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Book Reviews

Cassara, B.B. (Ed.). (1990). *Adult education in a multicultural society*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 236 pp., \$45.00 (hardcover).

This useful collection of essays could have been more precisely entitled adult education in a multiracial, or multi-ethnic society. Culture is a far more complex category than envisaged by the editor and her contributors. The oversight is not inconsequential. A more thorough treatment of culture as exemplified in the growing area of *cultural studies* (with its connection to the founding work of adult educators Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams) would have brought the issues of racism and ethnicity into sharper relief. It might also have obliged the writers to reflect on the extent to which contemporary adult education discourse in North America, including their own text, is limited by an ethnocentric viewpoint. *Adult Education in a Multicultural Society* presents us with the perspectives of liberal-progressive thinking on race and ethnicity in the United States. At the same time, and less intentionally, the book affords some critical insights into the character of modern adult education practice.

The book is competently edited by Beverly Cassara, professor of Adult Education at the University of the District of Columbia, Washington. In her introductory essay, she establishes the relevance for adult educators of a text which addresses the needs of newly-arrived immigrants and ethnic minorities in general. Like so many North American academic adult educators who are uneasy about the technocratic ethos mainstream adult education practice has embraced in recent decades, Cassara aspires to restore the liberal-progressive vision of Eduard Lindeman. She opens with a quote from Lindeman's much cited text, *The Meaning of Adult Education* (first published in 1926), where he invoked a conception of adult education which makes compatible "its short-term goal of self-improvement" with a "resolute policy of changing the social order." But Cassara's own text, nicely juxtaposed with the Lindeman vision, begins with the data:

By the year 2020, there will be forty-seven million Hispanics in the United States. The 1980 Census reported a 72 percent increase of American Indians over those counted in the 1970 Census. While 13 percent of the English-speaking population in the United States is illiterate, the percentage of illiterate Black youths is 47 percent. By 1990 the Asian Pacific population of California will be larger than the Black population, and be second only to the Hispanic. (p. 1)

So here is a very substantial, and needy, audience for adult education in the United States. However, while the focus is on the United States experience, it is clear from Cassara's introduction that the collection of essays could be instructive for educators in other countries. And they are.

To tie in the book with Lindeman's progressive vision, Cassara poses the question: "Should adult educators attempt to change the social order, to improve the quality of life?" She deals with the question circumspectly, talking

in terms of "the optimal inclusion of ethnic persons in American society" and of adult educators' responsibility, "as only one small group of players," (p. 1) to influence national policy. This circumspection sets the tone for most of the contributions which follow. A critical analysis of the social structures and relationships of power within which prevailing notions of race and ethnicity are formed is not part of the book's agenda.

Overall, the book is situated within the discourse of mainstream modern adult education practice, which tends to eschew critical self-reflection, rather than that of the emerging critical paradigm. The former perspective ascribes a marginal role to adult education, failing to examine the way adult education practices significantly reinforce existing social arrangements. The contribution by Charlotte Morgan on "Black Adult Education in Manhattan" and the essay entitled "Education as a Social Agent: One University's Answer to a Multi-ethnic Graduate Adult Population" are exceptions to the overall mainstream tendency of the text established in the introduction. Rather than staying within the relatively cosy framework of "cultural pluralism," these two essays point towards a more politically committed, counter-hegemonic practice of adult education.

The organization of the book works well enough, removing any impression that it is just a hodge-podge of essays on adult education. Part One ("Dimensions of the Problem") contains essays on cultural pluralism, multiculturalism, and linguistic minorities. The concerns of modern adult education practice are incorporated into the essays on cultural pluralism and linguistic minorities, while the multiculturalism theme itself is addressed to educators in general. This chapter concludes with the advice that "educators should be mindful of the significance of group affiliation, but, at the same time, recognize that group togetherness may be unthinking and unimaginative, its only purpose to maintain separateness and divisiveness" (pp. 42-43). To this statement might well be added a reminder that the justifiable preoccupation with ethnic identity should not be allowed to detract from struggles for economic gains and political rights within the larger society.

Part Two ("Past and Present Concerns of Major Ethnic Groups") begins with Charlotte Morgan's essay on Black adult education in Manhattan where she shows how the current "emphasis on literacy skills development overlooks the historic struggle of Black leaders for adult education with a broader purpose" (p. 63). The other chapters in Part Two deal with the adult education provision for American Indians, Hispanic adults, and Asian Pacific Indians.

All four authors in Part Two come from the ethnic groups on which they write. And they seem to have maintained their attachments. The affiliation between author and ethnic group is very much in keeping with the paramount concerns of this book. (Presumably, the author's ethnicity is not meant to signify that he or she writes on behalf of an entire ethnic group). All four essays place adult education in a context where a pedagogical commitment to

"change the social order" (p. 1) is relevant. But it is Morgan's writing which bears the critical edge. In the midst of all the talk about cultural pluralism, she does not let us forget how, in racist America, the development of progressive adult education by Black people for Black people has been hijacked.

Part Three ("Innovative Approaches to Practice and Research") is a disappointment. When a good third of the book is given over to providing practical approaches for a complex topic that requires far more in the way of analysis, the let down can be expected. The turn to "what is to be done" in this text is premature.

The five essays in Part Three are designated as case studies. Something a little different is provided in Thelma Barer-Stein's chapter, "Experiencing the Unfamiliar: Matrix for Learning." This chapter is successful in highlighting the affinity between phenomenological perspectives and the concerns of multiculturalism. Not only does Barer-Stein write about phenomenology, she provides an example of phenomenological research in action. Her dialogue with an English as a Second Language teacher is very readable and informative. The other case studies in Part Three deal with access to health care, hosting an international exchange student, the Hispanic adult learner in a rural community, and the multi-ethnic project of a graduate program in adult education. Each of these essays has some "how to's" to offer. The account of the graduate program is headed "Education as a Social Agent," but the university clearly benefits as much, if not more, from the commitment as the minority groups it serves.

Adult education throughout the world is very much a part of developmental initiatives in cross-cultural contexts. So from an international perspective, there are really no novel insights to be derived from this text on the American situation. Yet it does serve a useful purpose in bringing useful information to the discourse of conventional adult education practice in North America. Many of the issues raised by the contributors have already been addressed during the past decade or so, in some form or another, within the literature on multiculturalism and the schools. In this regard, modern adult education practice and research can be viewed as tailing developments around the conventional school curriculum. A way out of this tendency, a major problem for adult education practice in North America where it is increasingly defined as an add-on to the K-12 system, might be realized by a refusal to professionalize multicultural adult education. Instead, a clear-cut ethical and political commitment by adult educators to issues of race, class, and gender (all of which can be relevantly addressed within the category of "culture") could well prefigure a much needed reconstruction of modern adult education practice. Meanwhile, mainstream adult education runs a very different course to that envisioned by Eduard Lindeman in the quotation which begins this book.

Like other adult education books published by Routledge, *Adult Education in a Multicultural Society* at U.S. \$45.00 (CDN \$56.00) seems to be overpriced. Is there nothing a publisher can do to change its marketing policies on adult education texts? Adult education might not yet be all it can be, but it has a potentially large audience.

Michael Collins
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Fuller, B. (1990). *Growing up modern: The western state builds third-world schools*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 168 pp., \$14.95 (softcover).

For politicians and education bureaucrats of first world modern states, it has long been an article of faith that formal education holds the key to solving serious economic and social ills. As Bruce Fuller points out in his preface to *Growing Up Modern*, today this faith has grown into a universal phenomenon that has prompted a global proliferation of state-sponsored Western-style schooling. Fuller adds that, in addition to being at the forefront of this massive movement to extend the provisions of schooling, central state governments worldwide are resolutely committed to strengthening the school's capacity to profoundly shape the beliefs and the behavior of youth. Indeed, for the Western state in the first and third world alike, mass schooling has come to represent "the modern form of socialization" (p. 14).

One of the central purposes of *Growing Up Modern* is to probe deeply into the motives that lie behind this unrelenting quest on the part of Western states to expand and deepen mass schooling. What ideological, political, or economic imperatives, Fuller asks, drive the state's dogged pursuit of this dual agenda? What interests are advanced by such a vehement push to make schooling the prevailing institution of socialization? And what impels central state leaders to stay this enormously expensive course—in terms of both economic and social capital—when it is plainly beyond their means and, moreover, it has been revealed time and time again that mass schooling does not deliver on its lofty promises?

In addition to looking into motives, Fuller scrutinizes the various measures that state actors employ to carry out this dual agenda. Besides erecting more and more schools, what "levers and workings" (p. 62), as he put it, do political actors manipulate in their attempt to deepen the "modernizing" effects of the schooling experience? But he does not confine his inquiry to a consideration of purpose and technique. As well, he takes us into the schools and classrooms of southern Africa to investigate the actual impact of this state intervention on highly salient features and outcomes of the schooling process: the curriculum, the beliefs and moral commitments of teachers, the instructional approaches they employ, student attitudes and academic

performance, and the relationships that form between schools and their surrounding communities.

By endeavoring to account for the Western state's tenacious pursuit of school expansion and the intensification of its impact, Fuller is drawn inexorably into a field of social theory that is rife with controversy. Sharply contrasting theoretical perspectives have sparked intense debate about the social functions of mass schooling within Western polities, the school's complex connections with the political, cultural, and economic spheres, the manner in which the state acts to expand and deepen schooling, and the degree of autonomy the state has to carry out its agenda. In the second chapter of his book, Fuller eagerly jumps into the fray. Here he presents an instructive review and a penetrating critique of three contrasting theoretical models—what he call "grand theories"—that have provoked this controversy. Included here are the much-worn, orthodox view of "functional modernization," the critical counter-perspective of "class imposition theory," and the more recent account formulated by proponents of "world institution theory."

As Fuller clearly demonstrates in chapter 2, the connection between schooling and state is extremely difficult to explain and, moreover, open to markedly divergent interpretations. He points out, with exceptional clarity and insight, important dissimilarities among the three conceptual models. These relate in particular to basic assumptions, claims, and assertions concerning the motives that drive state sponsorship of mass schooling, the group interests that are advanced by the state's relentless press to boost the school as an institution, and the extent to which the surrounding institutional environment can either expedite or constrain the actions of state officials who pursue the dual agenda of expanding and deepening schooling. He rightly notes that, especially with respect to the role of the state, conceptual developments have far outstripped empirical documentation. This imbalance, however, is gradually diminishing as a result of an expanding body of research. Chapter 2 includes an incisive critique that assesses each "grand theory" in light of this mounting evidence.

Fuller's critical assessment leads him to conclude that existing theories of the state—the liberal and Marxist models in particular—present "lifeless ideal-types" (p. 10) dominated by "deterministic images of the state's motivations and actions" (p. 12). The former perspective assumes too much about the state's capacity to act autonomously and efficaciously; the latter relegates the state to a passive instrument of economic and cultural elites. Fuller leans heavily toward the world institution perspective because, in marked contrast to the alternative models, it acknowledges that the school (and, by implication, the state) has a dynamic side to it, that it has an institutional life of its own, and that it exercises some degree of institutional independence.

Building on this model, Fuller develops a novel conception of what he calls the "fragile state." On this view, many Western-style governments—

particularly the fledgling states of the third world—are highly unstable (“fragile”) political institutions. These fragile states are characterized by tenuous political authority/credibility, little internal organizational integrity, a weak administrative infrastructure, a serious shortage of technical know-how, and chronically deficient material and social capital. In addition, fragile states must operate within a wider institutional environment that is extremely capricious. Hence, a multitude of obstacles confront them: competing institutions that have alternative agendas, deeply-entrenched resistant cultures and social structures, and widely-held public expectations that operate in conjunction with prevailing ideological and normative guidelines to tightly circumscribe state action. These problems are writ large in the case of fragile states of the third world where, in Fuller’s apt description, “adaptations of the Western state are plopped down, within quite un-Western, pre-modern societies” (p. xvi). As well, they face the added challenge of contending with markedly diverse languages, cultures, communities, group structures, and a premodern arrangement of economic roles. Such enduring forces of tradition strongly mitigate against state action that is taken in the interests of advancing national integration, a wage economy, mass schooling, and other key features of modernity.

In Fuller’s conception of the fragile state, the more unsteady the state, the more it must strive to serve a variety of interests if it is to bolster its social legitimacy and draw in much-needed economic resources. And, being up against a profusion of constraints and counter forces, the fragile state has no choice but to enter into, and then struggle to manage, interdependent alliances with resisting groups as well as often-obstructive institutions. Among these is the school. Within this complex social organization, behavior is shaped by an internal culture—a set of beliefs, rituals, norms, expectations, and institutionalized ways of doing things—that can negatively predispose school personnel toward reform measures which emanate from the central state.

While Fuller’s intention is to further our understanding of the connection between state and school within the developed world, he is especially committed to illuminating this relationship as it commonly has taken form in the less-developed regions of the world. For it is in this context that the challenges and dilemmas which confront the weak central state loom particularly large. Appropriately, by chapter 3, his focus comes to rest squarely on postcolonial Africa where, typically, a “rocky romance” is carried on between the fragile state and the school.

Fuller chooses the African state as his focal point for several reasons. First, typical of the political elite in developing countries, many state actors in Africa earnestly promote the belief that a government-sponsored, universal, system of formal education offers the surest path to nation-wide economic integration and a productive wage economy. More broadly, they propagate the view that, through mass schooling, the particularism, pluralism, and traditionalism that

are deeply entrenched within the African social and moral order can be supplanted by key “modern” Western ideals including universalism, rationality, meritocratic opportunity, and nation-state loyalty. On this reasoning, once the Western schooling process is widely underway, traditional modes of socialization (e.g., family, church, tribe, village) will no longer prevent the children of Africa from “growing-up modern.”

Consistent with their commitment to transform traditional society through the adoption of Western institutions, values, and norms, African state politicians are eager to draw more and more youth into the process of mass schooling. They conduct this recruitment campaign through the use of persuasive rhetoric and public entreatment, and through the erection of more and more Western schools—even in the far corners of the remote African hinterland. Accompanying this relentless push to extend school provision is an unremitting drive to heighten the impact of schooling on “the child’s heart and mind” (p. xvi). To accomplish this goal, African state actors again look to the West and import wholesale the “rational” corporate form of organization and the prevailing Western conception of school effectiveness which justifies increased central state control over the schooling process. As a result, besides the enormous financial burden that the school expansion campaign imposes, state presence in the affairs of schooling has widened considerably throughout Africa. This obtrusion is especially conspicuous by the increasing trend toward centralization and bureaucratization of school management, the adoption of uniform curricula, and the routinization of teaching practices. Such state-induced measures are intended to reshape, in Fuller’s words, “the consciousness and social rules that children come to abide by” and the “social rules enacted by the teacher” (p. 65).

Second, the conditions that prevail in most parts of Africa clearly manifest the constraints under which the fragile Western state launches its modernization campaign. And the African situation presents in sharp relief the political imperatives, nagging contradictions, and serious dilemmas that unsteady third world states regularly encounter. As Fuller points out, these Western-style states have fuelled enormous popular demand for schooling. On a broader level, their press for modernity has substantially heightened the public expectation that modern institutions and liberal-democratic modes of conducting societal affairs are indeed forthcoming. But, for the various reasons outlined above, the extremely unsteady, resource-poor state has little hope of delivering on its promises. The cost of expanding schooling, for example, greatly surpasses the fiscal and administrative resources available for this formidable undertaking. And when this expansion does occur, paradoxically, it contributes to an erosion of the already tenuous status and working conditions that are associated with teaching in Africa. Obviously, when the status of the teacher is progressively undermined, it can only hinder the state’s efforts to improve school effectiveness. As well, when the fragile state undertakes the construction of Western institutions and the infusion of foreign ideals at the local community level it must tread very softly, or run the

risk of alienating potentially powerful groups that cling tenaciously to a traditional way of life.

In Fuller's view, one of the most powerful forces fueling the fragile state's drive for modernity is the crisis of legitimacy that threatens its very survival. In other words, it is the pressing need to bolster its weak political credibility that compels the state to "look modern." Accordingly, central political elite scramble to mobilize signals of modernity and, despite chronic shortages of capital, construct institutions that at least *appear* to be progressive, modern, and widely-accessible instruments of meritocratic opportunity. When this program of constructing concrete indicators of modernity is curtailed as a result of deficient resources, the state latches onto less tangible Western symbols, for these serve to indicate that it at least has the capability of delivering on its lofty promises and of fulfilling the rising public expectations that it has helped to elevate.

Applying this line of reasoning to the state-school relationship, Fuller advances the proposition that the fragile state readily embraces mass schooling primarily for its political utility. From this perspective, schooling is an unparalleled device for signalling modernity. Political actors thus use this institution, in his words, "as a stage whereupon they enact ideologies and symbols which they hold as sacred" (p. 68)—and, not incidentally, which also are embraced and espoused by members of the global network of Western states who control the foreign aid purse strings. Fuller adds that, relative to other measures, a system of low-quality mass schooling represents a comparatively inexpensive device for signalling modernity, especially in view of the enormous symbolic value it holds. As he points out, in the eyes of state actors, the building of more schools is comparable to the construction of more post offices, in the sense that each one's political importance lies in its symbolic value. Consequently, Fuller remarks that, "whether children actually are learning, or the mail is delivered on time, does not really worry political actors" (p. xvii). Similarly, even if the state-induced bureaucratic control that is being exerted on the school yields little in the way of boosting either pupil achievement or deepening the school's impact, because these measures signify "modern practice," they hold tremendous symbolic value to state actors who struggle to enhance the state's credibility. Hence, through his notion of the fragile state and the application of what Michael Apple (in the *Series Editor's Introduction*) refers to as "signalling theory," Fuller develops a novel and compelling interpretation of the unsteady state's press to expand and deepen mass schooling.

The third reason for Fuller's choice of Africa as his focus of inquiry is that he has considerable knowledge of this region of the third world, insight gained first as a graduate student and subsequently as a staff member of both the United States Department of State and the World Bank. He has become particularly knowledgeable about the southern state of Malawi through ethnographic studies which he personally undertook in Malawian state

schools. Because he is able to draw extensively on this first-hand familiarity with southern Africa, his analysis is immensely enriched. Timely, vivid, and real examples embellish the text throughout and they also give both life and clarity to a profusion of highly abstract concepts, intricate ideas, and complex themes which are not always presented in a straightforward and concise manner. In particular, Fuller's examples help considerably to illuminate his innovative image of the fragile state and they graphically illustrate the formidable constraints, deep-seated resistance, and nagging contradictions faced by the unsteady state that adopts Western schooling as the cutting edge for its program of institutional transformation. As well, through choice examples, he effectively develops and explains "signalling theory." And the findings of field studies carried out in Malawi provide invaluable data concerning not only the policies and measures that central state actors employ in their attempt to deepen the impact of schooling, but also how these actually impact on African youth, on their schools and teachers, and on the local community in which they live their lives.

The resulting book is a conceptually innovative, empirically-grounded, and highly provocative contribution to the expanding body of theory and research which addresses the complex interplay between the state and the school. It effectively challenges conventional theories that portray the state either as an autonomous institution or as the handmaiden of powerful economic and cultural elites. In addition, its author makes a strong and convincing argument that the Western state is frequently an extremely fragile political entity which struggles to consolidate its position and legitimacy within a wider institutional environment that can vary dramatically through time and space—notably in terms of conditions that facilitate and impede its capacity to gain greater leverage over the schooling process. As well, by directing our attention to the enormous political utility of mass schooling as a symbol of progress and modernity, Fuller provides an intriguing explanation for the fragile state's unrelenting—at times frantic—quest to erect more and more Western-style schools. For these reasons, *Growing Up Modern* constitutes a major contribution to the field of international development and education. And, because it also has much to say about the connection between state and schooling in the Western industrialized setting, all educators should find it well worth reading.

Gerald Taylor
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Wall, D. & Owen, M. (Eds.). (1992). *Distance education and sustainable community development*. Edmonton, AB: Canadian Circumpolar Institute with Athabasca University Press.

This volume is a collection of selected papers from the 1990 conference on Distance Education and Sustainable Community Development sponsored by

the Canadian Circumpolar Institute at the University of Alberta. The core of the collection consists of four papers which deal with theoretical or general issues related to distance education and community development, especially the development of remote northern communities in Canada and four case studies which describe specific Canadian distance education projects and examine the issue of community involvement. The collection also contains five papers which deal with other issues, such as the Commonwealth of Learning, distance education in Botswana, the use of distance education in rural secondary schools in Alberta, and library services to Athabasca University students.

The first four articles (by Wall, Robinson, Haughey, and Hotchkis and Dreidger) discuss theoretical issues related to distance education and community development and provide a general introduction to distance education and community development in Canada. The authors give examples of distance education projects which have contributed to community development and empowerment in remote northern communities, identify some of the major trends in distance education which have positive implications for northern development, and offer advice to distance educators and administrators.

The Canadian case studies describe four very different distance education projects involving remote northern and/or native communities. Larsen's paper is based on a proposal to develop a field-based literacy program for a very small and remote First Nations community in Alberta; Sharpe describes the field-based and distance teacher training programs which Memorial University delivers in native communities in Labrador; Anderson describes Contact North, a system of electronic networks and community learning centers used by universities, colleges, and secondary schools to deliver programs to remote communities in northern Ontario; and Fiddler provides an overview of the Wahsa Distance Education Centre which uses radio and print materials to deliver secondary school programs to remote First Nations communities in northwestern Ontario. The projects differ in terms of delivery method, curriculum, and scale, but they all provide concrete examples of how student and community participation can be built into distance education projects.

A very important question runs across these articles: Are remote northern communities being pulled into the orbit of large, external, and bureaucratic distance education systems or is distance education a tool they can use to increase their self-reliance and autonomy? The consensus in this collection is that distance education not only increases access for remote communities but can and should contribute to local community development and empowerment.

However, this is an assumption which is not really put to the test. The primary concern of the authors is to deepen the commitment of educators and administrators to involving communities in distance education projects and to

show that distance education can be a vehicle for positive change and empowerment at the level of the local community. Thus, the authors tend to ignore the "negative" forces (e.g., institutional and occupational self-interest, market forces, globalization, and bureaucratization) which also structure relations between communities and educational institutions and limit the ways in which distance education can or will be used for community development.

Similarly, the authors of the case studies tend to use examples of student and community participation as evidence that their projects are truly community based. However, community involvement is not only about participation; it is also about power and control. The issue of who controls distance education systems and who has the power to decide if, when, and how they will be used for community development, underlies the articles by Anderson and Fiddler. There are often tensions between community groups and formal educational institutions, tensions which, as Anderson notes, derive from different organizational structures: The goal of formal educational institutions is to bring remote communities into the orbit of the secondary and postsecondary systems (to increase access), while community groups and leaders embrace a social action philosophy which subordinates educational institutions to the needs and goals of the community. Tension and conflict is found at all levels of the distance education process, including the front lines of community involvement. For example, Anderson points out that Contact North's local site coordinators often become "over involved with the wealth of educational, economic, and community development problems that exist in Northern Canada" (p. 97). This obviously causes problems for educators and administrators, but the source of the problem is structural, not personal. "Contact North has not been given the mandate . . . to use distance education as a direct vehicle for community change and empowerment, yet it is difficult if not impossible to separate educational from political and economic aspirations and expectations" (p. 97).

The Canadian case studies show that distance education has been used to increase educational opportunities for First Nations communities. But access is not the only concern of native people. Native leaders and groups are very aware of the linkage between control over education and their political and economic aspirations, as can be seen in the history of the Wahsa Distance Education Centre. As Fiddler points out, Contact North was promoted "as an equalizer of opportunity for native people in the province" (p. 109). However, Contact North was neither controlled by nor ultimately accountable to native people and its organizational structure could not accommodate First Nations control over programming. The native groups in northwestern Ontario felt it necessary to develop their own distance education system as an alternative to Contact North.

This collection provides a useful introduction to the use of distance education for community development, especially in remote northern and/or First Nations communities in Canada. Understanding the relations between

educational methodology and community is important, and not only for people living in remote communities. As the forces of technology and globalization expand the orbit of distance education, major urban centers and national communities may soon find that they too are on the periphery of large, bureaucratic, and trans-national distance education systems. If so, the issues of community involvement, participation, and control that are being raised in remote communities today will be raised in global villages tomorrow.

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Burnaby, B.C.

Thomas, A.M. (1991). *Beyond education: A new perspective on society's management of learning*. San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 193 pp, \$29.95.

This is the kind of end-of-career book that might be expected from a distinguished adult educator; it is well crafted and broad ranging and draws on numerous sources to support the author's discussion. On the evidence of this text Alan Thomas might prefer to be referred to as a professor of adult learning rather than of education. His primary theme is that all people learn and are capable of doing so lifelong. He further argues that most of this learning takes place outside of formal education and the major question facing society is how to manage this learning. A subplot is to use a "learning perspective" to view current affairs.

The chapter headings indicate the direction and content of the book: (1) Learning: Its Significance to Society; (2) Education: The Social Direction of Learning; (3) Understanding the Social Dynamics of Learning; (4) The Learning Occasion: When and Why Learning Takes Place; (5) Societal Responses to Diverse Needs for Learning; (6) The Limits of Formal Education; (7) Developing a New Perspective on the Management of Learning; (8) Creating a Society of Lifelong Learners. Clearly, a text for learning about learning!

The author begins by discussing what he means by learning and distinguishes it from education. This distinction, while useful in some ways, covers territory familiar to adult educators and is overdrawn. It also proves to be a poor tool for examining some issues. For example the discussion of apprenticeship (p. 24) contrasts the way people used to learn skilled occupations (in the "Learning Domain," i.e., informal education) with the way they do now (in the "Education Domain," i.e, formal education). This discussion of the move from experiential learning to schooling misses out on the key question of how this shift changed (or re-enforced the change in) who controlled entry into the skilled occupations. By detaching apprenticeship from the worker, employers gained greater control over the labor process.

A learning perspective also provides a weak explanation for the fall from power of governments in Eastern Europe "which can be attributed directly to

their mismanagement of learning" (p. 29 and similar analysis on p. 149). While this insight is situated within a discussion of economy and politics, it might make more sense reversed with "their mismanagement of learning" resulting from a failure of economics and politics.

This leads me to another quibble; I have no problem with Thomas suggesting "we" will move on to discuss this or that; as a reader I will advance with him, but I do not agree with "we will explain" (p. 33) since it is he who has to do it and I object to "we believe that" (p. 35) as he might well believe it but I (or you) might not.

Alan Thomas spends some time discussing the role of the student and the limitations of the student's role. There are a lot of sensible observations in these sections although there are also exaggerated claims. For example, he argues that the experience with distance learning "has demonstrated the absolute necessity of maintaining some form of membership experience among the students of a particular agency, no matter how widely scattered they might be" (p. 56). Has it? I'm not so sure, and if it has, Thomas has not explained for whom it was an "absolute necessity."

Much of the discussion is rather general, alighting on issues only to move on again, rarely dwelling long enough to provide new information or insights. For example, one of the issues he discusses is how learning in society provides a basis for learning within educational institutions, but he does not discuss the disjunction between the concrete and the theoretical. Do the daily lives of individuals prepare them for critical decision making? People's experience can help them make decisions which affect them directly; they can and do learn from their own and other's experience. But what of areas outside their experience? Did people's experience in society (the Social Domain) and in the Learning Domain help them make a decision whether to vote *yes* or *no* in the [Canadian] constitutional referendum—let alone write an essay about the issues? Adult educators can draw on people's experience and that experience can be a basis for adult learning; but the clash of ideas and interpretation, evaluation, and argument and the inter-relationship between theoretical knowledge and practice benefit from study which may, or may not, have taken place prior to the adult education experience.

This leads into another problem with Alan Thomas' book. It assumes a consensual approach to what has to be learned in modern society and, by implication, agreement on the direction society is going. His discussion of the global move towards human resource development draws a passing reference to critics who consider that this will lead to renewed exploitation of the third world. These are then dismissed: "but we believe that such exploitation will not occur if the learning perspective is properly applied" (p. 150). Do "we believe" that? He does not say enough about what "properly applied" means, and from whose perspective, to be convincing.

Although this is an accessible text, written for diverse audiences, I am not convinced it succeeds in introducing "a new perspective"; it does introduce some new terms and might get you thinking differently about some of the issues, but in this reviewer's opinion, it does not actually introduce any significantly new insights or ideas. I liked the discussion on The Learning Occasion—moments in time when societal learning takes place. And the discussion within that section:

Whether large or small, groups seeking society-wide change tend to state their missions in terms of idealized objectives or goals. They may be better advised to state them in terms of what must be learned, how it can be learned, and by whom it should be learned. Such groups frequently attribute opposition to their cause to indifference or obstinacy, whereas the real problem may be the lack of sufficient information explaining why the change they seek is necessary, a lack of opportunity to acquire the skills needed to accomplish the change, or both. (p. 84)

Overall, the book reflects the obsession of adult educators with process—learning how to learn, lifelong learning, a learning society etc. are seen as the only important topics for discussion with students of adult education. They may not be the issues facing adult students. Given this approach such questions as what are adults learning and for what purpose become less important for the study of adult education than the learning experience. The dislocation between the professor of education and the practitioner, the loss of roots, of the connection with educational practice, has infiltrated the writing of many educators across the political spectrum.

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Review Essay

Kwapong, A.A. & Lesser, B. (Eds.). (1990). *Capacity building and human resource development in Africa*. Halifax: The Lester Pearson Institute for International Development, 131 pp.

Hallak, J. (1990). *Investing in the future: Setting priorities in the developing world*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 303 pp.

These two publications reflect the "stock taking" currently in progress throughout both the developing world and bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. Their appearance is timely because the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, The International Labour Organization, and other bilateral and multilateral aid organizations are reassessing their investment and development policies in the education sector.

The field of education for international development entered the fourth development decade with the publication of the World Bank's long-term policy review of education in Sub-Saharan Africa (*From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*) in 1989. This was followed by the Asian Development Bank's Education Sector Policy Review (*Education and Development in Asia and the Pacific*) in 1989. It is in the context of such reassessments of policy and planning that these two publications are examined.

Capacity Building and Human Resource Development in Africa

Kwapong's and Lesser's *Capacity Building and Human Resource Development in Africa* is the product of a Roundtable on "The Challenges of Capacity Building and Human Resource Development in Africa" held at Dalhousie University in 1989, sponsored jointly by the Lester Pearson Institute for International Development and CIDA. As is often the case, the varying quality of conference content markedly affects the overall quality of the resulting publication. This volume is no exception. Although only one of the 13 papers is acknowledged to have been prepared from transcripts of oral presentations, it is apparent that several others also are transcriptions of oral Roundtable contributions. The overreliance upon rhetoric in such contributions obscures the substance of those papers whose authors devoted more effort and time to their preparation.

Twelve of the Roundtable participants are described as "eminent African development experts and practitioners drawn from several parts of the continent" (p. xiii). In his foreword President Howard Clark of Dalhousie University, described the Roundtable as "a meeting primarily of Africans" (p. x). He noted the "incontestable reality that Africa itself must have a major role in the decisions that affect its future; solutions cannot be imposed unilaterally from outside" (p. ix). According to Clark, "Dalhousie's role in convening the Roundtable was a reflection of a long-standing interest in, and commitment to, the study of Africa and the economic and social development of the continent" (p. x).

Professor Kwapong set the stage for the Roundtable. "The twin issues of capacity building and human resource development," he noted, have emerged

the central development challenges . . . now facing both African governments and people as well as the international donor community as they seek to grapple with the current serious development crisis now facing the African continent. It seemed accordingly appropriate and timely that well-informed African opinion should be given as much opportunity as possible to make an authentic input into the ongoing African development debate and should interact with representatives of donor agencies in an informal yet challenging atmosphere on neutral academic turf, free from what has been termed the usual "donor/recipient syndrome." (p. xiv)

Thus, Roundtable participants addressed five major HRD issues having a "critical bearing on the continent's longer-term social and economic prospects," specifically

- (1) Economic management, policy making, and analysis and implementation;
- (2) Universities and scientific research institutions: The challenges of efficiency, quality, and relevance;
- (3) The African brain drain: Investment in and utilization of human capital;
- (4) The political environment: Responsibilities and expectations of governments; and
- (5) International cooperation: New visions and mechanisms for self-reliant development in Africa in the 1990s (pp. 3-4).

The outcome of discussion on these issues is contained in the Dalhousie Memorandum, published as Part I of the volume. Briefly, the Memorandum reflected the agreement of participants that "structural reform of the African economies is necessary and unavoidable and that disagreements on the thrust of current policies relate more to the instruments being used, rather than to the fundamental goals of the policies" The participants "agreed that macroeconomic policy analysis should be broadened to include consideration of food and agricultural issues, education and health, industry and infrastructure, and population and environmental concerns" (p. 4). The Memorandum also focused on critical issues confronting higher education, especially with regard to universities and scientific research institutions, urging cooperation with the donor community towards

increasing the involvement of universities in the problems of their local communities in so far as their research efforts relate to local issues and circumstances; (b) ensuring that universities become more user-friendly, user-responsible, and user-participatory; (c) reviewing the educational system at all levels to ensure relevance, greater consistency, and to effect more and better resource allocation over the entire educational system; [and] (d) ensuring that universities participate actively in global scientific and technological advances. (pp. 4-5)

The Memorandum also addressed the ever-present problem of the brain drain from Africa. Participants called "for further research on human resource flows and the ineffective utilisation of Africa's human capital." Significantly, they suggested the establishment of "regional and sub-regional centres of excellence and networks . . . to enhance . . . policy analysis, management and research capacities of individual countries and the region as a whole." Such centers and networks need to be linked with "the global information and communication systems" (p. 5). In the Memorandum, participants expressed concern about "the erosion of the influence of several African institutions in decision making." Hence they noted "the need to foster a political environment conducive to the attainment of the broad goals of development," one of which was "favourable to the free and open exchange of ideas" (p. 5). Finally, they urged "greater African initiatives in the reform process" which should be "designed, implemented and owned by Africans" (p. 6).

In the second chapter in Part 1, Professor Kwapong summarized both the contents of the Memorandum and the relation of the Memorandum to the participant papers in Part II. This organizational format was unnecessarily redundant but placed the cart squarely in front of the horse. That is, Professor

Kwapong has provided the conclusions first, then proceeded to elaborate upon those conclusions, and finally, in Part II, provided his readers with the contributions from which these conclusions arose. To be fair, given the quality of several contributions, it may have been necessary to structure the volume in this manner, lest the attention of readers become mired in some heavy rhetoric.

In his keynote address to the Roundtable, "Overview of the Challenges of Capacity Building and Human Resource Development," Professor Kwapong argues that "the history of contemporary Africa is replete with many recent conferences, declarations and new programme initiatives [of which most] have, so far, largely remained unfulfilled . . . [while] others . . . seem to mark promising beginnings" (p. 27). Kwapong urges that "necessary policy reforms . . . be designed, implemented and owned by the African countries themselves," since, he claims, it is "indisputable . . . that the deep-seated, multi-faceted crisis of development in which most African states now find themselves after three decades of independence from colonial rule makes policy reforms imperative and unavoidable and calls for urgent action on all fronts" (p. 28).

Mamadou Toure of the International Monetary Fund in "The Political Environment: Actions and Responsibilities of Governments," condemns the underutilization of trained people and calls for the planning of human resources to become one of the top priorities of African governments. He suggested that participants (a) explore the decentralization of education and professional training, (b) place a special emphasis upon technical professional training and the training of middle management, (c) secure adequate funding for education and training, (d) encourage public and private enterprises to provide training which should not be limited to teaching institutions, and (e) study the important role that nongovernmental organizations have and play in training and protecting people (pp. 36, 37).

Two contributions by George Mbowe of the East African Development Bank introduce "Human Capital and Capacity Building" and relate this to "The Challenges Facing Institutions of Higher Education and Scientific and Technological Research." Mbowe claims that "institutional and political aspects of development . . . have gained importance over economic and financial aspects. Knowledge about how best to strengthen the institutions responsible for human capital formation and capacity building is less developed" (p. 61). He focuses upon considerations of productivity, arguing that "a large percentage of the sub-Saharan work force [is unable] to compete effectively in an integrated world economy." Mbowe claims that "much of the success of . . . Japan and other industrialized countries stems from the fact that its blue collar workers can interpret advanced mathematics, read complex engineering blueprints, and perform sophisticated tasks on the factory floor which were not possible three decades ago" (p. 63). His proposals accord priority to the strengthening of policy making and planning, entrepreneurial

capabilities, managerial capabilities, engineering, technological and scientific capabilities, vocational and trade specific skills, information acquisition, processing and diffusion capabilities, and repair and maintenance capabilities (p. 64). To accomplish these ends, Mbowe urges the reorientation of postsecondary programs "towards the production of practitioners rather than the conventional type of graduate." He correctly notes that higher education and scientific and technological research institutions can only become effective if "a proper foundation . . . [is] laid at preuniversity levels of education through attendance at polytechnic and vocational institutions" (p. 107). He recommends that, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication, international donors "should be requested to support existing viable institutions rather than create new ones" (p. 110).

Lydia Makhubu, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Swaziland, critically examines the creation of most African universities and their "attempts to carry out effective research and development." She notes that the main function of African universities "was to provide human resources to administer the newly independent states and to run the educational systems which [underwent] massive expansion in the post-independence period" (p. 69). As a result these universities subordinated scientific research to HRD development. Further, she claims that

only in a few countries have institutions involved in research and development received the support necessary to enable them to make effective contributions to the development of science and technology in Africa. The main obstacles have been the shortage of scientists, engineers, and technicians engaged in research and inadequate funding of research and development activities. (p. 70)

Thus Makhubu highlights an underlying problem of HRD in African countries: "The main reason for the manpower shortage is lack of adequate educational infrastructure and research facilities in higher education to train sufficient numbers of researchers." She attributes this to the fact that an overwhelming majority of university graduates are in social science disciplines. Such patterns of educational attainment create HRD shortages/ shortfalls in areas critical to national development, and undermine further the chronically low level of university-based scientific research. Makhubu argues that this latter problem "has been attributed to the weak economic situation prevailing in the continent and to the absence of national policies which accord science and technology the status they deserve." Hence most African universities "rely heavily on international agencies to fund important fundamental and applied research . . . which [are] not accommodated in the national budgets. When these external sources of funds dry up, so do R & D activities" (p. 71). Moreover research funded by such agencies usually reflects the donors' priorities rather than those of the host country. Finally, she notes that research in science and technology in Africa lacks any

strong mechanisms which link researchers and the productive sector, [a] situation further complicated by the diversity of the productive sector which, in many countries, consists of a

small modern, often foreign-based private sector and a large, so-called informal sector to which the majority of local entrepreneurs belong. If university research is going to influence national development, with which sector should the institutions be striving to collaborate and what form should this collaboration take? (p. 72)

Makhubu provides many practical suggestions for action, including (a) making key groups in society aware of the potential contribution of science and technology research; (b) establishing, or improving channels for the exchange of information and personnel with the productive sector; (c) having research institutions engage researchers with an extension function "who could provide 'on-the-spot' solutions to problems and also receive on-the-spot reactions to the applicability of research results;" (d) collaboration with social scientists in designing projects with practical applications; (e) translating "bench results" to production to solve the problems of rural communities; (f) collecting rural innovations to promote their wider use; (g) forming interuniversity research teams to undertake research projects; and (h) reforming basic undergraduate curricula to include topics of biotechnology, materials, computer science, etc.

These, then, are key arguments in Part II, which had a marked impact on the framing of the Dalhousie Memorandum.

The volume—and the Roundtable—might be characterized as unbalanced since there appears to be an overconcentration upon universities and a concomitant neglect of discussion of polytechnics, teacher-training colleges, and, most importantly, institutions to train the technicians and technologists necessary to support university and research institute senior scientists, and industry. This imbalance, one might argue, stems from a conceptual flaw of the Roundtable—the organizers' invitation of "top people" to examine technical development issues without including the benefit of insights available at the operational and technical levels. Hence, there is a prevalence of rhetoric in many of the speakers' comments. HRD planning normally involves planning postsecondary places in accordance with the requirements for high-level manpower, rather than the satisfaction of social demand by students for whom jobs may or—more likely—may not exist.

Finally, while the breadth of coverage is encouraging, the depth of coverage is disappointing. Some glaring lacunae include the overall failure to mention the substantial contributions made to the promotion and funding of scientific and technological research and development in Africa (and elsewhere) made by the International Development Research Centre. Similarly, although lip service is paid to the involvement and activities of nongovernmental organizations, there is no mention of those NGOs which have made significant contributions to the dissemination and utilization of research findings at the grass-roots level. In particular, top-level experts should familiarize themselves with NGOs like AMREF (The African Medical Research Foundation) which undertakes many of the extension functions called for by Dr. Makhubu. There are likely to exist other NGOs performing similar roles. The Dalhousie

Memorandum is quite correct in calling for the establishment of better information and co-ordination systems.

Investing in the Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World

In contrast to Kwapong and Lesser's *Capacity Building and Human Resource Development in Africa*, Jacques Hallak, Director of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), has produced a "how-to" book that effectively translates rhetoric into reality. Throughout this book, Hallak examines HRD issues in depth and discusses how to translate these, often contentious, issues into viable policies, develop effective and realistic plans, and then implement and evaluate these plans under the difficult conditions found in most developing nations. This book is an outstanding example of both scholarship and the application of scholarship to the amelioration of the entire spectrum of problems facing those charged with developing their educational systems. Hallak translates general, vague concepts into operational strategies for development. The volume is comprehensive and includes the best treatment of adult and nonformal education yet seen in this class of book.

Moreover, in contrast to similar works, Hallak has produced a "focused" book. This focus includes both theory/research and practical, field-based, experience upon the entire spectrum of education and training in developing nations. Such synthesis of theory and practice redounds to the credit of both its author and the IIEP, as well as to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) which co-sponsored its production as part of the UNDP Inter-Regional Project on the Improvement of Basic Educational Services. The academic-practitioner nexus also influences the content of this book, as Hallak includes topics rarely covered in similar works. A salient example of this is found in chapter 9, "Buildings, Equipment, Materials: Priorities for Physical Planning and Utilization." The literature on routine and preventive maintenance is extremely "thin." Surprisingly Hallak devotes one section of this chapter to maintenance, mirroring most of the field-derived insights and lessons which practitioners learn in the field.

This valuable book is structured in four parts: Part I, "Changing Educational Priorities: Retrospect and Prospect," critically examines three decades of progress, together with the crises impairing accrued progress and examines the challenges and constraints attending the development of balanced HRD policies and priorities for the 1990s. Part II, "Memoir to Policy Makers," examines policy choices, priorities, and strategies at the macro level. Part III, "Memoir to Practitioners," deals with the operational levels of HRD and educational system planning. Chapter 7 examines the priorities for planning teacher supply and demand. Chapter 8 examines priorities for selecting educational technologies and planning delivery systems. Chapter 9 contains a comprehensive overview of buildings, equipment, and materials and establishes priorities for physical planning and utilizations. Chapter 10

examines priorities in managing nonformal educational programs. Chapter 11 provides an excellent overview of priorities for management and administration of educational systems. Part IV, "Memo to Donors," critically examines the performance of bilateral (country to country) and multilateral (international organizations) donors and sets priorities for international assistance.

Significantly, Hallak provides a definition for HRD at the outset:

Broadly defined, human resource development (HRD) relates to the education, training and utilisation of human potentials for social and economic progress. According to the UNDP, there are five 'energisers' of HRD: education; health and nutrition; the environment; employment; and political and economic freedom. These energisers are interlinked and interdependent, but education is the basis for all the others and an essential factor in the improvement of health and nutrition, for maintaining a high-quality environment, for expanding and improving labour pools, and for sustaining political and economic responsibility. (p. 1)

In marked contrast, the Kwapong/Lesser volume does not contain an explicit definition of HRD, assuming that the Roundtable participants and readers know what this (and other) terms mean. Further, Hallak lends concrete substance to HRD issues by providing valuable examples and case studies to illustrate and give life to his definition. For example:

The problem of education unemployment is a symptom of the mismatch that may occur between the world of work and the world of education, although in some cases it may be more of a result of a fall in the number of jobs available—perhaps because of recession—than the fault of the graduates or their preparation. According to ILO statistics, the number of unemployed persons who have had employment experience in 'professional, technical and related' fields or in 'administrative, executive, and managerial' functions has increased in 39 of the 47 countries for which statistics are available. In Ecuador, for example, the number of productive jobs increased between 1970 and 1982 at an annual rate of 1.5 per cent, while over the same period, the student population increased annually by 25 per cent, resulting in a surplus of graduates. In Argentina, economic growth has hit a low of 0.3 per cent, while the enrolment ratio at the university level is about 39 per cent—higher than the average in Europe. Imbalance between supply and demand for skilled manpower is also illustrated by the case of Mali, where only 30 percent of the 1986 university graduates got jobs, and in Guinea, where the unemployment of graduates resulted in a 40 per cent reduction in the number of university enrollments. (p. 40)

These realities place us in a significantly better position to comprehend differences between the satisfaction of "social demand" for university education and the balanced planning of HRD, according to manpower requirements sustainable by the economies in most developing nations.

Similarly, these two volumes are distinctly different in their treatment of adult and nonformal education. While the only contribution in the Kwapong/Lesser volume which deals with noninstitutional aspects of education fails to differentiate between formal, informal, and nonformal education, in contrast, Hallak includes a taxonomy, originally developed by Coombs, Prosser, and Ahmed to define these important concepts:

Formal education: "the educational system; with its hierarchic structures and chronological succession of grades from primary school to university, which in addition to general academic studies comprises a variety of specialised programmes and full-time technical and vocational training institutions.

Informal education: the lifelong process par excellence, whereby each individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge through everyday experience, through the educational influences and resources of his or her environment, namely family, neighbours, workplace and leisure, in the market, the library and through the mass communication media.

Non-formal education: all those educational activities that are organised outside the established formal system—whether functioning separately or as an important part of a broader activity—and designed to serve identifiable clientele and educational objectives. According to this taxonomy, the term 'out-of-school education' refers to informal and non-formal education, while 'in-school education' may also possess informal and non-formal functions or structures. (p. 6)

Both books deal adequately with the "crises" faced by developing nations—and their educational systems—during the 1970s and 1980s, which resulted in marked decline in both the investment in education and HRD and the rate of expansion of these systems. However, while the Kwapong/Lesser volume fails to provide specific details—and relevant case study examples—of these twin declines, the Hallak volume contains a significant amount of explanatory data and valuable discussion of the implications of these data. Moreover, Hallak's diagnoses are followed by valuable prognoses for policy options, planning strategies, and implementation (and funding) suggestions.

Hallak's descriptions of the impact of budget cuts resulting from these crises are impressive. He correctly points out that "in many countries, the education ministries' building departments are funded for investment, barely for maintenance" so that "budget cuts are usually applied first to maintenance" (p. 34). Similarly, Hallak deals with other so-called frills which are routinely eliminated when recurrent, or operating, funds are in short supply. He notes that the reduction of expenditures on instructional materials, which "can also serve as a parameter for assessing educational quality" in some countries

can only be described as alarming, given the importance of books for the quality of a school. The lack of materials or equipment can be especially serious in primary schools, where children from illiterate or bookless homes are being introduced to written figures and words—strange symbols to which very simple material could give concrete meaning. (pp. 34, 35)

While the Kwapong/Lesser volume addresses shortages of science teachers at the secondary and postsecondary levels of educational systems, Hallak deals with this critical issue in elaborate detail and links such issues and problems to their impact upon related aspects of educational system development, such as the marked disparities in university enrolment between the arts and humanities and the pure and applied sciences, technology, and agriculture. Some participants in the Dalhousie Roundtable, such as Lydia Makhubu, were well aware of these important issues but the Roundtable, lamentably, treated these issues superficially. Similarly, important issues like

teachers' salaries receive substantive treatment by Hallak and are linked to a third world phenomenon known as "multi-jobbing" in which teachers often teach at two or more schools/universities in order to make ends meet. In fact, this problem was not adequately addressed in either volume. Such issues are of extreme importance due to their impact upon the quality of classroom instruction which is impaired when teachers/professors have little available time to prepare lessons, grade papers and examinations, and respond to and interact with their students, since they rush from one school or university classroom to another. Another lacuna in both volumes is that considerations of safety are not mentioned in either book. It is not unusual to find situations in academic and technical secondary schools and at universities and polytechnics in developing nations where safety considerations are neglected. This is particularly evident in science laboratories and technical workshops, where emergency showers for chemical and/or acid spills are lacking, or where emergency cut-off switches to equipment are not in evidence. In many cases, such shortcomings are due to flaws in the project planning undertaken both by nationals of the recipient countries and representatives of donor nations. Given Hallak's extensive experience with UNESCO, it was surprising that he failed to include insights from the UNESCO Regional School-Building Centres in his book.

In his discussion of policy choices, Hallak discusses "the cost of ambiguity" when "choosing between terminal or preparatory education" He writes that:

The challenge of balancing the terminal functions of any type of secondary school with its preparatory functions is complex, and unresolved in most countries. Governments try to palliate the negative connotations of vocational schools as terminal by offering at least theoretical possibilities for the best students—even if only a very few—to transfer to academic schools at the end of their studies. (p. 88)

I disagree with the sweeping generalizations implicit in this statement and suggest that Hallak neglected consideration of the SENAI (National Industrial Apprentice Service) in Brazil and the experiences of Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia. These developing nations have implemented quality TVE systems which do facilitate large numbers of their graduates to proceed to engineering faculties, polytechnics and higher technical/ technician-training institutions. While both books deal at length with the necessity to improve instruction in science and technology, Hallak out-performs Kwapong/Lesser in his depth of coverage. For example, Hallak notes that:

In Africa, the number of technicians, engineers, and scientists per million inhabitants was, in 1985, 3,451; in Asia, it was 11, 686; in Latin America, 11, 758; and in the industrialized countries, 70,452. (p. 60)

For several reasons, scientific learning is an area that merits high investment priority. This area has suffered budget cuts so severe that in many countries laboratories cannot be maintained, scientific equipment has not been replaced, materials for experiments are woefully inadequate. Students are merely taught about science rather than getting scientific learning. It is pointless to try to strengthen scientific learning at the higher education level, a

vociferously touted target in many countries, if students start off with inadequate grounding at the secondary level. In a context of economic uncertainty and rapid technological change, HRD policy must seek to improve the quality and flexibility of manpower. Experience shows that this is more easily achieved when students have benefitted from long and solid basic training. (p. 123)

In spite of Hallak's inclusion of many valuable definitions, a major shortcoming is his failure to define policy and relate such a definition to the policy-formulation and planning processes. A comparison may be made to *Creating Educational Environments Supportive of Health* (Wilson et al., 1991), in which a chapter was devoted to discussions of the policy cycle, policy initiatives, and the formulation of practical strategies for action. The starting point of this discussion was to mobilize readers at a similar level to that which Hallak has provided throughout most of his volume. Hallak concludes his in-depth examination of educational priority setting with an excellent examination of the nature of earlier donor assistance and provides a valuable list of priorities for international co-operation. These include:

1. Make education and HRD a top priority sector for international aid.
2. Adopt a global concept of HRD.
3. Establish support to HRD within the framework of national development policies and firm mutual commitments.
4. Widen the time horizon of international co-operation in education.
5. Focus on a long-term extension and improvement of the receiving country's institutional capacities.
6. Ensure the financial sustainability of HRD projects.
7. Support strategic areas of educational sector management.
8. Improve the administrative machinery of the countries concerned.
9. Support "South-South" and multi-level co-operation.
10. Promote co-ordination and organizational integration in international co-operation. (pp. 277-298)

Hallak's "ten commandments" to overcome present inadequacies of aid in education follow his diagnoses and discussions of the lesson from past experience. His discussion notes that "international assistance to education amounted to US\$4.25 billion in 1986 . . . compared to the . . . US\$600 million that external sources provided in 1969, this is an impressive achievement." However, "recent trends in assistance to educational financing show that after a considerable increase early in the 1970s, international educational assistance levelled off until the beginning of the 1980s—bilateral aid until 1980, multilateral until 1983." Furthermore, "an analysis by type of aid shows that grants and soft loans have declined in proportion to loans;" that "bilateral assistance for education is also partly loans and credits;" and that "assistance from non-governmental organizations, now representing an estimated 5 per cent of the total aid to education in developing countries, is . . . reported to be on the rise" (pp. 299-302).

These quotations indicate that the aid equation during the 1990s has undergone marked changes in its origins and nature that are likely to affect recipient nations for several decades. It is unfortunate that even in this well-integrated volume Hallak has not incorporated such insights into the earlier sections that were addressed to policy makers and planners.

To conclude this review article, the considerable difference between the two volumes makes a comparison very difficult. While the Kwapong-Lesser volume constitutes an interesting convergence report and as such will be a welcomed addition, the Hallak volume constitutes a significant addition to the literature on HRD. Moreover, it is recommended that colleagues consider the adoption of this important and valuable book for introductory third world development and/or comparative courses.

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