be reconstituted with policies formulated in terms of material and moral conditions. No aspect can be effective in isolation. Developing education by extending the length and raising the standards of training, without changing working conditions, might not only make the teaching profession unattractive, but also lead to a decline in the number of candidates at a time when only 39% of the students in training hope to remain in the profession.

The teacher is a key factor in the implementation of any policy of reform, especially if that reform is based on an improvement in the quality of processes and products and is supported by a renewal of educational content in accordance with the criteria of modern science, relevance and cultural significance for the twenty-first century.

Notes

1. The team that carried out this research comprised: Felicitas Acosta, Alicia Merodo, Paula Scaliter, Graciela Vilela and Andrea Alliaud (co-ordinator). The project was a part of the Research Programme on Teacher Training (IICE/UBA/UBACYT) directed by María Cristina Davini. The findings of this research project appear in full in M.C. Davini and A. Alliaud, *Los maestros del siglo XXI. Un estudio sobre el perfil de los estudiantes de magisterio* [Teachers of the twenty-first century: a study of the profile of student-teachers], Buenos Aires, Miño y Dávila Editores, Vol. I, 1995.
2. The federal capital is the capital district of the Argentine Republic and is known as the City of Buenos Aires. Greater Buenos Aires includes the surrounding areas with its industrial belt, the most densely populated part of the country.
3. Training for primary-school teachers comprises a two-year course with daily attendance and an additional period of four months of teaching practice in the field, known as an 'internship'.
4. In 1992, Argentina's educational services began to be transferred from the State to the provinces.
5. Car ownership is an obvious example of this situation. It is assumed that there is a difference between students' families with a car and those without a car. In any case, it is not known whether the latter did once own a car or not, for in recent years about 10% of families in the lower-middle stratum have had to part with their cars (Karol, 1992).
6. For a specific analysis of the origins of the teaching body in Argentina, see A. Alliaud, Los maestros y su historia [Teachers and their origins], Buenos Aires, Centro Editor de América Latina, Biblioteca Política, Vols. 1–2, 1993.
7. The difference found between students from the federal capital and those from the area around it is not peculiar to Buenos Aires. Studies conducted in the interior have yielded similar findings. (See Biber et al., *Los estudiantes de magisterio, El caso de Córdoba* [Student-teachers: case study of Córdoba], 1995, Mimeo.)

8. The employment of students in training is a feature of our education system that has become more marked in recent years (Diker & Terigi, 1994).
9. According to data supplied by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses, INDEC, one young person in three was out of work in greater Buenos Aires in July 1995. The same source indicates that the unemployment rate in the federal capital and greater Buenos Aires was approximately 19%.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN KENYA

Abdelhag Rharade

The Kenyan idea of education

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

When Kenya became independent in 1963, the education system was based on that of the former colonial power, the United Kingdom, the purpose of which was to pass on European knowledge and practices. Religious institutions established what was taught and the system was organized along racial lines in four categories: African, European, Asian and Arab. Education for Africans was confined to religious, technical and agricultural instruction. Some Africans had nonetheless received a more advanced general education so that they could represent the local population in the colonial administration. Upon independence, this racial discrimination was called into question, along with the socio-economic system inherited from the colonial era.

In the 1960s, external factors influenced the general slant of the education system. The international conference organized by UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa in 1961 recommended that the education systems in all African countries should be expanded in order to promote economic and social development. Other meetings were held in the years that followed, and these reaffirmed the objective of formal education in African countries. The Lomé Conference, organized under the aegis of UNICEF in 1972, did, how-

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ever, point to the dangers of conventional education which encouraged young people to seek city and office jobs.

THE OMINDE COMMISSION

Before carrying out any reorganization of the education system, the leaders of the new State wanted an assessment made of the educational situation in the country so that they could decide on the principal directions that education should take, bearing in mind the recommendations of the Addis Ababa Conference. One week after independence, therefore, the government appointed Professor S.H. Ominde to head the first commission on education. The commission's brief was to carry out a survey of existing educational resources and advise the government on its education policy. One year later, it submitted its report, recommending that the government should reform the education system so that it became a way of changing people's attitudes and a means of establishing social equality among all groups, regardless of their origins or religion, while preserving a high standard of education.

The Ominde Commission report drew the government's attention to post-primary education and to the need to make arrangements for training the highly skilled staff needed for government service and the modern economy. Universal primary education was not, therefore, considered a priority and the commission foresaw that investment in secondary education would yield higher returns than the primary stage. The government took note of the need to support secondary, commercial, technical and higher education at the expense of primary education. This choice considerably influenced education policies in subsequent years, during which emphasis was laid on the role that the education system should play in the development of a modern economy. Unlike the colonial government, which saw education in terms of cost, the Kenyan leaders considered education to be a source of economic wealth. The education system was also supposed to provide the nation with highly trained personnel and to give people a useful basic education that would enable them to participate constructively in the progress of society. Kenya, therefore, joined those who thought of education as the driving force of development.

EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DEVELOPMENT

Having only a very small number of qualified people, such as doctors, engineers and agronomists, Kenya committed itself to training people for the most modern sectors of the economy. The organization of the education system was closely linked to the management of human resources and the labour market. This idea of education was inspired by the human capital theory, put forward at the beginning of the 1960s, which held that education is a productive investment at the level both of the individual and of society as a whole. Thus, formal education was organized in such a way as to enable students to rise from one level of education to the next and to begin their working lives with a certificate or degree.

This international view of education had a great influence on the direction of education policies. Many official documents illustrate this view, e.g. the Ominde Commission report (1964), the 1965 'Sessional paper no. 10' on African socialism and its applications to Kenya, and the two post-independence plans (1964–70 and 1970–74) stated that education should be considered as a service intended to train a pool of skilled people to sustain the development of the national economy. Belief that education was the key to the prosperity of both individuals and society contributed to the tremendous growth in enrolment over more than twenty years.

TABLE 1: Primary and secondary school enrolment trends in Kenya, 1963–83.

Year	Enrolment in primary education	Enrolment in secondary education
1963	890,000	30,100
1970	1,420,000	126,800
1975	2,880,000	226,800
1983	4,320,000	493,700

Source: Ministry of Education.

The increase in the number of children enrolled in Kenya—over 485% in primary and 1,640% in secondary education in twenty years—reflected the people's belief in the myth of social mobility through formal education, the foundation of which was the human resources theory. Although the first graduates did step into posts made vacant by the replacement of expatriates in the machinery of government, many pupils subsequently left school without any real training and without being able to find a job. The expansion of formal education was not accompanied by economic growth able to absorb the young people leaving school.

The idea that education was an instrument of development did not disappear from documents published by successive governments, and stress is laid on it from the very first page of the most recent report on education, which states that it is mainly through education, training and research that the nation can meet the challenges of socio-economic development.[1]

Changes to the education system

CHANGES INSPIRED BY SOCIAL DEMANDS

The education system inherited from colonial times consisted of three stages: four years of primary schooling, four years of intermediate education and four years of secondary schooling. The Ominde Commission recommended that this should be changed and that the end-of-primary-education examination, which prevented

80% of pupils from continuing their education, should be abolished. The first two four-year stages were abolished in favour of a single seven-year stage (Standard 1 to Standard 7) and the secondary stage was lengthened to six years (divided into two levels: Forms 1 to 4 and Forms 5 and 6). Whereas 50,000 primary school pupils used to go on to intermediate schools, the number of pupils reaching the end of primary education rose to 500,000. This growth in enrolment was evidence of a wish among the public at large that had not been explicitly stated but was expressed as a need to continue education at least up to the secondary stage, Kenyans having realized that the end-of-primary examination offered very little hope of social advancement. To meet popular demand and with a view to training a skilled labour force, the government was forced to increase the number of places in secondary schools. The number of secondary pupils accordingly rose from 30,100 in 1963 to 126,800 in 1970. The expansion of secondary education also had an effect on the financing of schools, which increased by 58% between 1966 and 1970, and then by 43% between 1970 and 1974.

Popular pressure found a means of expressing itself through the *Harambee* movement,[2] inherited from the independence struggles, which was at the root of the proliferation of secondary schools. These schools were built at the community level in response to the growing demand for greater educational opportunities in disadvantaged regions. This kind of demand was taken up by local leaders, who transformed it into a political argument. In 1964, eighty *Harambee* schools admitted pupils who had finished the primary stage, and thirty new schools were opened in 1965, altogether accounting for one-third of the secondary schools in the country. In 1966, the number of *Harambee* schools stood at 266, as compared with 199 State-funded schools.

The *Harambee* schools were not covered by government planning programmes and the standard of education provided was very low because of the lack of teaching materials and qualified teachers. The pupils' poor examination results were thus a source of frustration among the communities that had invested in these schools. In addition, the government wanted to remain in control of the development of the *Harambee* schools in order to ensure the success of its education policy, but the wish to restrict the opening of such schools met with public discontent. As they enrolled children at the end of primary education who could not be admitted to government schools, the *Harambee* schools were much appreciated by the disadvantaged sections of the population. When the Minister of Education tried in 1965 to make it compulsory to collect 2,000 shillings before opening a *Harambee* school, the population rose up against this measure, which was considered to be a colonial and imperialist practice. The minister had to face protests from families and criticism from local leaders who supported the *Harambee* movement within their communities. The government finally gave in under popular pressure and undertook to improve the quality of education by providing qualified teachers for Harambee schools and by taking some of these schools into the State system.

Many pupils were thus able to enter secondary education, but their situation at the end of their schooling worsened owing to the lack of vocational training

adapted to the labour market. This situation was conducive to non-governmental initiatives. Religious organizations set up technical institutions, like the National Christian Council of Kenya, which launched polytechnic villages and the YMCAs and YWCAs, which provided vocational training in vocational and craft training centres.[3] Other religious institutions organized technical courses but, on the whole, student numbers remained low and the courses did not have much impact on the situation of young school-leavers. Their activities had the effect of inspiring non-formal education policies.

The expansion of the *Harambee* schools and the non-governmental initiatives reflected community demands and wishes which, in 1975, led those in charge of education to set up the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policy. This committee's task was to evaluate education goals after more than ten years of independence marked by growth in enrolments, and to examine relations between the structures of education and the economic situation. The Minister of Labour at the time estimated that more than 80% of young primary-school-leavers could not find a job.

CHANGES INSPIRED BY POLITICAL COMMITMENTS

When it came to power, the élite that had questioned the colonial education policy undertook to change the education system in keeping with ideas of social justice and in line with its own ideas about education. Three major aspects stand out among these changes: the abolition of racial segregation, the abolition of school fees at the primary stage of education, and the diversification of curricula.

The idea of an equitable school system was a fundamental aspect of the demands of the independence movement, and the merger of the first two stages left behind by the British into a single seven-year primary stage made it possible to introduce a common curriculum in all schools. While changing the name of the examinations was symbolic in character, laying down a single curriculum made it possible to remove differences between European, Asian and African schools. These curricular changes took the form of an expansion of some subjects, such as writing, arithmetic and basic education. History and geography courses were modified owing to major changes occurring at the time and having regard to their role in building up a national identity. Books on education followed the movement and teachers received training adapted to their new function and in line with an approach to education based on the principles of participation and observation. This new approach was considered to be an important change at the level of teaching. The commitment of the authorities in the educational field was evident above all in secondary education, which, fifteen years after independence, received half of the funds allocated to education.

The abolition of school fees in disadvantaged areas (arid and semi-arid zones in Northern Kenya) was a fundamental aspect of the political will to balance opportunities of access to education. The abolition of school fees had become a national issue and an argument for people who wanted to play a political role in their

regions. In 1971, a presidential decree abolished school fees up to Standard 4 in geographically disadvantaged regions, and in 1973 a further decree extended this measure over much of the country up to Standard 6.

The aim of this measure, recommended by UNESCO to facilitate universal education in poor countries, was to provide education to children whose parents could not afford to pay fees on entering the education system. School enrolment figures showed that 60% of children of school age were actually enrolled, but that enrolment was very unequal throughout the country. In some regions, such as the Central Province, the enrolment rate was 90%, while in the North and East it did not rise above 5%. In addition, the figures masked the further problem of pupils dropping out for financial reasons.

The abolition of school fees had disproportionate effects on the development of the school population, which rose from 1.8 million in 1973 to 2.8 million in 1974, after the application of the presidential decree. In some regions, school enrolments doubled, but in areas traditionally inhabited by semi-nomadic populations the number of children enrolled did not change very much. Districts where the demand for education was high, like Kiambu, Nyeri, Mombasa and Nairobi, did not record all children of school age. The problem of school wastage was not solved despite the presidential decree, and the persistence of this phenomenon ended up by bringing the enrolment rates back to the 1973 levels.[4] Lastly, the increase in enrolments in 1974 exceeded all planning projections and the primary schools could not accommodate all the pupils. This forced the government to introduce a tax per pupil, paid by parents, to finance the building of classrooms and schools. For many families, the abolition of school fees did not mean any extra money, and this tax, which varied from one district to another, was a new source of discontent and frustration.

The failure of planning with respect to teaching staff led to a very large number of unqualified teachers being recruited. In 1973, there were 56,000 teachers, 12,600 of whom were not qualified; in 1975, 40,000 out of 90,000 teachers had not received any training. The result of these problems was ultimately to nullify the beneficial effects of the abolition of school fees since, by 1975, the enrolment rate by region had returned to the same level as before the promulgation of the decree. Politicians therefore derived no benefit from this popular decree because of teaching problems (lack of school infrastructure and the teachers' lack of experience) and, above all, because of the so-called building tax. In some regions, this tax was four times higher than the enrolment fees.

The abolition of enrolment fees, a major political argument since independence, had no effect on equality of access to primary education. While it did not affect the privileged groups that could afford to send their children to the best schools, it diminished the opportunities of disadvantaged population groups for whom the cost of formal education increased.

In an attempt to meet the people's wishes and solve the thorny problem of wastage, the government drew up a policy for the diversification of education, with emphasis on technical education. This shift in emphasis was already on the agenda

at the Kericho Conference in 1966, which drew the attention of the authorities to the need to train young people in various branches of agriculture and technical trades in order to ensure the production of goods useful to the general public. A number of public institutions were set up on the lines of non-governmental organizations. The first was the National Youth Service, which offered two years' training consisting of a general education programme rounded off by technical education in several special fields (carpentry, brick-laying, mechanical engineering, etc.). Other institutions, such as youth centres, rural training centres and industrial training centres, were set up subsequently with the support of the World Bank and a number of international or bilateral development agencies. The government facilitated the construction of several buildings at these institutions to house workshops and equipped a number of secondary schools to permit the teaching of commercial techniques.

Technical education was based on non-formal principles, but this was not very popular with school-leavers hoping to find a job in the modern sector of the economy. Schooling makes it possible to pass on knowledge and techniques useful for working life, but it can have unfavourable effects on development by inculcating inappropriate attitudes and false ambitions in young people. David Court and Darham Ghai blame these unfavourable effects on curricula that do not attach sufficient importance to the skills that the economy requires.[5] This approach holds that education can contribute to development through changes in curricula and teaching methods without disrupting the entire education system and social structures.

The 8.4.4 reform

In 1985, the Government of Kenya launched the education reform called 'the 8.4.4 system', making profound changes to the content and structures of education and laying greater emphasis on technical education. The primary stage (eight years instead of seven), in which technical subjects were introduced, was explicitly designated as a terminal level for the majority of pupils. The aim of the four-year secondary stage was to consolidate the pupils' practical and theoretical knowledge through the introduction of technical education covering several special fields. The purpose of the reform was to adjust the education system to the country's needs, reduce inequalities by building new schools in disadvantaged regions and, above all, to solve the problem of young people entering the labour market without any vocational training.

FACTORS THAT LED TO THE REFORM

The role of non-governmental organizations

For Kenya, like all the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, accession to independence amounted to the advent of a nation that had to assert itself as a State. The support of international organizations enabled new countries to make their voices heard in

the concert of nations and to exchange the experience that they had all accumulated. In the early 1960s, the United Nations proclaimed the First Development Decade, the main idea of which was to concentrate resources on producing skilled manpower, as suggested by the human capital theory. Unemployment problems at the end of this First Decade showed up the limits of development aimed at human resources. The United Nations launched the Second United Nations Development Decade, ascribing greater importance to the reduction of social inequalities and recommending educational changes to guarantee basic education for all.

To tackle the problems of unemployment, the International Labour Office established the World Employment Programme. The causes of unemployment were studied by many missions in several countries, including Kenya. Here, the mission began its work in 1969, finishing in 1972 with the publication of the well-known report which laid emphasis on the role of informal income-generating activities by the poorest groups.[6] The report's main recommendations concerned the reorganization of the education system, extending basic education to the entire population and considerably increasing technical disciplines at all stages. The diversification of education, approved by the World Bank, ascribed greater importance to technical education at the expense of general education. Several countries (Canada, Japan, Sweden, United States, etc.) provided financial and technical support for the organization of vocational training centres, and the International Development Agency assisted the government in its programme to equip secondary schools. The momentum thus generated led to the mutual assistance campaigns, launched by the government, to open *Harambee* institutes of technology. The rapid increase in secondary school enrolments and the problem of youth unemployment were symptomatic of a need for education backed by training that provided a qualification preparing people for employment.

The government was also worried about the growth in the number of secondary school-leavers applying for admission to university, and appointed a commission to evaluate the possibilities of opening a new establishment of higher education. The commission was in favour of establishing a second university and also encouraged the government to reorganize the entire education system. The extra year added to the primary stage was to be used to provide practical general information and teach techniques enabling young people to undertake further training or to start work. Underlying these recommendations was the danger of an uncontrolled increase in enrolments which would lead to a deterioration of the standard of education. It was therefore vital to anticipate the expansion of education by building primary and secondary schools, and modifying curricula considered to be inappropriate.

International and bilateral organizations had an effect on Kenya's education policy by focusing on the apprenticeship role of non-formal activities. Their attention was attracted by apprenticeship, which developed outside any planning effort and was able to offer a solution to the problems of both cost (self-financing system) and effectiveness, since young people went into the world of production—two arguments that appealed to the World Bank, which wanted to encourage States to

reduce their financial involvement in the education system and to encourage private initiatives.

Shortcomings of the education system

The shortcomings of the education system were apparent in the problem of young school-leavers who could not get into the labour market, and in inequality of educational opportunities.

The two development plans adopted after independence defined formal education as a service to train a skilled population to sustain the growth of the national economy. The third plan (1974–78), however, laid emphasis on the limits of the education system, which did not prepare young people to play a part in the economic and social development of the country. The plan recommended that the government should re-examine the nature and processes of education and introduce reforms during the period covered by the plan.

The hope that economic growth would absorb the school leavers coming onto the labour market was quickly shown to have been misplaced a few years after independence, when employment opportunities (even in government service) began to decline. In 1967, it was already difficult for secondary school-leavers and university graduates to find employment in the modern sector of the economy. The situation of those who had not received any formal education or who had not gone beyond the primary education stage was even more uncertain. Before 1968, 1% of secondary school-leavers could not find work when they came onto the job market. This percentage rose to 14.8% the following year. Between 1963 and 1973, the number of secondary school-leavers rose by 690%, showing that secondary education was considered to be a means of gaining access to prestigious white-collar jobs. Nevertheless, the supply of skilled labour, greater than the requirements of the labour market, gave employers the means to select those with the most qualifications and reject the other candidates. The result was that employers raised the academic level required when the number of qualified persons was higher than the number of posts available. Selection became the dominant function of the education system, which led to a growing demand for education at higher and higher levels.[7] The education system therefore became extremely competitive at each level. The primary stage had the task of selecting pupils capable of going on to secondary education, which in its turn would eliminate those who would not go on to the university stage.

The growth of the *Harambee* schools was not entirely unconnected with the myth of formal education being the path to success. These schools, which were not government-aided, functioned with limited resources and asked for higher enrolment fees than the State schools. The significance of the *Harambee* movement in bringing about equality of access to secondary education needs to be seen in perspective. In fact, some *Harambee* schools were very short-lived, but communities that had substantial resources could afford to equip their schools and pay qualified teachers.[8] This freedom given to communities speeded up the process of social strat-

ification, accepted by both government and people, by facilitating the introduction of inequalities into the social structures, and this showed in the results. There was a relation between academic performance and the type of school attended. The best schools (situated in urban centres) had substantial resources to prepare pupils for examinations, and they asked for high enrolment fees. Access to high-performance schools reinforced economic and regional inequalities and favoured the urban elite. Socio-economic inequalities in education had their effect on the labour market and led to great income disparities.[9]

Differences between boys and girls in access to education narrowed at the primary level owing to the expansion of the education system, especially in regions that were relatively advanced from the economic point of view. At the secondary stage, the proportion of girls rose, by comparison, less quickly than in primary schools. The enrolment rate for girls in primary schools rose from 33% in 1963 to 40% in 1982. In secondary schools, they accounted for 23% of pupils in 1963 and 27% in 1980. Several factors account for this, such as only moderate success rates in the certificate of primary education, a relatively small number of State schools open to girls, and high drop-out rates due largely to unwanted pregnancies and to the reluctance of parents to send their daughters to school beyond a certain age. Lastly, regional, economic and social inequalities reduced access to education for girls more than for boys.[10]

Although educational inequality was the main shortcoming of the formal education system, a number of dysfunctions became increasingly visible, e.g. over-centralization of administrative affairs, lack of structural flexibility, shortage of qualified staff and an accelerated decline in the standard of education. These dysfunctions had adverse social effects, such as the exodus of trained people from the countryside, the great stress of academic competition, frustrations linked to the unemployment and drop in status of graduates, the erosion of traditional values, etc. Education policies never attained their objectives because of the unsuitability of education to its environment and because of the economic crisis which began in the 1970s. Seeing that formal education was no longer a means of social advancement, people began to doubt the effectiveness of an education system that had caused them to entertain hopes that were incompatible with economic realities. The convergence of all these factors led to the educational reform and the launching of the 8.4.4 system in January 1985, replacing the old system under which general subjects like English, mathematics, history and geography were taught.

INTRODUCTION OF THE 8.4.4 SYSTEM

The 8.4.4 system, consisting of general subjects and technical disciplines (such as crafts and domestic science), lays emphasis on pre-vocational training at any level that could be used by young people as soon as they leave the education system. The general objectives of the new system are to teach people techniques, knowledge and skills that are useful for economic growth, by making it possible for them to receive further training at a vocational training institution or to start an activity through

self-employment. The 8.4.4 system was devised primarily in response to the problem of young people leaving school without any technical qualification for paid employment.

Problems raised by the new system

The establishment of the 8.4.4 system raised many problems since the financing of the new classes and the supply of teaching materials were not guaranteed and the lack of qualified staff led the government to employ untrained teachers. The political leaders called on the people to contribute through *Harambee* campaigns to finance the new schools. The debate triggered by the launching of the educational reform quickly developed into an argument, particularly in intellectual circles, which criticized the authorities for using colonial methods by introducing a two-tier education system: technical education for the most disadvantaged classes and high-level education accessible only to the children of the ruling class. Furthermore, the technical education provided at the primary stage to improve the abilities of children leaving school has not been shown to be effective.

At present, the 8.4.4 system is the subject of much criticism. Some point to its hasty introduction (schools not having been equipped and teachers not having been trained), others to the poor evaluation of the costs (for schools and for parents), and others to the fact that the curricula are overburdened and the structures are inadequate for the provision of technical education (only 25% of schools are equipped with workshops). For example, in 1990, only 3,000 laboratories had been built out of the 13,000 required in primary schools.[11] Technical education is weakened by the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), which does not test pupils' knowledge in this field.

Furthermore, school fees, reintroduced to enable schools to finance the building and upkeep of workshops, are high and rise every two years. In 1994, the fees underwent their highest increase in secondary schools since 1990, with a rise of around 80% in boarding schools and more than 110% in other schools. In addition, those State schools which have the best results sometimes demand sums that are double or even three times the fees set by the Ministry of Education. The result is that good pupils from poor families cannot enrol in the best schools, and places are thus free for children from wealthy backgrounds who have had poor KCPE results.

Lastly, a 'league table' of examination results by school and by pupil reinforces the competitive spirit. This 'league table' is decisive for the reputation of primary and secondary schools and, above all, for the pupils, who are selected according to their position and the places available. Officially, 43.9% of pupils who left primary school in 1993 after sitting the KCPE were admitted to a secondary school, but some of them did not have the necessary resources to continue with secondary education and dropped out during the year. Others still had the hope of going to university one day. Fifty-six per cent of those not admitted to the secondary stage are, if all goes well, directed to vocational training schools.

Education and vocational training

Despite the efforts of the authorities to encourage technical education, vocational training centres cater to only a small percentage of children at school.

TABLE 2: Enrolments in general education

Primary schools	5,389,000
Secondary schools	641,000
Subtotal	6,030,000
Training centres for primary-school teachers	15,000
Training centres for secondary-school teachers	4,500
University	23,400
Total	6,072,000

TABLE 3: Enrolments in vocational training schools

Youth polytechnics	40,000
Technical training institutes	8,500
Institutes of technology	4,600
National vocational training centres	1,000
National polytechnics	5,700
National youth service	3,000
Total	62,800

Source: Republic of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1991

Vocational education in Kenya, seen as a part of official education, is given in institutions that have structured curricula and timetables leading to certification. In 1992, there were 2,000 institutions in the country, catering for just over 1% of the school population.

Many surveys carried out among the pupils attending vocational training centres have shown that technical education does not systematically guarantee employment.[12] Stress must be laid on a number of interesting conclusions. Vocational training schools attract pupils with a good educational record whose parents have had little education but have the means to pay school fees. The technical skills acquired lead to employment for only a tiny minority. Good examination results hardly seem to be an advantage in looking for a job that corresponds to one's training; the family circle and social contacts do constitute a major asset for access to training centres and providing a link with the employment market. For some years now, vocational training centres have been under fire because of their high operating costs, the

small number of places they offer and their ineffectiveness in preparing young people to find work.

Raising the status of apprenticeships in the craft sector

Job opportunities in the economy do not ensure that young people will find employment, but some research has pointed to other ways of earning an income. The ILO report gave considerable prominence to craft activities, which enrolled many young people through the apprenticeship system. Since the publication of this report, there have been a host of studies on informal activities, which have helped to throw light on how a qualified labour force is reproduced outside the structures of education. In Kenya, Kenneth King has done research on various ways of acquiring productive techniques.[13] Apprenticeship, he maintains, was not inherited from the traditional ways of passing on knowledge and techniques, but was introduced by the Indian communities who settled in urban areas after building the railway at the beginning of the century. On rising to managerial level, the Indians entrusted the role of producer to the Africans whom they trained and who, in turn, passed on their knowledge when they set up on their own. Kenneth King carried out his research on self-employed craftsmen and has opened up a field of study now being examined by other researchers. The information gathered from this research shows, as King had emphasized, that craftsmen learn their trade on the job. According to a survey carried out in Nairobi, 71% of those in business acquired their skills during apprenticeship in a workshop and only 11% went to a technical training institution.[14] Unlike many African countries south of the Sahara, Kenya has never been openly hostile to the informal activities known as *Jua Kali.*[15] Observers (researchers and funding agencies) are always attracted by the apprenticeship system and concentrate their activities on *Jua Kali,* which represent the future employment of 45,000 to 90,000 young people each year.[16]

The development of the craft sector, associated with the decrease in wage-earning jobs, has led to the status of informal activities and apprenticeship being raised, with the support of international organizations. Kenya's leaders have therefore directed their economic policy towards small productive units through structures to provide support to craftsmen. These structures come under the guidance of the new Ministry of Technical Training and Applied Technology (MITTAT), set up in 1988. The role of MITTAT is to make recommendations on vocational and technical education and to identify the things that hinder the development of the craft sector. The construction of covered premises, the promotion of products made by craftsmen, and access to bank credit are some of the aspects of the government's policy for improving the *Jua Kali* infrastructure.

Limits of the educational reform

The 8.4.4 system is designed to give some technical knowledge to pupils who will subsequently be trained through the *Jua Kali* with a view to acquiring their own

workshop one day. The 8.4.4 reform was largely dictated by the small number of jobs being generated by the economy in contrast to the growing number of young people arriving on the labour market. It shows that education has become a mere appendage of the labour market and that reservations are automatically expressed about it whenever anyone thinks they see any shortcomings.[17] Preparing young people for self-employment is a new version of human resource management and, *mutatis mutandis,* a readjustment of the human capital theory.[18] Now, no study has shown that young people turn to apprenticeship and self-employment by choice. On the contrary, entering the craft sector is not perceived as social advancement and pupils do not consider *Jua Kali* as an ideal form of employment. In Nairobi, for example, workshops are occupying more and more ground, but very few young people who have been educated in the capital enter into an apprenticeship with a craftsman. The great majority of apprentices come from the provinces and join the craft sector in order to learn skills that will give them a trade to exercise so that they can earn a small amount of money to live on. For these people, academic disappointments are offset by urban life which makes it possible more surely to narrow the gap between their hopes and reality.

These details show that changes to the education system cannot guarantee that any socio-educational path will produce people with skills already adapted to the economic structures. They also show that this calls for questions to be asked about the consequences of promoting craft activities, and this requires research into the position and social status of craftsmen in society.

Conclusion

Decisions taken without reference to detailed research on the interaction between the school and its social environment deny the fact that the education system is more a reflection of the crisis than its cause. In addition, the division in the social fabric caused by socio-economic inequalities is accentuating the dysfunctions of the education system, which is seen as responsible for the difficulties encountered by young people looking for paid employment. The changes that the authorities are making to the system aim to regulate and correct the functioning of the markets from which actual remuneration as well as the rewards of status derive. This type of action is a way by which the authorities can demonstrate that they are not unconcerned by inequalities and is also a way of winning popular support for the social contract.

Changes in formal education thus depend both on the history of individual relationships and on the ideology by which they are inspired. The historical development of the education system in Kenya shows that changes sometimes lead to pernicious effects and that the failure of the human capital theory has not led to a change in the view of education. If the objective of the 8.4.4 reform is to adapt the education system to changes in society, it will be difficult for it to reduce the social demand for an improvement in the standard of education.

Notes

1. *Report of the Presidential Working Party on Education and Manpower Training for the next decade and beyond,* J.K. Kamunge, ed., Republic of Kenya, March 1988.
2. *Harambee* is a Swahili word that can be translated as 'joining forces'.
3. YMCA: the Young Men's Christian Association; YWCA: the Young Women's Christian Association.
4. Daniel S. Sifuna, *Development of education in Africa; the Kenyan experience,* Nairobi, Initiatives Publishers, 1990.
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13. Kenneth King, *The African artisan: education and the informal sector in Kenya,* London, Heinemann, 1977.
14. A.A. Aboagye, *Informal sector in Kenya: a survey of informal sector in Nairobi, Kisumu and Mombasa.* Geneva, JASPA, ILO, 1986.
15. *Jua Kali* is a Swahili expression that literally means 'under the burning sun' used to designate small units producing goods and services.
16. M. Walsh, *Education, training and the informal sector in Kenya,* Geneva, International Labour Office, January 1992. (Discussion paper, no. 33.)
17. P. Easton and S. Klees, Education and the economy: considering alternative perspectives, *Prospects* (Paris, UNESCO), vol. XX, no. 4, 1990.
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