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Notice to Contributors

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EDITORIAL

During the first week of June, 1995, the Comparative and International Education Society of Canada held its annual meeting in Montreal. A new executive board has been elected with Eva T. Krugly-Smolska at the helm. A new editor team for the Canadian International Education Journal is also being formed, and the Journal will be again heading West in the near future. Changes come but the Journal's mandate remains the same as one of the main tool serving the comparative education populace.

Toward this goal, the present issue assembles authors of different origins and subjects regarding various parts of the world. G. Dei stresses the importance of African Studies in and to the Canadian public school system and discusses the challenges facing teachers and educators. Exploring the linkages between the diverse concerns of Continental Africa and Africans in the Diaspora, he proposes some necessary changes to improve African Studies within the existing Canadian education structures.

T. W. Mouat, E. Choldin and M. Zachariah investigate the critiques of global education put forward by certain Christian fundamentalists and caution about the possible effect of the fundamentalist criticisms which are narrowing only on the transformative perspective.

J. O. Mankoe continues D.T. Gamage's article in the last issue and suggests that from the many attempts in Ghana, ensuring grassroots participation seems to be the most effective solution to improve the education system. But this must be supported by the top administrators' willingness to divest power.

S. Majhanovich with L. Majhanovich review recent trends in migration in Europe and the accompanying problems in education placed upon the host countries. Part of these problems may be resolved by applying some examples from Canada, a nation with much experience in the schooling of immigrant children and adults.

R.P. Asagwara points out a classic case of welfare politics using the example of the Nigerian education policy between 1966 and 1976. Success achieved by the military rulers benefitted the political leadership more than the population and the political community.

In the book reviews, R.P. Coulter finds a thorough research with a readable prose to expecting mothers in K. Arnup's *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada*. B.D. Tennyson finds reinforcement of Asagwara's article in Bacchus's *Education As and For Legitimacy*, this time in the West Indian setting. In L. Rooyen & N. Louw's *Sexuality Education, a Guide for Educators* D. K. Sharpes sees a good framework in which parents and educators can work together to build understanding about sexuality education.

ÉDITORIAL

A la réunion annuelle qui a lieu à Montréal pendant la première semaine de juin 1995, la Société d'Éducation Comparée et Internationale du Canada a élu un nouveau conseil de directeurs, sous la présidence de Eva T. Krugly-Smolska. Une nouvelle équipe de rédacteur pour la revue *Éducation Canadienne et Internationale* est en train de se former et le siège de la rédaction repartira dans un proche avenir vers l'Ouest. Ces changements sont dans l'ordre naturel des choses, mais le principal c'est que la revue continuera toujours à servir le monde de l'éducation comparée.

Dans ce but, ce numéro a réuni des articles d'auteurs de différentes origines et de sujets concernant plusieurs pays. G. Dei renforce l'importance des études africaines dans le système d'éducation publique du Canada et traite des problèmes que doivent surmonter nos enseignants. En explorant les liens entre les soucis divers du continent africain et les Africains disséminés de par le vaste monde, il suggère des changements nécessaires aux structures d'éducation présentes du Canada.

T. W. Mouat, E. Choldin et M. Zachariah essayent d'évaluer les critiques des fondamentalistes chrétiens sur l'éducation globale. Ils sonnent l'avertissement des effets que pourront engendrer de ces critiques qui s'obstinent sur le seul point de l'évolution transformatrice.

J. O. Mankoe continue les discussions que D.T. Gamage a soulevé dans le dernier numéro. Des exemples du Ghana, il suggère que la participation complète de la population donne la solution la plus efficace pour améliorer le système d'éducation nationale. Mais cette participation doit être accompagnée par le désir sincère de partager le pouvoir chez les chefs au plus niveau de l'administration.

S. Majhanovich avec L. Majhanovich vérifient les tendances récentes de la migration en Europe et les problèmes qui s'en suivent pour les pays accueillants, au point de vue de l'éducation. Une partie de la solution pourrait se trouver dans les exemples du Canada, un pays qui a gagné une expérience assez grande dans la formation des immigrants, enfants et adultes.

R.P. Asagwara montre un cas classique de politique providentielle dans le système d'éducation du Nigéria entre 1966 et 1976. Les succès obtenu par les dirigeants militaires ont servi leur cause plus que l'intérêt de la masse populaire et des communautés politiques.

Dans les recensions R.P. Coulter trouve un travail de recherche hors pair rédigé dans un style simple dans le livre de K. Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada*. B.D. Tennyson retrouve les mêmes soucis d'Asagwara dans le livre de Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, cette fois dans les Antilles. Dans l'oeuvre de L. Rooyen et de N. Louw, *Sexuality Education, a Guide for Educators* D. K. Sharpes entrevoit un fondement solide sur lequel parents et enseignants pourraient travailler ensemble au sujet de l'éducation sexuelle dans les écoles.

(RE)CONCEPTUALIZING BLACK STUDIES IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS

George J. Sefa Dei
Department of Sociology
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

The paper discusses the importance of African Studies in the Canadian public school system and the challenges facing teachers and educators. In recent years, the concern about issues of race, identity, and representation in education has added some impetus to the call from African-Canadian students, educators, parents, and community groups for the development of African Studies in the schools. This paper explores the significance of developing African Studies in the public schools, making linkages between the diverse concerns of Continental Africa and Africans in the Diaspora. In the discussion, the author makes reference to some personal challenges which have to be encountered in the pursuit of African-centred education. The discussion is situated in the need to transform the existing structures, within which learning, teaching, and administration of education take place in Canadian schools.

Cet article traite de l'importance des études sur l'Afrique dans le système d'éducation publique au Canada et le défi que doivent faire face les instituteurs, les professeurs et les éducateurs. Dans les dernières années, l'intérêt porté aux questions de race, d'identité et de représentation dans le domaine de l'éducation a renforcé l'impulsion des étudiants, éducateurs, parents et groupes communautaires afro-canadiens, vers le développement des études sur l'Afrique dans les écoles. Cet article explore la portée de ce développement des études sur l'Afrique dans les écoles publiques en faisant ressortir les liens d'intérêts entre le continent africain et la diaspora africaine. Dans cette exploration, l'auteur réfère à quelques défis personnels que l'on rencontrera dans la poursuite d'une éducation centrée sur l'Afrique. L'article se place dans la nécessité de transformer les structures existantes où se trouvent la formation, l'enseignement et l'administration de l'éducation dans les écoles canadiennes.

INTRODUCTION

> "I only know about Canadian history, which is White history. I did not learn anything about Black people. And then, probably in the past two years, I would say we have improved in our geography, but we don't really learn about the cultural background, we just learned about the.... not even the people, but just the city or the country. Basics, nothing deep. Is it tough? I mean, I would like to know more about my history, yes. A lot more. I think I need to know a lot more than I know." (November 15, 1992).

The above is a transcript of a taped interview with Michael, a nineteen-year-old general-level student, who came to Canada from Jamaica nearly nine years ago. He was responding to a question about the school curriculum. Since May 1992, with the assistance of graduate students, I have been examining African-Canadian youth experiences in the inner city public school system, focusing on the issues of student engagement and disengagement from school.1 More than 200 high school students, including two dozen 'dropouts,' have been interviewed, both individually and in focus groups, about their school experiences and for their views and perceptions on the 'dropout' problem. The three-year project has been exploring how the school and home experiences of these students may inform our understanding of the 'dropout' dilemma. Teachers, school administrators, parent and community groups, and a small sample of non-Black/African students have also been interviewed as part of the research project. Research data reflect the influence of race/ethnicity, class, gender, and school culture on fading out of school. The complex personal stories of Black youths show how the dynamics of social difference shape the processes and experiences of public schooling (see Dei 1993a, b).

The narratives of African-Canadian students suggest that they would like their schools to reflect the communities in which they live. They do not want the schools to ghettoize African and Black experiences, rather than main-streaming such experiences in the official curriculum. Students would like the schools to teach about their ancestral histories and cultural heritages. Students are engaged in a constant struggle to maintain their individual selves and group cultural identities. They attribute the struggle to a very narrow school curriculum which, historically, has minimized their cultural and ancestral backgrounds, and the contributions of peoples of African descent to Canadian society and to world civilization.

Marlo, a participant in a provincial summer jobs program at the time he was interviewed, echoes Michael's frustrations with the deprivileging of African peoples' history and contributions to society throughout his public schooling. From him, one also learns how the official school curriculum can be very

disempowering to the minority student, leading to the point of being disengaged from the classroom.

> "...when I was going to school the teachers focused on European history, European this ... Alexander Graham Bell discovered this and when you sit in a classroom full of 12 White people and all you hear is White this, White that, you think, so what am I here for. Right? A lot of times you think it's a lot of shit you know, a lot of bullshit so you don't find it that interesting - you just sit down and you ok Alexander this and George Washington this but at the same time the teacher could always say well this came from the Caribbean and this came from Africa....." (June 8, 1992)

Generally, African-Canadian youth are critical in their reflections on the school system, particularly the fact that not all world experiences are represented in classroom discourses and texts. The youth talk about the fact that classroom discourses only occasionally speak to their lived experiences, the fact of being Black, a Black woman, poor or any form of minority living in Canadian society. Students interviewed so far want to see more Black and other minority teachers in the school system. Even for the few students who are quick to add that having Black teachers would not necessarily make a major difference, they feel it is important to have a teacher who has the interests of all students at heart and who would encourage them to do well at school. While many students see the Black teacher as an important role model, others like Mary, who was born in Montreal, speak about the likelihood of the teacher having a social perspective they can identify with:

> "Maybe the student will relate to the teacher better, because maybe they are from the same background or they [inaudible]. I find if I had a teacher who was Black and it was easier for me to talk to her, because my other teacher I couldn't do it....I guess it makes a lot of difference, like, especially if you have a counsellor come from your own country, religion and everything, it's good, because they, like, if it's like a White counsellor and a Black kid, the White counsellor is going to try to put himself in the kid's place, but it's impossible, she's not Black. If you have a Black teacher, it's more easier for her -- a Black counsellor, it's more easier for her to put her in her kid, in her situation and try to solve it and give me some ideas as related to us..." (July 30, 1992).

Brenda, a Grade 12 student activist, in the advanced program, carefully expands on the difference it would make to her to have a Black teacher:

"...I think if my teachers aren't Black I mean - I can even take it so far...I've never had a Black teacher and I've been able to make it. But I think it would really help, on perhaps not the educational level, because I'm sure that a person who is White or a person who is Black I mean they are both able to learn the same amount and teach the same amount to students and they can both teach very well or whatever. But I think just having someone who's Black up there who can share like some of my experiences with me. Like a lot of White teachers I don't think I would be able to share more personal things like you know, oh if I have a trip, my family's from Guyana, so I went down to Guyana and you know came back and started talking about all the things that I did down there, I think a Black teacher would more understand than a White teacher, depending on, you know, where the Black person is from also....(February 5, 1993)

I have provided these students' narratives as a backdrop to discussing the problems and challenges of African Studies in the Canadian public school system. My concern in this paper is with the pursuit of African Studies in Canadian public schools and how, as educators, we can assist in sustaining scholarship which will empower, particularly, (but not exclusively) students of African descent to have a greater knowledge of themselves and increase their self-worth. By African Studies, I refer to scholarship dealing with the histories, cultures, knowledges and epistemologies of peoples of African descent, from a perspective grounded in indigenous ways of knowing and dealing with the social and natural worlds. While I focus on African Studies, I do not negate or devalue the relevance of, and necessity for, other studies (e.g., Asian, European or Native Education). In fact, as I have argued elsewhere (Dei, 1994a), I see it more as a challenge for educators to grapple with the same issues for other studies, which the promotion of African Studies entails. The goal of an inclusive education means educators must find ways to incorporate different ways of knowing in the education of Canadian children.

The Political and Academic Challenge of African Studies and Research:

My political and intellectual project here is specifically to use knowledge of Continental Africa as a starting point for a discussion about making schooling and education in Canada more inclusive of the varied experiences, ideas, events, knowledges that have shaped human growth and development. In effect, my interest here is to use knowledge of Africa and African peoples as a launching pad to articulate and foster a project of Canadian education rooted in some of the values and epistemologies of African peoples (see Dei, 1994b).

The problems and challenges confronting anyone committed to developing African Studies in Canadian schools are many: e.g., relevance of African Studies

programs, sustaining student interest in African affairs and Black issues, and the availability of resource materials, particularly in the current atmosphere of reduced funding for education in Canada. There is also the issue of having teachers in the school system who are of African heritage. This is extremely important in sending a positive message to the youth. While being Black does not necessarily make an educator a role model for Black students, there is undeniable pressure for a Black educator to be a source of educational inspiration to Black youths, particularly, in a school system with so few Black teachers.

Canadian educators, sympathetic to issues about Africa, also now (more so than ever before) have to spend their energies responding to often misguided assertions that contemporary Africa is as politically irrelevant to the rest of the world as it is economically. At a parallel level, there is the emerging penetrating critique of totalizing discourses about a homogenous 'Africa' and the intellectual questioning of what 'Blackness' or 'Africanness' means. West (1991) has pointed to the 'new cultural politics of difference,' with its emphasis on the importance and contributions of diversity, multiplicity and heterogeneity of ideas, while rejecting the homogenous and monolithic. Admittedly, existing variations in African histories and cultures raise credible questions as to whose histories and cultures do we teach in the schools.

However, these concerns must be seen in the context that, in the Canadian (and for that matter in the Euro-American) scene, the rise in the self-consciousness, and cultural and racial pride of peoples of African descent has been accompanied by a resurgence in the demand for African Studies as an important component in the schools' curricula and pedagogies. The recognition of differences among the African-Canadian population along gender, racial, ethnic and class lines does not, in itself, negate the value and importance of teaching African Studies in the schools. The terms 'African' and 'Black' have important social and political meanings. It behooves educators and the schools to interrogate what 'African' and 'Black' mean in the Canadian context.

The fundamental issue is to interrogate the role of African Studies and research in Canadian schools in a contemporary epoch, one which is remarkably different in its celebration of cultural fragmentation and pluralism, as against "....the universalizing, homogenizing effects of rationality and scientism" (Lash and Urry, 1987:4; Smith, 1991:7). My concern with African Studies goes well beyond questions of how many programs or centres of African/Black Studies should exist in Canadian schools, and who should be teaching or running these programs. In talking about African Studies and research, the focus is on the study and research of phenomena, grounded in the perspectives of African peoples. I am talking about a project of intellectual decolonization, by which I mean educators staking out a position on Africa and examining African issues and concerns outside the identity which has been, and continues to be, constructed in Western ideology

(see Muteshi, 1991). I am talking about schooling and education in Canada that seeks to resurrect the subjugated knowledge and viewpoints of our minority students. For example, I contend that, through the focus on African peoples' perspectives, schools could be provided with a body of knowledge to assist in empowering students, to interrogate the role of education in Canadian society, to help in transforming existing social inequities and injustices, and to promote positive African values in our youth.

A strong commitment to African Studies in Canada is essential today, given the long history of Euro-American dominance of what constitutes valid knowledge, and how such knowledge should be produced and disseminated internally and internationally, as well as the historical distortion and misappropriation of African peoples' lives and experiences. The push for African Studies in Canadian schools is, therefore, situated in the feminist and postmodernist calls for the introduction, validation, and interrogation of 'other' voices and ways of knowing, in order to provide a more complete account of the history of ideas and events that have shaped human growth and development.

Teaching African Studies in Canadian public schools would necessitate a paradigm shift, in the sense of developing an alternative non-hegemonic way of knowing, informed by all peoples' histories and experiences. Speaking from my vantage point as an African-Canadian educator, I call on Canadian educators to engage in a critical investigation of African issues from a perspective grounded in African epistemological constructs. Educators, writing on Africa and teaching about African experiences in Canada, are urged to centre their analysis and perceptions from the groundness of African values and subjectivities (Henry, 1991). As Asante (1991) and others have argued, this is the most effective way to 'move' or 'bring' peoples of African descent from the margins to the centre of post-modern history. For Euro-Canadian educators, the challenge is to allow the African youth to see, understand and interpret the world from their own eyes, rather than that of the European. This means that they must critique the ideas and practices within the schools and the wider society that establish, promote and perpetuate White hegemony over African and non-White peoples.

But perhaps much more importantly, the challenge of developing African Studies in Canadian schools is for the educator to make the necessary connections between the diverse concerns of Continental Africans and those of the Diaspora, in a way that allows African Studies in Canadian schools to deal with issues concerning race and other forms of social oppression. For example, teaching about African Studies in Canadian schools would encompass the examination of the contradictions lived out in the situation of being Black and African in a White-dominated, hetero-patriarchal society. (Henry, 1991; Steady, 1990:26-41; Butler, 1981).

The education of the human mind in a manner that recognizes the variety of human experiences and the achievements of all peoples is a goal that an inclusive school curriculum should strive for. In order to develop an inclusive school environment, where there is room to promote African Studies, educators should start by problematizing how we get to know and what is counted as valid knowledge. Within the Canadian context, the call for diverse and alternative perspectives, emanating from African-Canadian educators, students, parents and community groups, is partly informed by the realization that the Euro-American school system has not succeeded in educating the African-Canadian child. This is evident by the fact that a large number of the youth lack a sense of connectedness and identification with their schools (Dei, 1993a). As already pointed out, individual and group narratives of African-Canadian youths show a deep concern about the neglect of their experiences, culture and history in the official and hidden school curriculum. African-Canadian youths complain that the schools rarely teach about the African experience in Canada (see also Dei, 1993a; b).

Certain questions have to be asked about educational texts on Africa and African peoples, and the messages being conveyed by the texts and instructors in the schools. For example, how can Canadian schools introduce African Studies as part of a broader strategy of developing an inclusive school environment? How can African Studies be instituted in the schools to facilitate and enhance the development of a counter-hegemonic knowledge? How much about Africa and the achievements and contributions of peoples of African descent is taught in the schools? Do the schools teach about African peoples' histories and cultures in their own right? And, given current economic constraints, how much are Canadian educators and researchers on African issues actively engaged in the creation of analytical systems, based on indigenous African concepts and their interrelationships?

One of the challenges of developing African Studies in Canadian schools lies in the area of curriculum reform and development. Educators should be aware of the critical role of teaching materials in effective learning, and work for a comprehensive curriculum reform at all levels of the school system. The objective should be to ensure that education serves the needs of local peoples by addressing issues of social justice, rather than perpetuating social inequities by glossing over the implications of the dynamics of social difference.

The challenge for developing an inclusive curriculum requires that we address issues of educational equity and ensure that the educational representation, in terms of human and material resources, reflects the diversity of Canadian society. An inclusive curriculum requires that subject matters dealing with peoples of African descent be discussed from the African perspective. It also requires that, as educators of diverse student bodies, our pedagogies and classroom discourses

integrate the issues of social difference and discuss the implications, in terms of the racial, ethnic, gender, sexual, and class positionalities in society.

Curriculum reform should involve the entire spectrum of planned school experiences that influence African students' sense of identification and connectedness to the school system. It should include making changes to the "....stipulated practices and procedures" that govern the delivery of education, as well as the "...unwritten practices that influence student activities, behaviours, perceptions and outcomes" (Mukherjee and Thomas, n.d.: 7). With regards to teaching guides and the use of resource materials, an attempt should be made to have materials on African peoples' contributions to, and achievements in, Canada available and easily accessible to students, as well as the teaching staff. Educators should be knowledgeable about how to use these materials to discuss structural inequities in society. Educators should also be aware of the dangers of privileging and hierarchalizing issues of race, particularly in the discussion of the African experience in Canada, while overlooking the embedded inequalities which flow from class, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexuality, religious and language disparities.

Concerns about cultural pluralism should be matched with serious attempts to address the fundamental questions of structural pluralism in the schools. As McCarthy (1990) pointed out, schools should be seen as "...sites of power and contestation in which differential interests, resources and capacities determine the manoeuvrability of competing racial groups and the possibility and pace of change" (p. 56). What this means is that, to address concerns about the alienation of African and other minority students and their lack of identification with the school system, there have to be structural changes at the level of power relations in the schools. The promotion of African Studies in the schools would be enhanced by the recruitment of African-Canadian teachers and staff. Arguably, being Black or African does not necessarily make the educator an authority on Black or African culture and history. But educators, like students, do not come to school as 'disembodied' persons. Our racial, ethnic, class and gender identities implicate our ways of knowing and understanding society. The realization of this fact is significant if Canadian schools are to succeed in the search and development of alternative knowledge or educational perspectives. It is important that African-Canadian teachers be placed in positions where they can influence the politics of schooling and also assist students and other educators in conceptualizing African Studies as an alternative way of knowing.

Conceptualizing and Teaching African Studies as an Alternative Way of Knowing:

As already pointed out, the pursuit of African Studies in Canada involves more than the institution of courses on the African experience in Canada. The pursuit of African Studies should include a rupturing of hegemonic ways of

knowing in the schools. Schools should make room for oppositional discourses. Schools should nurture a multiplicity of perspectives in the education of the youth. It is in this context that I see the relevance of African ways of knowing in Canadian schools. The question then is, "Which ideas and principles that organize traditional African societies are relevant in the education of Canadian youth?"

While I recognize the ethnic and cultural diversity of African peoples, I hold the view that beyond such diversity lie some common themes (see Dei, 1993c; 1994b). I also acknowledge that the broad themes underlying African epistemological constructs can be found in diverse or variant forms among indigenous peoples of the world. But the important point to note is that traditional African cultures have never claimed ownership of ideas or knowledge. I recognize too that traditional African epistemologies contain sources and spaces of cultural disempowerment for certain groups in society, for example, women and ethnic/cultural minorities. But tradition is not frozen in time and space. Tradition informs modernity and therefore tradition itself is inescapable. We look to the past and make connections to the present.

As educators, it is our responsibility to critically interrogate the past of our societies and reclaim educationally relevant aspects for their sources of social empowerment for our students. In the context of promoting African Studies in Canada, I believe we can do this without necessarily romanticizing or over-mythicizing the African past and its contributions to world development and the advancement of knowledge. The call for a renewal and a revitalization of indigenous knowledges and traditions for social development begins with a process of reclamation, bearing in mind that what is to be reclaimed is not a fossilized past.

A study of the cultural traditions of African peoples, their values, belief systems, and world views reveals an emphasis on ideas of community membership, social responsibility, social cohesiveness and the commonality of all peoples. African knowledge systems stress the fact that all humans are learners of the social and natural world, and that social learning has to be personalized in order to develop the intuitive and analytical aspects of the human mind. The popular axiom is that one always knows from that which is experienced and lived. Indigenous African knowledge systems also emphasize that knowledge about society is accumulated knowledge, based on observing and experiencing the social and natural worlds. There is no marketplace for ideas in the Eurocentric sense of buying and selling social knowledge. Every knowledge is socially and collectively created through the interactive processes between individuals, groups and the natural world. A basic tenet is that humans are part of the natural world and that we do not stand apart and neither are we above the natural world. Thus, to understand reality is to have a holistic view of reality. The acquisition of

knowledge is a process of interaction between the body, mind and the human spirit. The action of thought itself is a causal factor in social action.

The African humanness, as a value system, speaks to the importance of relating to, rather than mastery over nature and the environment. This humanness stresses points of conciliation, rather than presenting the universe as a world to be studied and dominated. It is recognized that our social and natural worlds are full of uncertainties. There is no certainty in any knowledge. Every way of knowing is clouded by some doubt about our world. Humans, therefore, do not need to attempt to explain everything about the world. Learning and daily human survival go hand in hand. It should be inculcated in every youth that the concept of the individual only makes sense in relation to the community of which she or he is part, and that the collective spirit is stronger than the individual mind.

Implications for Educating Canadian Youth:

I believe these ideas and principles of African knowledge systems can be incorporated in the Canadian school system to contribute to the education of the youth. The question is, how can these principles empower Canadian youths to interrogate the role of education in transforming society? At both theoretical and practical levels, Canadian educators can examine what the critical interrogation of Africa's past, culture, and traditions has to offer the rest of humanity in general, and peoples of African descent in particular. As well as teaching these ideals and principles, the institution of African Studies in the public schools could provide space for students and researchers to acquire the cultural and intellectual capital and political commitment to critically interrogate the structures within which the delivery of education takes place in Canada.

In recent years some African-Canadian educators, parents and community workers have called for the use of African-centred pedagogical strategies in the education of African youth (Board of Education, 1988: 148-149; Brathwaite 1989; Henry 1991; Calliste 1994). Teaching African-centred education as non-hegemonic knowledge can contribute to on-going anti-racist work in the schools by aiming to develop African youths' sense of connectedness to, and identification with, the school. African-centred pedagogy could foster a state of independence and self-reliance on the part of the youth. It could focus on developing the human spirit and individual and group identities of our students. By teaching the values of human co-existence with nature, group unity, mutuality, collective work and responsibility, the student would be able to perceive the interest of his or her social group as more important than the individual self-interest (see also Oliver 1986: 29). This is essential if we are to build a community atmosphere in the schools where there is mutual respect for all members. Every educator should place emphasis on teaching the youth to learn to live co-operatively with others in society. The goal of academic excellence might be easier to achieve if the task of

education were seen foremost as promoting the social and emotional growth of students.

Teaching African Studies means placing the idea of community and social responsibility at the centre of Canadian schooling. It also means that the task of educating the youth transcends beyond the school to the community. It means breaking the false separation between the school and the community. It also means instilling in students the knowledge that, while individual rights are significant, meeting one's social responsibilities is fundamentally important. Emphasizing the notion of collective responsibility in the education of the youth calls for making the necessary interconnections between groups and individuals, and also subordinating individual interests and wishes in favour of the common good.

Arguably, critical learning through oppositional discourses like African-centred pedagogy can be pursued in our schools to challenge Eurocentric knowledge as the only legitimate way of knowing about our world. Through the pursuit of African-centred pedagogy as an anti-racist educational strategy, Canadian schools can help African-Canadian youths, particularly, reinvent their Africanness within a Diasporic context, and create a way of being and thinking that is congruent with positive African traditions and values.

Transformative learning is only possible if students are provided opportunities to learn about the values, beliefs and traditions of their various community cultures. Through such education, students will be able to strengthen their social and psychological well-being as individuals. Alternative pedagogies, like African-centred education, which emphasize moral and holistic learning, could teach students to associate themselves spiritually with their culture, language and community. Students would be connected to a spiritual and moral foundation in the process of learning, which would cultivate a sense of self-esteem and also respect for others.

Our students need new and alternative learning styles to help them understand and affirm their 'home and community cultures,' and to draw on the interconnections between other cultures. Alternative pedagogies, like Aboriginal, Asian and African-centred education, can be promoted to emphasize the rich and diverse historicities of the various constituents of the school body. The acquisition of such alternative forms of education would be a source of knowledge and power to the various stakeholders in the school system, and could assist particularly in the struggle to transform the mainstream culture of our schools to address the ".... experiences, histories, struggles, and victories....(as well as)...voices, visions and perspectives..." of marginalized groups (Banks, 1992: 33).

It has been argued that the ideology of public schooling represented in official school curricula and academic discourses supports the dominant power relations (see Giroux 1983; Giroux and McLaren 1986; Apple 1989:207), which subjugate and alienate many students in the school system. Arguably, one of the

ultimate goals of transformative education is to make visible those marginal cultures and voices that have traditionally been suppressed in the school system (Giroux 1992:206). Can African-centred knowledge be used as a transformative pedagogy to answer practical questions in minority education and bring about social change? As I have argued elsewhere (Dei 1994), an African-centred discourse is forged in the dialectic of critique of existing practices of exclusion and marginalization in dominant Euro-American schooling, as well as in the possibility for reforming the school system for the transformation of society. To teach African-centred values in the school system is to commit to a pedagogy that is political education, which works towards the transformation of structural conditions that have provided an unequal educational outcome for minority youths.

The ideology of individualism within the Canadian public school system undermines group solidarity and a collective struggle for social justice. If education is to transform society then it should be about making certain that learners and educators work collaboratively and to "...think critically, struggle against social injustices, and develop relations of community, based on the principles of equality, freedom and justice" (Giroux 1992:200). African-centred pedagogy also calls for making a critical linkage with other progressive forms of education (anti-racist, feminist, liberatory pedagogy) as a weapon of liberation, and as counter-knowledge in combatting Euro-American ideological domination in the schools. African-centred education, however, must be more than 'emancipatory' or 'liberatory' pedagogy (Friere and Shor 1987), imbued with self-reflection, critique and social action (Gordon 1990:102; Giroux and McLaren 1986:237; Ellesworth 1989:300).

Writing in a different context, Giroux (1992:200) suggests an educational perspective which would make "...visible the social problems and conditions that affect those students who are at risk in our society, while recognizing that such problems need to be addressed in both pedagogical and political terms, inside and outside the schools." It is in this regard that I believe African-centred education can make a contribution in the struggle for social transformation. For the African youth, African-centred education, as a discursive practice, can offer 'a language of possibility,' (Giroux 1988; Simon 1987, 1988) through which to deconstruct and reclaim, not only new forms of knowledge, "....but also provide new ways of reading history through the reconstruction of suppressed memories that offer identities with which to challenge and contest the very conditions through which history, desire, voice and place are experienced and lived" (Giroux 1992:204). The pursuit of an African-centred education, hopefully, would allow students to become active generators of their own knowledge.

As an intellectual paradigm, African-centred education must focus on addressing structural impediments to education by engaging students to identify with their history, heritage and culture. However, it should be clear to everyone

that designing one education model for all students will ultimately fail, as this would disallow the particular histories of various groups of students. Students are historically placed in vastly different positions through the mechanics of social oppression. Therefore, what ought to be encouraged is the nurturing of an inclusive form of education which recognizes "...the validity of other non-hegemonic perspectives, Asia-centred, America-centred and even Europe-centred, in its non-hegemonic form" (Oyebade 1990:234). Indeed, I believe the cause of African-centred education is properly served by a recognition of the validity of knowledges, centred on the cultures and historical experiences of other subordinated groups in Canadian society.

Situating the call for African-centred pedagogy within an anti-racist education framework raises some personal challenges for me. As an African-Canadian educator, a basic challenge for me, in pursuing anti-racist work, is to present the histories and cultures of African peoples in a positive light, while, at the same time, not idealizing or romanticizing the past. In other words, the challenge is to present the various truths about the past contributions of African peoples to world civilization and, in doing so, not to gloss over some unpleasant aspects of Africa's cultural histories and experiences (e.g., political repression, slavery, gender exploitation, and ethnic conflicts).

Another personal challenge for me has to do with the emerging role and place of subjectivity in the academic discourse on African Studies, and the urgency for educators to define and develop their politics within the academy. I received much of my graduate academic training and education in Canada. I am currently teaching in a Canadian post-secondary institution located in an urban, multi-ethnic geographical setting. I strongly identify with, and relate to, concerns being expressed by other racial minority educators and students about the Eurocentric and hetero-patriarchal nature of Euro-American education. I share feminist, and to some extent, postmodernist calls to introduce, validate, and interrogate different 'voices' and ways of knowing about our world (see also hooks 1988; Collins 1990; Mohanty, et al., 1991; Buck 1991:23). Like some of my colleagues, who are becoming politically conscious, I also realize that I am at a crossroads, in the sense of struggling to operate away from the mainstream, Eurocentric and patriarchal academy. For me, the challenge is to situate my educational politics in the context of the on-going struggles by many scholars to change the Eurocentric nature of Canadian education. In doing so, I have to guard against replacing Eurocentric teaching with another exclusionary pedagogical practice - for example, hetero-patriarchal. I also have to realize that there are other Canadian colleagues who share similar concerns, and that I have to be able to link up and work with them on a common front.

I agree with Henry (1991) that in teaching one cannot, and should not, step outside of his or her "cultural and historical memory" in dealing with

students. I have to relate to past historical and subjective experiences, not in a nostalgic or romantic manner, but in the spirit of informed and experiential knowledge. The problem, though, is that minority scholars have to legitimize such subjective experiences in order for these to be credible to students. At issue here is the intellectual validity of African ways of knowing. To a large extent, this has been a source of uneasiness and scepticism for many White Canadian scholars when faced with discussions about Afrocentric knowledge.

Henry (1991) has posed some pertinent questions. For example, she has asked: what does it mean to be a teacher of African descent in a contemporary Canadian university or institution of higher learning? Personally, it means being a voice of difference. This, in turn, raises another question: what are the challenges of being a voice of difference? To me, being a Canadian educator of African descent means having and pursuing a political agenda and conducting my teaching, research and community involvement as a form of activism, revisionism and alternative pedagogy. As a social anthropologist, I see the urgency to re-write some of the racist and ethnocentric anthropological writings on African peoples by early European scholars.

As an educator, I have to be aware of the obstacles in pursuing an African-centred pedagogy, and the political, communicative and academic limitations to 'empowering' the youth. For example, would the teaching of African Studies in Canadian public schools help students cope with the myriad forms of racism and discrimination that they have to face daily, whether in the schools or within the wider society? As an African-Canadian educator, how do you mobilize, define and develop an African-centred pedagogical and communicative agenda in a way that will be understood as non-exclusionary, non-dogmatic, and reflective of varied human experiences and accounts? Also, paraphrasing West (1991), how can the educator utilize the best that mainstream knowledge offers, through its paradigms, viewpoints and methods, as a basis to critique contemporary society on issues of social justice, and race and gender exploitation?

Arguably, the traditional approach to African Studies in Canadian educational institutions has not always fully articulated the daily realities of African-Canadians to mainstream society. This is because, for the most part, the experiences of peoples of African descent have been objectified, and at times rarefied. There has not been due recognition of the fact that African peoples have culturally constructed ways of reflecting on their daily lives. African-Canadian students, for example, can give their own accounts of what is happening to them, and what they are doing, can do, and intend to do about it.

As one of its objectives, a critical African Studies research agenda could help address local needs and concerns, as determined and defined by African-Canadians themselves. It would reclaim the cultural histories of African peoples and learn from past solutions to basic human problems. It would also recognize

that the sources and uses of data are not apolitical. To conduct African Studies research, therefore, is to develop a sensitivity to the context of data gathering in a way that acknowledges and contributes to the resolution of tensions and needs. It involves creating an academic atmosphere where ideas can be sensitized to environmental demands in a creative, adaptive and productive way. It also involves sensitizing mainstream Canadian educators and researchers to the plight of colleagues who are struggling not to lose their basic individual freedom because of their political activism for social justice, and professional involvement in democratic issues and processes (Lawuyi, 1991).

As one of the strategies for African Studies research, Canadian scholars could assist African-Canadian peoples (in their various communities) develop and maintain their own internal structures of research with the available resources at their disposal, in order to reduce any dependence on 'external' sources. African Studies research could also contribute to a strategy of social development in Canada that would seek to break out of the system of oppression and exploitation of minority groups by the more dominant forces in society. The pursuit of African Studies in Canadian schools could also assist in creating a new, just social order in which every Canadian could fulfil his or her potential. African Studies research could help demystify the myths about African cultures and societies, and help restore the African youth's sense of pride.

Directions for African Studies in the Canadian Context:

At the highest political level, the state must commit material and other logistical support for African Studies research to inform teaching in the schools. There is a need for more in-depth studies of how the current national and global economic restructuring is having an impact on the schooling of African-Canadian youth: specifically, the examination of the impact on schooling for African-Canadian youth, regarding such economic measures as the retrenchment of workers, restraints on wages and government expenditures, reduction of budgetary deficits through cutbacks on social services and transfer payments to schools, school fee increases, privatization of state enterprises and the general rationalization of the public sector economy.

Another research agenda could also be finding ways for African-Canadian parents and community groups to have a more meaningful role in the running of the schools. For example, research should be carried out to examine the appropriate roles of African-Canadian parents and community groups in the on-going attempts to redesign schooling to include learning and other pedagogical styles not typical of the ideas and thoughts of the dominant groups who define the institutional practices of society. The views of African-Canadian students, parents, caregivers and community workers on educational matters should be sought, as

Canadian schools grapple with many of the challenges of an inclusive school environment.

Given the concern for Afrocentric education (Asante 1991, Karenga 1986, Henry 1991), a research focus could also explore what should be included in an African-centred curriculum and how it should be integrated into the schools' overall educational goals in a manner that would benefit all Canadian students. There should be research into appropriate teaching strategies for the incorporation of African-centred knowledge in the schools, in a manner that does not lead to replacing one form of hegemonic knowledge with another. African-centred knowledge should not be pursued in the schools as a reverse form of Eurocentricity. Rather, research should be carried out to find ways of promoting African-centred knowledge alongside other knowledge bases, in the context of Canadian schooling (e.g., Aboriginal, Asian, European Studies).

The issue of student disengagement and fading out of high school has significant implication and relevance for educators who are interested in African-centred perspectives in the schools and in the whole issue of educational equity. It is important that research be directed towards eliciting the views and experiences of the students themselves on the problem of school disengagement, to see if there are other issues involved, of which the schools may not be aware. One research question that can be explored is, how do students define and articulate their sense of connectedness and belonging in the schools.

I will conclude by indicating two other areas that could be pursued as part of the general strategy of developing African Studies research and African-centred pedagogy in Canadian schools. First is working towards a meaningful community involvement and participation in the research projects of educators studying issues affecting the African-Canadian community. Second is the formation of study groups among educators, students, parents and community workers interested in the varied concerns of the African-Canadian community (e.g., education, employment). Linkages with the community can help bridge the gulf of mistrust between researchers and the communities they deal with. Canadian researchers could explore varied ways to involve the African-Canadian community in their projects. Such involvement could go beyond merely asking permission to gain entry into the community to research and publish findings. Educators can provide local peoples with a meaningful role in the designing, implementation and assessment of research projects affecting African-Canadians.

Community workers, parents and caregivers can also play a pivotal role in the education of the youth. Educators should provide space in their classrooms to concretely engage parents and community workers in the process of collaborative teaching and learning in the schools. By promoting community, and particularly parental, involvement in the education of the youth, Canadian educators would be developing a more holistic approach to education. Everyone

who has knowledge to offer should be encouraged to be part of the education process.

The idea of forming study groups among educators, researchers, students and parents to deal with pressing issues affecting the African-Canadian community is one way of ensuring a meaningful partnership between schools and communities. Such study groups could meet regularly in the schools and in the communities to discuss issues of mutual concern, and to strategize how to deal with the broader issues of social justice and educational equity in Canadian schools. Study groups could explore alternative pedagogic and communicative styles and practices which the schools could adopt in the educational process. Study groups could encourage peer tutoring to assist all learners, and also develop strategies to place students at the centre of the learning process. Hopefully, some of the issues raised in this paper can be tackled while we await the institutionalization of specific programs in African/Black Studies in the schools.

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NOTE

1. The project has defined African-Canadian youths as Black youths of African descent and who identify themselves as such. Consequently, in this paper I will use 'African' synonymously with 'Black' to refer to all peoples who trace some ancestral affinity to Africa, and who define themselves as such.

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GLOBAL EDUCATION IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS: FORMATIVE INFLUENCES, IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES, AND EMERGING CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALIST CRITIQUES

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Earl Choldin
Mathew Zachariah

This paper investigates the critiques of global education put forward by certain Christian fundamentalists. These critics object to global education on the grounds that it teaches a value system comprising ideological, philosophical and religious beliefs -- a single, transformative, leftist, humanist, "new age" value system -- which they contend is contrary to the Judeo-Christian heritage and hostile to Judeo-Christian thought. In order to provide a context for understanding these criticisms, the formative influences on global education of development, peace, multicultural and environmental education are briefly reprised; a conformist, reformist, transformist typology of the ideological stances taken by global educators is outlined; and the recent history of efforts to promote global education in Canadian schools with the support of the Canadian International Development Agency is described. A comparison of the aims and ideologies of global educators demonstrates that these Christian fundamentalist criticisms are directed toward the transformative perspective. Although these criticisms do not generate much public discussion, they deserve careful scrutiny due to the effect which similar, recent attacks have had in the United States.

Cet article examine les critiques de certains fondamentalistes chrétiens sur l'éducation globale. Ces critiques protestent contre le fait que l'éducation globale enseigne un système de valeur comprenant des croyances idéologiques, philosophiques et religieuses -- un système de valeur du "nouvel âge" singulier, transformiste, humaniste et de gauche -- qu'ils prétendent contraire à l'héritage Judéo-chrétien et hostile aux pensées Judéo-chrétiennes. Pour mieux comprendre le contexte de ces critiques, on redonne brièvement les influences formatives de l'éducation globale sur le développement, la paix, l'éducation multiculturelle et environnementale. On retrace également la typologie conformiste, réformiste, et transformiste de la position idéologique de l'éducation globale; on décrit aussi le développement récent des efforts pour encourager l'éducation globale dans les écoles canadiennes avec le soutien de la *Canadian International Development Agency*. Une comparaison des buts et idéologies des initiateurs de l'éducation globale démontre que les

critiques des fondamentalistes chrétiens sont dirigées contre la perspective transformiste. Quoique ces critiques ne suscitent qu'une participation minimale du public aux débats, il faut les examiner avec rigueur à cause des effets produits par des attaques semblables, récemment entreprises aux États-Unis.

INTRODUCTION

One of the justifications for the comparative study of educational goals, means, processes and systems has been that better and more accurate knowledge of different nations and cultures can build bridges of understanding among people of diverse origins and loyalties. In this sense, global education in schools is applied comparative education. Although global education is, as we shall argue below, many things to many people, the common denominator in global education is its commitment to promote respect for people of all cultures and nations through education. Because much of the funding for programs promoting global education in Canada originates with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), global education has actively promoted greater understanding and respect for countries and for peoples who are mostly in the poorer regions of the southern hemisphere.

Global education has attracted considerable attention since its inception two decades ago. While most of this attention has been supportive, the foundational theories and practices of global education have been criticized by some academics, educators, politicians and fundamentalist Christians.

All of the criticisms, explicitly stated or implied, warrant discussion. While some criticisms that appear invalid to proponents of global education may stem from misunderstanding, other criticisms would indeed be valid from a particular perspective that most proponents of global education would not share. In these instances there is need to explicate the grounds of the criticisms and the responses so that at least the potential to promote genuine dialogue between proponents and opponents is enhanced. But there is a problem. Academic criticisms and defenses of global education constitute a dialogue of sorts which appears in scholarly and professional publications. Political criticisms and responses enter the public domain through news media such as the popular press, as well as through popular periodicals, radio and television. However, Christian fundamentalist critics have not chosen, for the most part, to address their criticisms of global education to either global educators or the general public. Instead, their criticisms are raised during oral discussions and appear in limited circulation fundamentalist newsletters and regional publications, most of which are neither distributed to nor readily available to non-fundamentalists. These

discussions within the fundamentalist community are important, however, as they serve as a spring board for political action to suppress global education.

Objective

The purposes of this paper, therefore, are to review the formative influences on and the ideological strains comprising global education, to present the objections to global education raised by Christian fundamentalist critics, and to explicate the major grounds of differences. In order to keep this article manageable and focused on the objectives mentioned above, we have chosen not to discuss the criticisms raised by academics, non-formal educators or politicians. We have, however, noted these other valuable criticisms in Appendix 1.

Formative Influences on Global Education: A Confluence of Four Streams

Four main streams of educational thought flow into the river of global education. Two of these, development education and peace education, have their modern roots in post World War II reconstruction and the Cold War era of mutually assured nuclear destruction. The other two, multicultural education and environmental education, can be traced in Canada from the mid 1960s.

The following delineation of four movements for societal change is necessarily brief and incomplete because it highlights only a few of the myriad facts that can be assembled to depict their origins and development. The selection is based primarily on two criteria: a focus on Canadian dimensions of what are genuinely international movements and a focus on providing background for some Christian fundamentalist objections. It is also necessary to mention that people of many political and religious persuasions who believe that small or large scale human intervention can initiate processes for constructive change in society have been active in these movements.

Development Education began at a time when industrialized nations were shifting their competitive focus from direct socio-political domination through military confrontation to indirect domination through economic control. With the end of World War II and the advent of the Cold War, the search for allies and the struggle for spheres of influence dominated international politics. Although many non-governmental agencies and many individuals within national and international aid agencies promoted development for moral and compassionate reasons, the development of "less developed nations" was seen by western governments chiefly as a means of ensuring the survival of a world order which they dominated. The major powers used aid to garner the support of developing nations in their cold war struggle. At the same time, business interests acting through international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, as well as their national governments, whose economies were dominated by large corporations, encouraged international development for economic reasons,

since it provided them with inexpensive labour, expanding markets for their products, and access to highly valued raw materials.

Jean Christie (1983) has persuasively argued that the roots of development education in Canada can be traced to ordinary, somewhat idealistic Canadians who returned from work in poorer countries with the conviction that if Canadians were better informed about the great disparity between the rich and poor areas of the world they could be persuaded to become active participants in the construction of a more humane world. Christie identifies four phases in the evolution of development education in Canada. The first phase began in the late 1960s and "involves public information about the Third World. ... This approach makes very little effort to establish the relationship or interdependence between Canadians and the problems of international development. It encourages people to do little other than contribute funds." (p. 17) The second phase began in the early 1970s and attempted "to illustrate a direct relationship between a specific corporate, institutional or government policy or practice, and some development concern. Such efforts are most often directed at changing a specific policy or practice." (p. 17)

As Christie notes: "The advantage of such programs is that they are action-oriented, and permit people to do something tangible about solving a clearly discernible problem, while at the same time learning about the power structures at work in the world." (p. 17) The third phase of development education began in the late 1970s with programs which seek "to establish parallels and point out similarities between underdevelopment as it occurs in a specific Canadian context and some specific Third World situation." (p. 18) The fourth phase involves solidarity work, which "assumes that the forces which oppress Third World people operate also in Canada, and that it is in our own best interest to oppose those forces" (p. 18).

Interestingly, western theories about development have also been undergoing evolutionary change. This change effectively began with the post-war creation of modernization theory. In essence, modernization theory argues that nations which are in the process of developing progress through the same series of stages that the mature ("core") industrial powers passed through during their process of development (Rostow, 1960). One fundamental weakness of this theory is that it largely ignores past and present exploitation of developing nations by developed nations. It does so by arguing that the "stages of development" represent "natural law" and by predicting that the outcome for developing nations will be equality through "mature industrialization." By the mid 1970s this theory and models of development based on it had been largely discredited.

The search for a more realistic and successful model of development led to an intense period of intellectual debate and to a reconceptualization of the structure within which development takes place as well as of the processes which

govern interactions. One such reconceptualization was proposed by Wallerstein (1974), who argues that modernization theory failed because the real system does not comprise independent states nor even an interstate system per se, but rather a global system which he terms the capitalist world-economy. According to Wallerstein this world-system is founded on capitalist economic relations and created by commodity transactions. Wallerstein argues that the system constrains the development potential of each nation; that each nation is further influenced by inherent geographical and material constraints, as well as political, educational, cultural, infrastructural, and other factors unique to that nation; and that the direction of development taken by one nation affects the development possibilities of other nations.

Seen in this light, the use of modernization theory produces development initiatives which are imposed by the industrial powers on the basis of their own historical development, and since these initiatives are ethnocentric they commonly fail. In contrast, Wallerstein's theory suggests that development will be most successful when it is tailored to local needs and to local human and material resources. This, in turn, means that successful development must ask what aid --if any -- is needed, and it means that successful responses must develop within the local context and flow from local wants and needs. According to this theory, such a strategy will succeed, in part, because it empowers individuals and groups to direct change within their cultural and national context.

Viewed from this perspective, development ceases to be a process undergone only by "less developed nations." All nations can be seen to be in the ongoing process of development, although this development may at some times be regressive. Further investigation demonstrates that within even the most developed nations reside such marginalized populations as aboriginals and deskilled immigrants: third worlds within the first world (Zachariah, 1984, p. 66). Moreover, as "development" progresses, marginalization of large population segments can be seen to increase, while the gap between developed and developing areas within and among nations in many cases widens at a continuously accelerating pace.

Thus, the nature of the interconnections within the developing world begins to be recognised as a web of ever greater complexity, intricacy, and immediacy, which forms a global system that transfers wealth to the core. (Wallerstein, 1979 and 1984) Researchers, educators and theorists attracted to this perspective began to argue for an entirely new conceptualization of development and development education. Jean Christie's fourth stage -- solidarity among people who are not part of the economic and political elites -- refers to this reconceptualization.

Within this conceptualization, it is argued, people -- and in the context of this article, students -- need to develop an awareness of global interrelationships

such as exploitation and interdependence. As well, they need to become aware that each individual's perspective is unique and informed by the individual's own experience of environment, culture, religion, etc.. In order to facilitate appropriate development, students need to develop for themselves an awareness and acceptance of difference: they need to learn how to take the perspectives of others. In order to realize the importance of local decision making, they need to learn to make their own decisions, which necessitates a consultative classroom environment in which their views are appropriately valued. This, in turn, will both empower them and teach them the value of empowerment.

Peace Education has a long history in both secular and religious thought. However, the development of chemical, biological and high-explosive weapons of mass destruction, especially thermo-nuclear weapons with the ability to eliminate life on this planet, brought a new urgency to the efforts of peace educators following World War II.

At that time, motivated by the threat of global destruction, peace education developed the theory and practice of conflict resolution. Peace educators reasoned that increased military expenditures create a climate that promotes violence as a solution to international and intra-national as well as interpersonal conflicts. They also argued that governments make authoritative decisions without the consent of the governed, who have the right to peaceful dissent from such decisions and the right to demand justice, basic human rights, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Peace educators realized that the inability of individuals and groups to communicate effectively results in part from an inability to adopt alternative perspectives. Without the ability to take alternative perspectives, individuals are unable to accept and accommodate to individual, cultural, and national differences. Peace educators also realized that producing non-violent solutions to problems requires the development of critical thinking and problem solving abilities which are often omitted from the educational process. Therefore, they sought to introduce these skills to the curriculum.

Multicultural Education received its impetus from the demographic changes in Canadian society due to the significant alteration of immigration policies in the early 1960s. Increased numbers of people immigrating from the southern hemisphere resulted in changed population profiles and greater ethnic complexity. The changes challenged Canadians' perception of their society as one of relative homogeneity. Concurrently, education in basic human rights and later the promulgation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms led to demands by minorities for a recognition of the multicultural nature of Canada. The concept of Anglo/Franco-conformity, so long held by assimilationists in Canada, was challenged by pluralist values that demanded respect for ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity.

Educators who responded to these changes held that social harmony requires students to develop an acceptance of cultural differences and a respect for others different from themselves, and further held that students should be made aware of the potential for strength through diversity which is present when people from a variety of backgrounds work together. Thus, multicultural educators, like development and peace educators, saw the need for significant curricular changes.

Multicultural educators argued too that, at one level, acceptance of and respect for cultural differences is enhanced by an appreciation of the richness offered by another culture's food, dance, music, religion, literature, and the like. At another level, acceptance and respect are promoted by the development of perspective-taking skills, by the realization that there are many perspectives on life and that the different meaning of the same event will appear equally valid from each of these perspectives. Once a respect for alternative perspectives is developed, dialogue based on mutual appreciation can lead to resolutions that are often stronger and more complete when a diversity of perspectives is, sometimes painfully, taken into account.

Environmental Education, of which Rachel Carson's (1962) *Silent Spring* was the harbinger, resulted from a growing awareness among the general population that human activities, especially the production of chemicals, are degrading the eco-system and threatening human existence. Environmental education's development in Canada received strong reinforcement with the founding of the activist group Greenpeace in the late 1960s, when David McTaggart confronted the French over atmospheric nuclear-testing in the South Pacific. Thus, like development, peace, and multicultural education, environmental education originated from the recognition of a serious global problem by a movement which had a non-formal educative dimension.

Because the only requirement for admission into most environmental groups is a concern for the environment, environmentalists include: Christians, who hold that humans are the stewards of God's creation; Gaians, who believe that the earth, the god "gaia", is a living organism which includes all life and gives all life; and those who worship God, however variously conceived, directly through nature, as well as animists, humanists, pantheists, "new age" adherents, and others too numerous to mention. The implications of this diversity will become apparent later.

From these beginnings, environmental education moved into the formal educational setting. Environmental educators realized that the earth is not necessarily composed of isolated environments which are locally or nationally contained, but that the environment is a single, globally-interconnected system. In addition, they believed that students need to develop a global perspective in order to understand and deal with environmental problems, and that students need to link global problems to local initiatives; hence the phrase, "Think globally, act

locally." These educators further reasoned that, since no world body capable of safeguarding the threatened global environment exists, students must empower themselves, within a democratic classroom environment, and through the development of critical thinking and problem solving abilities, to recognise and solve environmental problems by accepting personal responsibility for initiating action at all levels, from local through to international. This understanding by environmental educators, in turn, caused them to seek curriculum changes also often sought by development, peace, and multicultural educators.

The four movements which have influenced the development of global education have helped give it a broad, and some critics argue, diffuse mission and mandate.

Government Initiatives

In Canada, international development has always been a federal responsibility, with active participation of some provinces. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was created in 1968, built on and intended to expand earlier small-scale international development initiatives. In 1971, recognising the need to stimulate awareness in the Canadian public of development issues and problems, and the need for increased participation in the development process by non-governmental organizations, CIDA created the Public Participation Program (PPP). This program provides funds to development agencies, churches, community-based development education centres (often called "learner centres"), educational institutions, community groups, cooperatives, unions, and professional associations for the purpose of raising public awareness of and increasing participation in the development process in "less developed nations" in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean basin. "In 1987-88, PPP contributed $11.62 million to more than 350 projects carried out by 160 Canadian groups," says CIDA's 1987-88 Annual Report (pp. 84-5). Most of these were non-formal educational projects such as "Ten Days for World Development," an inter-church organization based in Toronto.

Beginning in 1987 the PPP introduced a global education strategy in collaboration with provincial and territorial teachers' federations and in cooperation with ministries of education. The aim of this strategy was to promote the study of development and "North-South" issues in the school curriculum. The objectives of this strategy were spelled out in several documents. The following excerpt from *Sharing Our Future* (CIDA, 1987) states it well:

> CIDA, in cooperation with the provincial education authorities, will encourage the integration of global development issues into the existing curriculum guidelines. Efforts will also be made to support the in-service and pre-service

> professional development of teachers, to assist them in teaching global issues. ...By encouraging the full participation of the formal educational sector, in conformity with provincial jurisdiction over education, CIDA can help to sensitize young Canadians to global challenges. (p. 81)

By 1992 CIDA sponsored global education projects had been set up in eight provinces and territories. The projects develop and publish teaching materials and present workshops, conferences, and summer institutes to assist teachers in providing their students with a global perspective. The projects liaise with the other development education agencies funded by CIDA through the PPP -- particularly the community outreach development organizations known as "learner centres". They also cooperate with the communication department of CIDA which has published such teaching materials and periodicals as *Under the Same Sun* and *Somewhere Today*.

Global Education

To say that global education and its objectives have evolved out of a synthesis of development education, peace education, multicultural education, and environmental education and that, in Canada, a global education strategy has been consciously incorporated into CIDA's mandate, prepares the basis for appreciating Ploman's statement in *Learning and Development: A Global Perspective*: "Global learning has not and probably should not at this stage be given a restrictive definition but be left open-ended. The concept of global learning represents an emerging confluence of diverse trends in thinking and in practice: it is like an evolving web of ideas and activities." (1986, p. xix) Since global education is an emerging concept, it can best be understood through the positions taken and the activities promoted by its adherents.

The positions taken by various global educators span the political spectrum. However, based upon their different understanding of a global perspective, they can be grouped as conformist, reformist, or transformist.

Conformists are preparing students for the opportunities and challenges posed by the interdependence of the global age. They want students to be able to take advantage of the technologies that bring people and goods together rapidly and economically and they want students to be able to deal with the challenges posed by migration. From their perspective, understanding of global issues is only important in as much as it enhances the ability to operate effectively in the global marketplace. Thus, conformists are supported by the business world as they provide students with skills for international commerce and tourism. These global educators also want to prepare students to deal with the opportunities and challenges of serving and working with immigrants.

Conformists are more interested in Europe, Japan, and the rest of the North than they are in the developing nations of the South. The imbalance of political and economic power resources between the North and South is not an issue of particular concern; however, when addressing it they would teach that the imbalance will be reduced as the nations of the South industrialize and become "modern". Conformists seek to maintain stability by reproducing and extending the social norms of the dominant North. They believe that exposing people in the South to the discipline of the marketplace will eventually assist them, also, to become modern and affluent.

Gary Warner speaks of this group as using "the 'market' or 'corporate' model in which the world is viewed as a global marketplace where nations and institutions compete for markets, ideas and influence. The dominant image is global competition: the favoured term is 'globalization.' The central goal of globalization is the enhancement of the power, status and influence of the state or institution initiating the activities." (1991, p. 4) Those who share this orientation may speak, as did the Calgary Chamber of Commerce, of "internationalizing the curriculum", where "international education in this context [of analyzing global trends] is understood to encompass all activities which improve our ability as a city, province and nation to function successfully on a global basis and in a manner *which enhances our ability to develop and maintain an enviable quality of life in our community.*" (italics and emphasis added) (Memorandum, 1990)

Conformist global education instruction therefore focuses on: (1) area studies, to insure that students understand political, social, and economic institutions around the world; (2) foreign language instruction, to insure that students are able to communicate outside of their homeland; and (3) multicultural education, to develop students' familiarity with other peoples' customs and cultures. Student and teacher exchange and the use of telecommunications are powerful assets to the work of conformist global educators.

Reformists, unlike conformists, are concerned about social justice issues and feel a responsibility to teach about human rights and the environmental and economic problems of the world today. They believe that all people are interdependent -- economically, politically, culturally, environmentally, and ethically; so problems in countries far away do matter to their students. Reformists are concerned about global problems and believe that with proper attention and adequate resources we can solve those problems through the existing institutions and within the existing systems. They believe that we must educate our students to meet their responsibilities as citizens by making sound decisions and periodically expressing those decisions at the polling place.

Since reformists promote a liberal-technocratic ideology, they seek to enhance the marketplace while also seeking to give an enlightened transformative role to the state, in contrast to the conformists' objective of creating capitalism-

based global marketplaces which necessarily weaken the state. Following from this ideological commitment, the reformists aim to ensure national or institutional competitiveness by managing the unstable process of globalization. Reformists are acutely aware of global interdependence, the web of interactions which tie all people together, and the existence of a world system; yet, at the national level they are likely to adhere to either a modernization model or a nationally-oriented world system model of development.

Social reformists are described by Warner as belonging to "the liberal model" of globalization which emphasizes global co-operation, without denying the element of national or institutional self-interest. (1991, p. 4) Since reformists have an interpretation of interdependence, which, as Toh points out, is "essentially self-centred", in which the aim is to manage instability while maintaining the planetary hierarchy (1993, pp. 10-11), they are likely to see development as the replication of technological growth and to measure progress in comparison to "advanced industrial civilization, powered by the engine of unbridled economic growth and high mass-consumption." (p. 11)

The vision of reformist-oriented global educators shapes their content objectives. Although they recognise that a world system exists, their vision is primarily nation-centred. As a result, they aim to use the strength of cultural diversity to ensure national and institutional competitiveness, while also aiming to use technocratic means to manage the unstable process of globalization. Both aims reinforce the need for restricted, subject-area studies. Thus, the activities through which reformists might be expected to promote their vision of global education would likely take place within a particular subject field such as social studies or language arts. They would promote international exchanges between teachers and students to deepen intercultural and international understanding. At the elementary school level, typical activities might revolve around the study of other cultures' songs, dances, literature, food, customs, and holidays. According to reformist aims, the process of such subject area study should help students: develop an understanding of others; learn to tolerate differences; develop a better understanding of themselves and their culture; and ensure maintenance of the nation's competitive position in the global marketplace, with some concessions to other nations.

Therefore, like conformists, reformists focus on area studies -- studying geography and history, and multicultural education -- studying other cultures' songs, dances, literature, food, customs and holidays. Concerned with poverty and hunger around the world, however, reformists also encourage their students to raise funds for worthy charities and to reach out to people in the developing world by adopting a "foster child" and corresponding with him or her.

Transformists share an ideological commitment to social justice. Based upon their ideological convictions, transformists are committed to changing the

fundamental roles, rules and relationships in society and regulating the marketplace. Unlike conformists, who seek further aggrandizement, and reformists, who seek gradual, cumulative change, transformists seek the global redistribution of power and wealth as a first step to global justice. However, like reformists, transformists also seek to secure and ensure universal human rights. Reflecting this position, Warner states that "the 'social transformation' model [of globalization], differs from the liberal model in that it adds a dimension of critical social analysis to the idea of international consciousness. ... It sees internationalization as a process which should contribute to the reduction of these global inequalities. ... In this model, priority is given to activities which narrow the gap between the have and the have-nots." (1991, p. 4)

Thus, the transformists' primary aim is social transformation which achieves the equitable distribution of goods and secures and ensures universal human rights through education. Having much broader goals than conformist or reformist global educators, transformists practice teaching methods designed to help students empower themselves as participatory citizens. To achieve this aim they borrow many of the curriculum reforms and instructional methods pioneered by development, peace, multicultural, and environmental educators. An understanding of these borrowing is important because it is toward the transformative vision of global education, and especially its environmental roots, that those Christian fundamentalists who oppose global education direct the brunt of their criticism.

For development education, transformists borrow the world-system model. As a result, the transformative global educator views the world as a complex, interrelated, evolving web of interactions in which every action influences, however minutely, every other action. Since the world is everywhere interconnected, they reason that our education about the processes of the world must be everywhere interconnected. Seen from this perspective, decontextualized study is meaningless: Global education cannot merely be a theme-oriented, subject-based investigation; it must -- whenever possible -- be coordinated across and through the curriculum.

Transformist educators add to this perspective knowledge of conflict resolution borrowed from peace education and infuse it with multicultural education's insights into the nature of humanity. If we affirm the multicultural nature of humanity and recognise that different cultures view the world in their own unique way, to co-exist peacefully we must learn that there is more than one perspective on every issue and that the perspectives of others may make very good sense to them even when they appear inscrutable to us. In addition, we must discover how to take alternative perspectives and learn that each perspective on an issue, problem or event is established by the participant's unique vantage point. For human beings, perspective taking is a relativistic action, i.e., it involves an

accommodative shift in the conceptual framework of knowledge. Seen in this light, perspective taking requires that the individual must first be able to solve the problem of which conceptual elements need to be transformed, and that s/he then discover how to affect the transformation. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that perspective taking requires the mastery of problem solving and critical thinking abilities.

But, according to the transformative perspective, an entirely teacher-centred classroom cannot fully stimulate students to empower themselves through the acquisition of such abilities. In order for students to develop perspective taking, problem solving, and critical thinking, along with decision making, cooperation, democratic values, and an understanding of human rights and responsibilities, they must be active participants. In addition, transformative educators typically accept a Freirian development model of literacy-acquisition and empowerment. This model holds that the relevance of content and process must be understood before transformative learning can take place. On this view, to be seen to be relevant, learning must arise out of the articulated needs and wants of the learners, rather than being imposed from outside by the teacher. Therefore, the committed transformative global educator, like a Peace educator, requires a classroom environment in which the teacher acts as guide and facilitator, rather than dictator or governor. Within this environment, the learners must be empowered to act by the recognition that their actions will have meaning. However, effective action is possible only when the ever present interconnection between global and local is appreciated; hence the prominence of the previously mentioned concept from environmental education, 'Think globally, act locally.'

Transformist global educators believe that when students connect themselves into the global network, the evolving web, they will accept responsibility for their actions, recognise that humans can find and implement solutions to problems, and understand that justice requires peaceful local action leading to global change. This learning, in turn, will both liberate and empower individuals and cause them to seek liberation and empowerment for others. Central to this view is the belief that, while learning about the past is relevant to the present, it is primarily valuable insofar as it serves as a guide to planning for the future.

Since transformative global educators seek to produce learners who are critically aware of themselves, others, and relationships among people, things, and ideas in the global system, the thought process undergone while learning is at least as important as the content of study. Learning activities are important. Within the transformative global classroom activities initiated by the teacher/guide are interdisciplinary, although school structures often force teachers to teach within subject areas, particularly at the secondary level, even in schools which are committed to global education. A growing belief in global education's

transformative potential is demonstrated by publications such as *Global Teacher, Global Learner* (1989), *Global Environment Resource Handbook* (1990), and *Global Primer: Skills for a Changing World* (1991).

The transformative global classroom, whether subject-oriented or interdisciplinary, is cooperative, experiential, community based, democratic, and future oriented. Common activities might include: self-esteem enhancement, group discussion, direct experience, role play, simulations, community involvement, feedback and evaluation (Pike and Selby, 1989).

The foregoing exercise does not mean to suggest that most global educators conceive of themselves as conformists, reformists, or transformists. Rather, these artifical quanta represent a transparent attempt to group global educators on the basis of commonalities when in reality their unique perspectives comprise a continuum. Nonetheless, the groupings have purpose. Grouping makes clear that concepts of global education vary considerably and each concept has an ideological component. Further, when the following Christian fundamentalist criticisms are compared with the aims held for global education by proponents of the conformist, reformist, and transofrmist perspectives, it will become clear that, almost exclusively, fundamentalist critics are attacking the transformist vision.

Neither global education nor Christian fundamentalist attacks on it are limited to the Canadian context. Although many of the criticisms levelled against global education by Christian fundamentalists originate in the United States, and although the United States has a rich and diverse history of global education and challenges to it, this paper concerns itself with criticisms levelled within Canada, particularly Alberta. Moreover, due to the limitations of space and time, the presentation of specific criticisms will be restricted to those put forward, persistently, by some Christian fundamentalists.

Christian Fundamentalist Criticisms of Global Education

Before beginning a presentation of these criticisms, it may be well to remind ourselves that not all Christians share the perspective which is about to be put forth. Global education owes a large debt to and is in the mainstream of Christian thought; many prominent transformative global educators are also committed Christians; Christianity offers continuing support for global education as witnessed by books such as *Tales of the Heart* (1991) and the annual activity "Ten Days for World Development", begun in 1973 and continued yearly by five prominent Canadian churches: Roman Catholic, Anglican, United Church, Lutheran, and Presbyterian.

Nonetheless, some Christian fundamentalists are vehemently opposed to global education. Although their criticisms are mostly made in a non-academic mode of argument, that is, they are often put forward without clearly referenced supporting evidence and are difficult to categorize, there is a central thrust. They

argue that global education teaches a value system comprising ideological, philosophical and religious beliefs -- a single, transformative, leftist, humanist, "new age" value system -- which is contrary to the Judeo-Christian heritage and hostile to Judeo-Christian thought.

Christians fundamentalists are so named because they hold that the Bible is the literal word of God. For them the Bible is not metaphorical; it is not open to contextual and historical interpretation. There is only one meaning, which the initiate can know if s/he allows the spirit of God to guide her/his thought. Thus, Christian fundamentalists have an unchallengeable and unchangeable framework for knowledge, since that framework is provided by God. When they criticize global education, they are acting not on their own behalf, but as agents of God.

As mentioned, categorizing these criticisms is no simple matter because they tend to appear as an overlapping tangle. Although a variety of non-discrete categories could be constructed, perhaps the simplest and most orderly method is to dichotomize the criticisms into two broad groups: general educational criticisms and specific ideological criticisms. Under the first category will fall general criticisms of educational aims, orientation, processes and outcomes. Under the second category more specific religious, political, and philosophical criticisms will be dealt with.

Educational Criticisms

Christian fundamentalist critics argue that global education is not a body of knowledge but a way of thinking and believing, an ideology, which approached problems from one viewpoint. These critics also contend that global education takes a "decisionmaking" approach to values formation, and that decision making by children leads to confusion regarding moral values learned at home. They further argue that global education teaches that there are no absolutes, which leads children to conclude that questions of right and wrong are subjective and relative. Moreover, they argue that a global approach crowds out the study of western civilization.

A defense of the Christian fundamentalist assertion that global education is "not a body of knowledge, but a way of thinking and believing" (Calvert and Calvert, 1989, p. 3) is found in D. W. Calvert's 1989 letter to Jim Dinning, then Minister of Education in the Government of Alberta. In it Calvert quotes from the Alberta Global Education Project's initial funding proposal to CIDA: "Global education is a concept not a course of study, a way of thinking and believing, rather than a body of knowledge." (Calvert, 1989, p.3) In the article previously mentioned the Calverts state: "Since it is not a body of knowledge but a way of thinking and believing, Global Education is obviously an ideology. ... The ideological mode selects supportive evidence only, in presenting pre-digested 'truth'." (1989, p.3)

It would be pointless to deny the Calverts' assertion that global education is ideologically based. However, there are two questions of note which need answering as the Calverts' perspective is investigated. First, which of global education's ideological variants are they attacking, and second, since we often attack that which threatens, why does it threaten them?

A clue appears in the passage quoted from Calvert's letter to Dinning. Calvert has presented part of a sentence as though it was the complete thought and he has misquoted a word. The original sentence reads: "This ***workshop*** reflects the principle that global education is a concept not a course of study, a way of thinking and believing, rather than ***the*** body of knowledge" [italics and emphasis added]. (Alberta Global Education Project, 1988, p.2) Although it may seem unlikely that a single principle from one workshop should be used to define global education, Calvert has done just that. So the idea must be key. Moreover, the concept that *the thought process which is gone through by the learner is at least as important as the content under study* is articulated only by the transformist perspective. Therefore, it seems safe to assume that Calvert is specifically attacking the transformist perspective and that the sense which he makes of the text will help identify the perceived threat.

By changing the "the' to an "a", Calvert makes clear sense of the statement. For him, *global education is a way of thinking and believing rather than a body of knowledge.* Calvert does not mind if educators transmit a body of knowledge; he does mind if they teach a "transformative" way of thinking and believing -- a value system -- which appears to him to threaten his particular Christian value system.

Echoing Calvert, an article by Cousins and Strom states: "This new 'world view' or value system is being promoted through such issues as environmental concerns, overpopulation, peace studies, and understanding one's place in the universe. ... Education approaches these from one viewpoint" (1990, p. 16).

Moreover, seen from this perspective, not only is global education a way of thinking which approaches problems from one unacceptable perspective, but it teaches individuals to make personal decisions and form values based upon those decisions; whereas, as Cousins and Strom point out:

> A Judeo-Christian outlook would say there is a personal God who has expressed a loving commitment to help us if we would only humble ourselves to submit to His leadership. Furthermore, there is no hope for real solutions unless we do things God's way rather than our own. (1990, p.)

Thus, these Christian fundamentalists attack global education because they feel that for global education, "in the tradition of 'values clarification', there is no moral standard outside of ourselves" (Calvert and Calvert, 1989, p.3).

Higginbottom takes up the Calverts' argument and explains, in part, why global education represents a major threat to Christian values when he details what happens as a result of new age concepts that he feels are being taught to children. "Global education ideology does not believe in absolutes. Instead, people are responsible for developing their own realities and values. But when people's arbitrary value systems conflict, problems arise." (1989, p.1) When "children are encouraged to create their own realities, they become very self-centred. It also creates a discipline problem." (Higginbottom, 1989, p.3) Cousins and Strom concur with Higginbottom when they conclude: "We are living in a social setting wherein the individuals demand their right to personal freedom to live as they wish, breaking God's laws and seeking to find answers outside of any form of absolute standard." (1990, p.16)

This loss of Christian values comes about, according to these critics, as a direct result of the introduction of global education into the curriculum, because global education not only teaches values which are in direct opposition to Christian values, but also crowds out the teaching of Christian history. Speaking of the Alberta Global Education Project, Cousins and Strom state that:

> A direct result of this project is the new Social Studies 20/23 curriculum. Gone from this curriculum is any reference to Judeo-Christian history. The previous teaching on the Renaissance, Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation have been omited [sic]. Students jump into the French Revolution of 1789, a society in turmoil and with no Christian ethic or values.
>
> A study of the global environment and global concerns completes the curriculum. (1990, p. 16)

Seen from this perspective, the teachings of global education, in particular the **transformist** global vision with its resultant aims, orientation, and processes, has one broad outcome: a direct challenge to the teachings of fundamentalist Christianity as these critics see it.

Political, Philosophical and Religious Criticisms

However, these Christian fundamentalists criticize not only the broad educational aims and orientation of global education, but also its specific political, philosophical, and religious teachings. They accuse it of politicizing, rather than teaching about politics. They argue that it seeks to politically re-socialize students into a philosophy which is humanistic, socialistic, and "new age." Moreover, they contend that the "new age"/Global philosophy is an ideology that is hostile to Biblical Christianity. This is true, they argue, because the basic philosophy of

Global Education rests solidly upon monism, which they equate with the belief that all is one. In fact, they hold that global education does not teach about religions; it teaches the religion of the "new age" cult. In doing so, they claim, global education teaches that all paths lead to God and that we are all Gods; therefore, there is no moral standard outside of ourselves. Global education emphasises human responsibility for solving problems; whereas, according to these critics, only God can solve problems, since man has fallen through sin.

These critics argue that this new age religious philosophy also promotes a new political world view in which family is replaced by local community, while patriotism and nationalism are replaced by globalism. The values of our past, the family unit and the extended family of church, school and nationalism are replaced with the idea that we are all one. According to the Calverts, global education "teaches politically; not about politics." (1989, p. 3) Building on this theme, Cousins and Strom incorrectly identify Robert Muller as the founder of global education and explicitly link the political aim of re-socialization to a philosophy:

> In 1977 the then assistant secretary-general of the United Nations, Robert Muller introduced to the UN a new world care curriculum.
>
> ... His works lay [sic] the foundation for the goals, objectives and need of Global Education. In summary this paper, although flowing with religious terminology, is totally humanistic, socialistic and very New Age. (1990, p. 16)

The supposed result of global education's ideological basis is found in the same article by Cousins and Strom, who state: "We are looking at the deliberate development of philosophical and religious views in school-age children." According to them, this "philosophy will not lead to tolerance of Christianity or any other belief that lies outside of New Age practices, but will lead to an intolerance of life styles opposed to its thinking." Calvert would agree with this assessment; he argues that Christian parents should not be "unconcerned enough to allow their children to be fed an ideology totally hostile to Biblical Christianity -- the New Age/Global philosophy." (1989, p. 3)

Fundamentalist critics are less unanimous about what this global philosophy is, even presenting what appear to be conflicting assessments within a single article or essay. However, this should not be surprising since it appears to them that global education inherited from the mass origins of environmental education a wide and often conflicting variety of religious and philosophical perspectives. Thus, within a single article, the Calverts argue that:

> The basic philosophy of Global Education rests solidly upon the New Age world view known as MONISM: all is one. This material world is mere illusion; good and evil are opposite sides of the same coin; there is no single reality, for we all

> create our own realities. ...there is no difference between political philosophies or religions, and all paths lead to God. (1989, p .3)

And that: "PANTHEISM, which permeates monism and solidifies it into a more comprehensible form, holds that God is in everything, therefore we are all gods." (p. 3) And that: "New Agers often call the world Gaia, the ancient Greek goddess of the earth; 'she' is viewed as a living organism, with all her parts inter-related and interdependent." (p. 3) And further, that, "Despite the connotation of the term 'humanist', Globalism seems more 'animist'" (p. 3). While Cousins and Strom contend that:

> Education approaches these [global topics] from one viewpoint, the philosophy of Humanism. Humanism is the belief that there is no God, we are here by chance and when we are in trouble' ...no deity will save us; we must save ourselves.' Along with this we have New Age philosophy which also centres on the self (individuals)/Self (collective selves) as the source of solutions to our global problems through the divinity we all share. (1990, p. 16)

At the same time, according to Dr. Benno Przybyiski "the basic view of reality espoused by the New Age is that of Hinduism." (1990, p. 12) He claims that: the new age movement can be "designated as cult"; "some New Age devotees worship religious leaders as gods"; "crystals are valued"; and "perhaps the best known New Age cultic practice is channelling." (p. 12)

However, there is a unifying theme of sorts. Like the Calverts, Przybyiski, and Cousins and Strom contend that this anti-biblical view of reality centres on the concept of monism: that "All is one... All distinctions are said to be illusory. For example, there is no essential difference between good and evil." (Przybyiski, 1990, p. 13) Thus, we are back to setting our own values. More importantly, "not only is all one but that one essence is God. From this conclusion necessarily follows the most startling teaching of the New Age Movement: man is God! ...Nothing is beyond our scope." (Przybyiski, p. 13)

As gods, Cousins and Strom say, global education teaches that "the emphasis is placed on man to solve the problems." (1990, p. 16) However, Przybyiski states that, according to Christian teaching "all is not one. God is the creator. Man is a created being. ...To be saved we cannot rely on our inner strength, no matter how deep [sic] we dig. Salvation comes by God's grace." (p.13) The Calverts, (1989) agree with Przybyiski that for the new age movement "there is no single reality, for we all create our own realities. ...and all paths lead to God." (1989, p. 3) And, like Przybyiski, they conclude that "Global Education, in the final analysis, does not teach about world religions; it teaches a religion -- that of the New Age cult." (p. 3)

However, according to this perspective, global education's assault on Christianity does not end there:

> Very subtly, it breaks down the fabric of our society, beginning with the nuclear family. Emphasized in its place is the world community. ... and values such as patriotism and nationalism are replaced with globalism.
>
> In short, the values of our past, the family unit and the extended family of church, school and nationalism are being replaced with the idea that there is no need for national sovereignty because we are "all one". (Cousins and Strom, 1990, p. 16)

And Przybyiski adds: "The gravity of the situation must not be underestimated. The New Age Movement attacks the very fibre of Christianity." (1990, p. 13)

CONCLUSIONS

At the literal level, it seems fair to conclude that those Christian fundamentalists who oppose global education do so because they sincerely believe that global education is hostile to their traditional Christian value system. They attack what they view as global education's ideological and philosophical assumptions; they attack the educational aims and content which they see as arising from those assumptions; and they attack the supposed religious beliefs which they perceive as underlying the whole.

The vision which they are attacking is, of course, neither conformist nor reformist in nature; it is transformist. The transformist ideology, however, is essentially Christian: we are all equally human and potentially deserving. Likewise, transformist global educators share Christ's philosophical beliefs. They believe that everyone has an equal right to the bounty of the earth and that it is our duty to share. They believe that we should treat others as we would wish to be treated ourselves. The fundamentalist interpretation of Christ's teaching, however, holds that we must welcome Him into our hearts and know His will through a literal reading of the Bible, by which means He solves our problems and directs our lives. In contrast, Christian global educators hold that Christ expects people to think for themselves, to solve their own problems, to take responsibility for the care of society and the care of the earth.

This philosophical stance leads transformative global educators to advocate educational aims which are in direct conflict with the aims of their fundamentalist critics. Clearly, the development of and reliance on individual problem solving abilities undermines fundamentalist teaching. The belief in individual agency, from the critics' perspective, denies the belief that only God can appropriately direct human affairs. Moreover, the democratic classroom directly attacks the fundamentalists' hierarchical, authority based, social structure.

For them, God, Father of the heavenly family is omniscient and omnipotent and as the giver of truth He is always to be obeyed. In His place, as head of the family on earth, the father makes the decisions. In school, the teacher as authority figure makes the decisions. A democratic classroom threatens one pillar of this structure which in turn threatens the whole. If the questioning of values and taking of alternative perspectives is permitted, where will it end?

In addition to this literal level at which conflict occurs and of which many other examples could be given, there is also, it seems, a metaphorical level of conflict. That is, global education can be seen as a dragon and the fundamentalist critic as the Red Cross knight. In this case, the dragon's name provides the literal clue: "global". Viewed from this perspective, the attack on global education is an attack on the extensive interaction between people and cultures that is now occurring in Canada. The fundamentalist attack on the content of global education reinforces this assessment. Global education, according to these fundamentalist critics, displaces the study of the Judeo-Christian heritage and in its place studies a variety of cultures. This process relativizes Christianity. As such it produces a threat of enormous magnitude, a threat which in the absence of the symbol provided by global education would be more difficult to confront.

The relativism which results from globalization threatens all immutable hierarchical structures. Moreso those structures which hold themselves out to be universal and singular but which the process of globalization demonstrates to be bounded and but one among many. Nor does the process of globalization present just the possibility that there may be more than one path along which to approach God. It also relativizes, as the fundamentalists point out, family structure, society, even nationalism. Since all of these pillars have been incorporated into the fundamentalist's unchangeable and unchallengeable foundation of thought, none can be allowed to tremble.

While it may be difficult for non-fundamentalists to accept this Christian fundamentalist perspective, we should recognise that, given the perspective taken, Christian fundamentalists have considerable justification for their alarm. Insofar as global education seeks to be a perspective-taking, inclusive discipline, capable of accommodating diverse perspectives, global educators ought to at least address the significance of these criticisms and begin a search for meaningful dialogue with their critics. Perhaps the basis of such a dialogue can be found in the golden rule that is the very essence of global education and is important in Christianity: Love thy neighbour as thyself.

At the same time, those Christian fundamentalists who oppose global education should, themselves, take note of several problem areas. They should recognise that there are multiple models for conducting global education and that each model has its own perspectives of what constitutes content and purpose. While the market model and the reformist model predominate, fundamentalists are

attacking the transformist model. Moreover, Christian fundamentalist opponents of global education attack it on the basis that it teaches that man must solve his own problems, when only God can solve problems. In attacking global education, these Christian fundamentalists at least implicitly claim to act as God's agents, while denying this right to others. After all, why should a global educator be denied the same right of agency on God's behalf? Finally, by making their criticisms within a relatively closed forum, these fundamentalists deny the importance of interfaith dialogue, although people of many different religious faiths, including other Christian fundamentalists, strongly believe in its importance.

Those Christian fundamentalists who criticize global education should take note of the inconsistencies in their argument. It is also possible that, after a more careful scrutiny, these critics might find some common cause with, for instance, the conformist model of global education. However, although we bring no direct evidence to support the latter aspect of our claim, we suspect that, in the end, those fundamentalists who attack global education do so not only because they feel threatened by the transformist global vision, which we believe that we have documented, but also because they fear and resist the process of relativization through globalization, of which the term "global" in global education represents one of few visible and relatively concrete targets.

If this is so, and Christian fundamentalists wish to resist some of the apparent outcomes of the process of globalization, then an explicit awareness would perhaps be more productive. Again they might find common cause. Many global educators seek to resist the relativism which seems a product of globalization as it is now occurring. Maintaining local identity while embracing the global nature of humanity seems a difficult but necessary dichotomization. It is hardly a project over which well meaning people should contend.

At the same time, educators who wish to maintain the right to teach a varied and progressive curriculum should not discount the danger, of which these attacks represent perhaps only the first portents. In conjunction with the political right with which they are relatively co-extensive, these Christian fundamentalists represent a threat to global education which is often dismissed offhand because it is essentially hidden from academic scrutiny. But events in the United States have demonstrated that such criticisms, if unheeded, can have far reaching negative impact on the wellbeing of great numbers of people in society. (Schukar, 1993)

Appendix 1.

Academics Criticize Global Education on Educational, and Political Grounds

A. Among the Educational Criticisms, they argue that Global Education:

1) is a movement rather than a field of study;
2) involves a tremendous range of tactics, strategies, and locations;
3) includes a tremendous scope of educational concerns;
4) addresses ideas which are inherently controversial;
5) has different, conflicting meanings and motivations for different academics
   -- conformist, exploitive-technocratic, being transnational oriented
   -- reformist, liberal-technocratic, being status quo oriented
   -- transformist, radical-egalitarian, being change oriented.
6) has conflicts between area studies and across and through the curriculum perspective.
7) lacks balance in curriculum development, selection of resource materials, and classroom instruction.
8) is embroiled in a struggle for control over content and instructional strategies;
9) rejects the discipline-specific conceptual framework which values specialized, decontextualized knowledge, in favour of holistic, global interconnectedness.

B. Among the Political Criticisms, they argue that Global Education:

1) has an ideological basis, a value stance and reformist tendencies;
2) espouses structuralist beliefs in an oppressive social system which can be transformed through education;
3) results in conflicts between moral realism and idealism.

Teachers, Trustees, and Parents Criticize Global Education because;
Educational Criticisms

1) back to basics, not global education is needed to cure our problems;
2) there is too much to do in school already;
3) global education teaches cultural relativism;

4) the issues are too complex and depressing for students;
5) students are already overwhelmed;
6) global education lacks a specific content focus;
7) global education suggests separateness -- content over process.

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POTENTIAL IMPACT OF STRATEGIC PLANNING IN DECENTRALIZING A SCHOOL SYSTEM: THE GHANA EXPERIENCE

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The governance structure in Ghana has been centralized for many years, with the the government issueing policy decisions to the districts for implementation. Centralization slowed development efforts, so for many years attempts have been made at restructuring. In the main, these attempts involved the appointment of committees and commissions to recommend reforms, but their implementation was plagued with problems, including dual allegiance of local officers to their national and regional superiors, and the inefficient utilization of the scarce resources available. Most recently a new committee, Public Administration Restructuring and Decentralization Implementation Committee (PARDIC), formed in 1983, proposed new measures. Its policies were directed at improving government services by ensuring grassroots participation. These proposals were partly implemented to some degree, but decentralization of educational reforms remains unfinished. One reason may be that the government decentralized throughout the country at once rather than in phases, as was suggested by some stakeholder groups. Resources may be inadequate to support broad-based reforms.

This paper reports findings from a study of this faltering attempt at reforms. One conclusion is that the school system, with only some reforms effected, has experienced few benefits, including the introduction of new school programs, and increased attention to staff development. The system is still grappling with problems: insufficient resources, lack of commitment of local communities, constraints of centrally determined rules, and top administrators unwilling to divest power. Thus the program implementation has not been effective.

To effect program implementation, strategic planning is necessary. Some planning had been done, but some important issues need to be reassessed. The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in the entire system must be addressed. More importantly, strategic planning should include planning, analysis, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Important questions need to be asked including: Where are we?

Where are we going? How do we get there? How do we confront the obstacles that may be met? This may be an effective strategy towards achieving success at reforms.

Pendant plusieurs années, la structure gouvernementale au Ghana a été centralisée. C'est le gouvernement qui envoyait les décisions de politiques aux districts pour les faire appliquer. Cette centralisation a ralenti les efforts de développement, ainsi pendant plusieurs années on avait essayé à réorganiser l'administration. Les tentatives de réforme, en gros, constituaient la création des comités et des commissions pour recommander la marche à suivre, mais le résultat a été criblé de problèmes: une double loyauté des cadres locaux envers leurs supérieurs nationaux ainsi que régionaux, et l'utilisation peu efficace de maigres ressources. Plus récemment, un nouveau comité, le *Comité pour la réalisation de la décentralisation et de la réorganisation de l'administration publique* [Public Administration Restructuring and Decentralization Implementation Committee (PARDIC)], formé en 1983, a suggéré de nouvelles mesures. Ses politiques se sont dirigées vers l'amélioration des services gouvernementaux avec la participation du peuple. Une partie de ses propositions ont été réalisées à un certain degré , mais il restait beaucoup à faire avec la décentralisation. Une des raisons c'est que le gouvernement a voulu décentraliser tout le pays en une seule fois, au lieu de le faire en plusieurs étapes, comme l'avaient suggéré des groupes intéressés. Les ressources n'étaient suffisantes pour des réformes à grande échelle.

Cet article rapporte les constatations d'une étude faite sur cette tentative de réforme mal assurée. L'une des conclusions est que le système scolaire n'a presque rien gagné après avoir été touché par quelques réformes, telles que l'introduction de nouveaux programmes, et l'augmentation du développement du personnel. Le système doit encore lutter contre de multiples problèmes: des ressources insuffisantes, le manque d'engagement des communautés locales, les contraintes des régulations prises au niveau central, et le refus des administrateurs supérieurs au partage du pouvoir. La réalisation du programme ne peut pas être efficace.

Pour bien réaliser un programme, c'est nécessaire d'avoir un plan stratégique. Il y a eu des planifications, il y a aussi d'autres problèmes importants à évaluer. Il faut prendre en considération la solidité, la faiblesse, les opportunités, et les menaces du système en entier. Plus important encore, le plan stratégique devrait comprendre le planning, les analyses, la réalisation, le contrôle et l'évaluation. Les questions importantes que l'on doit se demander sont: Où sommes-nous? Où sommes-nous allés? Comment pouvons-nous y arriver? Comment pouvons-nous surmonter les obstacles rencontrés? C'est peut-être une stratégie efficace pour réussir à réaliser les réformes

Decentralization as an administrative process in Ghana has been aimed at improving the delivery of government policies, services and programs. The process has meant providing opportunities to the lower level administrators as well as grassroots to participate in deciding their needs and contributing to the development needs (Okulo-Epak, 1989). The need for such participating arises

from the evidence that it is becoming increasingly problematic for the government to provide adequate social services at a time when resources are declining. The term decentralization has been used in a wide range of contexts hence, writers have not agreed upon a common definition. In Ghana, the policy of decentralization, as currently being pursued, refers to "an inter-organizational transfer of power to geographic units of local government lying outside the command structure of central government," (Eghan and Odum, 1989, p. 78). From this perspective Ghana's effort at decentralization policy is examined.

The Rationale For Decentralization in Ghana

For many years, particularly since February 1966 when the first civilian administration was removed from office by the military, it has been considered prudent to transfer decision-making power down the administrative hierarchy to the grassroots in Ghana. The economic constraints facing the country indicated that the government alone could not shoulder the responsibility of providing all the resources for education in Ghana, and that the communities who are the beneficiaries of education, could be asked to contribute to the cost of education. If the local communities are being called upon to provide a substantial amount of the resources for education, then it seems plausible that they should participate in educational decision-making in accordance with the adage: "He who pays the piper calls the tune." In doing so it is incumbent on the planners to avoid pitfalls by taking lessons of success from elsewhere. Indeed, citizen participation in decision-making is consistent with the traditional system of deciding on community matters. Bonsu (1971) pointed out that popular participation in local administration has a long history in Ghana. Even before the British rule, the Chief in a Council was responsible for local government in his administrative area. By custom he had to consult the mass of the people through their chosen elders before arriving at decisions which affected the welfare of the community. This welfare, of course, included the provision of basic education. In spite of such history of traditional participatory decision-making, the governance structure in Ghana had been centralized for decades with decisions and directives issuing from the national capital to the regions, from the regions to the districts, and from the districts to the schools. In education George (1976), noted that in Ghana's centralized governmental structure, formal education, like most matters, was a Central Government responsibility. The Central Government established policy and passed legislation governing the organization and administration of the formal educational system. The Education Act of 1961, for example, prescribed a public school system that was provided and controlled by the Central Ministry of Education. The Ministry at the national headquarters in Accra was responsible for policy, planning, curriculum research and development, and other matters. It was also responsible for the nine (now ten) Regional Education Offices (one in each

region). Each Regional Office was headed by a Regional Education Officer. Under each Region was a number of District Education Offices each headed by a District Education Officer. Those in charge of implementation at the lower levels were then expected to implement the Ministry's decisions with fidelity. Under such administrative structure, George (1976) noted that the responsibilities of the local governments were those assigned to them by the Central government and were limited to contributing some funds for public elementary school and managing them. The Minister of Education himself formulated policies mostly with the approval of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Head of State and first President of the Republic of Ghana. Bretton, cited in Bray (1984, p. 17), pointed to the stifling of innovation in Ghana during the early 1960s when even minor decisions had to await Numah's personal approval. He suggested:

> As a result the learning and correcting capacity of the government and administration of Ghana was submerged in a welter of irrational, contradicting, erratic, highly emotional perspectives concerning events at home and abroad: the learning capacity of Ghana was reduced to the teaching capacity of Kwame Nkrumah.

The administrative structure of the government called for change. The rationale, as pointed out by Safu (1971), was that in a decentralized system local authorities were the real decision-making agencies with a certain amount of autonomy and independence. The general feeling in Ghana then was that a real devolution of decision-making power was long overdue. Centralization had slowed down the development efforts of the people. The Public Administration Restructuring and Decentralization Implementation Committee (PARDIC) appointed in 1983 to work on the decentralization policy pointed out that "the surest way of prolonging the development crises Ghana found herself in was for the central government and its ministries to continue to usurp the right of the people of Ghana to make their own decisions regarding how to work themselves out of the crises" (Eghan & Odum, 1989, p. 70).

Previous Efforts at Decentralization

Asibuo (1992) recounted that, from 1949 onwards, several committees and commissions of inquiry were set up to review the administrative structure and recommend reforms. Outstanding among these were the Watson Committee (1949), Sir Coussey Committee (1949), Sir Sydney Philipson Commission (1951), Sir Frederick Boune (1955), The Greenwood Commission (1957), The Regional Constitutional Commission (1957), and The Akuffo-Addo Commission (1966). All these bodies made conclusive recommendations for the transfer of decision-making

authority from the centre to the local levels. These recommendations were, however, not known to have been fully implemented.

While several past committees and commissions made recommendations towards the implementation of a decentralization policy, key contributions were made by the Mills- Odoi Commission which was appointed in 1968 to review the structure and remuneration of public services in Ghana. The Commission found the government of Ghana highly centralized in Accra (Eghan and Odum, 1989). The Mills Odoi Report therefore recommended that

> . . . in order to improve efficiency and to provide a machinery of government better designed to accomplish programs for rapid social and economic development, there should be radical decentralization of many of the functions undertaken by the central government.

Administrative control was to be transferred to local administrators who would decide on their own priorities and implement them, of course with financial assistance from the central government. The implementation of the Mills-Odoi proposals was, however, opposed by conservative elements within the Civil Service on the grounds that they were too radical and unfamiliar. Top civil servants therefore pleaded for a complete rejection of the proposals. Instead of decentralization, the top officials favoured the delegation of powers to the Regional and District Authorities. Some heads of departments did not like the idea of decentralization because they felt it would weaken their grip on their regional and district subordinates (Nti, 1975). Such administrators perceived decentralization as partial loss of power and privileges. For the decentralization to work at the lower levels, the co-operation of top civil servants was necessary. Thus, as Asibuo (1992) pointed out, from the period of the first military rule in Ghana and even before that period, the policy has been considered by successive governments. Then in 1971 the government, after a critical assessment of the administrative machinery, posed a major question to the people on whether the relationship (including control measures) between the central and local governments was satisfactory. The answer was an overwhelming "No" (Bonsu, 1971). The idea of setting up committees to re-examine the governance structure was revisited when committees such as the Oko Commission was appointed in 1976. The Oko Commission formulated an operational framework for the decentralization exercise, and recommended comprehensive planning so that the decentralized programs could be expanded later (Eghan and Odum (1989). The Commission's work had some impact in the sense that it led to a Rural Development Project with the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The decentralization policy had, however, not taken off completely. Later, other Committees were appointed to examine the

issue and make further recommendations. Among these committees were the Kaku Kyiama Committee and the Sackey Committee, both on the Restructuring of Ministerial Organizations, the Kuffuor Committee and the Asamoah Committee, both on the Decentralization of National Administration and Organizational Structures, and the Sowu Committee on the Formulation of the Content of Socio-Economic Development Programs for Decentralized National Administration. Most of these Committees were formed in 1982. The Sowu Committee, for example, identified the goals of Ghana's decentralization as follows:

> power should be truly reverted to the people;
> as many people as possible should take part in decision-making process that affect their lives;
> there should be mobilization for production and distribution;
> there should be accountability.

However, it seemed that the position of the top civil servants from whom power would be transferred to the people at the local levels remained virtually unchanged. Further attempts at the implementation of the policy failed partly due to the lack of support from the top civil servants, and partly due to other causes as well. Eghan and Odum (1989, p. 12), listed the other causes for the failure to implement the policy in Ghana as follows:

> 1. the dual allegiance of district departmental officers to their regional and national heads on the one hand, and to the District Chief Executive and the District Councils on the other;
> 2. poor channels of communication between the district departmental heads and the District Chief Executive, which strained their relationships;
> 3. the general unwillingness on the part of most of the district departmental heads to cooperate with the District Chief Executive, largely because most of the district heads were of higher status than the District Chief Executive himself;
> 4. lack of well-trained and experienced departmental staff to work at the district level;
> 5. inadequate office and residential accommodation at the district level to attract more officers of the right calibre;
> 6. half-hearted commitment on the part of governments to see through the implementation of the decentralization program.

Current Efforts at Decentralization

The causes for the failing in decentralization attempts suggest that there was one basic missing factor -- the lack of comprehensive planning that would seriously seek input from those who would be required to implement the policy. Such inputs would have to be sought from the national top officials and those at

the local levels -- district departmental heads and staff and community leaders. Indeed, as Eghan and Odum (1989, p. 249) drawing an example from the temperate world, contended:

> It is inconceivable to see how without planning and the admission of individual citizens to their primary responsibility to themselves for the well being, people who live in the harsher parts of the world in the temperate zones would survive winters during which no food could be grown.

The current efforts at restructuring the governance structure in Ghana are based largely on the proposals made by the Public Administration Restructuring and Implementation Committee (PARDIC) which was appointed in 1983.

The Public Administration Restructuring and Implementation Committee

When a new government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) assumed office in December 1981, fresh attempts at decentralization were made. One major effort made by this government was the establishment of the Public Administration Restructuring and Implementation Committee (PARDIC), mentioned earlier, in September 1983 to make fresh attempts at restructuring public administration. The goal of the PNDC Government, like the previous governments, was to involve as many people as possible in decision-making in matters affecting them (Eghan & Odum, 1989). Accordingly, the PARDIC was charged with (a) working out modalities for nationwide implementation of the ministerial restructuring and decentralization program, (b) assisting in the implementation of the program, and (c) arranging public education back-up for the program, among other things. The work of this committee culminated in the decentralization of 22 government departments including the Ghana Education Service (GES) in 1987 (PNDC Law 207).

Decentralization of the General Government Structure

The recommended restructuring made by PARDIC, of course, still depended on the goodwill of the political and administrative officials working hand-in-hand with educational planners. Most of these recommendations towards decentralization were accepted by the government. The PNDC began by establishing District Assemblies in all the 110 political districts in 1987. The Assemblies were new administrative structures created to support the decentralization of government machinery at the district levels. The process was intended to embrace the people at the local level through allocating specific functions to: (1) Town/Area Organizations, (2) District Organizations, (3) Regional Organizations, (4) Ministerial Organizations and (5) National Coordinating Organizations. As a result of these recommendations, the structure

of Government Machinery and District Development, as noted by Aryeetey, Boakye, Awua-Boateng, and Dotse (1989, p. 44) was made up of (l) Office of the PNDC, (2) Ministerial Organization, (3) Regional Administration, and (4) District Administration.

The Office of the PNDC was the highest political, administrative and legislative body in Ghana. This office was divided in two main parts: (l) the PNDC Secretariat which served the PNDC members, and (2) the Secretariat of the PNDC Member and Chairman of the Committee of Secretaries which served as the cabinet secretariat of the government. At this level inputs from the subordinate organs of the government were concretized into policies. The policies were then communicated and interpreted to other institutions. The necessary institutional procedures were then prepared for their implementation and enforcement.

The PARDIC, among its recommendations, stated that all Ministries were to be decentralized with the exception of Defence, Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs and Justice (Eghan & Odum, 1989). Today each Ministry has four main divisions: Policy Planning, Programming and Budgeting, Monitoring and Evaluation; Research, Statistics and Manpower Development; Information Management and Public Relations; and General Administration.

The restructuring of the Ministerial Organizations was extended to the Regional Administration. The reason was to give meaning to its role as a buffer between the Central government and the Districts and in promoting development at the local level. Each Regional Administration has two divisions: Administration and Development Programs, each headed by a Director. Under the District Administration each district has the District Assembly, the highest political and administrative body in the district. The objective of creating these assemblies was to extend the restructuring exercise beyond the Regional Administration to the District level. Each Assembly has an Executive Committee with five sub-committees for (l) Economic Development, (2) Social Services, (3) Technical and Infrastructure, (4) Justice and Security, and (S) Finance and Administration. Educational matters peculiar to the District are presented first to the Social Services Sub-Committee which submits them to the Assembly for debate and for a decision to be taken. Education matters, for example, are not supposed to be referred to the regional or the national headquarters any longer. With the coming into existence of the 1992 Constitution that ushered in the Fourth Republican government of National Democratic Congress (NDC), decentralization is being implemented under the NDC administration.

A number of problems have developed as a result of the dual hierarchy of administration -- the central government and the local (district) administration (Local Government, 1994, pp.3-4). A few years after undertaking the restructuring exercise it has been observed that:

1. The central government agencies are encroaching upon the rights and responsibilities of the weaker local government bodies. Resources have been duplicated between local government agencies and central government bodies, are not fully utilized, and have been partially wasted.
2. The various administrative bodies do not have sufficient consultations with each other. The limited resources available to each are therefore dissipated without the required impact expected by reason of the size of the input in personnel and material resources.
3. The sharp distinction between central and local government agencies has only served to create a poor and distorted image of local government as a corrupt, inefficient and worthless relation of the central government. This development has not inculcated in the citizens the civic relationship which would enable them to see themselves as part of the whole system of government and administration.
4. The large number and small sizes of the local councils have made it difficult for the local government bodies to raise enough revenue to finance local services delivery including education.

As a result of these and other problems that have confronted they system, Ahwoi (1992, p. 9), the Secretary (Minister) of Local Government observed:

> . . . no effective decentralization has taken place yet. The 22 so-called decentralization departments continue to report to Accra [the national capital] through the regions. Their staff are appointed, promoted, paid, and disciplined from Accra. Their enabling laws and instruments retain their highly centralized character. And the staff attend meetings of the District Assembly more out of fear or respect than out of any legal obligation. So that is one of the major unfinished businesses of decentralization.

Addressing this problem of unfinished business requires more effective planning. The multiplicity of committees appointed by previous governments to deliberate on the decentralization, and the lack of success at decentralization suggest that planning may be part of the solution. The failure of the policy has of course affected education as one of the 22 departments supposed to have been decentralized.

Decentralization in Education

The Restructuring Committee (PARDIC) proposed the structure of a ministry to include

(a) a comprehensive local government system
(b) a new structure of a four-tier system, and
(c) District Councils as basic administrative units.

The district was the basic decision-making unit. In education a major innovation was the appointment of Directors of Education to head each of the 110 education districts in the country. These directors were deemed to be experienced educational administrators who could make quality decisions affecting education in their districts. Prior to these appointments, school districts were headed by assistant directors. District Directors' decisions were, however, subject to the approval of the Services Committees of the District Assemblies. Within the public school structure, another reform was the introduction of a new junior secondary and a senior secondary school system to replace the old school system. Communities which had too few students and hence low school enrollments were to pull resources together to form one secondary school for efficient utilization of resources. In any case, by their locations, no community was to be farther than five kilometres from the nearest secondary school. Junior Secondary School Implementation Committees were set up at the town/village and district levels. Their role was to monitor the operation of the new schools. Headmasters with the requisite qualifications and experience were recruited to head the schools, particularly at the junior and senior secondary levels. Short seminars aimed at updating their administrative skills were organized for them. Crash programs were also mounted for teachers to upgrade their teaching skills. Emphases were placed on practical subjects including carpentry, masonry, tailoring, auto mechanic, technical drawing and cookery. With these preparations the new school system took off nationwide in September 1987. These preparations must be appreciated. Prior to these reforms, consultations were made between the Ministry of Education and the general public including educational policy makers and administrators, Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), community leaders and the general public. After an assessment of the projected educational resources, many individuals and organizations such as the GNAT expressed pessimism at the success of the reforms. This pessimism related especially to the local mobilization of resources to make the change successful throughout the country since the communities were expected to contribute substantially to education. Educators realized that given the economic constraints facing the country, there would possibly not be adequate resources to implement the reforms nationwide. The government, as the initiator of the reforms, was therefore advised to implement the reforms in phases. In fact, according to Eghan and Odum (1989, p. 57), the Asamoah Committee appointed in August 1982 in its first recommendation stated:

> That in view of scarcity of financial, human and material resources as well as infra-structural facilities and logistical support, decentralization should not be carried out in one big jump but should be in phases to ensure smooth and orderly implementation.

Government leaders, however, assured the nation that adequate assistance in the form of loans and grants would be obtained from foreign donors to support the system. As it turned out, although some foreign assistance was obtained, it was inadequate. The reliability and commitment of external donors to provide substantial resources had their limitations.

It had been proposed that the implementation of the policy would be a primary responsibility of the people at the community level. However, the people did not seem *ready* to embrace and implement the new system because not enough education towards community awareness had been provided them. Ghana had operated a centralized system for decades during which the government seemed to provide most social services to the people. And, as Eghan and Odum (1989) pointed out, for many years Ghanaians as individuals, and as members of society, had simply learned to be taken care of by the central government. The communities were not used to making significant contributions to education. For this reason, any new system that sought to effect changes would require community education by the policy initiators. Such education, however, appeared to have been relegated to the background.

The communities were required to provide a minimum of resources such as helping to erect *workshops* (structures equipped with wooden benches and tools to assist students in learning practical skills). Yet it was not clear to what extent the people had been prepared to confront problems of the reforms in terms of providing psychological and material support. The Implementation Committees charged with monitoring school operations did not survive for long. Thus under the reforms it was not clear what mechanism had been put in place to continuously the tackle problems that might emerge. Thus although some preparations had been made towards the implementation of the policy, their adequacy needs to be weighed against the success of the implementation.

Evaluation of Progress

Four years after the policy take-off, Mankoe (1992) in a study conducted in Ghana, sought to determine from the perceptions of stakeholders (educational administrators, school principals, teachers, parents, and community leaders) the extent of their participation in educational decision-making and the extent to which the new policy had dealt with other pressing issues in education, particularly in the provision of educational infrastructure and teaching matters.

A. Devolution of Decision-Making

On decision-making, responses indicated discrepancies between stakeholders' actual level of participation and the level at which they would have wished to participate in educational decision-making. Although such discrepancies were found with respect to many decision-making areas, they were greater with

respect to issues related to educational resources than with pedagogical issues. It was still unclear which decisions were to be made at the national, regional, district and school levels. The wide discrepancies pertaining to resource issues may not be too hard to understand if it is borne in mind that the quality of education provided in the classroom was largely contingent upon the adequacy of resources provided.

It was also observed that school-based administrators continued to receive directives from the headquarters through the district directors. Under the decentralized system, as envisaged by the policy makers, the school with its advisory council composed of the principal, representatives of teachers, support staff, parents and students (in the case of senior school) was supposed to be the primary decision making unit. Experience, according to the school administrators and teachers, showed that this was not the situation in the educational system. The local communities, led by the district assemblies, were still looking up to the central government for most of the resources for the schools.

B. Benefits Achieved

Stakeholders acknowledged that a number of benefits had so far been derived from the new educational reforms. Some of the benefits attributed to decentralization included: the introduction of new skills in special areas for students, emergence of new programs to match students' choices, increased capacity of educational administrators to monitor educational service, and greater attention to staff development. For example, one educational administrator observed

> There is an alertness of teachers to duty and conscious efforts by them to upgrade or improve their skills. There are frantic efforts by students to acquire practical skills. Both boys and girls now do not shy away from studying subjects formerly restricted to a particular sex, e.g. carpentry, home economics and life skills.

C. Problems

A number of problems were also identified. School district administrators, headmasters, and teachers identified one major problem as the unfavourable conditions under which the system was initiated. Other problems noted by stakeholders include (a) insufficient allocation of resources to schools, (b) inadequate incentives for educational leaders to play leading role, (c) insufficient local resources to tap, (d) lack of commitment of local community members, (e) constraints of centrally determined rules, and (f) top administrators unwilling to divest power.

A community leader also observed:

> There is a big problem with the construction of *workshops*. Although communities are desirous to undertake these projects, they lack financial resources; the result is that many workshop structures that started off briskly about a year or two ago are still at the foundation level. It is strongly suggested that the government provides funds for their completion if the idea of vocational or technical bias inherent in the new system is to have any meaning.

It was difficult to reconcile this situation with the government's initial assurances regarding adequacy of resources to implement the reform policy. Inadequate planning might have contributed to the setbacks observed in the system.

Conclusions

The new reforms are beset with obstacles. The anticipated benefits associated with decentralization in Ghana, namely the expectation that the community would be able to make educational decisions and to make effective resource contribution to education, have not been realized. It was expected that education would emphasize the pupil acquisition of practical skills so that school graduates would not all look up to the central government as a major employer. This expectation has also not been realized because of lack of adequate resources. Some headmasters and teachers also noted that because the reforms started at the middle of the school system, rather than from primary one, results of the final examinations of both the new junior and senior school systems had so far been poor (Mankoe, 1992). Yedu (1993, p. 13) has observed that the more education is reformed in Ghana, the more problematic it becomes. He remarked:

> The introduction of the junior and senior secondary school concept was drummed up as the panacea to educational ills. Examination results so far do not suggest any answer to the problem. After this expenditure running into billions of cedis with foreign exchange component and a huge World Bank loan, ... there is a need for another bout of expenditure in the name of reforming the same 'reformed' education.

Moreover, it has been difficult to monitor the system, determine the negative impact and the necessary solutions. These unanticipated results may be largely attributed to lack of effective planning that would tap inputs from the policy initiators themselves, educational planners and experts, top civil servants, school district and school-based administrators, teachers, parents and community leaders including chiefs.

After many years of attempts, the goals of decentralization, particularly as it relates to education, have not been realized. One of the issues to seriously

address to get decentralization well under way may be institutional strategic planning.

Strategic Planning - Theory

Its Nature

Planning means choice of assumptions about the future, proceeding to set objectives, formulating immediate goals, defining action programs, implementing programs, evaluating these programs, and providing feedback to reset the planning process. Strategic planning, on the other hand, seeks to define what might or could happen and to present alternative courses of action under different scenarios (Benveniste, 1989). Benveniste suggests that to understand strategic planning, we need to ask broad questions:

1. What stage of development are we in?
2. What should we do if this even happens?
3. How can we cope with this problem?
4. What are our goals?

Process

Strategic planning should include planners, analysts, implementors, monitors and evaluators. As O'Connor, cited in Benveniste (1989) noted, planners should ask: What impact would this event have? How probable is it? How will we know if it happens? What consequences will it have? What will we do next? Strategic planning does not assume that it can achieve comprehensiveness nor does it assume that there exist best solutions. The process should involve the identification of whatever strengths and weaknesses as well as opportunities and threats that may exist in the organization; planning should proceed from there.

To achieve the goal of strategic planning, it is important to emphasize the role that analysis, implementation, monitoring and evaluation play to carry a plan through. Policy analysts carry out research and other actions needed for the elaboration of a complex set of decisions designed to achieve the goals of an organization, of a set of organizations or of all citizens in a region, nation, or the world. Implementers are the individuals or groups within or outside the organization who would carry out the policy or plan. Monitoring is concerned with the production of designative claims and is therefore primarily concerned with establishing factual premises about public policies. Evaluation, by contrast, is a policy-analytic procedure used to produce information about the performance of policies in satisfying needs, values, or opportunities that constitute a "problem." Monitoring answers the question: "What happened, how and why?" Evaluation asks the question: What difference does it make? (Dunn, 1981, p. 339). The

success of any innovation in education, therefore, depends on the extent to which government leaders address these policy issues.

The adoption of this policy is not, however, as straightforward as it may seem. Decentralization must be planned well for it to produce the intended benefits. Cook (1990,p. 154) acknowledged that decentralizing decision-making is a viable option as an organization grows and becomes more complex. He pointed out

> As an organization grows it becomes more difficult to make all the important decisions in one centralized location. As an organization becomes more complex, it becomes more difficult for a few key leaders to be the most knowledgeable experts in all phases of the operation. To cope with growth and complexity, decisions have to be shared with a larger pool of people and the pressure to decentralize mounts.

Planners have a major task to perform in this crucial moment. Hence Dyckman (1986, p. 20) charged planners in a moment of adversity to discover and enrich the content of planning by including physical planning which is indivisible from the social, economic content. He charged planners to locate this content in a true political context. The society and the state must be seen for what they are, especially the society which is primary.

According to Dyckman, strategic planning should include

> The politicization of bureaucratic and market decisions and demystification of technologies; the image, utopian or not, of how community power might be exercised; and the new scenarios of the post-industrial society, with its implications for the definition of work, the redefinition of social usefulness, and the support of payments needed to smooth the transition. They might also include the support and guidance to mobilize communities toward the ideal of self-governance in a complex society, explication of the responsibilities of the exercise of contributions to the revival of interest in, and ideas about, the alternative social forms of the good life. (p. 21)

This is an urgent call for close collaboration between governments, planners, civil servants and citizens in deciding on the crucial national questions and the means to address them as a strategy for adapting to changing circumstances. This call implies decentralization which has been touted as an appropriate strategy for educational service delivery.

Challenges

Government leaders in Ghana, like leaders in many other developing countries, face serious challenges now and in the years ahead. Their environments

have changed dramatically in the past decades as a result of economic crises, tax problems, demographic shifts, value changes, budget cuts, and the devolution of responsibilities to local areas (Bryson, Freeman & Roering, 1986). Although these authors were referring to socioeconomic developments elsewhere, their observations are true to conditions in many developing countries including Ghana. As the authors pointed out, these developments have led to a now familiar dilemma. On the one hand, traditional sources of revenue for most governments often are unstable, unpredictable, or declining. On the other hand, demands for government services have not slackened.

While these realities pertain to all sectors of the government machinery, they seem even more crucial in the education sector since in many countries education is among the most expensive services to provide. In Ghana, for example, education consumes not less than 30 percent of the annual national budget (Education Budget Estimates, 1994). Consequently, it is necessary for governments to strenuously search for cost effective ways of providing education. Strategic planning is one possible way of delivering educational services more efficiently and effectively. This notion was supported by Knapp, Ginige, Lamichhane, and Thapa (1990) when they affirmed that

> Universally, educators are faced with the task of *doing more with less*. There are increasing and changing demands being placed on the educational system while at the same time the requisite resources have become increasingly scarce. Educational administrators are being pressured to operate systems that are both effective and efficient. In response to this turbulent environmental condition, many educational administrators are turning to strategic planning in the hope that solutions to their dilemmas may be found. (p. 1)

Most centralized governments have realized that educational services can no longer be provided from the central government sources alone, and that the time is now ripe, even overdue, to ask the beneficiaries to help plan for education. Some beneficiaries can indeed pay, and perhaps are prepared to do so provided the invitation to help plan is accompanied by genuine efforts to foster community awareness of the value of education. This has sometimes meant adopting the policy of decentralized educational decision-making.

A critical assessment of the governance of educational systems in many developed and developing countries indicates a shift from centralized to decentralized governance, particularly within the past three decades and, with the ever increasing emergent societal problems, this is not surprising. While many writers believe that some important benefits can be derived from decentralization, other writers think there is little reason to believe that the benefits and advantages so widely associated with decentralized administration are likely to accrue. Chau (1985, p. 97), for example, argued that there may be a pseudo-form of

decentralization which does not, in fact, imply any change in the distribution of power between the centre and the region. He, however, admitted that *by giving more initiative to the regions, the administrative process may be accelerated and hopefully lead to a more efficient use of resources while power basically lies with the centre.* Referring to the need for appropriate decision-making, Hurst (1985) envisioned a more holistic perspective when he said:

> A great deal depends on the calibre of the people making the decisions. Not only must local decision makers be capable of making sound choices, they must also be able to engage their colleagues in effective and efficient implementation of the chosen course of action. If good leadership is not purely a matter of ingrained personality or genetic endowment and can in some measure be taught, then a considerable training effort would be necessary to ensure that decentralization schemes do not simply result in placing administrative burdens on the shoulders of people unable to support them. (p. 81)

Weiler (1990, p. 435) noted that conclusions drawn from the decentralization debate *lead to the search for alternative perspectives that could provide a better account of the political dynamics surrounding decentralization policies.*

Conyers (1982) also observed that *most of the objectives which decentralization is intended to achieve such as improvement in the management of rural development cannot be achieved by decentralization alone.* The implication is that a country needs to analyze its own particular situation in order to draw an appropriate line between what to centralize and what to decentralize. For example, appropriate strategies are needed to ensure that resources -- both human and financial -- are efficiently and effectively directed so that the future scenario which develops is as close as possible to the desired goal. Without appropriate planning techniques, such resource allocation can be subjective and can even act against goal attainment (Unesco, 1982).

These observations affirm the need for strategic considerations to be seriously addressed in the process of decentralizing administration to solve a country's educational problems. They do not necessarily negate the efforts at decentralization. Indeed, many writers, including Dessler (1976), Bray (1985), Caldwell, Smilanich and Spinks (1988), Yannakopulos (1980), Bacchus (1990), Brown (1990) and Glickman (1991) have written extensively in favour of decentralization in educational governance. McLean and Lauglo (1985, p. 16) stressed that different social theories underlying ideological rationales for educational decentralization suggest that educational decentralization may be introduced relatively successfully in some situations and less so in others. A lot depends on the appropriateness of the strategies adopted. Major questions related to the shift from centralization to decentralization policy include: What are the

inherent prospects for a developing country that may arise from this policy change? What are the pitfalls to guard against? Why do some policy makers continue to favour centralization?

Whatever the arguments, many countries see the need to involve those at the grassroots in making decisions about education. Among these developing countries are Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Indonesia, Nepal, Brazil, Costa Rica and Papua New Guinea (Yannakopulos, 1980; Conyers, 1983; & Bray, 1984). The involvement of those at the grassroots requires effective planning for successful implementation of planned programs. It is important to note what impact strategic planning may have on the formulation of a policy such as decentralization.

The Impact of Strategic Planning on Ghana's Decentralized System

The purpose of strategic planning is to ensure a proper balance between long-range goals and objectives and short-range exigencies. It also investigates alternative decisions ahead of time to ensure that they are not made unconsciously, haphazardly, and in a fashion that pre-empts other decisions (Knapp et al., 1990). Without this balance, real decentralization will not occur, and the policy may only amount to more effective ways of doing the old things. For example, under the new system, Ghanaian schools seemed to focus on learning theoretical subjects more effectively rather than emphasizing practical skills since adequate learning tools were not be available for the learning of practical skills. Drucker, cited in Taylor (1982, p. 12) declared that a society whose maturing consists simply of acquiring more firmly established ways of doing things is headed for the graveyard -- even if it learns to do these things with greater skill. In an ever-renewing society what matures is a system or framework within which continuous innovation, renewal and rebirth can occur. Within the policy of decentralization, planning objectives must be set by giving sufficient thought to the limited resources available as well as the cultural, social, and political factors in the environment. Benveniste (1989, p. 55) noted that effective planning is an art of creating bottom-up consensus about the future -- a consensus that happens to be useful because, once the plan is implemented, it produces desirable, enduring, and even harmonious outcomes.

Resolving these issues may not simply be a matter of determining what educational goals and objectives should be and what the ends should be. It may not be a matter implementing a committee's recommendations, since Ghanaian experience has shown that to be inadequate. Hence Kaufman and Herman (1991, p. 191) have urged planners to undertake these activities:

> 1. analyze those supports (strengths) that are available to implement the strategies and tactics -- not selected now, but useful later when actually developing the

strategic action plan -- which ultimately will achieve the vision of "What should be;"

2. identify those weaknesses which should be corrected in achieving the desired vision;

3. identify the opportunities that exist in the environment which have not been previously utilized; and

4. discover threats that exist in the environment which can be avoided, or for which strategies can be developed to diminish consequent negative impact.

Bryson, Freeman, and Roering (1986, p. 65) pointed out that strategic planning, a process that assists governments in dealing with grave national problems, is "a disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions shaping the nature and direction of governmental activities within constitutional bounds." They suggest that strategic planning should focus specifically on a government corporation or agency and on what it can do to improve its performance. This focus ensures a high degree of probability that the present and future resources at the disposal of the management would be allocated only to activities within the framework of the organizational mission, and that the resources so allocated would yield acceptable results within a stated time frame. For this reason, it was incumbent on the Ghanaian policy makers to spell out alternative action plans from which planners could choose the most promising one. Such a choice could be made after a careful analysis of supporting and restraining factors, as they relate to each alternative, is considered. In doing this, it is essential to consult with the beneficiaries and integrate them. Unesco (1982, p. 7) captured the idea succinctly when it recommended that long range educational planning must take place within the context of a given society if it is to ensure that desired social structures are being recognized and attained, and that values desirable are being respected and further developed. The process of planning or policy analysis is integrative. Consultations with implementers and beneficiaries provide an opportunity to exchange information, reach agreements, and present package deals (Benveniste, 1989, p. 12).

A conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that the successful design and implementation of a decentralization policy must be combined with strategic planning. This calls for a close collaboration at all stages of the policy among top politicians, policy makers, planners, educational administrators and even more importantly those whose role will be to implement those policy decisions. All available types of expertise must be tapped. These observations have important implications for policy-makers in combining strategic planning with policy decisions.

Implications for Strategic Policy Making

It may indeed be too early at this stage to make a fair assessment of Ghana's decentralized system. Some benefits have accrued, but there are formidable constraints as well. It is beneficial to focus on the constraints identified at any period of the operation through, for example, periodic appraisals. It must be acknowledged that some planning had been done prior to the implementation of the new system. How successful the system was after four years of operation is, however, open to question.

In determining the needs of an educational system, Witkin (1991, p. 253) asked: Do needs assessments take into consideration the concerns and wishes of students, parents, and teachers? Don't the decision-makers often do what they want to, anyway? Harrison (1991, p. 224) cautioned that when an organization asks stakeholders about their perceptions and expectations of the agency, it had better listen to what they have to say, including representatives of local schools, business, industry and legislators. Any conflicting process may be counter-productive, hence Quinn (1987, p. 19) advised policy makers and planners to improve strategic decisions by (a) systematically involving those with most specific knowledge, (b) obtaining participation of those who must carry out decisions, and (c) avoiding premature closure that could lead the decision in undesirable directions.

As WiLkinson (1986) pointed out, in strategic planning commitment is essential in the pre-planning phase, and that without the visible and enthusiastic support of the planners and members of the local communities, any planning process is doomed to fail. Miller and Buttram (1991) suggested that collaborative process in planning should begin when the decision to initiate school improvement activities is first made. Effective strategy must be technically workable, politically acceptable to key stakeholders, in accord with the organization's mission and core values, and must be ethical, moral and legal. This requires leadership styles that involve an analytical understanding of the whole organization and its environment, skills in identifying strategic issues, coordinating strategic decision process, and organizing and implementing plans and strategies (Patterson, 1984).

O'Brien (1991, p. 165) recounted that all organizations have a budget to manage, staff and clients to organize, resources to allocate, funding sources to develop, expenditures to control, and decisions to make, in all these areas that will affect its future. As already noted, Implementation Committees were established at the onset of the decentralization policy in Ghana. These committees were to monitor the adequate and prompt supply of inputs and their effective utilization in the system. They were also charged with the evaluation of the operation of the entire system. The committees were, however, short-lived because, they did not hold any legal authority with which to perform their functions. These committees

needed the requisite legal authority and incentives with which they would faithfully perform their national assignment. This need was lacking.

True, there were failures in the Ghanaian system. But as Brady (19–4) counselled, the key to sound evaluation is convincing participants *that failure to achieve certain goals or objectives will not be taken as a negative reflection in their performance.* This must be accepted and adhered to by top managers, particularly at the initial stages of trying to implement strategic management. It was not clear what mechanism had been formulated to evaluate the system whether summative or formative. That the school system was still grappling with problems is not the distressing factor. It was not certain what efforts were being made to address those problems. Makridakis (1990) has assured us that

> It is rare that actual outcomes are the same as those predicted when plans are made. Inaccurate forecasts, competitive moves, unforeseen events, unanticipated difficulties, lack of adequate resources, changing environmental conditions, new underestimated constraints, unpredicted resistance to implementing the plans, and many other factors can affect implementation and cause deviations between plans and reality (p. 127).

Thus the policy required an in-built self-checking system that could constantly appraise ongoing performances and provide the necessary missing links. This link seemed to be the single most crucial missing factor in Ghana's attempts at educational reforms. This is an urgent call for policy makers to reappraise the policy and its effects, identify what strategic plans may help to achieve the educational objectives for which the policy was designed and implemented.

A Concluding Comment

Decentralization must achieve its intended goals and objectives. Towards this end, the first strategic decision to make is the determination of the mission or purpose of the organization. The client is the one who basically makes this determination in cooperation with the experts who can help provide solutions. Thus effective mission statements always proceed from the outside in (McConkey, cited in Ensign & Adler, 1985). Developing countries will continue to grapple with educational problems in their search for effective means of providing educational services. Solutions to such problems cannot be provided by any single expert. Critical educational questions must be asked, valid answers must be diligently sought. Short-term mistakes may be made, but they must be vigorously confronted for the long term attainment of national educational goals and objectives. In my view, this is the whole basis for strategic planning in education. This view must be the underlying factor for projected benefits to be derived from educational decentralization.

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IMPLICATIONS OF INTRA-EUROPEAN MOBILITY ON EDUCATION: EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

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The paper reviews recent trends in migration in Europe with the resulting influx of refugees and immigrants into Western European countries in numbers unmatched since the end of the World War II, and then discusses the implications in the host countries for education, drawing upon examples from Canada, a nation with much experience in the schooling of immigrant children and adults.

Nous examinons ici les tendances récentes de la migration en Europe qui a porté le nombre de l'afflux des réfugiés et des migrants dans les pays de l'Europe Occidentale à un niveau sans précédent depuis la fin de la dernière guerre mondiale. Nous traitons ensuite les implications au plan de l'éducation dans les pays d'accueil en nous servant des exemples tirés au Canada, où l'expérience sur la formation des enfants et des adultes immigrants est considérable.

INTRODUCTION

With the expansion of the European Community, increased mobility among nations is to be anticipated. Moreover, the collapse of the Communist system and the massive changes which former Eastern Bloc countries are undergoing have resulted in populations of refugees and immigrants in Western Europe in numbers not experienced since the aftermath of World War II. Both situations pose challenges for educational systems.

This paper addresses the issue of education for recent immigrants and refugees, adults and children, and draws upon studies from Canada, a country with large and varied immigrant populations. Before focusing on the Canadian experiences in regard to issues and practices of schooling, it is necessary to set the context in Western Europe by examining recent trends in migration to that area in order to assess the conditions that European educators have to address.

CHANGING TRENDS IN MIGRATION

After World War II, and for the next two or three decades, many countries of Western Europe experienced high levels of migration with hundreds or even thousands of refugees and displaced persons. The International Refugee Organization (IRO) was established in 1946 by the UN with a mandate to facilitate repatriation. Soon, however, it became clear that Eastern European refugees by and large resisted repatriation to their former homelands despite aggressive encouragement from the Soviets and other East European countries. The Western European countries, on the other hand, faced with demobilization of their armed forces as well as with massive reconstruction of war-damaged cities and ports, were cautious about accepting too many. In effect, those who were absorbed into West Germany provided inexpensive labour that ultimately contributed to Germany's rapid economic recovery (known as the *Wirtschaftswunder* - economic miracle). However, in 1946, the IRO needed to go beyond the European borders to find places for resettlement. Between 1947 and 1951, the IRO resettled 1,039,150 persons, over three quarters of whom went to four countries: the United States received 329,000, Australia took 182,000, Israel--132,000, and Canada--123,000. A further 170,000 were settled among European states with the United Kingdom, France and Belgium taking the majority. (Marrus, 1985:344-45). Some countries also encouraged emigration. Speaking of the Netherlands, Penninx states: "Between 1946 and 1972, 481,000 Dutch citizens emigrated under the auspices of the 'Directorate for Emigration,' mainly to Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand" (Penninx, 1993:7).

By the 70's and 80's however, prosperity was beginning to return to Western Europe, and in some cases former emigrants, now of retirement age, returned to their East or West European homelands. Of more interest to this study are other populations that began by the 50s and 60s to make their presence felt in Western Europe. Labour migrants, many with families from Southern Europe and North Africa had begun flooding into Western Europe, primarily to Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden, and labour recruitment continued until 1973-74. (Rogers, 1993:109-110) Toward the end of the 80's when restrictions on emigration were somewhat relaxed in Eastern Bloc countries, new trends in migration from that part of Europe began to emerge.

The 1989 United Nations Demographic Yearbook (1991) provides figures on migration patterns around the world. If one focuses on what was happening in Europe, one will learn that in 1988, for example, Poland lost 36,291 citizens to long term emigration. (p. 613) In Western Europe, after some periods of heavy migration to France, Belgium and the Netherlands prior to 1980 because of the independence of their former colonies, it seemed as if the migrations were

beginning to wane. Then in 1983, migration to Western Europe began to increase once again. (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

Long term immigrants to selected Western European Countries - 1984-1988

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
France	44,120	37,400	33,120	33,661	39,063
Germany	457,120	512,108	598,479	614,603	903,892*
Netherlands	60,115	72,461	80,485	88,992	84,439
Norway	19,688	21,858	24,196	31,149	29,964
Sweden	31,486	33,127	39,487	42,666	51,092
Switzerland	96,880	89,866	102,222	110,806	124,984

*This figure includes many people from the former DDR as well as those who could claim citizenship with proof of German ancestry.

(Source: 1989 UN Demographic Yearbook, 1991:545-547)

Another interesting factor is the growth of asylum seekers into Western Europe. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2

Asylum Seekers into Selected OECD Countries 1984-1991 (Thousands)

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Belgium	3.7	5.3	7.6	6.0	4.5	8.1	13.0	15.2
France	21.6	28.8	26.2	27.6	34.3	61.4	54.7	50.1
Germany	35.3	73.8	99.7	57.4	103.1	121.3	193.1	256.1
Holland	2.6	5.6	5.9	13.5	7.5	13.9	21.2	21.6
Norway	0.3	0.8	2.7	8.6	6.6	4.4	4.0	3.0
Sweden	12.0	14.5	14.6	18.1	19.6	30.0	29.7	26.5
Switz.	7.4	9.7	8.5	10.9	16.7	24.4	35.8	41.6

(Source: SOPEMI 1992 as quoted in Rogers 1993:118)

A particularly interesting figure is the number of school aged children coming as long term immigrants. Unfortunately the *1989 Demographic Yearbook* could provide these figures only for certain years, but for the purposes of this paper dealing with issues affecting the education of recent immigrants and refugees, the figures are relevant since statistics are from the late 80s and thus, many of the children will still be in the school system today (See Figure 3). Comparable figures for Canada are also quoted.

Figure 3

Children ages 5-19 entering countries as long term immigrants

Year for which numbers are available	Country of immigration	Number of Children aged 5-19
1986	Denmark	9,033
1987	Germany	169,481
1987	Sweden	13,244
1988	Netherlands	27,368
1988	Norway	8,944
1988	Switzerland	15,131
1989	Canada	56,184

(Source: 1989 UN Demographic Yearbook, 1991)

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) based in Geneva Switzerland not only keeps track of emigration and immigration trends around the world, but also provides assistance in resettlement of refugees in asylum camps and in more permanent situations as well as providing language training programs. In 1991, R.T. Appleyard prepared a monograph for the IOM entitled *International Migration: Challenge for the Nineties*. In the section on Europe (pp 29-32), he traces the growth of migration. In the 60s, Northern Europe had 10,000,000 guest workers and their dependents who had come from the Mediterranean Area and former colonies. Although it was never intended that the workers would seek permanent settlement, many in fact did and now have become citizens of countries such as Germany. When one thinks of migration, one normally considers the Mediterranean countries of Spain, Italy and Greece as exporters of population. In fact, according to Appleyard, IOM figures show that since the 80s those countries themselves have been hosting as many as 1,000,000 legal and illegal migrants from non-European bordering countries, Asia and Africa (p. 12). For

example, by the end of 1990, Italy could count among the legal, officially-processed migrants 80,000 Moroccans, 41,000 Tunisians, 34,000 Filipinos, 30,000 Yugoslavs and 25,000 Senegalese. Spain had 400,000 foreign residents in 1989, twice the 1980 figures.

By the late 80s, France, Belgium and the Netherlands experienced increases in the number of permanent immigrants from the Maghreb, Poland, Turkey and parts of Asia. As mentioned above, Eastern Europe provided a major source of new immigrants, sending 1.3 million to Western Europe in 1989 mainly from Poland, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. A recent trend has seen the new democracies such as Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic having to cope with emigration of their own people to the West as well as receiving often illegal immigration from Romania, the Middle East and from former Soviet States. Estimates put the numbers of illegal immigrants to these central European countries as high as 100,000. (Appleyard, 1991:27)

The current upheaval in former Yugoslavia has imposed additional pressures on Western Europe. William Zimmerman (1993) writing on Migration and Security in Yugoslavia, quotes figures reported by the New York Times, July 24, 1992, in which it was reported that:

> the UN High Commission for Refugees placed the total number of refugees at 2.3 million. Roughly 200,000 are located in Germany, 60,000 in Hungary, and 50,000 in Austria. The bulk are located in various parts of the former Yugoslavia with roughly 600,000 each in Croatia and Bosnia, 375,000 in Serbia, something like 66,000 in Slovenia and the balance in Montenegro and Macedonia (p. 79).

The Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia provides constantly updated statistics on numbers of persons from Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina listed as displaced persons, returnees or refugees. In a facsimile received from their office on May 16, 1995, figures are provided for Displaced Persons, Returnees and Refugees as of May 11. 1995. As of that date, the Office reports 386,264 registered displaced persons, returnees and refugees within Croatia, noting that an estimated 6% of all categories remain unregistered. The same office estimates that 56,840 persons from Croatia are located in other countries, mainly in Western Europe, along with 377,120 from Bosnia/Herzegovina. See Figure 4 for a breakdown by country).

Figure 4

Persons from Croatia and Bosnia/Herzegovina registered in Other Countries as of May 11, 1995

Country	Number of Persons from Croatia	Number of Persons from Bosnia/Herzegovina
Austria	2,500	36,550
France	n/a	2,600
Germany	35,000	180,000
Hungary	2,400	3,400
Holland	n/a	20,000
Italy	1,500	2,600
Switzerland	250	9,970
Slovenia	190	27,000
Sweden	n/a	45,000
Denmark	n/a	18,000
Norway	n/a	12,000
Other Countries	15,000	20,000

(Source: Government of the Republic of Croatia, Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees)

The various statistics above indicating how migration to Western European countries has increased in the last few years, have been provided in order to set a context against which the possible effects of increased minority populations on the school systems may be discussed. The situation in many large urban centres of Canada where schools are faced with the task of educating students from numerous ethnic minority groups will be considered by way of comparison. It is anticipated that the following discussion of language and literacy education in Canada may provide useful information for European educators. Since, the changes in Europe have happened relatively rapidly, one might wonder if European educators have yet fully appreciated the implications--all the more so since as Appleyard (1991) in the IOM report states: "Western European countries by and large have not readily acknowledged that they have become countries of immigration." (p. 31) Indeed, David Coleman in a report entitled "International Migrants in Europe: Adjustment and Integration Processes and Policies," has noted that "the Netherlands has become a de facto immigration country", and he has predicted that it will remain so "although it never sought that status," a fact supported by Penninx et al (1993:1). He also noted that "Germany does not regard

itself as a country of migration even though in 1988, 4.49 million foreigners or 7.5% of the population lived there." (1991, as quoted in Appleyard, p. 31)

If the demographics of Western European countries have now changed from relatively homogeneous to heterogeneous populations speaking many languages and representing a variety of cultures, the educational systems will have to take that into account. The situation is not unlike that of Canada, a country traditionally associated with massive immigration, although recent years, immigrants have come mainly from developing countries rather than from the Western European sources of earlier decades. With a relatively small population of 27,000,000, Canada currently accepts 250, 000 immigrants per year. What does that mean for the school system?

EDUCATING IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS: THE CANADIAN CASE

The Council of Ministers of Education of Canada conducted a survey in 1991 the results of which showed that the Province of Ontario had 59,000 school aged students who were enrolled in English Second Language/ English Skills Development (ESL/ESD) programs. Moreover, the Council has predicted that between 1990 and 1995, 300,000 children under the age of 15 would enter Canada, 55% settling in Ontario and 40% of those in Metropolitan Toronto (Curtis and Taborek, 1994:23). In 1993, statistics from North York, one of the larger burroughs of Metropolitan Toronto, indicated that of approximately 60,000 North York students,40% were born outside of Canada (53% if one considers only those at the secondary level (grades 9 to 12), 71% have at least one parent born outside of Canada, 43% have a home language other than English, and more than 80 first languages from 120 countries of origin are represented in the schools (Majhanovich and Majhanovich, 1993:20). It is obvious for all concerned (learners, parents, teachers, administrators, etc.) that appropriate types of instruction should be available to assist not only the school-aged immigrants but also their parents, to integrate into the larger English speaking community as soon as possible.

Programs have to be provided that include knowledge, skills, and values necessary to prepare newcomers to survive and, it is to be hoped, flourish in the new country and culture. Within the school environment, it is recognized that if ESL/ESD students have any chance at all of meeting equitable expectations for social integration, special support must be available. Because Ontario and Metropolitan Toronto in particular receive the largest proportion of immigrants, a language and literacy program from that region of the country is described in this paper. However, other urban areas in Canada with large numbers of school-aged immigrants use similar approaches; thus, the one outlined here can be seen as a typical model for urban Canada.

A SUGGESTED PROGRAM

Canadian School districts such as North York, mentioned above, have learned from experience that support provided to immigrant students entails:

> a program...linked to the conceptual development of the students, of sufficient duration to monitor students' progress for at least five years that would include cultural enrichment for all students in the school and would maintain strong contacts with the home. (Handscombe, 1989, p.26.)

Teachers involved in the delivery of ESL/ESD programs have decided that the support offered must include five components: an orientation program, a monitoring procedure, ongoing parental involvement, a strong language program, and academic upgrading where necessary. (Handscombe, 1989, pp:26-29)

The orientation program is designed to provide as much information as possible, both to the newcomers and the staff that will be dealing with them. **The monitoring procedure** consists of an initial assessment carried out if possible in the language the child understands best to determine linguistic and academic functioning as well as the child's educational history. This procedure ideally should be extended over time to track the student, modify placement and program decisions if necessary and provide appropriate interventions. **Ongoing parental involvement** should also be encouraged, supported by interpretation and translation services where necessary. The importance of using and fostering the development of the first language is recognized as an advantage to students. The noted Canadian researcher, James Cummins (1984:110-12, 1986:203), has criticized conventional wisdom that immigrant children's academic difficulties are caused because of interference of the home language with the second language. In North America, teachers encourage maximum exposure to the second language,English, and have even been known to advise parents to attempt to speak only English with their children even if they themselves do not speak English well. Professor Cummins argues that such an approach can lead to disastrous results since the parents may be even less proficient than their children in the second language and, thus, may be reluctant to interact with them in the second language. Klein (1986:10) has pointed out that one's sense of identity is closely linked to one's first language, and if the first language is suppressed, or seen as having less value than the second language, the students' sense of identity and self esteem may be damaged, setting up the potential for learning problems in school. Cummins suggests that sound knowledge of one's first language, in which certain universal concepts such as time, space, causality, and deictic terms [1] are developed, is essential if one is to experience success in learning a second language since these concepts can be transferred to any subsequent language one learns. When one has developed underlying proficiency in one's first language, (which will include the

ability to comprehend the above mentioned universal concepts), then one is capable of performing cognitively demanding communicative tasks. Without underlying proficiency in the first language, it will be more difficult to master a second language and the potential for problems in other academic areas is increased. That is not to say that--access to second language classes is not essential. It is just that learning a second language should not be "subtractive," that is, at the expense of the first language.

Consequently in the North York plan, **a strong language program** adapted to the needs of various learners is seen as central, but as an addition to, not a replacement for the first language. Where possible, opportunities for bilingual programs, especially in the early years of integration into the new country, are provided by teachers, tutors and peers fluent in both languages in order to capitalize on the first language as a basis to develop the second. A distinction needs to be made as well between ESL students who have to acquire all aspects of the language and those who already speak a variant or dialect of it. These latter students will probably possess high receptive (comprehension) skills but might require assistance in expressing themselves in the standard forms of English. This distinction might also be made for students who speak the language quite well but because of upbringing in a culture or political system radically different from the new home country may need help in adjusting to their new situation. This is especially true for refugee children from war-torn areas of the world who may have particular psycho/social as well as literacy and academic upgrading needs. See in this regard Robert Coles *Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear.*

With regard to the suggested program to cope with newcomers of various backgrounds and abilities, **academic upgrading** may be required particularly for those students from areas of the world where schooling was unavailable or sporadic. A literacy program constitutes the centre of the program, and if possible this may begin as a bilingual program making use of the students' first language. If a monolingual program must be followed, then it should be matched to the students' academic background and incorporate tried and true second language methods such as a visual/activity oriented approach, the contextualization of materials, etc.

Having established the five main features of the program, what is the best way to deliver it, and for how long? Length of academic support for immigrant students is a particular concern. Often minority children appear to have achieved linguistic proficiency in a relatively short period, perhaps as quickly as by the second year in the host country. After all, they appear to be quite capable of carrying on casual conversations and can follow most instructions. Nevertheless, researchers such as Cummins, (1984, 1986), and McLaughlin (1985) recommend that it may take as long as five to seven years in formal schooling for newcomers

to gain the ability to perform complex academic tasks in their new language. All too often in North America, immigrant children who appear fluent in their new language, experience real difficulties when assessed for academic abilities and are relegated to classes for the learning disabled. In fact, the real problem is often a lack of proficiency in English, their second language. Cummins and Swain have pointed out that there is a difference between surface fluency which includes pronunciation, grammar and the vocabulary necessary for basic interaction with others or what they call "Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills, and the type of proficiency needed to function in a complex academic situation, or what they term "Cognitive/ Academic Language Proficiency" (Cummins & Swain, 1986:151 ff). It is this second type of proficiency that Cummins and the other researchers mentioned above estimate will require five to seven years to develop, and only then if a solid underlying proficiency in the first language with (as discussed before) comprehension of the universal concepts of time, space and causality as they are expressed in that langage are in evidence.

However, to sustain academic second language support programs over many years when more and more immigrant students are constantly entering the system is not a simple task for school authorities. One thing that must be guarded against is the"submersion" approach, where students are placed in regular classes with first language students, and are expected to pick up the language simply by being there. The Canadian experience has shown that this approach leads to a high rate of failure and dropping out of school among minority students. Therefore, some explicit support must be in place. The usual approach in Ontario is a combination of withdrawal of second language students where absolutely necessary for certain periods of the day while still allowing integration of SL learners with fluent speakers in subjects which are not as language intensive (e.g. Mathematics, Science, Arts, Music and Physical Education). In language intensive subjects such as literature and history, if withdrawal support is not always available, then the curriculum has to be modified slightly to provide word lists, simpler adaptations of the content and some integration of second language teaching with regular content teaching. Surprisingly, some secondary teachers have found that some of their first language students prefer the modified materials since the regular texts are often written at a level above the literacy level of the native language students. Finally, where it can be arranged, first language tutoring for immigrant students is provided as a bridge to acquisition of content delivered in the second language.

These support programs for immigrant students have implications for teacher education and preparation as well. Although in Ontario ESL/ESD teachers are theoretically required to have certification in the area, not all teachers are in fact qualified. Recently there has been an increasing tendency to mainstreaming with the result that the regular classroom teacher will have to cope with using second language methods in areas of the curriculum that are not supported by

student withdrawal to an ESL class taught by an ESL teacher. Hence, recent recommendations from the Teachers of English as a Second Language have included a call for a course on ESL for elementary and secondary teachers as part of their teacher preparation.

The program discussed above is geared to the elementary and secondary systems. However, in cities like Toronto with a massive immigrant adult population who do not speak English as their first or even second language, other programs have to be available. In fact, ESL teachers have included among their recommendation regarding teacher preparation, the addition of adult education as a possibility for certification since they are aware that many ESL teachers will work with adults in various settings. In Ontario, there are many adult education centres where immigrant students can acquire language skills, settlement information, career counselling and recognition of their adult experience and qualifications from their home country. Community Colleges and to a lesser degree, Universities also provide ESL support. In some cases, language classes are even set up in the workplace, in factories and other industrial complexes.

Evidently similar programs are available in Europe. The International Organisation for Migration Annual Report for 1992 mentions that 8,906 migrants and refugees were involved in cultural orientation courses where they could upgrade their language skills and learn to adapt to their new environment. For example, the IOM offered English, French and German language courses in Italy, Portugal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Viet Nam for migrants who would be leaving for areas of the world where those languages are spoken. (International Report of the IOM, 1992, p. 16)

Certain facilities already exist within the school systems of Western Europe to provide linguistic and cultural orientation to new immigrants. However, the influx of migrants has risen so rapidly that the schools may not yet be able to cope - even though it is to the benefit of all, not the least the host country, that the most urgent educational needs of immigrants be met. Canada has a long tradition of providing and refining language and social integration programs for its pluralistic, multilingual populace. Perhaps those European countries that only recently have had to come to terms with a rapidly changing demographic reality can profit from Canada's experience when they develop their own programs.

Note

1 *Deictic* is a linguistic term referring to lexical units that point, but do not specify elements of a particular situation, eg - here, there, yesterday, I, you, this.

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POLITICAL LEGITIMACY AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN NIGERIA IN THE 1970'S: THE CASE OF THE NIGERIAN MILITARY GOVERNMENTS, 1966-1976

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The paper examines and analyzes the crisis of political legitimacy that faced the Federal military Government of Nigeria from 1966 to 1976. The central argument in this paper is that the problem of acquiring political legitimacy played a significant role in the major educational policy implemented by the military regime in Nigeria in the first twelve years of military rule. The military rulers who implemented the national education policy of the 1970's that led to free tuition education at all levels may have acted in the best interest of the country. But they also wanted it to win national recognition and acceptance from all sections of the society. Phenomenal achievements have been made in terms of enrolment increases at all levels of the education system, relative availability of learning facilities, increases in literacy and numeracy rates in the country, and the narrowing of the education gap between the North and South in particular, and between the ethnic groups in general. The author argues however that the national education policy implemented by the military rulers seems to have benefitted the political leadership more than the political community. The Federal Military Government's national policy on education was designed for political expediency. It was meant to serve the purpose of winning approval of votes from the masses. It is a classic case of welfare politics.

Cet article examine et analyse la crise de légitimité politique que devait faire face le gouvernement fédéral militaire du Nigéria entre 1966 et 1976. L'argument central démontre que l'acquisition de la légitimité politique joue un rôle important dans la politique sur l'éducation promue par le régime militaire au Nigéria dans les douze premières années de ce régime. Ayant fait appliquer la politique nationale de l'éducation dans les années 1970 dont le résultat menait à une éducation gratuite à tous les niveaux, les dirigeants militaires avaient dû agir dans l'intérêt de la nation. Mais ils voulaient aussi être reconnus par la nation et acceptés par toutes les sections de la société. Ils avaient réalisé des succès sensationnels: une augmentation considérable des inscriptions scolaires à tous les niveaux, un accès plus ouvert des centres de formation, un taux d'alphabétisation et de capacité au calcul plus élevé dans la campagne et la réduction de l'écart des niveaux d'éducation entre

le Nord et le Sud, en particulier, puis entre les groupes ethniques en général. Mais l'auteur a voulu montrer la politique nationale de l'éducation appliquée par les dirigeants militaires avaient mieux servi la classe dirigeante que la communauté politique. La politique de l'éducation du gouvernement militaire fédéral a été conçue pour des raisons d'ordre politique. C'était pour gagner les voix de la masse populaire. C'est le cas classique de la politique providentielle.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a country of multi-ethnic and cultural groups usually classified into linguistic affiliation. It is a country with powerful and prestigious public institutions whose members are often recruited on the basis of their educational accomplishments, and to a certain extent, the ethnic group that controls bureaucratic directives is as politically significant as the ethnic or geographic origin of the President and the top ministers. And often the question of who makes decisions touches the heart of the problem of ethnic political and economic dominance or pre-eminence. In this rapidly changing and politically conscious society, if any ethnic group perceives that its ability to control its destiny has been or is about to be compromised, there is bound to be challenge and disapproval of the action of the national government. When this happens, the political allegiance which all sections of the country owe to the national government is threatened. The national government will try to assert its authority over all sections of the country by the use of force, and/or by stressing and promoting inter-ethnic harmony and political cohesion of the country. If it does not succeed, its political legitimacy would be undermined.

In Nigeria, democratically elected national governments have had their political legitimacy challenged from time to time by ethnic leaders and their supporters for various reasons. In the case of a military government that shot its way into power, winning political support from all sections of the country and being accepted as a legitimate national government will be an even more difficult task. It can stay in political office by the use of force or winning widespread acceptance and political legitimacy by its public policy. I have tried to explore the crisis of political legitimacy within the military government of Nigeria from 1966 to 1976. The need for political legitimacy and national acceptance of the authority of the military government was instrumental in its national education policy of the 1970's. To put the issues into proper perspective, we will review the concept of political legitimacy.

POLITICAL LEGITIMACY

According to Lipset (1960), the desire for legitimacy or popular acceptance is common to all forms of government. It is important for a

government to possess it, or the political decisions that are made may not be accepted as binding by the political community. Legitimacy entails the capacity of the political leadership to maintain the acceptance by the political community that its goals and objectives will further their interest. Where legitimacy is lost or the political community refuses to accept the political decisions of the political leadership, the existing apparatus may no longer be appropriate for the society. The consequences may be tyranny, fear, insecurity, repression, military coup or secession.

Robert Dahl in Dare (1975, p. 95) argues that a government is said to be legitimate if the people to whom its orders are directed believe that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials and leaders of the government possess the quality of rightness, propriety or moral goodness - the right in short, to make binding rules. When democratically elected governments make political decisions, these are binding on the political community because the leaders were elected to act on the citizens' behalf. The authority exercised is legitimate because the governed or political community willingly and consciously suspended their judgment for that of the political leadership, especially if that power is exercised within certain limits and according to certain rules. "It is this belief by those who are ruled that their leaders have a right to rule" that constitutes "the foundation of legitimacy" (Dare, ibid, p. 96). An unwanted and unpopular regime could end up with a very positive image, nation-wide acceptance and legitimacy if it puts in place effective and efficient public politic policies that are compatible with the values of the political community. So, a regime or political leadership can win political legitimacy or popular acceptance. The success or failure of any government or political leadership is determined by results. But a government that came to power through a coup would need popular and effective public policies in order to compensate for the initial stigma of illegitimacy.

In a multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria, building political legitimacy through effective public policies is usually difficult because of sectional cleavages. The result often is the crisis of legitimacy in the political leadership of the country. If a government that is in need of political legitimacy is able to find issues or policies that are acceptable to all sections of the political community, it is likely to gain the political legitimacy needed to stay in power. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria used the issue of education as a major public policy instrument to acquire political legitimacy. We will see in the next section how this was done by the Nigerian Military Government from 1966 to 1976.

THE CRISIS OF POLITICAL LEGITIMACY IN THE NIGERIAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT, 1966-76

In January 15, 1966, a military coup overthrew the civilian government of Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. There was apparent nation-wide jubilation and

celebration that the weak and ineffective civilian government was thrown out. But not long after, it became obvious that there was the problem of government acceptability by all sections of the country. The military coup that overthrew the civilian government came to be perceived along ethnic lines. The overthrown civilian government was headed by a Northerner, while the soldiers who plotted and executed the coup were mainly Southerners from the Ibo-speaking areas of Nigeria. Some soldiers from the northern parts of Nigeria were also involved in the coup. Most Northerners, especially the political leadership, began to believe that the coup was sectionally motivated because the majority of those killed -- both civilians and soldiers -- came from the North, and most of the others come from the non-Ibo speaking areas of Southern Nigeria. Some of these military revolutionaries who plotted and executed the coup have tried to explain in their writings why the outcome of their actions was unbalanced. (See Adewale Ademoyega, 1981; and Alex Madiebo, 1980). The new military government was given a cold reception by most members of the Northern political leadership and was perceived as illegitimate, but received popular support and understanding in the South and among some Northerners.

The new Federal Military Government was headed by General Aguiyi Ironsi, an Ibo who was then the most senior army officer. Among the first official action of the new military government was the promulgation of decrees 33 and 34, which affirm a new unitary administrative structure for Nigeria. See (Public Order Decree 1966, No. 33, 34, Official Gazette, Vol. 43, No. 41). As events later revealed, the unification of public service decree (No. 34) did not sit well with the Northern political leadership. It sparked off three days of riots in major Northern Nigerian cities and towns during which thousands of Southerners, mostly Ibos, were attacked and killed or maimed and their properties looted. The fear expressed was that Northerners would be at a disadvantage for competitive positions given that the level of education in the South exceeded by a wide margin that of the North. There were other aspects of the unification decree that further alarmed the Northern political leadership. They cannot be discussed here because of the scope of this paper. See Dare, (Op. cit, p. 99).

General Ironsi found himself in a quagmire regarding the fate of the military officers who plotted and executed the coup that toppled the civilian government. The Northern political leadership and army officers wanted them to be tried and punished for their actions but these men were hailed as heroes by most Southerners. It was a typical case of "damned if you do, damned if you don't". General Ironsi tried other appeasement methods by ordering mass promotion of Northern army officers; this proved futile (Madeibo, Op.Cit., pp 51-82). The Northern political leadership refused to accept the political legitimacy of the Federal Military Government headed by General Aguiyi Ironsi, lending credence to Lipset's (1960) theory that if at any time the status of major political

conservative group is threatened, or if access to politics is denied to emerging groups as crucial periods, the system's legitimacy will remain questionable (p. 80).

The Northern political leadership rejected the Federal Military Government in the counter-coup of July 29, 1966. The coup was directed against the Ibos - the ethnic group of General Ironsi. Another new Federal Military Government headed by a Northerner, Colonel Yakubu Gowon, emerged, but it was not successful in the Eastern and Mid-western Regions. Because the coup failed in the Eastern Region, in particular the homeland of the Ibo ethnic group, Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, the Ironsi appointed Military Governor of the Region, remained in political control of the Eastern parts of the country. Colonel Ojukwu and the people of the Eastern Region challenged the authority and legitimacy of the new regime led by Colonel Yakubu Gowon in Lagos. Most Southerners saw it as a revenge coup against the Ibos (Dare, Op.Cit., p. 101). If the revenge coup had been just soldiers killing soldiers and ended thus, Nigeria might not have fought a Civil War. The months of September and November 1966 were a horrifying period of more blood-letting and massacres of Ibo civilians in all cities and towns of Northern Nigeria. The anger and outrage that the killing generated in the Eastern Region could not be contained. It now looked like Nigeria was at a political cross-road and the leadership did not know which way to turn.

The country began to disintegrate. Gowon applied a few measures with the hope that they would help slow down the imminent drift toward political disintegration. But none was able to restore the confidence of the Military Governor and the people of Eastern region in the Federal Military Government of Nigeria dominated by the Northerners. There were more negotiations, meetings and juggling for an accommodation of each other's viewpoints and fears. The climax came in January 1967 when representatives of the Federal Military Government led by Colonel Gowon and those of the Eastern Regional Government led by Colonel Ojukwu met at Aburi, Ghana. Ghana's Head of State, General Joseph A. Ankrah had offered to help bring a peaceful solution to the Nigerian crisis. According to the information released when both parties returned to Nigeria, agreements and accommodations were reached. But shortly after, they became subject to conflicting and contradictory interpretations (Madiebo, Op.Cit., p. 92-93), thereby validating Karl Deutsch's (1974) theory that "Where legitimacy is lost, agreements break down or are reduced to matters of expediency that can be broken when convenient. The consequences may be tyranny, revolution, session, or some other form of break-up." (p. 16). From this point on, the Federal Military Government of Colonel Gowon began to lack any serious support from all parts of Nigeria except the North. The political support of the leadership from the Western and Mid-western Region appeared to be wavering, especially after Chief Obafemi Awolowo - the leader of the Yorubas of the Western Region -

threatened to pull the Western Region, and Lagos territory out of Nigeria if the Eastern Region seceded from the Nigerian federation (Panter-Brick, 1970, p. 200; Dare, Op.Cit., p. 104)

On May 30, 1967, the Eastern Region declared itself the Republic of Biafra and proclaimed its territory independent and sovereign. On July 6, 1967, the Civil War began, and became known as the "Biafran War". The war ended after almost three years of carnage with the capitulation of Biafra and the reintegration of the former Eastern Region into the Nigerian Federation. Colonel Ojukwu went into voluntary exile.

Following the end of the Civil War, and the reintegration of Biafra into the Nigerian Federation, Gowon, by now, a general and an acknowledged Head of the Federal Nigerian Military Government began the process of national reconciliation, to acquire nation-wide legitimacy. In this process, Gowon and his successor sought to use education as a policy instrument.

EDUCATION POLICY IN THE 1970'S

Dare (Op.Cit.) has argued that the crisis of legitimacy often found in multi-ethnic societies can be minimized if leaders can find issues that interest all sections of the political community. And in Nigeria, education seems to be the issue of most interest to all because it is perceived to allocate social, economic and political opportunities in the society. The overlapping relationship between a country's educational structure and the social, economic and political dynamics of the society was noted by both Durkheim and Weber more than 75 years ago. Today the situation has not changed. The structure of the national education system reflects the competing groups within the Nigerian society. And there are wide variations in the availability of economic, political and social advantages between the regions, the states, and between ethnic groups. This was caused by the uneven educational structure in the country. Ikejiani (1964) argued that there is nothing mentally particular about either region or ethnic groups to account for the variations; rather they reflect differential colonial government development as measured by the provision of schooling, and employment opportunities.

In September 1969, as the Civil War was winding down, the Federal Military Government issued directives for a National Curriculum Conference in Lagos, Nigeria. Fafunwa (1986) described this curriculum conference as a "major landmark in the history of Nigeria and, indeed, in the history of Africa" (p. 26). The conference participants examined nine particular areas identified as crucial to the conference objectives. They were:

1) national philosophy of education
2) goals of primary education
3) objectives of secondary education
4) purposes of tertiary education

5) the role of teacher education
6) function of science education
7) the place of women's education
8) education for living
9) control of public education (Ojelabi, 1981).

In the end 65 recommendations on the direction of future education in Nigeria were released.

Following the national curriculum conference report's recommendations, the Federal Government organized in June 1973 a seminar of distinguished educational experts under the chairmanship of Chief Simon O. Adebo "to deliberate on all aspects of a national policy on education" (National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 3). This seminar was made of representatives from Christian and Islamic religious organizations, the Universities, National Universities Commission, interested external agencies, Ministry of Education, private individuals and experts in various public sectors interested in the development of the country's educational objectives. Earlier, the government had stated:

> It is (the) Government's wish that any existing contradiction, ambiguities, and lack of uniformity in educational practices in the different parts of the Federation should be removed to ensure an even and orderly development of the country ... For the benefit of all citizens, the country's educational goals in terms of its relevance to the needs of the individual as well as in term of the kind of society desired in relation to the environment and the realities of the world and rapid social changes should be clearly set out (Ibid.).

Unlike the National Curriculum Conference, this Seminar was composed of experts in the various areas of education. There was also a series of workshops between 1973 and 1976 "on curriculum and material production at primary and secondary education levels" (Fafunwa, Op.Cit., p. 27). The workshops were organized by the Nigerian Educational Research Council, the Joint Consultative Committee on Education, the National Council for education and the Federal Ministry of Education. According to Fafunwa (Ibid.) the purpose of the workshops was to prepare "Syllabuses and textbooks in anticipation of the proposed new educational policy." The Comparative Education Study and adaptation Centre (CESAC), a curriculum development unit of the Federal Ministry of Education, also organized some complementary study activities designed to cover materials expected in the new national policy on education.

The document that emerged in 1977 as the "National Policy on Education" was based on the extensive recommendations of the 1973 National Seminar, reviewed and refined in its passage through the workshops and activities. Wilson (1976, p. 70) described the report of the 1973 National Seminar as:

> A comprehensive document which translates Nigeria's national objectives into educational objectives, outlines an educational philosophy for Nigeria and defines the elements of its educational policy.

In the introduction to the National Policy, the Federal Government stated

> Education in Nigeria is no more a private enterprise but a huge Government venture that has witnessed a progressive evolution of Government's complete and dynamic intervention and active participation. The Federal Government of Nigeria has adopted education as an instrument par excellence for effecting national development. It is only natural then that the Government should clarify the philosophy and objectives that underline its current massive investment in education, and spell out in clear, unequivocal terms the policies that guide Government's education efforts (National Policy on Education, 1977, p.3)

For details, see 1977 National Policy on Education. Even before the *National Policy on Education* was released as an official document, General Gowon had expressed the belief that "a maximum emphasis on education was the necessary strategy for correcting the problematic educational imbalance between the various ethnic groups, and between the North and South in particular (Urwick, 1983, p.332). In 1974, Gowon had indicated the intention of the Federal Military Government to launch universal free primary education, but in July 1975, he was removed from office in the third military coup. The importance of education to promote political legitimacy was reaffirmed in 1976 when the third Federal Military Government (under General Obasanjo) launched the universal free primary education programme. The Head of State, General Obasanjo, remarked that "the UPE scheme demonstrates the government's determination to equalize opportunities for all children, whatever their background" (Daily Times, Sept. 1976). It was proposed that by 1982, UPE would be compulsory. The UPE scheme was launched in 1976, against the recommendation of a commission set by the military government to advise it on the feasibility of the UPE programme. The commission recommended that UPE scheme be delayed until 1979. We shall see why the military government ignored this recommendation.

Shortly after the introduction of the UPE, educators and interested groups started clamouring for universal free education at all levels. What is implied here is that education would be free of cost to every Nigerian from primary school to the university level. In 1977, the Government released the *National Policy on Education* document. It immediately set up a seven-member "Implementation Committee for the *National Policy on Education.*" The Committee was chaired by Professor S. Onabamiro with these terms of reference:

a) to translate policy into a workable blue print and to develop programmes for the implementation of the policy.

b) to coordinate and monitor the implementation of those programmes developed under the policy.

c) to advise government on and to assist in providing the infra-structure and other requirements for policy for policy implementation; and

d) to provide a continuous review and assessment of the aims, objectives and targets of the policy with a view to ensuring the adequacy and continued relevance of the policy (and those programmes developed under it) to our national needs and aspirations, and to propose modifications on any aspects as may be found necessary. (Implementation Committee for the *National Policy on Education* Blueprint, 1978, p.5. Also in Fafunwa, Op.Cit., p.27).

One year later (1978) the Implementation Committee produced a blueprint that detailed all the steps and measures necessary for successful implementation of the new education policy. The Blueprint cautioned against hasty and careless implementation of some aspects of the new education policy if negative and disastrous consequences on the economy, the political and social systems were to be avoided. It specified in clear terms:

1. gradual or installmental implementation of the universal free education programme,
2. emphasize the importance of the facilities required for each level of education,
3. the number and types of teachers needed,
4. the need for appropriate and adequate learning environment,
5. the need to provide employment for graduates of the new education system, and
6. most essentially, the financial implications (Ibid., p. 28).

It warned against full implementation of the new education policy without properly providing for the above needs.

In 1979 the Federal Government responded by releasing its White Paper called "Government's views on the Implementation Committee Blueprint" on "the Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education". It accepted most recommendations, rejected some and stayed action on a few others. The Government had already introduced the UPE Scheme in 1976, next was the introduction of free secondary education programme. It followed with the abolition of tuition fees in the institutions of higher learning. This was the situation when the country returned to civilian rule in October 1979. There was an unpropitious side of a gigantic project like free education at all levels for a developing economy such as Nigeria, which the various experts foresaw and warned that it was not adequately explored. Let us at this point briefly examine four of the problems that emerged as a result of this action.

Availability of Qualified Teachers

It is indisputable that the success of any educational programme lies in sufficient and quality teachers - those who are dedicated to their work and are recruited because of their desire to teach and not as an occupation of last resort. Jack Allen in Hodenfield and Stinnett (1961, p.21) observed:

> One of the prime functions of the school, indeed the chief function, is to provide a set within which boys and girls can grow intellectually. This can only be accomplished through the learners' association with information, knowledge, facts. Books can help. So can laboratories. So can numerous other types of learning materials. But always there stands the teacher, always on the edge, often front and centre. What he knows can make a difference. What he does not know can be an irreparable loss.

Teacher preparation for the new school system was inadequate structurally and otherwise. The Grade II teacher's certificate (awarded after primary schooling and five years of academic and pedagogical training) has always been the standard qualification for primary school teaching in Nigeria. Before the UPE scheme was launched in 1976, earlier projections were that 2.3 million children would attend the new school system. But when the Scheme was launched in 1976, over 3 million children showed up, an under-estimation of 30 per cent (Fafunwa, 1987). There were serious shortages of classroom spaces, teachers and equipment. Teacher-student ratio is regarded as a good indicator of the quality of a school system. In Canada, a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:25 would be acceptable, anything above the 1:30 ratio would likely excite parental and community concern for the quality of education.

In 1977, following the introduction of the Universal Primary Education in Nigeria, the primary school population was 8.2 million. Given a teacher-pupil of 1:30, about 273,330 teachers were required. There were only about 200,000 teachers in the country. But of this number, 68,000 had no teacher training education of any sort. As a result, only 132,000 (48% of the needed 273,300 teachers) were trained for teaching job. The teacher-pupil ratio would be 1:62 if only teachers with training are qualified to teach, or 1:41, if all teachers are counted. In either case, the teacher-pupil ratio was not acceptable. The above figures stand for national average (see Ukeje, 1980, p. 253). The pressure brought about by the demands of the UPE Scheme led to the hiring of teachers without basic teaching qualifications. If this situation is not rectified, the nation's standard of education will remain low. Without a high standard in education beginning at the primary level, there will be no hope of meeting successfully the challenges of the modern world.

The environment of learning

The type of environment under which the pupils learn refers to resources like school buildings, classrooms, staff and facilities, the importance of which cannot be over-emphasized so far as the quality of teaching and learning in schools are concerned. Heyneman (1980) observed:

> At the minimum a school is acceptable if it provides a place for students to work without the danger of a roof collapsing; if neither wind nor rain sends students into a corner for protection; if there is a place for each to sit down, a place to write, material to write with, and a certain minimal number of maps, charts, and reference books from which to derive information (p. 13).

In line with Heyneman's thesis, Jamison et al. (1981) pointed out:

> Differences in classroom quality, if measured by physical facilities, availability of materials, and levels of teachers' education, appear to be surprisingly robust as predictors of students' achievements (p. 557).

Without adequate buildings, furniture, instructional materials and facilities in the Nigerian public school system , it would be very difficult for any meaningful and purposeful education to take place. An educational expansion policy which fails to include in its priority the provision of decent accommodation for the pupils and their teachers defeats the purpose and quality of learning.

The availability of Equipment and Learning Materials

In the Nigerian primary education system, textbooks, chairs and desks, pencils, pens, chalks and boards and other writing materials are in seriously short supply. Heyneman (1980) argues for pupils to have a "place to sit down, a place to write and materials to write with" as against a school where pupils carry their sitting and writing desks to and from school, or sit on the hard floors and position their books on their knees as they write. Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda (1987), argue that this kind of classroom arrangement is not only physiologically draining and physically cumbersome, but also educationally unproductive. We know that "pupils with enough desks and seats learn more effectively than those lacking them, and this is likely to be reflected in their examinations" (Ibid., p. 231). The works of Jamison et al. (Op.Cit.), Heyneman and Loxely (1983) support the thesis of Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda when they argue that school or classroom equipment can be reliable predictors of academic performance especially in Third World countries.

The pages of newspapers in Nigeria are replete with parental condemnations and frustrations about their children's poor performances in examinations. But what seem to be forgotten is that the academic performance

cannot be divorced from school equipment. The underlying problem is that the major concern of the government in 1976 was to increase primary schooling. The crisis conditions and the break-neck speed with which the UPE programme was implemented did not permit optimum equipment and facilities. Unavoidably the standards of teaching and learning began to erode. One should not expect otherwise. School equipment and facilities may not assume a very important dimension in academic achievement in developed countries (Jencks et al., 1972). But other studies have shown that they are very important to educational learning and achievement particularly in Third World countries like Nigeria (Heyneman, 1980, Cuttance, 1980, Johnstone and Jiyono, 1983; Saha, 1983; Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda, 1987).

The problem of Growing Numbers of educated Unemployed

Investment in education is often deemed justified if it leads to lucrative employment and the satisfaction of the expected economic benefits. Thus in a country where unemployment of the educated is rampant, something is wrong with that country's education system.

Before the introduction of the new education system in the 1970's by the military government in Nigeria, it was primarily the uneducated that were unemployed. But today, the unemployed includes the primary school graduate through university level in Nigeria. Nigeria at the height of the oil boom was sending recruitment teams to hire qualified Nigerians who wanted to return home and contribute to the development of the country. Often free return passage was provided for the individual and his family. Employers frequently scouted for qualified graduates on the local campus even before their graduation. After a year's employment, the new graduate would demand and receive some loan for the purchase of a car.

Those were the days; then came the collapse of oil, the dramatic fall in prices, the resulting loss in revenue, and the economic recession of the early 1980's. Unfortunately the Nigerian Federal Military Government failed to reckon with the above events or to put a halt to growth of educational programmes. Before the Government knew what was happening, the economy had gone from boom to bust. In desperation the Nigerian Government went to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for some financial assistance. In characteristic style of looking at Third World problems, the IMF recommended that the "over grown bureaucracy" be cut down to size. The subsidies on local products such as gasoline were abandoned. And the Nigerian Government was made to freeze any further employment (*African Concord*, March, 1987).

It is estimated that by the year 2000, about 2 million secondary school graduates and 100,000 university graduates would be in the labour market (Diejomaoh, 1984, Umo, 1985). Unemployed but qualified persons have rendered

the nation's education system ineffective. To an outsider or a casual observer of the Nigerian political scene, it would seem obvious that a Third World country like Nigeria with a uni-dimensional economy, that is, one export product, namely oil, cannot sustain free education at all levels. If only the Government had heeded the advice of its appointed commission on the problems that were bound to arise if it introduce free education at all levels! Why was it necessary for the Government to take this course?

Education, a Political Necessity

Harris Monchar (1981, p.2) argued that tinkering with the structure of the national educational system is one means to show popular and effective public policy and the achievement of legitimacy. This is because education is generally thought of as one of the most visible governmental operations. Providing education thus seems to function as a safety valve and this is recognized by governments (Ibid.). So the dynamic aspects of the relationship between educational structure and the political community in multi-ethnic societies would predict, in the case of Nigeria military regime's desire for legitimacy , that increased political instability would lead to a faster rate of increase in the provision of educational services (Ibid.). This prediction is based on the fact that a military government that violated some fundamental democratic process in the bid to acquire power will try to maintain its legitimacy through public policies that address issues acceptable to all sections of the political community.

Nwagwu (1978, p. 150) noted that in Nigeria promising or providing the citizens free education has always yielded quick political gains. The importance of using education as a major policy instrument in the quest for legitimacy by the Federal Military Government is illustrated in the following observation:

> A Commission was set up by the Military Government to advise it on how to implement the policy of UPE. The Commission after a detailed study of the issues and problems involved, recommended that free universal primary education in Nigeria should be launched in 1979 and that an instalment approach would best enable the Government to tackle such problems as recruitment, and training of teachers. But the scheduling did not please the military leaders who had planned to hand over the government to civilian parliament in 1979. The launching of the UPE Scheme was seen as one of the greatest achievements of the present military regime and it could not accept to take the trouble of preparing for the scheme and then leave the glory and reward of its implementation to the civilian government. Therefore it rejected the recommendation and launched the scheme in September 1976. (Ibid, p. 154)

The military government's dire need of legitimacy and its eagerness to use national educational structures as the proxy indicators of its achievements

made it imperative to reject the findings and recommendations of its own appointed commission on the feasibility of introducing free universal education in Nigeria. The timely warning which was contained in the Somade commission Report that a scheme of free education would require "careful planning and guidance if it is not to result in negative and disastrous consequences on the economy, the political and social system of the country" (Taiwo, 1980, p. 173) was ignored by the military government, creating lots of problems in the Nigerian educational system. So, the crisis of legitimacy within the military governments of Nigeria to this day contributed to their adoption of the national educational system as one means to maintain legitimacy .

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have tried to examine and analyze the crisis of political legitimacy that faced the Federal Military Government of Nigeria from 1966 to 1976. I further tried to show that the problem of acquiring political legitimacy played a significant role in the major educational policy implemented by the military regime in Nigeria in the first twelve years of military rule. The military rulers who implemented the national education policy of the 1970's that led to free education at all levels may have acted in the best interest of the country. But they also wanted to win for themselves national recognition and acceptance from all sections of the society. In terms of achievements, primary education for all children has been strongly promoted, secondary and university education have also been expanded and made reasonably available to many more Nigerians. There have been enrolment increases at all levels of education and growth in education buildings and relative availability of learning facilities. The overall literacy and numeracy rates in the country are on the increase. The problematic educational gap -- between the North and South in particular, and between the ethnic groups-- appears to be closing. And many, particularly the very poor, girls and people in the villages who without the policy of free education may not have been educated have now acquired some education, especially at the primary level.

By the same token, problems of enormous proportions and consequences have emerged. There is shortage of everything, ranging from textbooks, classroom spaces, equipment and materials to funding problems at all levels of the education system. The national education policy implemented by the military rulers seems to have benefitted the political leadership more than the political community. In order to appreciate the Federal Military Government's national policy on education as an instrument for acquiring political legitimacy, it must be viewed as a classic case of welfare politics. It was a policy designed for political expediency meant

to appeal to the people's emotions for the purpose of winning their approval to stay in power. The politicians used education as a policy in this manner during the civilian government to win votes from the masses. Anyone who has studied the Nigerian geo-socio-political system knows that welfare politics are a central feature of Nigerian life.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1994), $18.95 pb; $50.00 hb.

In the summer of 1946 my mother, recently arrived in Canada as an English war bride, found herself pregnant with her first child. Living on a homestead in an isolated frontier community in northeastern British Columbia, she nonetheless had been so influenced by the experts' advice to mothers that she walked several miles through bush and on rough dirt roads to see a doctor each month for prenatal check-ups. Although my parents could ill-afford the doctor's fees and he did little for my mother who was experiencing a normal pregnancy, she had been "educated" to rely on medical advice about child-bearing and rearing. And when, after moving to a more settled area of northern Alberta, she went into labour in March, she understood her responsibility to her baby and was rushed to hospital in a horse-drawn sleigh to have the doctor deliver the child into the world. Thirty years later, that baby was engaged in doctoral studies when she became pregnant. And, like her mother and Katherine Arnup, she found herself flooded with expert advice which, while often contradictory, was powerful enough to convince her that her baby's health, physical and emotional, would depend almost solely on her mothering skills.

It is this pattern of education for motherhood in the twentieth-century that Arnup deftly traces in her social history of expert advice to Canadian women. Beginning with the campaign to fight high rates of infant mortality in the early decades of the century, Arnup demonstrates how educational strategies came to be used when the real issues were poverty, unemployment and the lack of child care facilities. As she points out, "it was both inexpensive and convenient to blame mothers for high rates of infant mortality" (p. 42). At the same time, Arnup is careful to note that her purpose is not to attack expert advice, but to understand the way in which the state, the medical profession, psychologists and the media have intervened over time to shape the experiences of women becoming and being mothers.

To this end Arnup discusses the development of the educational campaign directed towards mothers, focusing attention on the influence of central figures such as Helen MacMurchy and William Blatz and emphasizing the role played by doctors and especially public health nurses in conveying information to mothers. The effort to educate mothers was pedagogically and politically astute, and utilized a wide range of instructional strategies. Public health nurses provided practical assistance and advice through home visitations and well-baby clinics, federal and provincial departments of health published books and pamphlets that were very widely distributed, columns on child-rearing appeared regularly in popular women's magazines and radio programs and films for mothers were produced. By mid-century, women could hardly escape an education for motherhood and materials of every sort were widely available.

An important effect of the emphasis on the responsibility of mothers for infant mortality and of the concern for maternal mortality, Arnup argues, was that childbirth became increasingly medicalized as the twentieth-century unfolded. In addition, the

constant reminders in the advice literature and by public health nurses about the importance of regular pre-natal and post-partum visits to the doctor not only reinforced the influence and power of the medical profession but created and sustained the demand for doctors. That is, advice givers were, in essence, creating more business for the doctors.

When it came to child-rearing, the medical profession joined hands with the new "science" of psychology. Arnup's chapter on "bringing up baby" is particularly significant for it illustrates all too clearly how women's accumulated wisdom and knowledge was undermined by the experts who, despite changing course with remarkable frequency, managed to claim the authoritative voice in the child-rearing discourse. In addition, it is clear that the history of expert advice is also the history of changing attitudes towards children and their mothers. Arnup demonstrates clearly that the growing romanticization of motherhood and children actually served to entrap women in the home and make them almost solely responsible for their children's health and happiness.

While most histories of advice literature make little or no effort to assess the impact of that advice on intended audiences, Arnup breaks with this tradition. She uses a variety of methods, including interviews with mothers, to explore the extent to which advice successfully reached women and was applied by them during pregnancy and child-rearing. She concludes that expert advice, although based on the white, middle-class family model, had an enormous influence on women who not only tried to follow the advice but actively sought it out. Arnup was able to find only a few examples of resistance or cynicism in the many sources she consulted. This may be at least partly because the focus of Arnup's research is on southern Ontario and while she interviewed both working class and middle class women, other aspects of their identities are unclear. One is left wishing for more information about how different women in a wider range of circumstances responded to expert advice. Arnup's thorough research, her readable prose and her critical stance encourage the hope that she will continue to pursue the question of how various groups of women in different social settings within Canada understood and applied expert advice and how they experienced motherhood.

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M. Kazim Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy* . (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1994), $29.95. ISBN O-88920-231-1.

This is the second of a proposed three-volume series on education and development in the British Caribbean from the earliest times to the 1940s and deals with the second half of the nineteenth century from 1846 to 1895. It examines the role of education played in the social and political changes taking place in these colonies and

analyses the role of the state in the development and implementation of educational policies and programs for the region, concluding with a theoretical explanation of the main developments in education during the entire period.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of crisis in the British West Indian colonies. The abolition of slavery dealt a major blow to the plantation economy and the adoption of free trade soon after largely destroyed the sugar industry on which it was based. It is not too much to describe the period as catastrophic economically, with the inevitable resultant social and political impact. Emancipation also meant that the ruling elites had to establish the legitimacy of their rule, while struggling to maintain their political, economic and social supremacy.

The emergence of a non-white middle class led to an erosion of some of the barriers that traditionally separated them from the whites. Naturally, these people developed even higher aspirations for their children, especially since they were becoming better able to contribute to the cost of their education, while the planters and merchants strove to maintain the traditional hierarchical structures of their society. Fearing that educational and economic advancement would lead to political advancement as well, the white elites agreed to the abolition of their representative constitutions and the islands reverted to crown colony status, eliminating the danger of the growing non-white middle class gaining control of the legislatures.

On a minor point, Bacchus seems confused when he suggests that the British government's objective was "the adoption of the Canadian pattern of government as set out in the Durham Report, which meant local assemblies giving up some of their powers, especially those dealing with finance" (p.9) It is difficult to know what he is trying to say here but students of Canadian, and indeed imperial, history will know that this is quite the opposite of what the Durham Report was all about.

The ruling elites also employed their ideological hegemony, partly through such cultural institutions as schools, to maintain control over the non-white population. Thus, the educational system was designed to educate a comprador elite group which would bridge the gap between the colonizer and the colonized. In other words, it was an exercise in cultural imperialism intended to convey to the colonized middle class the view that the colonizer was culturally and intellectually superior. The more ambitious non-whites were very keen to adopt the cultural values and beliefs of the white elite because they were seen as a prerequisite for upward social mobility and overall status improvement in West Indian societies.

Doubtless many of the author's criticisms, such as that few scholarships were actually offered to non-whites under the Mitchinson reforms and they tended to go to children of the elites, are valid. He confuses the reader, however, by then quoting Bridget Brereton - a highly regarded authority - to the effect that "education was ... the crucial factor in the gradual emergence of a coloured and black middle class," adding himself that "this was also the case in the other West Indian colonies" (p.313).

He also gets into some difficulty in his references in the concluding chapter to compradors. Marxist dependency theory unquestionably has a good deal to offer in a study of British imperial policy in the Caribbean and it is a pity that Bacchus does not pursue this theme with a serious discussion of the Marxist paradigm and how it might be applied in this case. As it is, a couple of rather casual references to compradors is not so much useful as jarring to the reader. The problem is that the author seems unclear in his own mind whether he is advancing a Marxist interpretation or a traditional criticism of imperial policy in a colonial society. Is he accusing the imperial government and the local elites of racism or class consciousness? It is an important point in any discussion of Caribbean history. Thus, his observation that opportunities for social mobility through education were available only to a limited number of non-whites and left a great majority of blacks, who constituted the poorest sections of these societies, with virtually no real possibility for social and economic advancement, is unquestionably true but it was equally true of British policy at home at this time. As Bacchus undoubtedly knows, the first British Education Act was passed in 1870 after two reform acts had made parliament somewhat more representative of public opinion.

These quibbles aside - and any wide-ranging study such as this will inevitably provoke much debate - Bacchus presents an invaluable, well researched, history of educational development in the British Caribbean islands during the second half of the nineteenth century. Clearly, he knows his subject and his efforts to present that development is its social, economic and political context are valuable, though he tends to assume a knowledge of the region and of imperial history which many of his readers may not possess. Nevertheless, anyone interested in the evolution of modern West Indian society will read this text with much profit.

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Linda van Rooyen & Nelia Louw, *Sexuality Education, a Guide for Educators*. (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, Academic 1994), 169 pp.

This useful guide on sexuality education from South Africa is aimed at educators and parents. The school system of the Republic of South Africa has recently approved the inclusion of sexuality education in the curriculum, and to begin the training of teachers for this purpose.

This book is based on the shared family experience, and is anchored in how parents, with the help of educators, can guide their children to sexual maturity. It begins

with a Christian perspective as a philosophical foundation to sexuality education, and proceeds to a discussion of biological aspects of the reproductive system and periods of human development. It not only discusses the various functions of fertilization, pregnancy and birth, but all aspects of deviant sexual behaviour including masturbation, homosexuality, prostitution, paedophilia, incest, sexually transmitted diseases, promiscuity, cohabitation, and abortion. It leaves nothing out in its quest to be comprehensive and informative.

Its most compelling feature is the presentation of detailed lessons for teaching about sexuality, presented together with beneficial instructional methods. There are helpful questions at the end of each chapter. It concludes with guides for parents and a program for linking parents in the instructional effort.

What is most rewarding about this book is that it provides a framework in which parents and educators can work together to build understanding about sexuality education. To no one's surprise, in many communities parents are most often at odds with educators over the role of sex education, and are frequently at loggerheads over the school's role in even discussing sex as a part of any educational program. Many such parents are conservative in religious values, and the topic of sex education can generate schisms between school and parents. Thus, this book begins with a conservative, religious, philosophical premise, acknowledges the parents as the prime educator of children, and gives helpful hints that will assist parents in educating their children, together with educators, in this delicate subject.

By embedding sexual behaviour in a religious context, certain groups which might find the discussion of biological reproduction from a religious and not a scientific perspective offensive. Notwithstanding, there is much to appeal to any parent from the religious premise. However, since religious assumptions often lay at the heart of the school and family disputes regarding sex education programs, the religious persuasion of this book would clearly assuage families who are religiously conservative and give them a welcome response to their hesitancy to work with schools on sex education, a topic they consider extremely delicate and very much religious in origin and context.

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