EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Vol. 13, No. 2

The Official Journal of The International Society for Educational Planning

DEDICATED TO PLANNING, CHANGE, REFORM, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

Published at SUNY – College at Buffalo

EDITORIAL REVIEW BOARD

Robert Beach
The University of Memphis

Compton Bourne
Caribbean Development Bank

Michael Cross
University of the Witswaterrand

George Crawford
University of Kansas

William G. Cunningham
Old Dominion University

Donna Ferrara
Long Island University

Allan Guy
University of Saskatchewan

Dan Inbar
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

A. P. Johnson
Drake University

Roger Kaufman
Florida State University

Ron Lindahl
East Tennessee State University

William McInerney
Purdue University

Rex Nettleford
University of the West Indies

Cynthia Owens-Bailey
Henrico County Public Schools

Bikas C. Sanyal
UNESCO
International Institute for Educational Planning

C. Kenneth Tanner
University of Georgia

David N. Wilson
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

EDITOR

P. RUDY MATTAI

SUNY–College at Buffalo

Reprints: Articles and reviews are available from the editor. Please contact the editor for availability and costs.

Translations: *Educational Planning* will attempt to provide readers with major language translations of journal articles. Interested members should contact the editor regarding availability, costs, lead time, etc.

© 2002 International Society for Educational Planning
All Rights Reserved

Educational Planning is the refereed journal of the International Society for Educational Planning (ISEP). *Educational Planning* is published quarterly by ISEP which maintains editorial, production, and correspondence offices at the State University of New York (SUNY)–College at Buffalo, Bacon Hall 312J, 1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York 14222-1095.

The Journal is assigned ISSN 1537-873X by the National Serials Data Program of the Library of Congress.

All material in the Journal is the property of ISEP and is copyrighted. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any means electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage or retrieval system without written permission from the publisher. Permission to use material generally will be made available by the editor to students and educational institutions upon written request.

For manuscript submission and membership information please see last pages.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

(A JOURNAL DEDICATED TO PLANNING, CHANGE, REFORM, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION)

VOLUME 13 NUMBER 2

NOTES ON MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Diane Grayson is Professor of Science education in the Faculty of Science at the University of South Africa (UNISA). She has focused her research and scholarship on developing holistic approaches to improving the teaching and learning of science that integrate the development of teachers and students from a cognitive, metacognitive, and affective point of view. Prof. Grayson has worked mainly disadvantaged populations at the university level as well as with preservice and inservice teachers. Prof. Grayson may be contacted at: Graysdj@unisa.ac.za

Dr. Ronald A. Lindahl is Professor and Chair of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis at East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee, U.S.A. He is a Contributing Editor to *Computers in the School: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Practice, Theory, and Applied Research.* Prof. Lindahl has worked extensively in Latin America and has published several pieces on Education in Cuba. Prof. Lindahl may be contacted at: lindahl@etsu.edu

Dr. Mohamed Nur-Awaleh is an Assistant professor I the Department of Educational Administration and Foundations at Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois, U.S.A. He was the Guest Editor of a special focused issue on global education *Educational Planning: An Educational Leadership and Policy Journal, Vol. 33, Nos. 1 &2, 2002.* Dr. Nur-Awaleh's research and scholarship is focused on East Africa and particularly Somalia. He may be contacted at: manuraw@ilstu.edu

Dr. David N. Wilson is a Professor of Education in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), The University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. Prof. Wilson has done extensive research and consultations in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America. He currently teaches courses in a variety of areas including comparative, international, and development education; planning and evaluation of occupational training systems; human resource and education system planning; Inuit and Indian education in Canada; and the role of international agencies in development. Prof. Wilson may be contacted at: dnwilson@oise.utoronto.ca

PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDES OF MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND JAPAN

Diane J. Grayson, University of South Africa
Yumiko Ono, Naruto University, Japan
Mapula Ngoepe, University of South Africa

The performance of South African pupils in mathematics and science is abysmal, by both international and national standards. Whilst many mathematics and science teachers have inadequate content knowledge and operate in poorly resourced schools, this is not the whole story. From 1999 to 2000 a number of schools improved their overall final examination pass rates by more than 50%, largely by increasing their professional practice. In developing countries teachers' effectiveness is often diminished by a lack of motivation and commitment. Conversely, where commitment and dedication are high, good results may be achieved under poor conditions. Japan is currently assisting South Africa with maths and science teacher professional development. In view of this assistance, and given Japanese pupils' high performance in international maths and science tests and the Japanese reputation for hard work, a study was conducted to compare the professional attitudes of maths and science teachers in the two countries.

INTRODUCTION

In both the TIMMS (Howie and Hughes, 1998) and TIMMS repeat (Howie, 2001) studies South African pupils came last in mathematics and science of the 41 countries that participated, whilst Japanese pupils came in the top five. In 2000, fewer than 20,000 pupils in South Africa, with a population of roughly 40 million, passed Grade 12 mathematics well enough to allow them entry into university science-based studies. In the search for explanations for, and ways of addressing, this poor performance it is reasonable to look at the mathematics and science teachers.

A baseline study of SA teachers' content knowledge was conducted in 1999 (Nagao et al) with a sample of 54 high school science and 60 mathematics teachers. Most of the material was based on elements of the Japanese Grade 9 and 10 syllabi, although some questions were at a lower level. The average mark for the science test was 46% and for the maths test was 50%. As an example of the lack of content knowledge, 60% of science teachers could not correctly identify the gas that is most abundant in air from a choice of five gases.

Apartheid deliberately created vast inequities for pupils of different racial groups. The problem was compounded in the 1980s and early 1990s, the final days of apartheid, and the time when the bulk of today's mathematics and science teachers were trained, by frequent strikes and protests, with a concomitant loss of teaching time. The paper qualifications of many teachers trained during this period thus reveal little about teachers' actual knowledge. Furthermore, over 50% of mathematics and science teachers lack even adequate paper qualifications in these subjects (Arnott et al, 1997). Given this background, many mathematics and science teachers therefore lack adequate professional competencies and appropriate attitudes. Yet this is precisely what is needed for teachers to be effective. Murnane and Raizen (1988) report that whilst demographic characteristics may vary, what effective teachers have in common are the skills and attitudes of professionals.

As for Japanese teachers, given that Japan's per capita income is the second highest in the world it is reasonable to expect its teachers to have greater content knowledge. The average teacher in Japan receives more rigorous training and a much

higher salary than his or her South African counterpart. Japanese teachers also have access to better facilities and resources. However, Japan has not always been a wealthy country. After World War II its economy was totally destroyed. To a large extent, its current success is attributable to the hard work, selflessness and community-mindedness of its people. In Japan there is a strong perceived link between success and effort (Stevenson and Stigler, 1992).

Qualifications and resources are not the only factors that influence teachers' effectiveness. Equally important are teachers' motivation and commitment. Lockheed and Verspoor (1991) identify teaching time as a "key determinant of student achievement" which is "largely determined by teacher motivation". They go on to say that, "Many countries do not get the best performance from their incumbent or their new teachers. Lack of motivation and professional commitment produce poor attendance and unprofessional attitudes towards students" (p101). Referring to Africa, Ogunniyi (1986) identifies lack of teacher motivation as one of the problems hindering good science education. Obanya (1999, p171) suggests that, "the 21st century teacher in Africa has to be a professional educator in every sense of the term." One of the components of a professional educator he identifies is "comportment", which he defines as "giving pride to the profession through subscription to appropriate value systems and behaviour patterns." By contrast, Caillods et al (1997) suggest that "poor quality teacher preparation and low motivation to teach... with limited resources" may be masked by complaints about poor facilities and teaching and learning conditions.

Conversely, teacher motivation and commitment can be very influential in pupils' success. In South African schools that succeed despite poor conditions (Malcolm 2000), it was found that the teachers have high levels of commitment and dedication, work hard and for long hours, and are available to pupils outside of class time. These characteristics are also common amongst teachers in Japan.

Thus although content knowledge is vital, mathematics and science teachers' attitudes also need to be considered when developing interventions aimed at improving pupils' performance. Recently the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) began supporting the professional development of mathematics and science teachers in South Africa. Given this involvement and the relative success of Japanese pupils in mathematics and science, we were interested in comparing teachers in the two countries in order to: (i) inform Japanese assistance to South Africa, and (ii) inform South African government policy makers and in-service providers.

METHOD

While working at an Education College in the Northern Province from 1997 to 2000, the first author became aware of, and deeply concerned about, the attitudes of many teachers which seemed very unprofessional. During a 3-month stay in Japan in 2000 she was struck by how different the attitudes of Japanese teachers appeared to be. Given the Japanese pupils' success in maths and science and the role teachers' attitudes can play, it seemed worthwhile to investigate the similarities and differences in teachers' attitudes in the two countries.

A questionnaire was drafted while the first author was in Japan for three months in 2000, based on anecdotal information from students, teachers and other education officials in South Africa and Japan. It was validated by South African and Japanese educational researchers, translated into Japanese, and piloted in March in Japan and May in South Africa. Final versions of the questionnaire were produced in Japanese and English, and distributed between October and December 2000. Additional

questionnaires were sent out to one South African province in the first semester of 2001 where return rates had been particularly low.

A 10% sample of all South African secondary schools, namely 500, was selected. The number of schools selected per province was in proportion to the total number of high schools per province. Since postal surveys typically result in very small return rates in South Africa, one or more contact persons were identified in each of South Africa's nine provinces to take the questionnaires to schools in person and collect them upon completion. They were reimbursed for their travel costs. Even then, the return rate in the different provinces was uneven. Nonetheless, of the 2500 questionnaires sent out 1224 were eventually returned.

For the Japanese sample, questionnaires were posted to all junior and senior secondary school mathematics and science teachers in Tokushima Prefecture, where the second author is based. A self-addressed, stamped envelope was enclosed for the return of the questionnaires. A total of 542 responses were returned out of 873 sent out.

The questionnaire comprised three sections: (A) biographical information, (B) school information and (C) teachers' opinions. Section C comprised three questions, each with a number of sub-questions, on: (1) what should be expected of a teacher, (2) teacher conduct and (3) teacher-pupil interaction and classroom practice. The questions in section C consisted of a multiple-choice part and a free-response part. The multiple-choice parts were all analysed statistically, while the qualitative responses were analysed using inductive analysis.

RESULTS

Whilst we shall concentrate on responses to part C of the questionnaire, namely teachers' opinions, it is interesting to note several differences in the profile of the teachers and schools in South Africa and Japan.

Biographical information

The age distribution of the teachers in Japan and South Africa are shown in Figure 1. It is interesting to note that the bulk of the South African teachers are younger than their Japanese counterparts, with 73% of South African teachers under the age of 40, compared with 53% of Japanese teachers. As a result, the South African teachers are, on the whole, less experienced than the Japanese teachers (Figure 2), with 68% of the South African teachers having less than 15 years of teaching experience compared with 47% of the Japanese teachers.

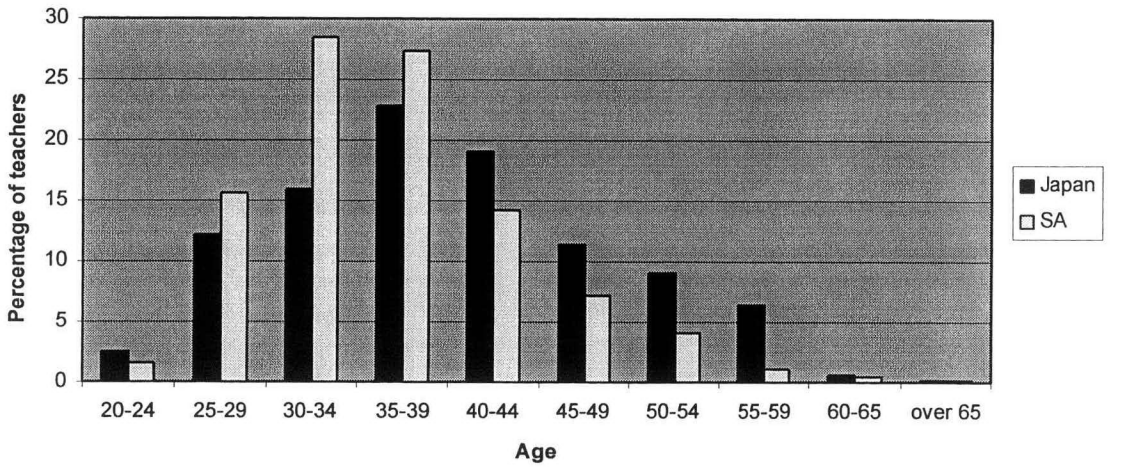

Figure 1: ***Age distribution of Japanese and South African high school mathematics and science teachers.***

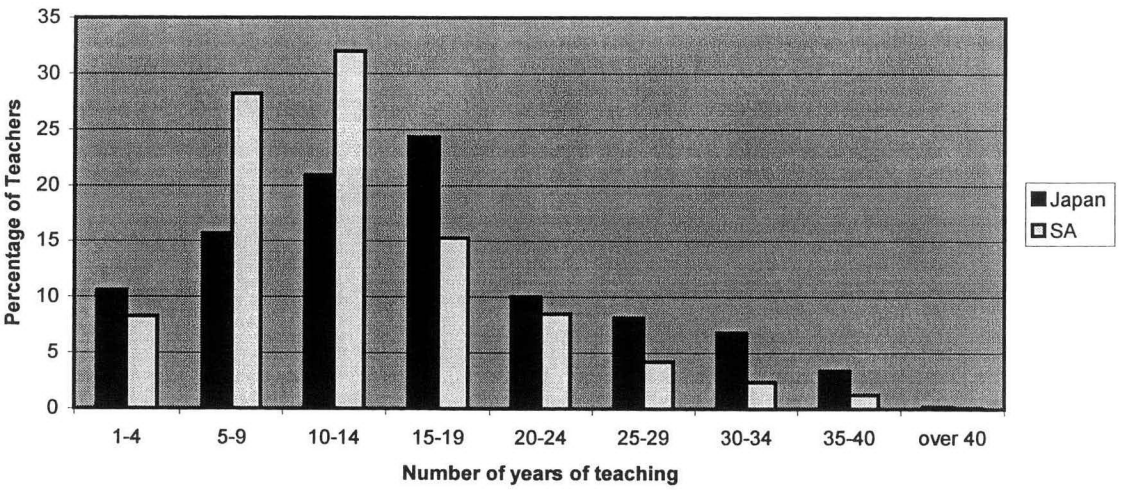

Figure 2: ***Distribution of number of years of teaching for Japanese and South African high school mathematics and science teachers.***

Thus compared to Japanese pupils, South African pupils' maths and science teachers tend to be younger and less experienced. In addition, South African teachers tend to have less formal education in the subjects they teach. Table I indicates salient aspects of South Africa teachers' qualifications in the subjects they teach. In many cases, the content level covered in 3 years at an education college is not much above Grade 12, and very rarely up to first year university level. By contrast, only 3% of the Japanese teachers hold less than a four-year qualification in the subjects they teach.

TABLE I: ***South African teachers' qualifications in the subjects they teach***

Subject taught	Less than 1 yr university	Less than 3 yrs education college
Mathematics (N=719)	54% (391)	39% (281)
Physics* (N=440)	51% (224)	51% (224)
Chemistry* (N=440)	52% (227)	63% (276)
Life Science (N=289)	50% (144)	60% (173)

*440 is the number of teachers who indicated that they teach physical science

School information

There is a wide variety of grade levels taught in South Africa schools, whilst in Japan most secondary schools are either junior secondary (grades 7-9) or senior secondary (grades 10-12). The teacher-pupil ratio tends to be worse in South Africa than in Japan (Table II).

TABLE II: ***Numbers of teachers and pupils in South African and Japanese schools***

No. Teachers	SA (%)	Japan (%)	*No. Pupils*	SA (%)	Japan (%)
1 - 4	0.3	0.2	Less than 20	0.2	1.7
5 - 9	5.2	2.6	21 - 50	0.7	3.0
10 - 19	21.8	15.6	51 - 100	21.1	4.8
20 - 29	29.5	18.7	101 - 500	42.0	36.0
30 - 49	36.3	25.4	501 - 1 000	36.0	36.4
50 or more	6.9	37.6	Over 1 000	0.2	18.2

There is also a large difference in the resources and facilities of the schools, with 47% of South African teachers rating their schools below average or poor compared with 24% of Japanese teachers.

Teachers' opinions of what should be expected of a teacher

The responses to section C1, what should be expected of a teacher, are given in Table III. The authors feel that all of these actions should are part of the professional practice of a teacher and therefore should be expected of a teacher, at least sometimes. (Note: due to rounding errors, the numbers may not add up to 100%).

TABLE III: ***How frequently Japanese (1st no) and South African (2nd no.) teachers indicate certain actions should be expected of a teacher (in %)***

POSSIBLE TEACHER ACTION	SHOULD BE EXPECTED OF A TEACHER			
	Al-ways	Some-times	Rarely	Never
1. To write a lesson plan for each lesson.	64% 68%	29% 24%	5% 5%	1% 4%
2. To mark pupils' homework assignments, providing detailed feedback to pupils.	22 77	52 22	23 1	3 0
3. To mark pupils' tests and hand them back quickly.	79 90	18 9	2 1	0 0

4. To produce worksheets and handouts for pupils.	35 52	58 43	6 4	0 1
5. To buy their own reference books.	21 22	52 50	23 18	4 11
6. To attend meetings called by the principal in the afternoon after classes end.	78 54	13 37	6 6	3 4
7. To attend special school-related activities after classes end or during the weekend.	41 41	43 49	13 7	3 3
8. To attend professional development activities during the weekend or during vacations.	6 37	44 44	42 13	8 6
9. To visit the parents of pupils in their homes.	6 14	52 45	36 24	7 18
10. To attend evening or weekend meetings with parents and/or members of the community.	9 33	33 45	45 15	13 7
11. For each school term, to arrive at school before the first day of class and stay after the last day of class.	68 58	27 26	5 8	0 7
12. To spend time in the evenings and over weekends on school work	28 40	53 44	15 10	4 5
13. To spend time during vacations on school-related work.	30 22	55 53	12 17	3 8

It is interesting to note that the proportion of South African teachers who say it is important to mark pupils' homework and give them feedback is much higher than for Japanese teachers (q2). In the case of the Japanese teachers, they say they feel heavily overloaded since they are required to share school management duties and assume the roles of career guidance counselor and/or psychological counselor. Some of them coach athletic clubs without extra pay. All these roles are expected as a part of their job of a classroom teacher. The following comments illustrate the problem:

"I understand that feedback is important, but I have no time for doing that."

"I check all assignments, but impossible to give detailed comments."

"It is too much work to do every time, because I teach 240 students total for one subject."

A question that arises is what the relationship is between what the respondents say should be expected of a teacher and what they actually do. The responses to the questions only provide information about teachers' opinions and not their actual practice. In the case of the South African teachers, other studies suggest that the amount of time actually spent marking homework is very small (Howie and Grayson, 2001). It is thus possible that the Japanese teachers may be responding according to what is realistic in their situation and the South African teachers may be responding according to what they think would be ideal. It would be interesting to investigate the divergence between opinion and practice in the two countries.

Many more Japanese teachers expect to attend frequent after-school meetings than their South African counterparts. The reasons South African teachers gave for not attending frequent after-school meetings were mostly related to feelings that the hours after school were their personal time or that they were tired by the time classes end. It should be noted that in South Africa classes typically run from 7:30 to 1:30, with 45 minutes to 1 hour allocated to breaks. In Japan, classes typically run from 8:30 to 3:00 with four 50-minute lessons in the morning and two 50-minute lessons in the afternoon.

Ten minutes between classes and 45 minutes are allocated to breaks and lunch. Examples of South African teachers' comments are:

" Teacher is exhausted at the end of the day"
" Teachers have to get some time to do their own personal matters"
" Meetings are part of job, they must be covered during breaks"
"If meeting is work related it should be held during working hours."

On the other hand, a higher percentage of South African teachers feel that a teacher should be expected to attend professional development activities during the weekend or vacations than Japanese teachers (q8). Comments from South African teachers include:

"As a teacher you need to develop yourself professionally. So it is important that you attend such activities."
"So that the teacher may be well equipped to impart knowledge to the pupils."
"To improve my performance and my future career and knowledge."
"Help to upgrade the standard of work."

This may be because of their relatively greater need for professional development than their Japanese counterparts. In the past, increased qualifications also led to increased salaries. In addition, South African teachers sometimes feel very isolated and may welcome the chance to meet with colleagues, whilst Japan has regular school-based professional development in each school. In addition, each prefecture has specified in-service training programs which all teachers must participate in during the 1st, 5th and 10th years of teaching (Collinson and Ono, 2001).

Although Japanese teachers made similar comments about the need to improve their knowledge and expertise, and about deriving enjoyment from learning, there were also a number of teachers who felt they were too busy with other school-related activities, as illustrated below:

"I commit myself with coaching club on holidays and vacations, very busy to attend."
"Teachers are not on vacation even during vacation."

South African teachers seem to be more willing to be involved with parents and the community (q9, 10). Some of their reasons are:

"It helps the educator to know what type of community the learner comes from, misunderstandings between parents and educators can be limited, when the school is in need you can know who to contact, professional are there and can be of assistance"
"The involvement of parents in the education of their children is vital, teachers need to encourage their participation."
"To share the pupils' problems and progress together."
"To discuss improvement of the school and how they, teachers plus parents can help each other for learning of the pupils."
"It enables parents to become more involved in the school and its functionings."
"Parents should give advice on the running of the school."
"To discuss the problems encountered and how to cure such problems."

In the case of the Japanese teachers, there are those who see the value of such meetings, as illustrated below:

"For educational activities, it is essential to collaborate with parents and community."
"To understand the students better, cooperation by parents and community is necessary."

However there are also those who do not feel highly committed to such meetings, as illustrated by the following quotes:
"When assigned as duty by the superiors, I may."
"It is not a part of job responsibility as teachers."

It should be noted, however, that for a long time in Japan, teachers were regarded as experts in educating children. Parents believed that they left their children in teachers' hands to be educated. So they believed that they were not entitled to come to discuss school matters. It is a recent development in Japanese education to encourage collaboration among teachers/schools, community and parents in order to improve the education of children. However even now, many teachers believe that only homeroom teachers and teachers in charge of student discipline (seito shido) should be expected to confer with parents about learning problems, school/career choice or behavior problems.

Views of teacher conduct

Table IV gives the responses to questions asking how often teachers had heard of certain actions and the extent to which these actions were considered acceptable. All of the actions were considered to be unacceptable by the authors. The first part of each question was intended to provide information about what is actually taking place in the schools, while the second part was designed to provide information about the teachers' opinions of such actions.

Table IV: How often Japanese (1st no.) and South African (2nd no.) maths and science teachers have heard of and find acceptable certain actions

Teacher action	How often have you heard of teachers doing this?			n your opinion, to what exten re such actions acceptable?		
	Often	Occa-sionally	Never	lways	cca-ionally	ever
1. A teacher comes to class late.	5% 30%	79% 60%	16% 10%	4% %	3% 0%	3% 7%
2. A teacher comes to class drunk.	0 6	2 32	98 62			6 7
3. A teacher stays in the staff room whe he/she is scheduled to be in class.	1 18	39 53	60 29		5 6	1 3
4. A teacher hits a pupil.	0 12	30 59	70 29		1 2	6 6
5. A teacher comes to class without preparin for the class.	4 14	64 53	32 32	2	9 5	9 3
6. A teacher goes away to attend a worksho and leaves pupils work to do on their own.	2 29	56 62	42 9	3 6	7 5	0 9
7. A teacher scolds a pupil for asking question in class.	0 6	11 39	89 55		2 6	7 2
8. A teacher leaves school early without askin the permission of the principal.	1 7	14 39	86 53		9	9 0

9. A teacher makes sexual advances to a pupil.	0 7	3 34	97 59			9 8
10. A teacher gives higher/lower marks to pupil they do/ don't like.	0 5	13 28	87 67			4 7

One of the most striking features of Table IV is the great disparity between unprofessional teacher actions South African teachers say they have heard of and what they consider acceptable, compared with Japanese teachers, whose responses to the two sets of questions do not differ very much. These results suggest that in South Africa, there is a great deal of professional misconduct taking place which teachers know is wrong. This point is important, since if educational authorities and in-service programmes are to try to improve the professional conduct of South African teachers, they will need to appeal to teachers' sense of what is right, perhaps an easier task than trying to educate teachers as to what is right.

Another major difference in the two groups of responses is that there seems to be much less discipline amongst South African teachers than amongst Japanese teachers. This is suggested by the much higher incidence of frequent late coming by South African teachers (q1), remaining in the staff room instead of going to class (q3) and leaving school early without permission (q8).

In response to question 1, a high percentage of Japanese teachers reported hearing of occasional late-coming, but the main reasons given related to teachers spending time dealing with student problems, as illustrated by the quotes below:

"Counseling and guidance with students."

"Dealing with behavior problems/misconduct of the students."

In the case of South African teachers late-coming is much more common. One of the main reasons given, and perhaps a surprising reason, related to teachers' lack of confidence in their knowledge of the subject matter, as illustrated below.

"Unprepared, not i.e. [knowledgeable] of the subject matter, afraid of pupils."

"Fear of the new section of work he is not sure of."

"Not comfortable with the grade is teaching or not sure about his presentation."

Another common reason had to do with lack of preparation for the class.

"It must be because they do not plan their lessons and find it difficult to go [to class]."

"Sometimes is that they are not prepared so they don't want to spend more time in class"

"Still preparing for the lesson"

These issues emerge even more strongly in question 3, where possible reasons are given as to why teachers stay in the staff room when they are scheduled to be in class, something reported by 70% of South African teachers. There seem to be three main, inter-related factors that the teachers highlight- lack of confidence in teachers' subject-matter knowledge, lack of preparation for class and laziness, as illustrated by the quotes below.

"Not prepared, laziness, lack of knowledge of subject matter"

"He is lazy. He/she is not done the lesson plan preparations. He/she is not good in presentation or understanding of the subject matter."

"There are some teachers who do not prepare themselves for their classes, that is why they will not bother themselves to attend their class."
"He is not well prepared for the lesson. He is a lazy teacher. There are no steps to be taken against him."

In response to question 5 it is surprising, on the surface of it, how many Japanese teachers think it is occasionally acceptable to come to class without preparing. One reason may be that they usually have to repeat lessons to pupils from different classes in the same subjects and grade levels, something that is also true for South African teachers. Another reason is the volume of other work expected of them, as suggested below:

"(We are) overwhelmed by other administrative duties."
"We Japanese teachers take care of club activities, counseling, book-keeping type of duties, etc, other than teaching, sometimes it is imperative (to go to classes without preparation)."

Many teachers in both Japan and South Africa also indicated that it was not necessary to prepare for every class if the teacher is experienced, though some South African teachers cast some doubt on whether or not this was legitimate, as illustrated below.

" Teacher is well experienced in his subject matter"
" Teachers have been teaching the same grade for a number of years knows the material"
" Some teachers tell themselves that they are expects in certain subjects so they don't prepare"
" He/she has been teaching the subject for a long time and thinks that he/she has mastered it."

A number of South African teachers again cited laziness, lack of motivation and lack of commitment as reasons for this behaviour. Other reasons related to commitments and/or problems at home.

" A teacher is too busy to do school work'
" Always commit himself with his/her private affairs"
"Personal circumstances could not allow the teacher to prepare"

Leaving school early without permission is much more frequent in South Africa than Japan. The main reasons given by the teachers fell into two categories, problems originating with the teacher, such as lack of respect for authority and lack of commitment, and problems originating with the principal such with weak management or unavailability of the principal.

There is also greater evidence of social problems amongst the South African teachers than amongst the Japanese teachers, as evidenced by the much higher incidence of coming to class drunk (q2) and sexual advances made by South African teachers (q9).

On the issue of coming to class drunk, while almost no Japanese teachers reported such behaviour it is alarming that nearly 40% of South African teachers have heard of it. The main reasons given related to alcohol addiction, social problems, irresponsibility and lack of commitment. In Japan it appears to be almost unknown for a teacher to make sexual advances to a pupil, while in South Africa approximately 40% of the teachers have heard of such behaviour. The main reasons given relate to teachers' lack of self-respect and self-control and abuse of their authority.

"Teachers take advantage of these learners and they know that these kids are vulnerable."
"Poor morals. Low self esteem."
"Teacher abuses his authority to abuse children who are ill informed about abuse."
"Some teachers are not self-disciplined"

However, another reason given is that some of the female students manifest provocative behaviour and dress provocatively.

"Seem to be tempted, male teachers cannot withstand temptation made by school girls"
"Pupils wear small skirts, they have got 'come on' looks... "

One of the problems in a number of South African schools is over-age learners which results from learners failing one or more grades along the way. Consequently, there may be little age difference between the teacher and the learners, and some of the learners will be over 18, adults essentially. In some cases, the teacher is genuinely interested in a serious relationship with a pupil.

"Teachers are of the same age with some learners."
"If the pupil is over +- 19 yrs and he is well – prepared to marry her."
"Some pupils are old as the teachers, so they don `t find it very wrong! Some even marry."

Such social dynamics complicate the teacher-pupil relationship.

The results also suggest that South African teachers show less respect for pupils and their responsibility towards their pupils than Japanese teachers, as evidenced, for example, by the high incidence of teachers showing favouritism (q10), teachers hitting pupils (q4), and teachers frequently leaving their pupils unattended to go to workshops (q6).

Most of the Japanese and South African teachers have heard of teachers going away to attend a workshop and leaving their pupils with work to do on their own, but it is a much more frequent occurrence in South Africa. The main reasons given by South African teachers are that workshops are often organized during the school day and at short notice and that substitute teachers are not usually available. What is of concern is that 25% of South African teachers think it is acceptable to often go to a workshop and leave pupils work to do. A number of teachers felt that their going to workshops was for the benefit of their pupils, even if it meant missing classes, and that pupils should learn to work independently.

"Workshop is meant to help the pupils and help pupil to be used to work by themselves."
"The teacher have the right to attend the workshop, pupils should be given work to find the solutions on their own."
"To encourage pupils to be independent and responsible.

Although it is illegal in both Japan and South Africa for a teacher to hit a pupil, teachers in both countries report having heard of such incidents, although the incidence is much higher in South Africa. Reasons given by South African teachers include loss of temper, frustration and as punishment for a range of misdemeanors, including not doing schoolwork, absenteeism, late coming, misbehavior, disobedience, rude or disrespectful

behaviour, and not studying. Japanese teachers indicate that it may happen if a pupil ignores a warning from a teacher. It is interesting that both Japanese and South African teachers think that it is acceptable occasionally to hit a pupil.

Few Japanese teachers have heard of teachers scolding pupils for asking questions in class, while nearly half of South African teachers have heard of this happening. This difference is perhaps not surprising given the different teaching styles which are dominant in the two countries. In Japan, it is common for teachers to use an interactive teaching style in which student ideas are solicited, questioned and discussed as a class, particularly in primary school, while in South Africa many classroom are dominated by "teacher talk" (Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999). Nonetheless, it is interesting to note the reasons given by the South Africa teachers. A number of responses refer to irrelevant or "disruptive" questions or the pressure to complete the required work. However, by far the largest proportion of responses indicate that teachers feel challenged or uncomfortable because of their lack of subject matter knowledge and/or preparation, as indicated below.

"Not knowing answers to pupils questions."
"The teacher lacks adequate knowledge and feels challenged by the learner."
"Agitated because he is not sure of his subject he is teaching."
"There are teachers who do not understand what they are teaching – scolding is a defence mechanism."
"The teacher being unprepared for the lesson he presented"

Views on teacher-pupil interaction and classroom practice

This section of the questionnaire contained 21 questions. They have been grouped together into five different tables for ease of analysis. The following scale was used: 1-strongly agree, 2-agree, 3- neither agree nor disagree, 4-disagree, 5-strongly disagree. Table V shows the results of questions asking about teachers' attitudes to subject-matter knowledge.

Table V: Japanese (1st number) and South Africa (2nd number) teachers' attitude towards subject-matter competence

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Teachers should know their subject very well.	69% 90%	28% 10%	3% 0%	0% 0%	0% 0%
2.	If a teacher does not understand a section of the curriculum well it is okay to skip that section.	0 2	2 2	13 2	44 24	42 70
3.	If teachers do not understand a section of the curriculum well it is their responsibility to study and learn that section themselves.	56 44	41 31	3 6	0 9	0 10

Whilst there is general agreement that teachers should know their subject well, 19% of South African teachers do not think it is their responsibility to study and learn sections of the curriculum they do not understand on their own. Some of these teachers say they can ask a colleague to teach those sections:

" He need to ask someone who knows and understand the session to come and teach the learners"
" He/ she can ask another teacher to present that section on his/her behalf"
" No, rather he/she must ask one of his/her colleagues to handle it for him/her"

In reality, however, in many schools there would not be another colleague who could teach those sections, with the result that they would probably be skipped. It is thus interesting that 94% of the South African teachers do not think it is acceptable to skip a section of the curriculum they do not understand. Anecdotal information, based on discussions with pupils, teachers, and examiners, suggests that skipping a section is, in fact, a common practice, particularly with the topics of geometry and trigonometry.

Table VI presents information about teachers' attitudes towards teaching and learning. The responses to questions 1, 4 and 5 show that Japanese and South African teachers have very different conceptions of their role. South African teachers see themselves primarily as knowledge providers, which may be one of the reasons why South African students fare poorly on the whole on science and maths questions that require more than rote learning (Howie and Hughes, 1998). Japanese teachers, on the other hand, tend to encourage pupils to share their own ideas with each other and with the class (Linn et al, 1999; Fujii, 1993) and to look up information for themselves. Japanese teachers' responses to question 1 support this approach:

"Student active participation is important, too."

"Students can not keep themselves attentive throughout the lesson."

Table VI: ***Africa (2nd number) teachers' attitude towards learning and teaching Japanese (1st number) and South***

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Teachers should spend most of their class time presenting good lectures.	24% 40%	29% 26%	23% 12%	20% 18%	3% 5%
2.	Getting children to do science experiments is a waste of time.	0 2	0 1	3 2	33 24	64 71
3.	Pupils should not ask questions during class.	0 2	0 1	2 1	32 21	66 75
4.	The main role of a teacher is to impart knowledge to pupils.	5 25	32 34	30 12	25 19	8 10
5.	It is important for a teacher to always know the answers to pupils' questions.	10 30	30 35	26 15	31 17	3 4
6.	Pupils do not need to have textbooks.	0 2	0 5	10 5	43 25	46 63
7.	Teachers should supply pupils with notes.	1 14	8 48	56 22	28 12	7 4
8.	Teachers should prepare worksheets for pupils.	2 40	17 50	63 6	16 2	2 1
9.	Examinations are the best way to find out who the brightest students are.	2 8	10 21	38 22	35 34	15 15

Typical responses to question 1 from the South African teachers are given below. Some of the responses indicate that teachers feel the best way for pupils to learn is for them to receive good lectures. This view of learning and teaching is in contrast to teaching approaches that draw on a constructivist philosophy in which learners must construct their own knowledge. The process of knowledge construction is facilitated when pupils are actively engaged.

"That is effective teaching."

"They are the source of information to learners as they do not have textbooks."

"This will make the pupil to pass at the end of the year."
"So as to convey the subject matter to pupils.
"Good lectures make pupils to understand and know that subject well and bring interest to pupils."
"If the teacher hasn't taught the pupils haven't learnt."

Other responses suggest that the teachers and their community view their role very narrowly as presenters of information.
"That is what teaching entails."
"The job requires this!"
"That is what is expected from a teacher."
Responses to question 4 further support the common teacher view of the need for the teacher to be a knowledge-provider.
"Pupils came to school being empty headed, the teacher must impregnate the swaying, empty head with knowledge."
"That is a definition of a teacher."
"Pupils are at school to gain knowledge and the teacher is the provider. Thus, he must be able to impart knowledge to the pupils."

By contrast, Japanese teachers saw their role more in terms of helping pupils to acquire and apply knowledge for themselves, as illustrated below:
"How to think, how to use the knowledge is more important."
"Teach how to learn."
"Knowledge encompasses more than those in the textbook. It includes all knowledge. Including life."

There was a big difference in Japanese and South African teachers responses to question 5, knowing the answers to pupils questions. Typical Japanese teachers responses were:
"We must try to be able to answer all questions, but should not pretend we know the answer."
"If we don't know the answer, we should study/research to find the correct answer."
"It's all right to answer the question later after investigation sometimes."

By contrast, for many South African teachers knowing the answers to pupils' questions was tied up with issues of pupil trust and confidence in and respect for them, as illustrated below.
"If it is not so the pupils will not trust the teacher and they will be demotivated to learn his subject."
"Learners have trust in their teachers. If a teacher is unable to provide an answer for the question, they will gradually lose trust in what he/she is transmitting to them."
"Yes, for if he does not know answers, they will lose confidence in him."
"The pupils must have confidence to a teacher and respect him/her."

Given this viewpoint, it is not difficult to understand why teachers who do not feel secure about their content knowledge, and therefore their ability to answer pupils' questions, would be likely to discourage questions in class and be reluctant to go class at all (cf Table IV, q7, 3).

The South African teachers' greater emphasis on the desirability of preparing notes and worksheets for pupils (cf Table III, q4) is largely a reflection of the inadequate provision of textbooks in many South African schools, whereas in Japan nearly all children have textbooks that can easily be used as the basis for each day's lessons. South African teachers commented:

> " Schools need money- no two schools are the same, textbooks are expensive and too general"
>
> "Since all pupils does [do] not have textbooks we are forced to give them notes"
>
> "If you are teaching in a rural school, sometimes you are forced to give them are notes, E.G. lack of textbooks may force the teacher to write notes for the pupils."

Taken together, the different responses suggest that the perceived burden on South African teachers to be knowledge providers is far greater than that of their Japanese counterparts. Given that the content knowledge of the South African teachers is, on average, much less than that of the Japanese teachers, this burden becomes excessively heavy. The introduction of the new national curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (1997), with its emphasis on outcomes-based education, should help to alter South African teachers' perceptions of their role, but that remains to be seen. On the other hand, it could be argued that teaching in an outcomes-based style requires even greater teacher confidence in their subject matter knowledge.

The results shown in Table VII indicate that both Japanese and South African teachers on the whole see it as their role to care about pupils and not only "teach" them. South African teachers, in particular, feel it is important to love their pupils. Whilst Japanese teachers do not emphasise loving pupils as much, they are often involved in parenting-type activities, even sometimes being phoned by parents who ask the teacher for help with their child. On the other hand, 13% of South African teachers think they should not have to deal with pupils' personal problems at all, compared with only 2% of Japanese teachers. Nearly twice the percentage of South African teachers (19%) as Japanese teachers (10%) do not think they should have to help pupils after school with their schoolwork. Overall, a larger proportion of South African teachers than Japanese teachers see their role as restricted in activity to teaching and in time to school hours.

Table VII: *Japanese (1st number) and South Africa (2nd number) teachers' attitude towards pupils*

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	A person who does not love children should not become a teacher.	17% 44%	32% 31%	37% 13%	11% 6%	3% 6%
2.	A teacher should be concerned about the general well-being of a pupil.	36 52	58 43	5 3	1 1	0 1
3.	A teacher's role is to teach, not to deal with pupils' personal problems.	0 4	2 7	16 11	46 44	36 34
4.	If a pupil needs extra help after school, parents must pay for extra lessons, not expect the teacher to help after school hours.	3 6	7 13	34 19	37 30	19 32

The differences in South African and Japanese teachers' attitudes towards discipline are very marked, as indicated in Table VIII. South African teachers feel much more strongly about the need for discipline and punishment,

Table VIII: ***Japanese (1st number) and South Africa (2nd number) teachers' attitude towards discipline***

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	It is important to maintain strict discipline in the classroom	11% 44%	48% 41%	34% 7%	6% 7%	1% 1%
2.	Pupils who misbehave should be punished.	21 31	45 50	28 9	6 6	2 4
3.	Pupils who misbehave should not be punished; they should only be helped to understand why their behaviour is wrong.	36 16	49 33	12 22	2 23	1 7

Many of the reasons South African teachers gave for the need for maintain strict discipline (q1) related to the need for the teacher to be in control in order to be able to function effectively. There was also a belief expressed that strict discipline is a prerequisite for learning.

"Teacher has to be in control ALWAYS."

"People need discipline. Teaching can only be done effectively when the teacher is in control."

"If there is strict discipline in the classroom, the teacher can perform better."

"As this will help the pupils to cope with the lesson. This also help them to respect their teachers."

"No discipline, no learning, undisciplined learners do not concentrate."

"Learning progress well if an atmosphere of respect and strict discipline is maintained."

"A well disciplined class learn better than undisciplined class."

Many of the teachers seem to equate discipline with order. Comments were also made about the need to keep unruly pupils under control. Some teachers referred to the problem of class sizes of 40 pupils, but this class size is the norm in Japan.

"Because where there is no order learning will not take place properly."

"So that they must listen to you and do the work or else they will become out of hand."

"Otherwise naughty pupils would disrupt lessons."

"Sometimes the situation may change, but in classes with 40 or more pupils you will not be able to teach otherwise."

Some of the teachers, while agreeing that discipline was needed, also saw the need to allow some level of noise so that pupils could participate and interact.

"Group work requires interaction and some noise."

"To an extent! Pupils must be allowed to discuss and challenge each other."

"In a disciplinary environment much more is achieved and a work attitude is promoted, that does not mean no talking, no participation."

South African teachers also see a bigger role for punishment than Japanese teachers, as indicated by the responses to question 2.

"He/she will stop misbehaving"

"If they do not get punishment, there is a possibility of repeating the same or serious mistakes."

"Yes, because they will turn the class into a chaotic situation."

"Punishment help to maintain discipline."

"Punishment is a way of disciplining the students so that they should what is/or not expected of them." "How will we build men and women of tomorrow"?
"Otherwise they will not be able to differentiated between right and wrong."
"Yes, there must be a limit in behavior."

Many of them felt it was necessary in order to keep pupils in line. Some of the comments indicate that there is often a power struggle between pupils and teachers.

"Pupils when they are not punished, they really get out of hand.
"They take advantage of that and do it again.
"Some children cannot understand or will not accept that they are wrong
"Punishment serves as a reliable deterrent – you cannot reason easily with a child
"They will end up doing some thing like boycotting because they can do whatever they feel like doing
"In young pupils, I would agree but older pupils generally know the boundaries and thus when they cross them, they should be punished.
"From experience pupils don't learn unless they are punished.

It is also interesting to note that they think pupils often knowingly and willfully misbehave.

"Pupil inherits misbehavior or copies it from environments. Talking to them is a waste of time because they know why they do such misbehavior.
"Most pupils misbehave intentionally.

Japanese teachers, on the other hand, do not stress the need for discipline or punishment as much, as illustrated in the responses to question 2 below:

"If corporal punishment, NO. But students should be taught what's right and wrong."
"Punishment is necessary, but students should understand why they are punished."
"Only punishment doesn't work. Teachers should talk with the student to help."
"It is necessary to understand why they misbehaved."
"It is important to teach what is right and what is wrong, but how to punish matters."

In response to question 3, many more Japanese teachers than South African teacher felt that pupils should be helped to understand why they were wrong rather than punishing them. This attitude is part of the Japanese approach to discipline (Council on Teacher Education, 1997; Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 1999). The Japanese attitude towards wrongdoings is evident in school from the earliest years. One of the important tasks of Japanese primary teachers is to help children learn socially acceptable behaviour through helping them develop good basic habits of daily life early on (Shimahara and Sakai, 1995). These habits are reinforced later in hierarchical social organization in lower secondary schools (Le Tendre, 1999).

Table IX indicates teachers' views about the relevance of innate characteristics to success in mathematics and science. Whilst the proportions of Japanese and South African teachers who think pupils need to be bright to succeed in science is similar, the

proportion of South African teachers who disagree is much larger (65% compared to 36% for the Japanese). Japanese comments include:

"Can-do attitude matters."

"Effort matters, but aptitude does, too.

"Teachers should hold the belief that everyone can learn, and correspond to the individual needs and differences among students."

"Maybe brighter students can understand within very short time."

Table IX: *Japanese (1st number) and South Africa (2nd number) teachers' attitude towards innate characteristics leading to success in maths and science*

		1	2	3	4	5
1.	Only bright pupils are able to do well in mathematics and science at high school.	3% 4%	14% 16%	37% 16%	26% 45%	10% 19%
2.	Boys are better than girls at science and maths.	-- 2	-- 8	-- 20	-- 34	-- 36

Amongst the South African responses, it is interesting and encouraging that the role of the teacher is seen as important. For example,

"The main aspect of mastering a subject depends on the attitude toward the subject and teachers"

"An average child, if properly taught and well motivated can do math and science"

" Depending on the attitude of the educator, weaker learners can also be motivated to do well"

" Every pupil has true potential to do well in both subjects provided guidance and support is given to him"

" It goes with hard work on the side of both the teacher and the learners"

Given the drastic need for more successful mathematics and science graduates in South Africa, this is a positive result.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study suggests that there are a number of differences between Japanese and South African secondary school mathematics and science teachers. The retention rate for Japanese teachers seems to be higher than for South African teachers, with the result that a higher proportion of teachers in Japan are more experienced than in South Africa. One of the factors that is likely to have an important influence is that the Japanese teachers are relatively well-paid, with salaries close to those of university lecturers. This is far from the case in South Africa.

The attitudes of what teachers in the two countries feel should be expected of a teacher are similar in many respects, but the incidence of unprofessional conduct is much higher in South Africa than in Japan. This would suggest that there is a discrepancy between what South African teachers regard as acceptable and what is actually taking place. Possible reasons for this discrepancy are apparent in some of the qualitative data, but a more in-depth study would be needed to ascertain the root of the problems. What seems to coming through, however, is that on balance Japanese teachers are more committed and motivated and put in more time on school-related activities than their South African counterparts. They also have greater subject matter competence and confidence in their knowledge. Furthermore, the Japanese teacher education system provides more support and learning opportunities for new teachers

within schools in the form of a one year induction program and school based in-service training.

Another interesting area of difference relates to how teachers see their role and classroom interactions. South African teachers value a highly disciplined environment in which formal teacher presentations are the predominant mode of instruction. They feel that they should be knowledge providers. Japanese teachers tend to favour a more relaxed, interactive environment in which teacher and pupils together explore and discover. They see their role more as facilitators of learning than knowledge providers. The higher level of pupil activity, combined with the better content knowledge of the Japanese teachers almost certainly contributes to the much better performance of Japanese pupils on TIMMS tests, particularly where reasoning is required, than South African pupils.

There seems to be a strong relationship between teachers' confidence in their content knowledge and their teaching approaches. In Japan, where teachers' content knowledge is generally much stronger, teachers tend to use much more learner-centred approaches and encourage more pupil discussion and questioning. South African teachers' lack of content knowledge appears to make teachers less willing to allow pupil questions and discussion. It also seems to affect other aspects of professional conduct, such as coming to class on time.

A number of the differences between Japanese and South African teachers are likely to be a reflection of the two different societies at large. For example, the good performance of Japanese pupils in mathematics and science cannot be attributed solely to the effect of teachers and formal schooling- parental support and the common practice of paying for extra lessons (juku) must also have an effect. In South Africa, the high incidence of teachers coming to class drunk or making sexual advances to pupils are not problems that can be solved at the level of the school or in-service programmes alone. Neither can issues relating to teacher status and accountability. However, the last issue, teacher accountability, can be addressed by means of government policy. For example, South African teachers could be required to pass a content knowledge test in order to obtain their certification, as is done in Japan. If they fail they can be required to attend professional development courses to improve their subject matter knowledge. Changing South African teachers' willingness to put in enough time and effort to do their jobs properly is going to be much more complicated, but is clearly essential if there is to be a significant improvement in pupils' performance in maths and science. If teachers' feelings of competence improve, and if they are supported and appreciated by their principals and communities, their motivation will likely increase.

References

Arnott, A., Kubeka, Z., Rice, M. and Hall, G. (1997). Mathematics and Science Teachers: Demand, Utilisation, Supply and Training. EduSource: Johannesburg.

Caillods, Gottelmann-Duret, G., and Lewin, K. (1996). Science education and development. Planning and policy issues at secondary level. UNESCO: Paris.

Collinson, V. and Ono, Y. (In press) Professional Development of Teachers in U.S. and Japan. European Journal of Teacher Education.

Curriculum 2005 (1997) http://www.polity.org.za/govdocs/misc/curr2005.html

Fujii, T. (1993). Japanese students' understanding of school mathematics, focusing on elementary algebra. In G. Bell (Ed.), *Asian Perspectives on Mathematics Education.* Lismore, NSW, Australia: The Northern Rivers Mathematical Association, pp 70-89.

Howie, S.J. and Grayson, D.J. (2001). Developing a Profile of South African Grade 8 Science Teachers. Paper presented at the Third International Conference of the European Science Education Research Association, 21-25 August 2001, Thessaloniki.

Howie, S.J. and Hughes, C.A (1998). Mathematics and Science Literacy of Final-Year School Pupils in South Africa: Third International Mathematics and Science Study. Pretoria: HSRC.

Howie, S.J. (2001). Mathematics and Science Performance in Grade 8 in South Africa 1998/1999. TIMMS-R South Africa. Pretoria: HSRC.

Le Tendre, G.K. (1999) Community-Building Activities in Japanese Schools; Alternative Paradigms of the Democratic School. *Comparative Education Review*, 43(3), 283-310.

Lockheed, M. and Verspoor, A.M. (1991). Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries. Oxford University Press.

Malcolm, C., Keane, M., Hoohlo, L., Kgaka, M. and Ovens, J. (2000). Why Some "Disadvantaged" Schools Succeed in Mathematics and Science: A Study of "Feeder Schools". NCCRD, Department of Education: Pretoria.

Murnane, R.J. and Raizen, S.A. (1988). Improving Indicators of the Quality of Science and Mathematics Education in Grades K-12. National Academy Press: Washington DC.

Nagao, M., Hattori, K., Kita, M. and Ono, Y. (1999). Project Concept paper for Mpumalanga Secondary Science Initiative. Prepared for JICA.

Ogunniyi, M.B. (1986). Two Decades of Science Education in Africa. Science Education 70(2), 111-122.

Obanya, P. (1999). The Dilemma of Education in Africa. Regional Office for Education in Africa, UNESCO: Dakar, Senegal.

Shimahara, N.K. and Sakai, A. (1995). Learning to teach in two cultures: Japan and the United States. New York: Garland.

Stevenson, H.W. and Stigler, J.W. (1992) The Learning Gap: Why Our Schools Are Failing and What We Can Learn from Japanese and Chinese Education. New York: Summit books

Taylor, N. and Vinjevold, P. (1999). Getting Learning Right. Wits: The Joint Education Trust.

BOTSWANA: A DIFFERENT PATH TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT

David N. Wilson, Ph.D.
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

This paper examines the development and expansion of the Botswana educational system and its transformation from the elitist 'colonial' educational infrastructure inherited at independence to a system which provides ten years of basic education and is currently expanding its senior secondary and post-secondary infrastructure. The current policy thrust to re-orient secondary and post-secondary education to focus upon self-employment will be critically examined.

The data and insights described in this paper were obtained while the author was involved in a feasibility study for a National Technical College and four Rural Vocational Training Centres in 1999. The National Technical College is to replace the Polytechnic, which was incorporated into the University of Botswana in 1996. This study was commissioned directly by The Department of Vocational and Technical Education (DVTE) of the Botswana Ministry of Education and these new facilities will be financed by the GoB, rather than by bilateral or multilateral technical assistance agencies. This procedure is also somewhat unique among developing nations.

INTRODUCTION

Since attaining Independence in 1966, Botswana has redistributed its considerable revenues from mineral and beef exports to benefit its 1.6 million citizens. In many respects, this re-distributive effort differs significantly from policy and practice in many other developing nations. The investment of these revenues has resulted in the relocation of Botswana from predominately remote and rural areas to peri-urban areas where the Government has been able to provide educational, health, sanitation, safe drinking water, and other services. This paper questions whether this "ideal" type of development situation has truly benefited Botswana.

In one sense, Botswana seems to have avoided the trauma of increasing poverty which plagues most developing nations. Yet, its relative affluence has created yet another set of problems. While the first two decades following the attainment of Independence were marked by the localisation of many employment opportunities, the current inability of the labour market to absorb the increasing output of an expanding educational system contributes to growing unemployment. In effect, the relative affluence of Botswana appears to have engendered a different type of *dependency* — an "entitlement mentality" which implies that the Government will provide for nearly every need. Unfortunately, this mentality has adversely affected initiative. To counter this phenomenon, the Government of Botswana (GoB) has invested heavily in self-employment initiatives.

THE BOTSWANA ECONOMY

The economic development of Botswana has progressed steadily, albeit with fluctuations, since the attainment of independence in 1966. In economic growth terms, real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has increased, on average, by 9.3 percent (in constant

prices) between 1975/76 and 1994/95 by 7.0 percent in 1995/96 and 6.9 percent in 1996/97. The *1998 Annual Economic Report* indicates that the GDP was 18,015 million Pula in 1996/97. The World Bank indicates that GNP is currently US$5.5 billion and that GNP per capita is US$3,600. (*1999/2000 World Development Report*). Between 1991 and 1997 the GDP rose by 20 percent in real terms (related to 1985 prices). The World Bank notes government consumption to have a 25 percent share of GDP. Botswana's traditional exports have been diamonds and beef. Efforts to diversify economic output have yielded encouraging results, particularly in the areas of tourism and manufacturing.

The economy has undergone a rapid transformation from predominately traditional modes of production and consumption (i.e., subsistence) to a more modern economy in which skill acquisition has become the main vehicle for employment. Future economic growth is contingent upon the ability of the labour force to respond to the changing demands.

THE DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Earnings from mineral resources have been used by the GoB to transform rural areas, in particular the major villages, into peri-urban areas by providing urban amenities, including paved roads, piped water supply, primary and secondary schools, non-formal vocational training, medical clinics and hospitals, electricity, telecommunications, etc. As a direct result, the demography of Botswana has changed from being 97 percent rural at Independence in 1966 to 54 percent rural in 1991. It is projected that Botswana will only be 39 percent rural by 2021. Further, the importance of agriculture to the economy has declined from 33 percent of GDP in 1966 to only 4 percent in 1996. Few developing nations have experienced transformation of this magnitude in such a brief period. Fewer developing nations have used their resource wealth to benefit their entire population in the manner and magnitude demonstrated by Botswana. The only comparable nation, in the opinion of this writer, is Nauru in the South Pacific.

Botswana shares the dilemma of unequal employment generation with many other developing nations. However, with respect to the mining industry – which generates the majority of GoB revenue – this sector requires relatively few workers. Thus, the Botswana dilemma has been how to use its mineral wealth to improve conditions in other sectors, and in doing so to generate employment opportunities for its increasing numbers of educated citizens. One mechanism has been a system of loans and grants to Botswana to start their own enterprises.

Botswana's industrial development policies have mainly been employment-oriented, although they have also been combined with other policy objectives, such as economic diversification, the achievement of greater local control over industry, and spreading economic activity throughout the country. The main incentive scheme has been the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP), which was established in 1982. FAP consists of two schemes; one for small-scale enterprises, which is restricted to Botswana, and the other for medium and large-scale enterprises, which is open to all. Eligible enterprises are those in manufacturing, certain types of non-traditional agriculture, and small and

medium-scale mining. During its 17 years of existence, the FAP has granted over P550 million and currently allocates over P100 million in the annual FAP budget. (ECS, 1999, p. 2-16)

DEMOGRAPHY

Like most developing nations, the age structure of Botswana comprises over 50 percent of the population less than fifteen years of age (approximately 815,610 in 1997). The total population was estimated at approximately 1.6 million in 1997 and grew from 941,000 in 1981 to 1,327,000 in 1991, at a rate of 3.5 percent per annum. The World Bank reported that the population growth rate was 2.9 percent between 1990 and 1998 and that the labour force totalled 1 million in 1980. The Central Statistical Office estimated that between 37,000 and 50,000 people are added to the working age group (15-64 years) annually between 1991 and 2017.

The implications of such demographics upon education and training are formidable. By the year 2016 it is projected that there will be 47,204 eighteen year-olds, and it is estimated that 75 percent of them, i.e. 35,000, will complete their "O" Level examinations and aspire to post-secondary education and/or employment.

LABOUR FORCE

The Botswana labour force has been growing at a rate of 3.7 percent per annum, while overall employment opportunities have been declining. The *1997 Annual Economic Report* estimated that formal sector employment only rose by 1.3 percent in 1994/95. The 1994 *Household and Incomes Expenditure Survey* estimated an unemployment rate of 21.6 percent with youth aged 15 to 19 years comprising about 70.2 percent of the unemployed.

Total formal sector employment was noted in the *1998 Annual Economic Report* to have increased by 1.5 percent from 234,100 in 1996 to 237,500 in 1997. The major contributor to the 1996-1997 growth was noted to be General Government, which increased by 2.0 percent, while the private and para-statal sectors grew by 1.3 and 0.7 percent, respectively. Parastatal and private employment increased by 8,582, or 6.5 percent, between September 1997 and September 1998, i.e. from 131,125 to 139,707. The highest percentage increase, 29.1 percent was in construction, followed by community activities and education with increases of 9.9 and 8.6 percent respectively.

The population and labour force structures were noted in the *Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation* to have increased from 1981 to 1994, as follows:

	1981		1991		1994		1981-94 Change
	(000s)	%	(000s)	%	(000s)	%	(000s)

Population	941		1327		1454		513
Labour Force	315	100%	442	100%	487	100%	172
Employed segment	283	90%	380	86%	380	78%	96
Formal Sector Employees	91	29%	229	52%	233	48%	142
Informal Sector	44	14%	60	14%	68	14%	24
Traditional Agriculture	149	47%	91	21%	78	16%	- 70
Unemployed	32	10%	61	14%	108	22%	76

Source: *Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation*, p. 53

It has been suggested that these 'official' figures may be under-estimated and that the actual rate of unemployment - particularly among youth - may be considerably higher. One impact of educational development upon unemployment has been that by 1995 some university graduates have spent as much as six months finding their first job Another reported impact is that many completing apprentices are not being employed by the enterprises which sponsored them for training. These anecdotal reports suggest that the problem of 'educated unemployed' may be growing and merits attention. Thus, employment creation remains a high priority for the GoB.

The poverty study noted several important trends and developments in the labour force between 1981 and 1994, these were:

- There was a rapid increase in formal sector employment between 1981 and 1981, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the labour force, although this growth has dropped off since 1991. By the early 1990s, formal sector employment has totalled over 230,000 and occupied around 50 percent of the labour force.
- Employment in traditional agriculture has declined sharply, both in absolute and proportional terms. By 1994 it was estimated at just fewer than 80,000 people.
- The unemployment rate has doubled, from 10 percent to just over 20 percent of the labour force. It is estimated that there are now over 100,000 unemployed.
- The rate of formal sector employment growth was very high between 1981 and 1991, and the numbers of new jobs created was enough to absorb the increase in the labour force over this period. What caused the unemployment rate to rise was the massive exodus from agriculture and the slowdown in job creation since 1991. (52)

The fact that the public service employs 40 percent of the Botswana labour force appears to reinforce the " entitlement mentality" noted above. Income levels for Botswana rose by 51 percent, or 17 percent per annum, between 1991 and 1994.

THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF REDISTRIBUTIVE PROGRAMMES

The GoB Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) has made an important contribution to employment growth. Between 1982 and 1996, medium and large-scale FAP projects were noted in the *Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation in Botswana* to have created 10,000 jobs in manufacturing and 2,500 jobs in non-traditional agriculture, accounting for 40 percent of total employment in these sectors. Many of these FAP beneficiaries were from poor families.

Employment growth in the formal sector has been projected to grow by an annual average rate of 4.8 percent from 1997/98 to 2003/4, based upon forecasts of strong growth in non-mining and non-government sectors of the economy. The number of agricultural employees in the private sector has fallen sharply, possibly due to receiving less than half of the national pay rise levels, or at an annual average of 7.7 percent. This decline may have contributed to a 3.5 percent drop in the GDP in that sector.

Employment prospects for present and future completers of both formal and non-formal educational institutions are neither positive nor encouraging. Many private industries are currently retrenching and some have gone bankrupt. The number of bankruptcies among FAP small-business recipients is reputed to be quite high. The impact upon employment – and upon the GoB policy of encouragement of self-employment – is likely to be severe. Some labour growth is likely in Education, Tourism, Fabrication (solar technology, air-conditioning, automobile assembly, electronic assembly), Construction and Electronics (radio, television and computer servicing).

It must be stressed that the resource base in rural areas is limited, with scattered population that makes it difficult and unprofitable to create opportunities for non-farming employment. The GoB has embarked on a new approach, known as the 'Community-Based Strategy for rural Development' in 1997 which emphasises development of local leadership capacity and enabling communities to identify and implement projects that can improve local livelihood. Previously, the GoB perceived rural development as the provision of services and infrastructure by government. The impact of this policy change upon employment is not yet known, but it is reasonable to assume that the decentralisation and transfer of power and control over activities, resources and budgets to local areas is likely to generate employment for trained personnel.

Data describing the informal rural, peri-urban and urban employment situation appears to be confined to enterprises which are not registered as companies, have 5 or fewer casually-hired employees, indistinguishable business and household expenditures, and do not keep a complete set of accounts. Following this informal sector definition, the 1995/96 Labour Force Survey enumerated 57,240 informal sector employees, of whom 23,981 were self-employed with no employees, 3,901 were self-employed with employees, 26,950 were paid employees, and 2,408 were unpaid.

The policy of training Botswana to establish their own enterprises can only be successful if GoB financial assistance policies are extended to both small enterprises and to

the services sector. An additional problem is that Botswana entrepreneurs who had several years of experience prior to opening their own enterprises began most enterprises. No provision exists in the FAP or other redistributive programmes to enable recent school leavers to acquire such experience. This brings the policy of self-employment generation into question.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERATIONS

Botswana has experienced considerable urbanisation, modernisation and development since the attainment of Independence in 1996. However, in spite of this considerable progress there remain several unresolved social problems and development has, in fact, created new problems. Foremost among the 'new' problems is the issue of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment. Another problem is the inequality in income distribution and the difficulties of income re-distribution in a resource dependent economy. It should be noted that most of Botswana's social problems are related to economic issues.

According to the *Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation in Botswana,* the national poverty rate declined from 59 percent of the population in 1985/86 to 47 percent, or 623,100 people, in 1993/94. Poverty was found to be higher and more severe in rural areas and, to a lesser extent, in urban villages, otherwise known as peri-urban areas. The poverty rate among rural population was 55 percent, compared with 46 percent below the poverty line in urban villages and 29 percent in urban areas. Moreover, in rural areas 40 percent of the population was classified as *very poor*, and 22 percent as *poor*, while in urban areas only 9 percent were classified as very poor and 22 percent as poor.

The overall decline in poverty suggests that the GoB policies noted earlier -- urbanisation, provision of health, potable water, education, formal and non-formal employment training, transportation, etc. – have made an impact.

The Districts in which extreme poverty remains a problem include those targeted by the DTVE for the development of new Rural VTCs. Therefore, in addition to addressing the problem of youth unemployment, these institutions must address the problem of poverty throughout the communities which they shall serve. The poverty study found these two problems to be related with the proportion of household members in paid employment being found to be a good predictor of household poverty levels. The proportion employed in households below the poverty line was found to be only half that of non-poor households. This imbalance was found to be particularly acute for poor female-headed households. Among poor male-headed households in rural areas, it was found to be common for household members, especially older ones, to work in farming or herd cattle. Many members of poor female-headed households were employed in domestic service.

The study also found a close correlation between the lack of education and poverty, particularly in rural and remote areas. However, it was noted that the problem of poor and very poor household heads never having attended school is likely to diminish quite significantly in the next few years, due to the provision of more basic education to

younger age cohorts. The task of the rural VTCs, therefore, will be to build upon the basic education foundation to provide opportunities for poverty alleviation through either formal sector employment or formal and informal sector self-employment. The study also found that self-employment and family business is relatively underdeveloped in all poverty groups. These findings suggest that there is potential for this role at the rural VTCs, and particularly in the development of *entrepreneurship,* which the study found to be lacking among the poorer Botswana..

The poverty study found evidence that among out-of-school youth aged 15 to 19 years who were experiencing significant difficulty in obtaining paid employment only 8 percent of the non-poor and 6 percent of the poor or very poor obtained employment. Further, the study found that the percentage of household members who were self-employed or employed in a family business ranged from 2 percent of the very poor male heads of household in rural areas to 9 percent of the very poor urban female heads of household. The national average for male heads of household in this category was 4 percent of the non-poor and 3 percent of the poor and very poor, while the percentages for female household heads was 5 percent for the non-poor and 6 percent for the poor and very poor.

These data indicate that development of entrepreneurship and self-employment has considerable room for growth. However, interviews by the study team in Botswana established that many Botswana have chosen to establish identical enterprises within the same narrow range of economic activities. For example, most women seem to favour establishing sewing and dressmaking businesses, regardless of the amount of competition. This factor has led to widespread over-competition and numerous business failures. The FAP is reported to have lost considerable loan funds to bankruptcies, according to interview informants.

Botswana differs from many other developing nations because its climate, soils and rainfall are poorly suited for agriculture throughout a large part of the nation. The fact that drought was declared in 27 of the past 33 years indicates that drought conditions are the norm rather than the exception. In addition, the study noted that in marked contrast to other African nations, the poor and very poor in Botswana use subsistence farming to top-up their income, rather than as the principal means of subsistence. As a result of these factors, Botswana has less potential for poverty alleviation by developing agriculture and increasing agricultural incomes. In fact, agriculture now contributes less than 5 percent of the GDP. Crop production is mostly feasible in eastern Botswana and in the Okavango area. Rainfall is quite erratic, and is characterised by cyclical droughts. Risks of partial crop failure are high. These factors have led to comparatively low returns from agriculture and have motivated many Botswana to leave rural areas and not to engage in agriculture.

Interviews and visits to Non-Governmental Organisations in Botswana by the study team determined that there was proven potential for rural self-employment in the cultivation of indigenous fruit trees, cultivation of other indigenous plants, known as "Veld products," agro-based enterprises, such as bee-keeping and honey production, solar water heater and oven fabrication, tanning of hides and leather product fabrication, etc.

Both poultry and ostrich production qualify for assistance by the FAP to non-traditional agriculture and the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP). Between 1982 and 1996, medium and large-scale FAP projects created 2,500 jobs in non-traditional agriculture, which is noted to be over 40 percent of total employment in that sector. ALDEP, however, has been less successful since its effectiveness in promoting traditional arable agriculture has been undermined by perennial drought and poor soil conditions.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BOTSWANA EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Government of Botswana (GoB) has given priority in National Development Plan 8 (1997/98 to 2002/3) to the expansion of Technical-Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in order to meet the nation's economic and development objectives for the 21st century.

This expansion is to be effected by the establishment of new TVET programmes under the Ministry of Education (MoE) at the secondary (foundation, certificate) and tertiary (advanced certificate, diploma) levels. The goal is to develop *outcomes-based modularised programmes* that will be educate flexible, adaptable, multi-skilled and trainable youth destined for employment in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy, as well as providing an open, progressive means to access further and higher education and training.

The investment in Universal Primary Education (UPE) and nine – now ten – years of Basic Education in the previous National Development Plans has transformed the inherited 'colonial' educational system. Participation in education has been broadened to facilitate the development of Botswana's human resources. The 1993 *educational pyramid* illustrates that a formerly narrow and elitist educational system has been broadened to serve the greater part of the population of school age. The base of the Botswana educational pyramid now resembles a block, which only begins to narrow after Form II, or nine years of Basic Education.

The GoB policy of providing ten years of Basic Education to Junior Certificate (JC) level has led to primary school enrolment of about 319,100 in 1995 and enrolment has been growing at an average annual rate of 5.2 percent. The annual output of Junior Secondary Schools (JSS) is projected to increase from 34,000 in 1966 to 50,000 by 2003. Places in Senior Secondary Schools are available for 30 percent of JSS output, about 11,000 in 1998/78, and are projected to rise to 50 percent during NDP 8 with the provision of an additional 7,500 places. The training sector is to be expanded to accommodate 20 percent of JSS leavers, or about 10,000, by the year 2003. In addition, as many as 20,000 JSS leavers are estimated to be seeking employment or further education by 2003. As noted above, the economy is unable to absorb this increased output of the educational system.

The current Botswana skills training system serves only about 8 percent of the school-leaving age group and comprises six Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) with an annual intake of 1,300 and a total enrolment of 4,300. The VTCs currently provide a

four-year Apprenticeship Scheme training to National Crafts Certificate (NCC) in 23 trade areas; two-year full-time courses to C-Trade Certificate in the same 23 trade areas; and part-time evening courses in trade areas where there is rapid growth or in new technologies, which do not lead to a Trade Certificate. In addition, the MoE financially and logistically supports The Botswana Brigades, which is a non-governmental organisation providing training and assistance in establishing self-employment in rural and peri-urban skill areas with an annual intake of about 1,600, (formerly Standard Seven primary school leavers, but now largely JC leavers) and a total of 37,000 trainees at 36 Brigades Training Centres pursuing two-year courses leading to Trade Test C Certificates.

These factors highlight the policy dilemma faced by the GoB. Previously, the only effective means of providing educational, health and other services to dispersed rural populations was to encourage their re-settlement in peri-urban areas. Thus, this policy further disadvantaged those remaining in rural and remote areas. The Poverty Study also reports that educational participation rates are significantly lower in poorer and more remote areas, such as Ngamiland, Kweneng, Ghanzi and Kgalagadi.

Such dramatic comparisons suggest that while the GoB policy of providing access to health, education, transportation and market services by relocating populations to peri-urban and urban areas has been successful, those remaining in remote and rural areas manifest a significant lower quality of life.

The current difficulty in generating sufficient employment opportunities for those in receipt of education and training now necessitates revisiting policies favouring urbanisation. The rural VTCs are to be charged with educating students who will be expected to remain in rural and remote areas and develop these areas. Encouragement of self-reliance through self-employment is an essential objective of rural VTCs. The question which must be posed is: Will this strategy work?

The *Community and Employer Opinion Survey on Vocational Education and Training* interviewed proprietors of existing medium, small and micro-enterprises and found that they were 10 to 30 years older than the JC and O-Level age groups. Further, there appears to be an absence of a tradition of self-employment among the Botswana and an absence of 'role models' of successful entrepreneurs. Many proprietors of small and medium-sized enterprise were found to have been previously employed in either the public service or the private sector, prior to establishing their enterprises. In the study team report, this writer noted that "it is difficult to put a 50 year-old head on a 25 year-old body." (ECS, 1999, p. 2-7)

The number of Form V leavers graduating from Government senior secondary schools will approach 20,000 by the year 2003. The National Commission on Education reported that only about 38 percent of Cambridge School Certificate leavers proceed to higher education. By the year 2000 at least 6,000 Form V leavers will enter tertiary educational institutions, of which about 4,000 will enter The University of Botswana and the remaining 2,000 will enter Colleges of Education, Health Institutes and other forms of post-secondary education. Total University enrolment is projected to rise to 11,000 students by the 2002/3 academic year.

Approximately 10 percent of secondary school leavers also compete for places in TVET, with as many as 100 applications for some training places. JC school leavers are now being forced to compete with Cambridge 'O' Level holders for VTC training places. The public vocational training system (including technician training) has a current intake capacity of only about 5,000. The intake by private training institutions was estimated in 1997 to be about 5,000 places.

A DIFFERENT PATH TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT

Those of us involved in the planning and policy-formulation processes in and for developing nations have likely always dreamt of having ample resources available to address the anomalies faced in transforming elitist educational systems into systems which serve all members of a population. The Botswana case comes closest to our dreams and merits examination in detail.

Similarly, the Government of Botswana has used the considerable mineral wealth from the exploitation of its diamond and copper resources to better the life of its 1.6 million citizens. As noted above, while this investment has benefited the populace it has also engendered an "entitlement mentality" that has motivated many Botswana to shun entering many occupations, particularly unskilled occupations. Unlike the island nation of Nauru, however, Botswana has been infiltrated with illegal migrants from neighbouring nations and even nations as far afield as Nigeria. These illegal migrants have taken many of the unskilled jobs shunned by Botswana, particularly in construction. Another future dilemma is likely to be what to do with these illegal migrants (and their dependents) in the future. This potential problem does not appear to have been addressed thus far in Botswana.

Thus, it is somewhat ironic that the relative affluence of both "models" appears to have engendered a different type of dependency, the so-called "entitlement mentality," noted above. In both countries, this mentality appears to have adversely affected initiative because it is widely perceived that government will provide for nearly every need. Botswana has realised this dilemma and is now re-orienting its development policies to focus upon self-employment and self-reliance.

The reduction in poverty levels from 59 percent of the population in 1965/86 to 47 percent in 1993/94 and the provision of nine years of Basic Education to the largest component of the Botswana population – the 50 percent under the age of 15 years – can be said to have transformed the nation. However, this transformation has led to newer, more difficult to address, problems, in particular the difficulty of providing post-Basic education and employment opportunities to the large numbers of school leavers of age to enter productive employment.

The Government of Botswana has responded to the challenge posed by the dependency of the "entitlement mentality" by re-orienting its educational and economic development policies towards self-employment initiatives. It was noted that these policies are problematic because most small business entrepreneurs have had previous public and private sector experience and the failure rate of FAP loans to small enterprises has been

quite high. It should be questioned whether the GoB is willing to tolerate these high levels of enterprise failure.

While the NGO sector in Botswana appears to have effectively addressed small enterprise development in the agro-business and appropriate technology sectors, the dilemma faced by the study team in planning Rural Vocational Training Centres was how to replicate the flexibility and innovativeness of the NGO sector in government institutions. One suggestion which may accommodate this dilemma was that the DVET either hire instructors directly from successful NGOs, or contract with these NGOs to teach these courses at the new Rural VTCs. It remains to be seen whether this suggestion will be followed.

References

Botswana, Republic of, (1994) *Household and Incomes Expenditure Survey.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, Republic of, (1996) *National Development Plan 8 (1997/98 to 2002/3.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, Republic of, (1997) *Annual Economic Report.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, Republic of, (1997) *Community and Employer Opinion Survey on Vocational Education and Training.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, Republic of, (1997) *National Policy on Vocational Education and Training.* Gaborone: Ministry of Education.

Botswana, Republic of, (1997) *Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation in Botswana.* Gaborone: Government Printer. (Ministry of Development and Planning)

Botswana, Republic of, (1998) *Annual Economic Report.* Gaborone: Government Printer

Botswana, Republic of, (1998) *Education Statistics 1996.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, Republic of, (1998) *Tracer Study of Recent Labour Market Entrants.* Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning.

Central Intelligence Agency (2000) *The World Factbook – 1999.* "Nauru." Washington: CIA http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/nr.html

Department of Vocational Education and Training, (1998) *DVET Annual Report 1996-97.* Gaborone: Ministry of Education.

University of Botswana, (2000) *University of Botswana Newsletter.* Gaborone: University of Botswana.

David N. Wilson, Michael Kennedy and Michel de Jocas, *Expansion of TVET in Botswana: Needs Review and Project Justification.* Toronto: ECS, 1999.

World Bank, (1999) *1999/2000 World Development Report.* Washington: The World Bank.

THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION FOR CUBA AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Ronald A. Lindahl
East Tennessee State University
Russell O. Mays
East Tennessee State University

The burgeoning phenomenon of globalization is driving strategic planners in a wide variety of organizational settings to conduct updated analyses of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. This article looks at some of the opportunities and threats posed by globalization, with specific focus on Cuba and the strengths and weaknesses of the current Cuban educational system for meeting these new challenges.

> *"Cuba must open to the World and the World must open to Cuba."*
> Pope John Paul II
> Havana, January 21, 1998

Pope John Paul II's words characterize the imperative of a phenomenon that affects not only Cuba, but every nation in the world, "globalization." Globalization is driving strategic planners in a wide variety of organizational settings to conduct updated analyses of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. This article looks at some of the opportunities and threats posed by globalization, with specific focus on Cuba and the strengths and weaknesses of the current Cuban educational system for meeting these new challenges.

WHAT IS GLOBALIZATION?

Globalization has been defined in innumerable ways, ranging from simple statements focusing on a single issue, e.g., economics, to highly complex treatises discussing economic, political, social, and cultural aspects of the phenomenon. Jilberto and Mommen (1998) presented a concise, economics-focused definition: "Globalization means the production and distribution of products and/or services of homogeneous type and quality on a world-wide basis" (pp. 1-2). They went on to note that in a globalized economy, trade knows no national boundaries and savings flow across countries with great fluidity to "whoever can do things best, or cheapest, wherever they are located around the world" (p. 2).

However, a purely economic definition of globalization naively downplays the broad range of other areas (e.g., social, political, cultural, and individual) that would be seriously affected by widespread economic globalization. Ricardo Petrella (1966) discussed these broader issues, identifying seven concepts characteristic of globalization:

1. Globalization of finances and capital ownership;
2. Globalization of markets and strategies, in particular competition;
3. Globalization of technology and linked R & D and knowledge;
4. Globalization of modes of life and consumption patterns; globalization of culture;

5. Globalization of regulatory capabilities and governance;
6. Globalization as the political unification of the world;
7. Globalization of perception and consciousness.

Although it would be far too complex and lengthy to reproduce that discussion in this article, Petrella's definition encompasses the broad range of economic, social, political, technological, and cultural aspects for which schools must prepare individuals to be successful in a globalized world; therefore, it was chosen to provide the framework for the analysis presented in this article.

Cuba is not exempt from globalization, as noted by Raul Valdes Vivo, rector of the Nico Lopez School for advanced studies outside Havana, who pronounced, "Cuba is no longer an island. There are no islands anymore. There is only one world" (cited in Friedman, 2000, p. 68). Before discussing Cuba's education system in relation to each of these seven concepts, however, it is important to provide an overview of the general role of education in preparing individuals for globalization.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

Whether defined simply or in its full, elusive complexity, globalization represents a change in the factors that most affect a nation's economic status; no longer are location, natural resources, or even military power as important as the choices individuals, and groups of individuals, choose to make (Friedman, 2000). Globalization moves from the alliances and divisions which characterized previous eras to an integrated, dynamic system in which "it doesn't matter who you were" as much as "who you could choose to become" (Czinkota & Kotabe, 1998, p. 239). In short, human capital, as embodied in the education of societies and individuals, may well become the single most important factor influencing success in a globalized world.

The World Bank's 1998/99 World Development Report proposed that the problems of development and globalization be examined from the perspective of knowledge – technical knowledge and knowledge needed to solve information problems (World Bank, 1998/99, p. 1). Cuba, as a result of the universal education system instituted by the Revolution, is blessed with a healthy, stable, highly educated labor force (Gupte, 2000, p. 56). These human resources represent Cuba's greatest primary asset for success in globalizing its economy. This does not imply that Cuba is at the brink of globalization, merely that it has potential for moving in that direction. The potential exists, but by no means is fully realized.

Although "10 to 12 better reasons exist for investment in education" (Veseth, 1998, p. 8), such investment has proven to be a successful strategy for globalization (Birdsall & Sabot, 1998). Nations seeking development through globalization can take advantage of the existing global stock of knowledge only if they can develop the human resource competence to search for, select, adapt, and adopt appropriate technologies (World Bank, 1998/99, p. 8). They must also develop human resources with the capacity to formulate, monitor, and evaluate policies conducive to globalization. They must educate their populace to make sound economic decisions and conduct effective social interactions (World Bank, 1998/99, p. 19). Finally, if they are to adapt to the constantly changing technology, knowledge base, and environmental demands, they must establish learning as a life-long process (World Bank, 1998/99, p. 8). Under such conditions, they will be able to generate "learning" companies

within their "learning" nation (Friedman, 2000, pp. 198-199). The content of a nation's education, along with the character of its industrial, financial, and commercial organizations and organization of its firms, determines its economic system and potential for growth (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 239).

EDUCATION IN CUBA

Since taking over Cuba in 1959, Fidel Castro has given strong emphasis to improving the education system. He recently summarized the accomplishments of his Revolutionary government as including: eradicating illiteracy for Cubans over ten years of age; increasing Cubans' average levels of schooling from second grade to ninth; and increasing the number of teachers from 1,710 to 18,816. He also cited higher education accomplishments such as increasing the number of female university graduates from 33 to 22,940 and increasing the number of university-graduate professionals from 541 to 46,500 (cited in "The changes in U.S. policy," 2000).

Societies that educate their human resources to be able to more fully exercise their creative capacity to imagine, theorize, conceptualize, experiment, articulate, solve problems, organize, and manage, will also prosper (Harrison, 1998, p. 232). Just as Joseph Schumpeter singled out entrepreneurial geniuses as the creators of wealth and progress (Schumpeter, 1942), at the heart of the globalization process is individual creativity, for "change flows from the individual, through markets, to society" (Veseth, 1998, p. 197). Successful globalization depends upon informed, participating citizens with a strong sense of personal efficacy, independence, and autonomy, individuals and groups who are ready for new experiences and ideas (Friedman, 2000; Inkeles & Smith, 1998).

Despite the horrendous resource shortages experienced in the "Special Period" following the collapse of the Soviet block and its strong subsidization of the Cuban economy, Cuba has continued to invest heavily in the education of its citizens. Cuban schools teach strong fundamental mathematics and communications skills and reinforced national (or at least government-approved) cultural values. Cuban scores in Spanish and math on standardized exams given through UNESCO are currently so vastly higher than the second highest nation as to lead some to question their reliability ("Los alumnos cubanos," 1999). However, both formal (Aguirre & Vichot, 1998) and informal (Lindahl, 2000) investigations into their veracity suggest that Cuban schools do an excellent job of developing these basic skills. This is particularly impressive because of the fact that education is mandatory, enforced, and relatively the same for all Cuban youth.

Achievement motivation stands at the very heart of the Cuban educational system. Students compete for scarce spaces at specialized secondary schools, such as the V. I. Lenin School in Havana. They compete on standardized exams for entry into higher education and to the more preferred fields of study within higher education. Educational attainment has been at the crux of most employment decisions throughout the post-Revolution period. Visits to Cuban classrooms at all grade levels revealed exceptionally strong student motivation and participation.

Developing positive attitudes toward work has also been an educational goal of Cuba's schools for the past four decades. Cuba has developed an extensive program of "schools in the country," which all students attend for a period of time each year and spend half the day in school while working (generally in agriculture) for the remainder of the day.

Although the "Special Period" has curtailed Cuba's commitment to boarding schools for secondary students, those who do attend such schools typically clean their own schools and dormitories, maintain the school gardens and grounds, and even help grow their own food. Cuban students are encouraged to participate in the "work brigades" for helping to harvest the sugar cane crop, build houses, erect community centers, etc. The schools encourage and facilitate collective, voluntary service to the community and a strong work ethic to support the state.

Perhaps most significantly of all, Cuban students manifest high self-esteem, despite the impoverished conditions under which they live. The Cuban government's incessant efforts to promote the accomplishments of individuals and the society have been directed both externally and internally. As a consequence, Cubans, individually and collectively, take pride in their culture, their education, and their accomplishments. From competing at the highest world levels in sports (e.g., boxing and baseball) to exporting physicians to serve rural and poor communities around the world, Cubans have become very proud of their education system and demonstrate high levels of self-efficacy.

GLOBALIZATION OF FINANCES AND CAPITAL OWNERSHIP

It is clear that multinational corporations are eagerly seeking international penetration. In 1995, worldwide stock markets were valued at thirteen trillion dollars, a figure which has soared since then. Such corporate giants as Ford, General Motors, Exxon, and IBM have moved well over half their production abroad (Sassen, 1996). These multinational "regimes" have assumed a major international political role, facilitating the shaping of underdeveloped nations by their more highly developed counterparts, affecting tastes, international trade and investments, technology, and labor markets (Sassen, 1996).

CUBA, INTERNATIONAL FINANCE, AND CAPITAL OWNERSHIP

There exists a hierarchical economic order among nations, and among individuals within nations that results from the "stifling of human creativity, skill, and self-confidence" (Friedman, 2000, p. 219). Income gaps are growing over past decades, both among and within rich and poor nations, widening inequality (Seligson, 1998). The 1980 Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues concluded that "the gap separating rich and poor countries is so serious that human beings are divided into different universes" (cited in Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 12; Oramas, 1999).

It is evident that nations that export primarily raw materials will fall behind nations which trade in information technologies and services (Friedman, 2000, p. 224). Also, rehabilitation of the agricultural sector is an essential part of national development in developing the crucial balance between industry and agriculture (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 243).

Cuba's history of globalization is clearly one of exploitation; such a pattern is not unique to this island nation, nor is it attributable to nature – it is a manmade phenomenon (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 8). Among the most favored nations, Cuba does not rank in the top fifty (Salvatore, 1998). In fact, Centeno's claim that "most observers of Cuba agree that the status quo does not represent a viable long-term option" (Centeno, 1998, p. 18) seems a gross understatement. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and Cuba's

preferential trade status with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CAME), the Cuban economy has suffered a crisis of massive proportions (Eckstein, 1998; Font, 1998; Monreal, 1998; Valdés, Urdaneta, & González, 1996). Cuba's fiscal crisis is characterized by massive fiscal deficits, excess liquidity, and external debt, which have led to substantial layoffs of workers to reduce government payroll. Following Cuba's default on its international debt, and exacerbated by a 40-plus year financial and trade embargo by the U. S., bicycles replaced autos, buses, and trucks, as fuel and spare parts became impossible to obtain, and physicians began to have to grow their own medical supplies, as imported drugs were no longer available (Eckstein, 1998, p. 140). Farming reverted to rudimentary survival strategies in the face of fuel and fertilizer shortages; nearly half of all factories were shut down or drastically reduced due to lack of fuel, parts, and materials (Eckstein, 1998, pp. 141-142). Gross, or even net, proceeds from tourism, or via remittances from Cuban Americans, were higher sources than industry for obtaining foreign currency (Font, 1998, p. 117).

Despite these desperate economic conditions, the Cuban government has taken some measures in recent years which have helped to ease the crisis and which augur well for globalization in the future. However, such globalization decisions are not easy, particularly in Cuba. The Cuban government's fear of, and belief in, the "myths" or "realities" of dependency and imperialism prevents Cuba from using its resources as fully as might otherwise be possible (Harrison, 1998).

As one of Cuba's national and educational heroes, José Martí wrote: "Whoever says economic union says political union. The people who buy command; the people who sell obey" (cited in Suchliki, 1974, p. 88). With its view of globalization as neo-liberalism, if not outright imperialism, Cuba, as other underdeveloped nations, fears that an outward orientation would welcome international capital in ways that would force the nation to adjust domestic policies to the global political economy (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 225). This concern that globalization might, indeed, become a "zero-sum game" in favor of the most developed nations, in part, recently led Cuba to re-instate a ban on foreign investment in Cuban real-estate (Tamayo, 2000), despite the potentially negative effects that this policy may have on foreign economic investment, overall. This is consistent with Mittleman and Pascha's contention that "the stimulus cannot come from the advanced capitalist countries.... It must be historically contextualized.... It is possible to set limits to exploitation" (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 238). Among these measures are allowing a limited number of capitalist companies to exist, in addition to the state-run companies, ending the state monopoly on foreign trade, self-financing of foreign exchange, changes in the legal system, legalization of a dollar economy for Cuban citizens, creation of entrepreneurial cooperatives and farmers, artisans, and industrial markets, and the establishment of foreign exchange offices (Ritter, 1998, p. 165; Valdés, Urdaneta, & González, 1996, p. 17).

As a result of Canadian investment, nickel production is rising; Spanish investment has assisted a recovery in tobacco exports; agreements with Chile, Israel, and Greece have led to increases in citrus exports; and foreign tourism has surpassed pre-Revolutionary levels and has once again become a major portion of the Cuban economy (Jatar-Hausmann, 1999; Valdés, Urdaneta, & González, 1996). With foreign investment, Cuba has also become an exporter of high technology, particularly in medicine, exporting drugs, serums, vaccines, medical equipment, and other products (Gordon, 1999). Cuba has also encouraged entrepreneurism in its agricultural sector by turning two-thirds of its state-held land to

private owners (Jatar-Hausmann, 1999, p. 73). According to Cuban Vice President Carlos Lage, during the past five years Cuba has increased its production of petroleum for domestic consumption by 32 percent and its production of vegetables and root crops by 25 percent. Over 40,000 new homes have been constructed annually to address the national housing shortage (cited in "Vice President Says," 2000).

CUBA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM VIS-A-VIS INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT AND CAPITAL OWNERSHIP

Cuban students learn of international finance almost exclusively from a neo-colonialist perspective. Negative aspects of international finance are taught as overt imperialism, primarily on the part of the U. S. Those international finances that enter the country are explained as gestures of solidarity of nations in opposition to the American imperialism, more politically than economically motivated. Information is limited, as all international finance flows through the Cuban government and details are not fully shared through public media.

GLOBALIZATION OF MARKETS AND STRATEGIES

Economic analysts have characterized the modern world as a single capitalist economy in which global strategies are the strategic norm (Wallerstein, 1998); for these economists, the best way to achieve economic growth and prosperity is to embrace this single, global, capitalist economy (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 233). Among these global strategies are included offshore manufacturing, world-wide economics of scale, international standardization of product specifications, subsidized national market-shares, low trade tariffs, and international cash flows (Morrison, Ricks, & Roth, 1998). Such free-market capitalism provides incentives for individuals, collectives, and nations to acquire knowledge, produce new goods and services, and seek ways to reduce the cost of production of traditional goods and services.

Such an positive view of globalization is not universal among economists, however. Czinkota and Kotabe's (1998) research among international business managers found the majority of such managers to view globalization as offering more theoretical than real advantages. A separate study among 115 multinational firms and 103 of their subsidiaries led to the conclusion that "globalization is no panacea." In fact, global imperatives are being eclipsed by an upsurge in regional pressures (Morrison et al., 1998). These findings were echoed by Michael Veseth's research, leading to his conclusion that "globalization as the triumph of the market over the state is a false image" and "popular hyperglobalization images of seamless global markets and a borderless world are impossible from a practical point of view" (1998, pp. 9 & 1, respectively).

Despite its efforts to create appreciation of all work and occupations, Cuba is faced with the challenge of fostering a valorization of the agricultural sector and of implementing technologically-based measures to increase productivity. Disrespect for agricultural work and rural living can be traced to the attitudes of Spanish colonial societies. The challenge of modernization of the agricultural sector was noted over a decade ago by Marvin Leiner, who discussed the need for "drastically altering the traditionally hostile attitudes toward science, technology, and modern agricultural methods" (Porter, 1990, p. 80). The economic

restrictions of the Special Period have not only prevented any progress in this area, but have caused farmers to revert to non-mechanized farming and purely organic fertilizers and pesticides. Although productivity is sufficient that the populace is not starving, caloric and protein intake is at low levels, rice (the basic dietary staple) currently must be imported, and Cuba will have to increase its domestic food supply and greatly increase productivity of its agricultural exports if it is to achieve the necessary balance between the agricultural and service/industrial sectors.

International penetration in the Cuban markets is primarily in the tourism and raw material sectors. International firms cannot hold a majority share in businesses. Wages paid by international firms are paid in dollars to the Cuban government; in turn, the Cuban government pays the workers in pesos, at lower wage rates more consonant with wage rates of the non-international, government-controlled economy. The profits from the wage differentials become revenues for the government.

THE CUBAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM VIS-A-VIS THE GLOBALIZATION OF MARKETS AND STRATEGIES

Cuban education reflects the Cuban government's position on globalized markets and strategies, with overt emphasis given to preparing students for roles in the limited and shrinking economy, with only grudging acceptance of the more entrepreneurial "grey" market economy and little to no vision of preparing students to work in a globalized economy. Students are quick to perceive this; they recognize that although education was the key to entry into higher paying positions in the fully-government-controlled economy of less than a decade ago, the rise of the "dual economy" makes it more personally lucrative to work in jobs with access to dollars rather than pesos. Consequently, surgeons and physicians drive illegal taxi cabs for tourists; accountants work as maids in hotels; vacancies in teacher preparation programs remain unfilled; and students recognize that university preparation in a field may lead to immediate unemployment upon graduation, or employment in the manual labor agricultural sector.

Until very recently, this was exacerbated by the economics curriculum at the secondary and tertiary school levels, which was heavily focused upon Marxian economics. This is shifting, as evidenced by recent editions of Cuba's economic journal, one of which featured a series of articles on globalization, primarily from a capitalist perspective ("Que es la globalizacion," 2001).

Formally, Cuban students are still heavily indoctrinated with communist economic philosophy, in which the collective welfare takes precedent over accumulation of individual or corporate wealth. However, with tourism increasing students' exposure to the huge differentials in standard of living between the tourists and the Cuban population, there is a growing, informal awareness of market economies and strategies. This is exacerbated by the fact that so many Cuban families receive direct financial support from relatives living in other countries and working in free market economies, principally the U. S. Nevertheless, little, if any, overt attention is focused in schools on how to prepare students for entrepreneurship of participation in the globalized economy.

GLOBALIZATION OF TECHNOLOGY AND LINKED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

Human resources must be looked at in conjunction with a nation's technological capability to determine the potential for increases in productivity (Abramoviz, 1998). Interviews with top Silicon Valley firms showed that nations' power ratings in a globalized economic world can well be measured in terms of "connectivity" and "bandwidth" (Friedman, 2000). Although most developing nations are passive users of technology and can purchase such technology cheaper than they can produce it, creative capacity continues to be a key in the success of nations in the globalized economy. "At issue are not only resources, but also resourcefulness. Inventions are less important than inventiveness. Indigenous innovative capacity goes to the heart of releasing human energies, which is the essence of development" (Mittleman & Pashna, 1997, p. 239). Those organizations that effectively nurture and exploit their creative and distinctive abilities will be those with the greatest potential for success (Schumpeter, 1942).

CUBA AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF TECHNOLOGY AND LINKED RESEARCH AND DEVLOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

Cuba currently has almost no "connectivity" nor "bandwidth." Because of the U. S. embargo and the extremely limited supply of foreign currency to support such technological imports, Cuban enterprises have extremely limited access to even the lowest levels of technology or to the linked research and development knowledge base. Cubans are generally denied access to the Internet, no less linked research and development databases. Internet connections are restricted to a very limited number of government offices and government-controlled enterprises. A few Internet connections are available in foreign-capitalized hotels, but these are restricted to tourists and foreign business representatives, with access generally denied to Cuban citizens. Low availability of foreign exchange and fear of "brain drain" due to defections and immigration limit the extent to which Cuban scholars are permitted to attend international symposia, conferences, or advanced education opportunities that would enhance their access to technology or the knowledge base. Since the collapse of the Soviet block, there are very limited opportunities for Cuban graduate students to study abroad, where they might have increased access to the technology or knowledge essential to globalized competitiveness.

CUBA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM VIS-A-VIS THE GLOBALIZATION OF TECHNOLOGY AND LINKED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT KNOWLEDGE

There is a very strong need to infuse technology into education at all levels. Schools often lack lighting or overhead projectors, no less computers. Even Havana's technological high school for the gifted has only the most rudimentary, obsolete hardware and software, and virtually no Internet access. Most schools have no computers for student use and no curriculum to develop computer skills. Cuba currently has almost none of the "connectivity" or "bandwidth" deemed essential for participation in the globalized economy. Because of the U. S. embargo and the extremely limited supply of foreign

currency to support such technological imports, Cuban students have extremely limited access to even the lowest levels of technology. Cuban Education Minister Luis I. Gómez recently made a proud announcement that a total of 10,000 computers will be in classrooms this year; however, these are almost all severely outdated hardware with extremely limited software and no access to the Internet (cited in A more integral education, 1999).

GLOBALIZATION OF CULTURE

Productivity in a globalized economy depends heavily upon human and social capital (Coleman, 1990), with social capital related heavily to national norms, institutions, and culture(s). As Friedman noted, "the most open-minded, tolerant, creative, and diverse societies will have the easiest time with globalization" (Friedman, 2000, p. 227). He coined the term "glocalize," describing the ability of a culture, when encountering other strong cultures in the globalization process, to absorb influences that naturally fit into and can enrich the existing culture, resisting those aspects that are truly alien and compartmentalizing those things that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated (p. 295; see also Oramas, 1999, p. 2).

Some economists discuss the "culture of poverty" prevalent in many less developed nations (Lewis, 1998). However, other cultural aspects have been identified which promote globalization and development. These include the extent of the society's identification with others, rigor of the ethical system, and attitudes about work (Abramovitz, 1998, p. 97). They include motivation and ability to take part in organizations and electoral processes, ambition, aspirations, willingness to take risks, limited religious attachments, frequent contact with news media and knowledge of national and international affairs, desire to own new goods, urban preference, and geographic mobility (Harrison, 1998). Yet other identified cultural traits include tolerance of the "oddball," a deeply rooted entrepreneurial culture, valuing a free flow of information, and comfort in thinking globally (Portes, 1998, p. 244). The need for achievement has been considered primary among these cultural traits.

CUBA AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF CULTURE

Despite its strongly depressed economy, Cuba does not exhibit a "culture of poverty." Nevertheless, with globalization will come some cultural transformations, such as the possible development of a new middle class consisting of industrious, thrifty entrepreneurs who seek upward mobility (Friedman, 2000, pp. 374-376). Obviously, such a development represents an ideological conflict with the values of the Revolution (Pérez-López, 1998, p. 177), but there is considerable evidence that the transition is underway, with the Revolution's cultural policy and a global cultural value system beginning to "work in harmony" (Font, 1998, p. 128). The scale of Cuba's entrepreneurial economy is still small, but it has arisen without the rampant crime found in such "underground economies" of other Communist nations and with relatively few cultural barriers (Prieto, 1999).

Cuba's culture meets a surprising number of these criteria. Cubans are certainly creative - one need only look at the number of 1950s American automobiles still running, despite a 40-year embargo on parts, at the superb Cuban jazz musicians or artists, or the innumerable schemes Cubans have for working around government regulations to see such creativity. The potential for positive attitudes toward work has been demonstrated by the

drastic rise in productivity in the agricultural sector following privatization and by the diligence of those working in the dollar-based free market economy. The Revolution effectively reduced Cubans' ties with the Catholic Church almost completely; it was far less successful with followers of "santeria," but there appears little threat to globalization from the loosely organized followers of that religion. Cubans are avid followers of the news, both national and international, despite government control and censorship of the news media and despite the horrendous paper shortage that makes newspapers and periodicals scarce commodities. Cubans have experience in thinking globally, from their traditional ties to Spain or their more recent military involvement in Angola to their bitterness over their "divorce" from the Soviet Union and the U. S. embargo. Conversations with Cubans from various walks of life show global knowledge uncommon in other nations of similar economic status.

Cubans have an urban preference – as exemplified by the Cuban government's need to pass strict regulations preventing Cubans from migrating to the cities, and especially Havana, from rural areas. Even with recent unemployment problems in the large cities, Cubans have been reluctant to return to the rural areas and assume agricultural employment. Although the socialist, government controlled economy remains the mainstream of employment in Cuba, the entrepreneurial potential of Cubans is increasingly evident. Individual farmers from rural areas sell coffee, fruits, and vegetables to their urban counterparts on the "grey market" or through legal free enterprise markets. Plumbers and electricians provide services to fellow Cubans in the private sector, when such services are not readily available through the traditional governmental sector. Unlicensed and licensed taxicabs proliferate in the larger cities; individuals rent rooms or sell meals to tourists in exchange for dollars; and even the government sponsors "health tourism," whereby Cuban physicians provide medical services to visitors from around the globe. This entrepreneurial sector, combined with the huge percentage of Cubans who also receive money from relatives living abroad, illustrates Cubans' desire to own new goods. Visits to their homes usually reveal new televisions, air conditioners, stereos, and clothing not available to Cubans without access to the dollar economy.

Other cultural aspects may not as fully support globalization. Cubans are not fully open-minded and accepting of diversity, as exemplified in the continuing racial tension which exists. Similarly, they exhibit a low tolerance of "oddballs," such as the "roqueiros" (young musicians who favor American or European rock music) or homosexuals. The formal culture, the government, has very little tolerance for political dissidents.

CUBA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM VIA-A-VIS THE GLOBALIZATION OF CULTURE

Cuba's educational system may well be called upon to help develop cultural values which "work in harmony" with those required for globalization. Cuba is highly conscious of the need to achieve this harmony rather than merely abandoning its values in favor of globalization. The heavy police presence to prevent the "jineteros" and "jineteras" from engaging in illicit commerce with tourists and the refusal to allow gambling casinos back onto the island are examples of concerted efforts to fend off external influences deemed to be in conflict with Cuban values and culture.

In addition, the provision of instruction in foreign languages is critical for the preparation for globalization. While English is taught as a foreign language at the secondary

and tertiary levels, only a few pilot projects have brought this down to the elementary level also, capitalizing on young children's language acquisition advantages. Other languages and their associated cultures need to be presented and offered for advanced study. Cuba, like all nations positioning for advancement in the global marketplace, will need individuals fluent in many languages and with a multicultural sensitivity if they are to be members of the global community.

With their participation and changing attitudes about themselves, individuals must learn to work with others of diverse backgrounds, and to understand and celebrate diversity in general. Since the Revolution abolished all private and religious schools and appropriated massive amounts of private property and residences for redistribution among the populace without regard to factors such as race or social status, Cuba's schools have become considerably more diverse than previously. One of the Revolution's most frequently touted accomplishments has been increasing educational opportunities for females, blacks, rural residents, and other formerly disenfranchised groups. Cuba has opened its universities to students from all over the world, providing scholarships when economics permitted such luxuries. Furthermore, the Cuban social emphasis on equality tends to support collective acceptance and inclusion, which has helped combat long-standing cultural and social discrimination.

Globalization frequently results in the relocation of individuals into new international environments. Whether those being relocated are representatives of multinational organizations moving into Cuba or citizens of Cuba moving into other nations as representatives of Cuban enterprises, Cuban citizens must be able and willing to work with individuals different from themselves. Cuba has a long history of this, from working with colonizing Spaniards and Americans, to providing military assistance in Angola and Namibia, and medical assistance in Zimbabwe, Niger, and many Latin American nations. Its medical school hosts students from across Latin America, also.

Again, the education system in Cuba must take the lead in teaching about and providing face to face, meaningful experiences with individuals from diverse backgrounds. Developing these attitudes and skills will enable Cuban citizens to more readily and comfortably "glocalize," as Friedman (2000) stated, when the opportunities present themselves during the globalization process.

GLOBALIZATION OF GOVERNANCE

Globalization is built around three overlapping political balances: the traditional balance between/among nation states; balance between nation-states and global markets of investors; and the balance between individuals and nation-states (Friedman, 2000, pp. 13-14). Theorists ascribing to dependency perspectives tend to view inter-nation-state balances as the key element. Others suggest that financial and industrial activities transcend geographical and political borders (Ohnae, Rosecrance, & Kennedy, cited in Veseth, 1998, p. 21) and establish their own class structures (Former Secretary of Labor Reich, cited in Veseth, 1998, p. 21), creating a fundamental disconnect between national political institutions and the international economic forces that have to be controlled (Lester Thurow, cited in Veseth, 1998, p. 127). Yet others focus on the effects of globalization within nation-states, in which globalization is conditioned by the diffusion of authority within the society, among individuals and between the individual and the government (Susan Strange, cited in

Veseth, 1998, p. 193). All three political balances will have some effect on Cuba's pattern and success in globalization and will, in turn, be influenced by that success.

CUBA AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF GOVERNANCE

Some critics of Cuba's current political structure argue that globalization can only be achieved in a pluralist democracy (Pérez-Stable, 1998, p. 25); however, others contend that capitalism is the true pre-requisite to globalization and that it is also the pre-requisite to a successful democracy (Weede, 1996, p. 1). Developmental sociologists generally agree that with development comes greater political participation, motivation, and ability to take part in organizations and electoral processes (Portes, 1998, p. 244). For some, however, globalization signals the end of democracy, as global markets replace democratic nation-states which are divided by culture, language, and ideology (Veseth, 1998, p. 21).

Regardless of which of these alternative perspectives may be most valid, it is unlikely that Cuba's current heavily centralized political system will be well suited to the demands of globalization. As Friedman pointed out, "Countries cannot be just emerging markets, they must produce an emerging society, judged on the quality of its government, judicial system, procedures for settling disputes, social safety net, rule of law, and economic operating systems" (2000, p. 163). Although Cuba has maintained a strong social safety net, the severe economic challenges of the "Special Period" resulted in a marked decrease in democratic participation of the Cuban people in the political process from the relatively high levels achieved in the 1980s (Lutjens, 1996). Even deeper governmental and philosophical changes are viewed as necessary precursors to globalization in Cuba by various economists. Clissold held that this process would best be served by "a peaceful transition to democracy on the island with a related increase in the space available for civil society, Cuban adoption of market mechanisms, compensation for nationalized U.S. properties, rapprochement between Cubans on the island and Cubans resident abroad, improvement of Cuba's human-rights record, prevention of uncontrolled out-migration, and avoidance of U. S. intervention on the island" (Clissold, 1998, p. 74). Greater domestic autonomy and social justice must be granted prior to globalization (Eckstein, 1998, p. 51; Valdés, Urdaneta, & González, 1996, p. 2). Preparing citizens for a political transition more conducive to globalization may well be one of the significant challenges posed to Cuba's educational system.

CUBA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM VIS-A-VIS THE GLOBALIZATION OF GOVERNANCE

Democracy is an enigma in Cuba, and its schools are characteristic of that enigma. Despite its highly centralized governmental power structure, Cuba holds an impressive amount of elections. Castro has created a complex infrastructure of municipal elections, "Poder Popular" (a movement designed to increase public participation in government), women's organizations, and Communist party involvement. Although schools are subject to considerable central governmental control, students participate in student government, student Communist party organizations, and school councils. All of these are a form of democratization (Veseth, 1998, p. 8). For Cuba to become a successful participant in globalization, Cuban schools will need to continue their focus on meaningful democratic governance, including promoting even greater leadership and governance opportunities for

students. Parents, as well, could be invited to participate in the governance of the schools as a means to both improve the schools and to develop the skills, attitudes, and perceptions of themselves as individuals who participate in organizations and processes in meaningful ways. By doing so, the education system can prepare citizens for political transitions that will occur with globalization.

GLOBALIZATION AS THE POLITICAL UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD

Following initial efforts established by the League of Nations, the establishment of the United Nations on October 24, 1945 was a major step toward the political unification of the world. At that time, 51 nations voluntarily formed a political union to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, cooperate in solving international problems, and promote respect for human rights. To these original charter aims, the United Nations has gradually added the aims of
protecting the environment, fighting disease, fostering development, defining the standards for safe and efficient transport by air and sea, enhancing consumer protection, working to ensure respect for intellectual property rights, assisting refugees, improving the quality of drinking water, clearing landmines, expanding food production, stabilizing financial markets, improving telecommunications, and reducing poverty. Today, there are 189 member nations ostensibly committed to these unified ends ("The UN in brief," 2001).

It can well be questioned to what extent the United Nations represents a political unification of the world. Certainly its members remain sovereign nations and continue to make their own laws. Nevertheless, through affiliated organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the International Labor Organization, the United Nations wields a significant amount of influence worldwide, providing assistance of more than $30 billion per year. Through its peacekeeping forces, to which 89 nations contribute over 37,000 personnel, the United Nations is currently involved in over 15 military operations around the world ("The UN in brief," 2001).

Other forms of political unification are beginning at the regional level, particularly among the "alphabet soup" of regional trade organizations, e.g., USSR-CIS, NAFTA, MERCOSUR, EU, AFTA, ASEAN, CARIFORUM, and OPEC. Although economic in purpose, these international affiliations occasion considerable political unification as well.

Cuba and Worldwide Political Unification

Political unification is an enigma for Cuba, for although it steadfastly maintains its political and philosophical independence, Cuba is consistently seeking integration with other nations for economic and political reasons. The ongoing economic, philosophical, and political struggle between Cuba and the United States over the past four decades not only deprives Cuba of its former primary economic market, but forces it to seek political support against the continued U. S. embargo and other perceived acts of imperialism. Consequently, Cuba actively participates in the United Nations, as well as in regional or trans-regional (e.g., the African-Caribbean-Pacific trade organization CARIFORUM) economic and political affiliations.

CUBAN EDUCATION VIS-A-VIS WORLDWIDE POLITICAL UNIFICATION

Cuban schools discuss world issues, geography, and history in comparatively good measure; these must be considered positive strengths in the preparing for worldwide political unification. However, their curriculum is so strongly nationalistic and anti-American that students are taught to accept "official" positions rather than to research and analyze issues critically. This places Cuban students at a disadvantage in preparing for more unified political structures. Cuban students are limited in access to the Internet, to non-government-controlled newspapers and periodicals, to news broadcasts from non-government controlled radio and television stations, etc.; all of these combine to place them at a relative disadvantage in preparing for worldwide political unification. Such unification would seem to call for individuals to be able to assess their own positions on issues vis-à-vis the positions of other nations in the political affiliation. Cuban students are not permitted to openly question their own government's position on political issues; this would seem to be a skill and a practice that should be developed if Cuba is to participate successfully in increasingly more unified international government.

GLOBALIZATION OF PERCEPTION

Hanvey (1975) proposed five domains that must be addressed in order to help students develop a global perspective. The domains are: Perspective Consciousness, which he defined as:

> the recognition or awareness on the part of the individual that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared, that this view of the world has been and continues to be shaped by influences that often escape conscious detection, and that others have views of the world that are profoundly different from one's own;

"State of the Planet" Awareness, described by Hanvey as:

> awareness of prevailing world conditions and developments, including emergent conditions and trends, e.g. population growth, migrations, economic conditions, resources and physical environment, political developments, science and technology, law, health, inter-nation and intra-nation conflicts, etc.;

Cross-cultural Awareness, defined as:

> awareness of the diversity of ideas and practices to be found in human societies around the world, of how such ideas and practices compare, and including some limited recognition of how the ideas and ways of one's own society might be view from other vantage points;

Knowledge of Global Dynamics, which he presented as:

> some modest comprehension of key traits and mechanisms of the world system, with emphasis on theories and concepts that may increase intelligent consciousness of global change; and,

Awareness of Human Choices, which Hanvey defined as:

> some awareness of the problems of choice confronting individuals, nations, and the human species as consciousness and knowledge of the global system expands.

Hanvey neither suggested nor expected that all members of society should become "proficient" in each of the five domains. Rather, he described the goal as that of "socializing significant *collectivities* of people so that the important elements of a global perspective are represented in the group" (p. 2). The exact character of the global perspective, then, would be determined by the "specialized capacities, predispositions, and attitudes of the group's members" (p. 2). Hanvey also pointed out that he did not expect individuals to choose a perspective or position different than their own, only that they develop an awareness that other perspectives and sets of circumstances exist, a step which he referred to as a "mildly revolutionary step" (p. 28).

Kniep (1986) criticized previous work on global education, stating that it was lacking in specific content to be taught. He stated that "skeptics and the uninitiated" (p. 437) found it easy to take advantage of the lack of specificity to prevent the implementation of global education initiatives. Kniep proposed four elements of study as the foundation of global education: the study of human values, the study of global systems, the study of global problems and issues, and the study of the history of contacts and interdependence among peoples, cultures, and nations. He posited that all four elements must be present in order to truly be considered global education, and provided a framework within which an appropriate content could be debated and considered. Kniep stated, "It is, after all, the content that distinguishes global from other kinds of education" (p. 437). Although he admitted that global education has many goals which are not content related such as "critical thinking, valuing diversity, and seeing connections," (p. 437), he stated that the task of global education is to present the content that will enable students to relate the conflicts of humankind to the values that make up their own culture and national values. Kniep reminded educators that not only should social sciences such as geography and history be used to plan the specific content of global education, but that the arts, music, and literature make significant contributions to the understanding one's values. He summarized:

> Ultimately, we must help our students to perceive the qualities of humanness that they share with those different from themselves. They need to see that there are values in the world, some different from their own, that are rooted in tradition, and that have the legitimacy of experience and history for those who hold them.
>
> In the bargain, they will gain a measure of self-understanding by experiencing commonality in human differences and by seeing themselves through the eyes of those with another worldview" (p. 438).

Case (1993) studied the work of Hanvey, Kniep, and others and concluded that although they had provided an excellent foundation, there was a need for greater clarity regarding the goals of developing a global perspective. He combined the dimensions of Hanvey and the elements of Kniep into one of two dimensions, which he called the substantive dimension, which consisted of five elements:

- universal and cultural values and practices,
- global interconnections,
- present worldwide concerns and conditions,
- origins and past patterns of worldwide affairs, and
- alternative future directions in worldwide affairs. (p. 320)

To the substantive dimension, he added the perceptual dimension, which he described as "key cognitive and affective attributes associated with a global perspective that global educators (and educators generally) should address" (p. 320). The five elements of the perceptual dimension are:

- Open-mindedness which is the willingness to delay judgment until having considered all sides of an issue, considering evidence from multiple sources, and the willingness to change one's own position when warranted.
- Anticipation of complexity, which is making the choice to view the long-term consequences of an action, and not just the immediate results, a healthy skepticism of proposed solutions that fail to examine possible interactions of simultaneous events.
- Resistance to stereotyping, the third element, is similar to, and certainly includes, open-mindedness. Case emphasizes it here as it relates specifically to efforts, often deliberate, which attempt to "dehumanize or marginalize" individual human beings, groups, nations or cultures. Special efforts are needed to help students develop skill in resisting stereotyping.
- Inclination to empathize refers to the ability to consider the feelings of others and to be able to consider a situation or event in terms on another individual's perspective.
- Nonchauvinism is included as a reminder that "Chauvinism refers to a unreasoned and excessive devotion to one's own group" (p. 323). Whether the group is a gender group, an ethnic group, an age group, a tribe or a nation, blind devotion without the consideration of other possibilities is certainly detrimental, at best, to the development of a global perspective.

Case pointed out that even though the substantive and perceptual dimensions can be presented and discussed separately, they must be developed in concert with one another. To attempt to develop the elements of the dimensions independently would likely be self-defeating. His presentation of them separately was intended to demonstrate the importance and the complexity of the different aspects of global education. This would seem an appropriate model to guide the ideological focus of Cuba's geo-cultural studies in schools.

CUBA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM VIS-A-VIS THE GLOBALIZATION OF PERCEPTION

The impact of globalization reaches far beyond economic systems. Political and social systems, including the education system, must grow with the changes that occur. As Cuba seeks a new role in the global community, changes will affect the lives of all its citizens, even those who do not come in direct contact with multinational organizations. It is imperative, therefore, that the opportunities described be provided for all students. If services and opportunities such as those presented earlier are to be provided for students in Cuba, the educational system must begin now to prepare teachers and administrators who have the knowledge and experiences to provide them for students in a productive manner. This constitutes the first challenge for the education system – to prepare teachers and administrators to both view their nation and the global community differently, and to teach in terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes in ways that may be quite different than they may currently be teaching.

Championing global education, Merryfield (1995) took the position that teacher education institutions must begin now to prepare teachers with global knowledge and

perspectives. Professors and teachers must have multicultural experiences, simulated as well as face to face (such as teacher exchanges and study tours), if they are to develop and effectively convey a global perspective (Hanvey, 1975). Teachers and administrators must learn to deal with conflict and change. Any globalization that occurs will bring change at a more rapid pace than it has taken place in recent years. Conflict, as always, will accompany that change. Teachers and administrators must not only be able to deal with those issues themselves, they must be able to help others develop the necessary skills as well if changes are to be productive and enduring. Cuba's teacher education institutions, although quite proficient in preparing teachers in content and pedagogical knowledge, show marked weaknesses in the areas of technology, conflict, and change. However, overall, and not excluding teachers, Cubans are surprisingly well aware of global conditions, despite tight state control over all sources of information. Perhaps this awareness is a result of being a focus of world attention for the past four decades and/or of attempting to serve as a global model of Communism. Regardless of the motivation, conversations with Cubans of all ages reveal a broad awareness of political, cultural, and economic issues and events around the world.

Cuban schools currently devote considerable time and energy to teaching Cuban history and culture, and have demonstrated considerable success in fostering the cultural ideals of "the Revolution." At times this is manifested as blatant values inculcation, e.g., patriotic recitations, mandatory participation in public demonstration, and even typical approaches to classroom lessons; however, at other times it seems more authentic, e.g., museums developed by the school or classes held in museums, school uniforms, musical presentations, or participation in "schools in the country." However, this approach to cultural geography tends to foster a "we versus they" perspective that may be antithetical to globalization.

CONCLUSIONS

Cuba is clearly going to be a participant in the rapidly increasing phenomenon of globalization. As Mittleman and Pashna stated, "In a globalizing world: the basic options for overcoming underdevelopment are still joining, leaving, or weaving, all within the dynamics of global capitalism" 1997, p. xviii). Cuba's pride, history, and potential would not allow it to accept "leaving" or "weaving" as an alternative. However, the question remains, will Cuba be a successful participant or will its long history of being exploited continue under new guises? It is equally clear that Cuba's education system will play a significant role in determining the level of that country's success in the global economy.

Each of the experts cited in this article presented unique ideas and means through which the education system can assist with the development of a global perspective, which will prepare the way for increased globalization. Case pointed out that "the Latin word *educare* means 'to lead out' " (1993, p. 324). The Cuban education system has an unequaled opportunity to prepare the leaders who will lead the nation out of its isolation to take its place among the global family. Hanvey also acknowledged the unique role of the education system in the development of a global perspective. His statement seems relevant to the milieu of Cuba today:

The schools must select a niche that complements the other educative agencies of the society. To the extent that those other agencies and influences work against a global

perspective the schools can perform a corrective function; to the extent that the other agencies are glib and superficial the schools can seek to be more thorough; to the extent that the other agencies have blind spots the schools can work to supply the missing detail; to the extent that the other agencies direct the attention to the short-term extraordinary event the schools can assert the value of examining the long-term situation or trend. (1975, p. 2)

Globalization may come slowly and carefully to Cuba. Some may believe that it may not come at all. Nonetheless, if one believes Porter's assertion that "competitive advantage emerges from pressure, challenge, and adversity, rarely from an easy life," (1990, p. 80), Cuba should be a prime candidate for increased globalization.

REFERENCES

Abramovitz, M. (1998). Catching up, forging ahead, and falling behind. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality*, (pp. 95-114). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Aguirre, B. E., & Vichot, R. J. (1998, May). The reality of Cuba's educational statistics. *Comparative Education Review, 42*, 118-138.

A more integral education. (1999, September 12) *Granma International Digital Edition* (English version). Accessed September 12, 1999: http://www.granma.cu/ingles/sept/35sepot.html.

Birdsall, N., & Sabot, R. (1998). Inequality as a constraint on growth in Latin America. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 421-428). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Case, R. (1993). Key elements of a global perspective. *Social Education, 57*, 320.

Centeno, M. A. (1998). Cuba's search for alternatives. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution*, (pp. 9-24). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Clissold. G. G. (1998). Cuba-U.S. relations and the process of transition. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 73-90). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of social science theory.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Czinkota, M. R. (1998). The World Trade Organization: Perspectives and prospects. In M. R. Czinkota & M. Kotabe (Eds.), *Trends in international business:: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 3-8). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Business.

Czinkota, M. R., & Kotabe, M. (1998). Emerging issues. In M. R. Czinkota & M. Kotabe (Eds.), *Trends in international business: Critical perspectives* (pp. 269-270). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Business.

Eckstein, S. (1998). The limits of socialism in a capitalistic world economy: Cuba since the collapse of the Soviet bloc. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 135-150). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Font, M. (1998). Crisis and reform in Cuba. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 109-134). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Friedman, T. L. (2000). *The Lexus and the olive tree.* New York: Anchor Books.

Gupte, P. B. (200, April 10). The G7's hot date in Havana. *Newsweek International*, p. 56.

Hanvey, R. G. (1975). *An attainable global perspective.* New York: The Center for War and Peace Studies. (ED 116 993)

Harrison, L. E. (1998). Underdevelopment is a state of mind. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 231-240). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Inkeles, A., & Smith, D. H. (1998). Becoming modern. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 209-218). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Jatar-Hausmann, A. J. (1999). *The Cuban way: Capitalism, communism, and confrontation.* West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Jilberto, A. E. F., & Mommen, A. (1998). *Regionalization and globalization in the modern world economy: Perspectives on the Third World and transitional economies.* New York: Routledge.

Lewis, O. ((1998). The culture of poverty. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 223-230). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Lindahl, R. A. (2000). Evaluating the Cuban education system: A goal-fulfillment critique. *International Education, 29,* 5-20.

Los alumnus cubanos con resultados muy superiors a la media regional. (1999, February 4). *Granma Internacional Digital* (Spanish version). Accessed February 4, 1999: http://www.Granma.cu/espanol/febrero04/educa-e.html

Lutjens, S. L. (1996). *The state, bureaucracy, and the Cuban schools: Power and participation.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

McClelland, D. C. (1998). The achievement motive in economic growth. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 169-186). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Merryfield, M. M. (1995, January-February). Institutionalizing cross-cultural experiences and international expertise in teacher education: The development and potential of the Global Education PDS Network. *Journal of Teacher Education, 46,* 1-9.

Mittleman, J. H., & Pashna, M. K. (1997). *Out from underdevelopment revisited: Changing global structures and the remaking of the Third World.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Monreal, P. (1998). The economics of the present moment. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 201-210). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Morrison, A. J., Ricks, D. A., & Roth, K. (1998). Globalization versus regionalization: Which way for the multinational? In M. R. Czinkota & M. Kotabe (Eds.), *Trends in international business: Critical perspectives* (pp. 271-282). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Business.

Oramas, J. (1999, September 12). Criminals benefit from globalization. *Granma International Digital* (English version). Accessed September 12, 1999: http://www.granma.cu/ingles/sept2/35sep91.html

Pérez-López, J. E. (1998). Cuba's second economy and the market transition. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 135-150). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Pérez-Stable, M. (1998). The invisible crisis: The exhaustion of politics in 1990s Cuba. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 25-38). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Petrella, R. (1996). Globalization and internationalization: The dynamics of the emerging world order. In R. Boyer & D. Drache (Eds.), *States against markets: The limits of globalization* (pp. 62-83). London: Routledge.

Porter, M. E. (1990). *The competitive advantage of nations.* New York: Free Press.

Portes, A. (1998). On the sociology of national development: Theories and issues. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 241-250). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Que es la globalizacion? (2001, Octubre). *El Economista de Cuba, 140* (On-line edition). Accessed on October 22, 2001: http://www.eleconomista.cubaweb.cu/

Ritter, A. R. M. (1998). The Cuban economy in the mid-1990s: Structural/monetary pathology and public policy. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 151-170). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Sassen, S. (1996). *Losing control? Sovereignty in an age of globalization.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Schumpeter, J. A. (1942). *Capitalism, socialism and democracy.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

Seligson, M. A. (1998). The dual gaps: An updated overview of theory and research. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 3-8). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Suchlicki, J. (1974). *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Tamayo, J. O. (2000, May 11). Cuba suspends real-estate investments from abroad. *Miami Herald Online.* Accessed May 11, 2000: http://www.cubanet.org/Cnews/y00/may00/1e4.htm

The changes in U. S. policy toward Cuba must be unilateral (2000, August 7). *Granma International Digital* (English version). Accessed August 7, 2000: http://www.granma.cu/ingles/ago2/032-2.html

The UN in brief (2001). Accessed October 22, 2001: http://www.un.org/Overview/brief.html

Valdés, J. C. (1998). Economic changes in Cuba: Problems and challenges. In M. A. Centeno & M. Font (Eds.), *Toward a new Cuba?: Legacies of a revolution* (pp. 187-200). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Valdés, J. C., Urdaneta, L. G., & González, P. M. (1996). *Cuba:Restructuring the economy – a contribution to the debate.* London: Institute of Latin American Studies.

Veseth, M. (1998). *Selling globalization: The myth of the global economy.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Vice President says Cuban economy grew 7.7 percent in first half of 2000. (2000, August 5). *Miami Herald On-Line Edition.* Accessed August 5, 2000: http://www/herald.com/content/today/ne4ws/americas/carib/cuba/digdocs./088360.htm

Wallerstein, I. 1998). The present state of the debate on world inequality. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 277-290). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Weede, E. (1996). *Economic development, social order, and world politics.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Weede, E. (1998). Why people stay poor elsewhere. In M. A. Seligson & J. T. Passé-Smith (Eds.), *Development and underdevelopment: The political economy of global inequality* (pp. 367-388). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

World Bank (1998/1999). *World development report. Knowledge for development.* New York: Author.

THE PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS: A CASE STUDY OF SOMALIA

Mohamed Nur-Awaleh
Illinois State University

This case study examines the SOMTAD project from its inception, presenting information, which lead to the establishment of the project, and describes the planning and implementation of the academic component. The other components of the project as they relate to the academic component are presented from the project's inception to its implementation. This paper also examines this collaborative program from the opening of first classes to student graduation and considers the process involved in the selection of students as well as the English Language Program. Also considered is the story behind Basic Management Training (BMT) and the MPA/MBA graduate programs. In sum, the paper examines the extent to which the goals of the SOMTAD project were met.

INTRODUCTION

In 1985, Somalia, like many sub- Saharan African countries, needed to formulate new educational policies based on existing social, political, and economic conditions. Unfortunately, there were insufficient funds to support major educational reforms, and insufficiently trained and motivated personnel to plan, implement and manage such reforms.

In an effort to conceive, plan, and carry out development programs including educational projects, Somali officials sought international aid. After Somalia gained its independence in 1960, the United States became an important partner in this process, particularly in the area of human resource development and public management training. In 1986, Somalia officials asked the Unite States Agency for International Development (USAID) to help develop a major project aimed at improving Somalia's public and private capacity to plan, implement and evaluate development projects, and the Somali Management and Development Project (SOMTAD) was born.

PRE-PROJECT STUDIES AND REQUEST FOR USAID ASSISTANCE

In 1984, the USAID received a request from the Somali government under the Ministry of Planning for financial support for an ambitious five year (1982-1986) development project. Under this plan, the government faced certain major constraints such as a lack of sufficient funding, shortage of technical expertise, and inadequate management design and implementation (IEES, 1984). The USAID signed a contract under the IEES project with a consortium composed of Florida State University (prime contractor), University at Albany of the State University of New York, Howard University, and the Institute for International Research. The main purpose of the contract was to give support to countries like Somalia to improve the performance of their educational systems, and strengthen their capacities for educational planning, management, evaluation, and research. To achieve these objectives, a team of U.S. experts in International Education were assembled in cooperation with the Ministry of National Planning to examine Somalia's educational and training needs in light of Somali's national goals under the five- year plan (1982-1986), and to identify constraints and opportunities. Specifically, the team's purpose was to:

1. Identify priority areas of education and training for investment of internal and external resources;
2. Identify the constraints upon investment;
3. Provide a stronger base for monitoring system performance;
4. Lay the foundation basis for external assistance (IEES, 1984).

The team examined the economic and financial aspects of human resources, paying special heed to manpower development (both supply and demand). They analyzed managerial capacity in skills and language training and diagnosed the status of the Somali educational system. This was the first time in Somalia's history that a study of such magnitude was carried out. Following is a summary of the findings and conclusions of the study:

1. Managerial training programs in both public and private sectors in Somalia were inadequate;
2. Incentive programs for public managers in Somalia were both inadequate and ineffective. The recruitment, promotion, and compensatory systems of the public sector were unrelated to merit or performance.
3. Both the internal and external efficiency of the educational system had suffered during the last 20 years;
4. Two-thirds of all primary teachers who had remained in the Somali educational system were under-qualified and had received no preparatory training preparation for the tasks they would receive;
5. The educational infrastructure was inadequate and could not support teaching and learning in the Somali classroom;
6. There was poor use of information technology at both private and public sectors in Somalia;
7. There was an urgent need for additional planning in staff development and for more training materials for both public and private sector institutions in Somalia;
8. There was insufficient planning and coordination among the ministries and between the public and private sectors in planning for and conducting management training.
9. SIDAM (the only institution of management training in English in Somalia) suffered from inadequate resources, lack of qualified staff, lack of adequate instructional materials for training; and inadequate compensation. They relied heavily on expatriate staff for instruction and training;
10. The Somali administrative system was highly politicized, and all public business was carried out through the direction of the hierarchical, centralized bureaucracy. Local governments were essentially regional administrative authorities: hired, paid, evaluated and directed by superiors in the central government.
11. The central planning and governmental control of the Somali higher educational system resulted in uniformity, rigidity and politicization of the system at a time when diversity, responsiveness to evolving developmental demands, and faculty/student commitment to institutional objectives of quality and relevance were essential. (IEES. 1984:1-7,11)

Based upon the above findings, the team recommended a needs assessment for: (a) managerial educational training and; (b) creation and funding of a central coordinating agency which would be responsible for the planning and coordination of both management assessment and managerial training activities and would have adequate funds and authority to carry out its responsibilities. The team recommended that each ministry and major governmental organization be required to have a detailed staff development plan. With regard to higher education, the team proposed an increase in managerial efficiency through staff reduction, and effective use of personnel and physical facilities. The team also made suggestions for financial and academic planning, and recommended an appraisal of institutional performance. Also, a needs assessment study was recommended for the National University of Somalia to diagnose the value of their academic programs, needs of their students, efficient use of donor funds. The Somali Government, however, did not carry out these recommendations.

Earlier studies of administration in Somalia concurred with the above assessment that effective performance of the Somali economy (both private and public) depended to a great extent on the skills and training of its civil service, its administrative/management arm, responsible for economic and social development. The joint Somali/USAID study, the *Somali Civil Service Study* (1984) emphasized that the Somali Civil Service was overstaffed--there was an excess of unqualified, low-paid clerical aid, unskilled employees as well as a shortage of highly trained people in the senior and the professional ranks. The internal distribution of civil servants both in functional categories and various geographical groups was uneven, and a disproportionate amount of the budget was spent on the salaries of civil servants. This left very little money for materials and services. The average production of Somali civil services was low and the database for civil service management was weak. The study recommended the following:

1. Developing of a program of general management training;
2. Providing action-oriented training that emphasized interactive exercises rather than lectures and conferences;
3. Coordinating the training at national levels;
4. Establishing of a Civil Service Commission to set and implement the terms and grades of employment, job classification, promotion procedures, and retirement rules.
5. Placing a high priority on the creation of a unit with a trained professional staff capable of studying organizational and administrative problems throughout the government, of making recommendations for improvement, and of assisting in the implementation of such recommendations. (Somali Civil Service Study, 1984)

The above recommendations, the ones presented in the feasibility study, *Education and Human Resource Sector*, laid the foundation for the SOMTAD project. USAID continued to engage the team of experts from the USA under the umbrella of the IEES to design the project paper that began in 1986 and concluded in December 1991. The preparation of the SOMTAD project paper began in June 1984, and the final version was completed in February 1985. The USAID mission approved the project paper, and discussion began for approval by the Somali government on February 5, 1985. Discussions continued until the agreement was signed in June 1985.

The project design paper was the blueprint for the SOMTAD project. The designers developed plans for implementation and evaluation and described in detail how to use the resource, organize the decision-making and deal with Somali uncertainties of economic and political conditions at the time. In order to accomplish the objectives of the SOMTAD project, tasks and functions that would be performed under the SOMTAD project were identified. The appropriate organizational structure to carry-out tasks were also laid out. And, most importantly, adequate resources were identified to make implementation of the objectives and goals of the SOMTAD project possible. The participation of Somali officials was also an important component in designing the SOMTAD project. However, it is important to note that the SOMTAD project contained a highly complex administrative process, and it involved many organizations with different goals and needs.

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN USAID AND THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT

On June 30, 1985, a contractual agreement was reached between the Somali government and USAID. Representing for the Somali government, the agreement was signed by the Minister National of Planning, Minister of Finance and the Dean of Somali Institute of Management and Development. The agreement called for establishment of the SOMTAD project, which consisted of a mix of technical assistance, academic training, as well as long- and short-term development training activities. The objective was to enhance the capabilities of the public and private sectors in Somalia to plan and implement such programs and to find ways to make the efficient use of Somali's limited resources. Another objective was to strengthen the managerial capacity of the Somali government, and to regularize its developmental activities. (Project Design Paper, 1985).

Funding for the SOMTAD project came from two sources: (1). A direct USAID contribution in the amount of $18.8 million as part of the agreement; these funds were managed by expatriate managers accountable only to USAID; (2). a counterpart funding through the Commodity Import Program (CIP) and from "Food For Peace" PL. 480 activities. (Project Grant Agreement, 1985: 1). These programs were part of a larger US foreign policy objective. The purpose was to provide surplus food from the USA to "friendly" nations like Somalia with food deficits. That way, the Somali government would not have to spend hard earned currency for food. More importantly, funds generated from the sale of food in Somali local markets were supposed to finance human resource development projects like SOMTAD and other projects in education and nutrition. It was also supposed to have mitigated the adverse effects of policy reforms on the poor (e.g. increase in food prices as the result of eliminating consumer subsidies). Furthermore, to prevent the price "disincentives" to domestic producers that might accompany food aid, it was recommended that counterpart funds be used to finance employment-generated projects that would enhance the income of the poor. (Mubarak, 1996; Dawson, 1995; Simmons, 1995; Maren, 1997)

During the 1985-1986, SOMTAD project agreements, and the USAID "Food For Peace" projects for development totaled $100 million (USAID, 1986:2). SOMTAD was just a small fraction of development projects, which were to have been supported by PL. 480 activities. Nevertheless, the contribution of Somali shillings toward the SOMTAD project was $6.9million.As stipulated in the agreement, the USAID mission in Somalia would provide only technical advice and would not interfere in any other way with the Somali

government's budgetary control. The agreement also stated that the Somali government would be responsible for financing the following portions of the SOMTAD project:

1. The GSDR would fund the salaries of two counterparts and secretaries of the participating ministry for each technical advisor. The government would also pay for salaries of all counterparts in the SOMTAD Academic program at SIDAM, and the Somali staff of English Language Training and Management instructors.
2. GSDR would fund certain training costs such as stipends for presidential fellows in the Master's Program, and allowances for in WMTU Training course participants.
3. The GSRD would be responsible for office furniture and equipment for long-term technical advisors.
4. In terms of operations the GSDR would provide fuel and maintenance for project vehicles, office space and classroom facilities, as well as local and domestic travel costs, and allocate funding for rehabilitation of SIDAM. This was the largest item that the GSDR was to contribute to the SOMTAD Project (Project Grant Agreement, 1985:15).

USAID, in turn, agreed to pay for both long and short-term training costs of technical advisors ($9.4 million or 50% of USAir's total contribution). Training costs for the SOMTAD Project which included funding for U.S. study, thesis support, and study visits ($1.2 million or 6.5%); commodities (6%) including vehicles and spare parts, microcomputers, instructional equipment and materials. USAID also agreed to pay for operational support (6.7% or $1.2 million) which included housing with complete basic furniture and appliances, security guards, and maintenance (Project Grant Agreement, 1985:15).

According to the provisions of the contract, the agreement was to remain in effect until the completion date (December 31, 1991) or "such other date as the parties may agree to in writing which was the date by which the parties estimated that all services financed under the Grant would have been performed and all goods financed under the Grant would have been furnished" (Grant Agreement document, 1985:2). However, USAID made it clear that in order for the funds to be disbursed, the Somali government must provide evidence of the following: that SIDAM was authorized to grant the Masters program, and that the MBA/MPA degree would be fully recognized by the Somali National University; that salaries of SIDAM staff who were associated with the SOMTAD Project activities were paid; that appropriate office facilities were available for the storage of the electronic equipment; and most importantly, that the shillings portion of the grants would be available for the Project and would be included in the annual budget of the Ministry of Finance. Interesting, USAID noted that if these conditions were not met within 180 days from the date of the agreement, then the program would be terminated. As we shall see later on in this chapter, and throughout this study, the Somali government hardly met any of the above conditions and had serious commitment problems.

By the time SOMTAD project went through the bidding process, and the call for proposals was submitted, the original SOMTAD project design was revised, and final contracts went to the Consortium led by the Academy for Educational Development (AED) as primary contractor and with the University at Albany-State University of New York, Creative Associates (CA), and Arthur D. Little (ADL) as the subcontractors. The contract

was awarded in November 1986 to AED, and January 1987 SUNYA, CA and ADL were approved as the subcontractors. Final negotiations were made between the prime contract and sub-contract on July 7, 1987 with SUNYA; August 31, 1987 with CA; and August 28 with ADL. (First Annual Report, 1987: I-4).

Three major changes were in the final contract: (a) the SOMTAD Project in its original form, recommended that the Experiment in International Living agency handle the English Language component of the Academic program; since it had the experience, and the manpower to conduct the English program. However, USAID in November 1986 signed in a non-competitive manner with US Information Service (USIS) to implement this portion of the program. This decision was made despite the objection from the project designers, AED, and all other concerned educators. The USAID's plan was to get the USIS involved in the Regular English Language Training Program (RELTP) for Somali government officials and individuals going to U.S. for academic training. In addition, USAID assumed that the technical and administrative leadership of USIS could successfully manage and direct both programs. But this was a wrong assumption, and we shall see later on that it proved to be a fatal mistake. (b) Another change evident in this new contract was the budget. The original budget in 1985 was $25.7 million. The final approved budget was $18.8 million from which $11.5 million came from USAID. The remaining funds came from the Somali government through the (PL 480) Programs. These changes had a significant impact on the implementation of the SOMTAD Project even though, the economic and political climate in Somalia by this time was deteriorating and the ability of the Somali government to contribute their portion of the budget was questionable. USAID reduced their portion of the funding, but left the Somali portion at the hands of one of the ministers in Said Barre's regime Mr. Mohamed Sheik Osman (Minister of Finance). Many observers have claimed that it was common knowledge in Mogadishu in 1986, that Mr. Osman was a front man for the Late Dictator Said Barre and that he maintained Swiss bank accounts for the Dictator (Mubarak, 1996; Maren; 1997; and Africa Confidential Record, 1988:3). The USAID Mission and the SOMTAD project administrators became aware of the corruption, and Osman's tactics of delaying the release of the Somali shillings budget. Professor Nunez, First Deputy Chief of Party of the SOMTAD Project spoke of the budget situation in August 1987 when he wrote:

> The budget is still <u>not</u> signed by the Minister of Finance. We have not seen a single shilling, despite all the promises that the budget will be signed. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Osman) flew to Paris to see the games and to Switzerland (perhaps to check the President's secret account). This is casting a pall over everything... no staff, no copying, no salary for SIDAM faculty, no stipends for students, etc. We all believe that this attitude by the Minister of Finance is a result of (1) he wants something, as yet unnamed, maybe a Mercedes (2); His Baksheesh was not large enough to match his exalted position; (3) He is testing his strength against a new Ambassador from U.S. (Eager to please) and a new USAID Director (a woman, unknown to Somalis." (Nunez memo, 1987:1).

The third major change in this new contract was the design, delivery style, and content of the Basic Management Training Unit (BMT). Originally, the BMT was supposed

to be designed by long-term Advisors (LTA) and international faculty who served as SIDAM faculty members. However, during the contract negotiation process, some funds for the SOMTAD project were never provided for BMT. Moreover, the calculation of the budget was underestimated; and invalid assumptions were made in the original proposal with regard to the academic preparation of the majority of the students. In actuality, the degree of academic preparation was significantly below that of baccalaureate levels in the US and well below that expected under BMT. Therefore, a full redesign of the BMT was recommended and was deemed necessary for students to succeed in the MPA/MBA program (McCaffrey-Bourque Report, 1987, Anderson, 1996, Heaphey, 1996).

Other troubles were brewing in the SOMTAD project as well in the field in Somalia, and at UA. At UA, the Dean of Public Administration refused to sign the new contract for the Graduate School of Public Affairs citing as the crux of concern the reduced budget issue, English language problems, the BMT issue, and difficulties which would be encountered during the implementation of the project as a whole, especially as it relates to issues of recruitment/retention of faculty from public administration without sufficient funding that could have drained the school's resources. In addition, the first project coordinator for UA resigned from his position citing bureaucracy and politics at UA's Office of Professional Development, and poor interdepartmental relationship between the Public Administration, and the OPD, and relationships with the external organizations of SIDAM (Somalia), USAID and AED (D.C.). This made it difficult for the first project coordinator to establish or maintain an effective relationship among the organizations and individuals, especially with the communication problems prevalent in Somalia. Mr. Burke also noted the domain issue which addressed the compatibility of the goals of the different organizations involved in the SOMTAD project in terms of how well they understood the nature of issues (e.g. English Language, BMT). (Burke, 1987).

To complicate the situation for the field administrators in Mogadishu, the late President of Somalia, Siyaad Barre had announced a new government in late 1988 that concentrated power in his hands, and the marahanization (Barre's tribe) of every top leadership/management position of the government and military (Simmons, 1995:67, Mubarak, 1996, Ghalib, 1995). David Rawson (former Deputy Chief of Mission in U.S. Embassy in Mogadishu between (1986-1988) put it succinctly:

> Barre named a government that changed many portfolios but, more importantly, put a Marehan at either the highest or second-highest position of all ministries where money was to be made. In sum, Barre's political reforms narrowed rather than broadened the political base and channeled power and its perquisites into the hands of his kin and cohorts" (Rawson, 1995: 157).

The process of marhanization intensified after the savage campaign in the North of Somalia in May 1988 during which Barre's forces pounded the residential districts of Burao and Hargeisa with artillery, anti-tank fire, and aerial bombardment, triggering the flight of almost the entire Isaaq population. Barre's troops murdered, raped, and robbed civilians as they tried to escape, and planes bombed them even after they had crossed into the Ethiopian borders. (Omaar, 1990, Maren, 1997, Greenfield, 1991, Gersony Report, 1989). This holocaust created hatred among the tribes of the South and North, and had a devastating

impact on the early planning and operation of the SOMTAD project. The shilling budget was diverted toward defense; Isaaq intellectuals and dissenters, business people, and students were harassed, jailed or killed. Many Isaaq students withdrew from the SOMTAD project for fear of persecution (Nelson, 1989, Jirdeh, 1996, Abdulla, 1996); the large scale corruption and nepotism in every aspect within the Somali bureaucracy affected SOMTAD at the beginning through hiring. Books and other supplies were difficult to obtain from the port, the training of the Somali counterparts was compromised; there was extortion of funds from colleagues, private individuals and companies; and there was a diversion of goods and services from the SOMTAD project to private hands. (Fourth Annual Progress Report, 1990; Mubarak, 1996, Jirdeh, 1997, Bullaleh, 1996)

There were other revisions in the new contract. A new technical advisor was added to the list of the seven previously identified in the Project Paper of 1985 due to the reshuffling and creation of a new government. But no budget was allocated for this new position. And, advisor positions for banking agencies were dropped. New administrators appeared in the Somali SOMTAD project office in Mogadishu.

Other major problems that delayed the proper planning and implementation of the SOMTAD project were in the making. Among the internal and external environmental shocks that influenced the project in its inception and implementation were: weak economic performance of the Somali government due to great budgetary deficits that rose more than 40% of the GDP in 1987; the ban of Somali livestock exported to Saudi Arabia in 1983-89 because the Saudi government suspected that Somali livestock were disease-ridden (livestock comprise more than 50% of Somali export earnings); the continuously recurring droughts which resulted in a huge influx of refugees; a lack of political will during Barre's regime to continue its commitment to the stabilization and adjustment programs prescribed by the IMF; the political and social repression that was growing in the North among dissidents ; the burden of rescheduled external debt servicing which exceed 200% of expert earnings in 1987 (Mubarak, 1996:83); and finally the huge defense budget (40% of the GDP) which diverted much needed resources from projects like SOMTAD. (Mukhtar, 1996, World Bank, 1991, Final Annual Report, 1991, Eskstrom, 1993: 1065)

All of the above factors disrupted economic policies and projects like SOMTAD that were geared toward achieving long-term economic stability and sustained growth (a salient feature of SOMTAD project goals). Also, it intervened and contributed negatively to the smooth operation and proper implementation of the SOMTAD project.

Despite all of the serious problems associated with the project in its beginning, the implementation of the SOMTAD project went ahead in 1987; however, a major issue faced the project administrators was how to implement the project under such a political and economically hostile environment. Furthermore; the administrators faced the dilemma to recruit/retain faculty both at the local and international level in a country considered by expatriates as a hardship post. Moreover, too little was American, familiar, or comfortable, either culturally or materially. Nevertheless, the planning and implementation of the SOMTAD Project proceeded, and the rest of this paper describes the trials and tribulations of Project, focusing on the academic component. We also examine the long-term technical advisors, because they were expected to participate in the curriculum development program and to have served as instructors in both Basic Management and the MBA/MPA component of the SOMTAD Project.

EARLY PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

The immediate need to select appropriately qualified candidates for the academic program, and the development and the delivery of the English component of the academic program was the primary objective in the early stages of SOMTAD project planning (1986-1988). A review of Somali Institute of Development Administration (SIDAM) and AED agency planning documents (AED, 1987, SIDAM, 1988) reveals little indication of the need to plan for the ways to sustain the project beyond the length of the actual USAID funded period. Moreover, there was no contingency plan in place to offset uncertainties and problems such as the issue of Somali government commitment to the SOMTAD project with regard to the Somali shilling budget that was supposed to fund salaries for SIDAM staff employed by the project library facilities; office equipment; transportation; student stipends; vehicle fuels, office space, furniture and secretarial personnel vital for the implementation of the project. By the end of 1987, it was apparent that the Somali government was unable to honor its commitment to the project.

The skeletal plan for the implementation of the SOMTAD project called for the establishment of a strong English Language Program that would have prepared students for the MPA/MBA program. The original rationale for the English Language Program was that it would overcome the problem of long and costly periods of English Language training outside of Somalia, since this new program was conducted at SIDAM. Also, it would have contributed to the institutionalization of SIDAM as the result of training MBA/MPA Graduate students. Moreover, as PASA (the major implementing agency) noted, the success of the English program depended on the ability of the curriculum developers to identify the language skills of the Somali students and the professionals in their ministries or in the private sector. Therefore, instructional materials had to be developed which allowed "Increased practice---within the appropriate management/ administration workplace contexts" (Project Paper, 1985:91).

USIS also called for the development of supplemental materials appropriate to Somalia for the English Language Program. However, no such material was developed during the USIS administration of the English program. Nevertheless, implementation of the English Program proceeded in the later part of 1986. (First Annual Report, 1987: 26)

SELECTION OF PROJECT STUDENTS

The process of candidate selection began early when, in December 1985, public announcements of the SOMTAD Project were made at Radio Mogadishu, Somalia. Applications were solicited at SIDAM, and at the Ministry of Labor and Sports from December 1985 through February 1986. Over 810 students applied, and applicants were screened for English Language ability by the use of the Michigan Test, administered by USIS English Language specialists who believed that the Michigan Test would reduce the number of candidates down to 250, and recommended that they take the TOFEL examination. Unfortunately, the Michigan Test was regarded as unreliable and unpredictable because it was available to certain students before the official testing period (Anderson, 1987, 1996).

While not totally disregarding the results of the Michigan Test, the Project Coordinating Committee agreed unanimously that TOFEL exam should be offered to all candidates who were qualified for the sake of comparability and validity as there was the

possibility of the easy availability of the copies of the Michigan Test around Mogadishu. USIS resisted as they had already screened students and placed them in preliminary programs. After seeing the seriousness of the situation, USAID announced that it would pay the cost of the TOFEL exam for 618 students who survived the first cut, and requested express mailing (DHL) of the exam to the U.S. for corrections. USAID, PCC, DCOP and the Chief of Party all agreed that one key requirement for admission to the SOMTAD Academic Program must be a measure of the candidate's mathematical and analytical aptitude. Although Graduate Management Aptitude Tests (GMAT) for business programs, and Graduate Programs in Public Administration frequently require the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) to measure such abilities, it was clear that neither was appropriate in this situation. (First Annual Report, 1987).

The question that faced the SOMTAD field administrators was how to select qualified students in the MBA/MPA degree program and, at the same time ensure opportunities for the largest numbers of applicants who survived the first cut. As required by the contract, a short-term academic advisor was recruited to assist and establish criteria for student admission to the SOMTAD program at SIDAM. In January 1987, AED nominated Drs. David Anderson and Paul Kimmel of University at the Albany for the academic advisor position. Dr. Kimmel was selected but he rejected the offer because the schedule conflict with his teaching obligations. Dr. David Martin, Associate Dean of Graduate Studies, and Vice President for Academic Affairs was hired on short notice to go to Mogadishu to develop the criteria and to recommend quotas for candidate position among 24 ministries in the Somali government. (First Annual Report, 1987)

On March 5, 1987, the morning following his arrival in Mogadishu, Dr. Martin attended an advisory group planning meeting at SIDAM that consisted of representatives of USAID, AED, USIS, SIDAM, and several Somali ministries. Here he was told to analyze the minutes of previous meetings, the project paper, and certain other reports on Somalia, and to report his findings on the selection criteria to the committee. At this point, Dr. Martin did not meet or discuss anything with those individuals who were responsible for planning and implementing the academic process as far as it was established. No significant information regarding the academic process or the SOMTAD project including the project paper were given to him before he arrived in Mogadishu. As he noted, "AED, or USAID never did supply a full set of minutes nor any of the reports alluded to, including the project paper. I believe the Chief of Party pried out a copy of the project paper at the end of our third week." (Martin Report, 1987:2). It is evident that the necessary information was not given to the "point person" in the academic selection process.

Upon his examination of the available data, Dr. Martin discovered that the selection process had been underway since December 1985, but there was no effort to solicit transcripts, letters of recommendation or essays as usually required in the graduate programs. After discussing the situation with Hassan Mohamed Jama (SIDAM Registrar), who organized and summarized the data from the student applications to the MBA/MPA program, Dr. Martin recommended the following criteria for selecting MBA/MPA candidates for admission:

- Age between 26 and 45
- Undergraduate degree

- Managerial or supervisory experience
- Evidence of working in the government of Somalia or in the private sector
- Minimum Score of 30 out of 50 in the test of basic mathematics Minimum
- TOEFL score of 400 for admission to Cohort III, 450 for admission to Cohort II, and 500 for admission to Cohort I. (Martin Report, 1987)

In addition to the above criteria, Dr. Martin recommended quotas of candidates with positions in the 24 ministries. Applicants meeting the criteria developed by Dr. Martin were allowed to sit for a mathematics exam on April 17, 1987, and on May 1, 1987. A total of 491 students took the math exam, 65% of whom achieved a passing score of 30. On April 24, a TOEFL examination was given to total of 487 candidates based on the scores/criteria developed; Three hundred and eleven students qualified for Presidential fellows, and were recommended to the Project Coordinating Committee (PCC) for quota allocation and alternate spaces to each participating ministry in the project. From the 311 candidates, 210 were chosen as Presidential Fellows and 30 alternate candidates were selected for the academic program. The 240 students were divided into three cohorts based on the their proficiency of the English language as measured by TOFEL, and the results of their math test. The sequences of the academic program, which began in August, 1987, and the English Language program as the first step of the Academic program are seen in Appendix B.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING AND BASIC MANAGEMENT TRAINING

The English Language Component of the SOMTAD project was envisioned as the first step of the academic program. It was expected to cover a three-and one-half year period with the fundamental objective of providing English language training to the SOMTAD students so that their proficiency level would be equivalent to those foreign students studying at U.S colleges. Another objective of the program was to give students relevant management /administrative training being (First Annual Report, 1987). Under these assumptions, most Somali students were not fluent in the English Language because of their prior education in Somali, Italian, and Arabic.

A chain of English language courses under the supervision of USIS was designed and spread over 18 months depending upon the students' TOFEL scores. For the participants scoring 400-450, 12-month courses focusing on oral, reading and writing skills were developed. For students entering the English Language Program with a score of 450-500, six-month language oral, reading and writing courses were designed. The objective of this group was to get a TOFEL score of 500 +. Finally, for students attaining a TOFEL score of 500 +, an advanced English program for Managers administering a heavy dose of management concepts relevant in the workplace were designed. (First Annual Report, 1987).

As noted earlier, USIS was given the job to design and deliver the English Language program without open competition with other organizations. But this proved to be a fatal mistake. From 1987 until August 1988, there were serious problems in implementing the program. The problem arose when they hired an administrator who designed a poor program, and who hired instructors literally from off the streets of Mogadishu. Furthermore, the course materials were inappropriate, and did not meet the needs of most students. In addition, USIS incentives and salaries for instructors were

considerably lower than both the other SOMTAD members, and individuals working with Relief organizations in Mogadishu. In fact, the TOFEL exams conducted for the purpose of moving students from one cohort to another in Jan 1988, and in June 1988 proved disastrous. Student scores were very extremely poor, dropping an average of 21 points creating apathy and low moral among SOMTAD students. Professor Nunez (first DCOP) put it bluntly in his assessment of the English Language Program:" It is like watching the slow sinking of the titanic ship. They have hired an administrator director for the program, who came in unprepared, took a look at the program, had a nervous breakdown, and is being sent home on ambulance plane" (Nunez Memo, 1987).

In search of explanations, the AED agency hired Dr. Imhoof a consultant to examine the English Program and to develop a proposal for its reorganization for submission to USAID. Upon his arrival in Mogadishu, and his discussion with all parties involved, Dr. Imhoof examined three components of the program: instruction, management, and institutionalization of the program. His findings confirmed the anxieties and concerns of both students and the SOMTAD administrators. According to Imhoff's report, both Somali students and SIDAM administrators commented on the incomplete nature of the materials used by USIS. They complained the materials for the "English for the Managers" course lacked management focus. He also reported that the program was plagued by inexperienced instructors, and administrators who knew little about Somali student's cultural patterns of learning the language. Moreover, funds were wasted on 14 Somali English instructors who were sent to American Universities in Cairo to participate in further English training with the anticipation that they would teach for SOMTAD; but that never happened because of insufficient salaries and benefits, resulting in the employment of many unqualified instructors. (Imhoof, 1988), (Hoben, Darnell, and Gimbert, 1988: 14-15).

When the USIS contract expired in August 1988, the English program further suffered due to the vacuum created as the negotiation and bureaucratic red tape between AED and USAID drag on. Since the progress of the SOMTAD academic program depended in large part on the student's knowledge of English, SIDAM administrators (COP, DCOP, SIDAM president) and SUNYA faculty decided to volunteer in order to keep the program running and to recruit English instructors with better salaries to conduct the program. Efforts were made to design and deliver an intensive five-week remedial English course from Sep 3- Oct 6, 1988 to all cohorts. (Second Annual Progress Report, 1988).

Seven native English speaking instructors and nine Somalis with experience in teaching English as a Second Language were recruited and the program continued until Dec 16, 1988, when a TOFEL exam was administered to all students from all Cohorts, and a significant improvement of student scores resulted ranging with an average increase of 27 points. (Second Annual Progress Report, 1988).

When the USAID mission agreed not to renew the USIS contract, the program was re-organized and AED's contract was amended to include the English Language Component in Nov 1988. By the year's end, AED hired two long-term language specialists, Mr. Richard Lambrecht, and Mr. Paul Hekel. Under Lamrecht's management, the English language program improved considerably, and a teacher's center for language training was established at SIDAM. (Bullaleh, 1996). The English language program continued to gain the students' respect and it helped to improve the progress of students from Cohort I to cohort III. The focus of the program was changed to concentrate on word analysis, test-taking skills (e.g.; TOFEL) and listening techniques.

Students from Cohort I successfully completed their English language training on December 16, 1988, and were moved to Basic Management Training (BMT). An institutional TOFEL was administered to more than 130 students with the intention of placing students in the BMT program. As the classes focusing on TOFEL preparation ended, the main focus of the program was shifted toward comprehensive skills and on preparing students for specific graduate degrees. (i.e., thesis writing).

As mentioned earlier, the English Language program was the first step in moving students up the ladder into other components of the academic program. It had a rocky start, however, which delayed the progress of the students. Even when the program was finally put into the right direction, it never had enough funding to support the collection and analysis of data to study the learning patterns of Somali students, a study recommended by Mr. Lamrechet, the man who re-designed the program. Lamrechet was highly critical of the emphasis that was being placed on the TOFEL test preparation and its cultural application as the single diagnostic measure of English Language ability. Research supports the position that English Language Proficiency is an important indicator of students achievement in an academic setting (Xu, 1991); however, Lamrechet among others, insisted that TOFEL alone could not predict the academic performance of Somali students. As consequence, they recommended that multiple methods of measuring student's potential for academic success be used. Hence, other diagnostic tools and anecdotal records including observation by teachers, records of attendance, letters of recommendations, transcripts, autobiographical records, occupational information, and aptitude profiles were recommended. (Lamrecht, 1989, Xu, 1991).

The progress of the entire SOMTAD academic program was delayed to allow for five weeks of intensive remedial English instruction. This, in turn delayed the starting of the BMT program until Feb 1988. BMT was seen in the project blueprint as the program that would fill the knowledge gaps of the Somali Students. It was expected to fill the gaps of the students who lacked adequate equipment, textbooks, and properly trained teachers in the areas of management and organizational behavior. (Project Design Paper, 1985). In the original project proposal, BMT was envisioned as a joint program where long-term technical advisors (LTA) would infuse their expertise and participate its curriculum development. Unfortunately, the original assumptions did not hold, partially because of problems associated with the English language itself, and the continuous delay brought by failing to place LTAs in their respective ministries on time. Thus, the program suffered from staff shortages, and poor planning and training. This resulted in three largely unrelated components: language classes, math instruction, and guest lectures. A coherent curriculum was never developed, and instructors had little or no time to share information with each other. For example, if a math teacher found that a particular Somali student had difficulty with word problems, there were no formal linkages, which would have enabled the language instructor to address the issue. (Second Annual Progress Report, 1988).

To remedy the situation, the first Curriculum Development Team was assembled and sent to Mogadishu from July 25- to Aug 5, 1988. Their objective was to explore strategies of redesigning the BMT as a first step toward a general comprehensive curriculum development of the MBA/MPA degree program. Upon their arrival, the team discovered that the original BMT would not suffice. It needed a complete overhaul in both organization and design. They discovered that most Somali students in the BMT program had undergraduate training that was significantly lower than U.S B.A levels, and well below the

levels originally expected and planned under the BMT. Also, they found that the student training program was deprived of adequate text books, properly trained teachers and sufficient funding for educational materials. Therefore, they recommended that a highly structured and intensified BMT quality program that would enable students to emerge from the program with TOFEL scores of at least 550, be able to write clearly, and effectively, and to perform data analyses that required statistics and computer literacy. The team noted that the newly designed BMT would include the following interrelated components:

1. Language and communication skills. Students in this section of the program would be required to strengthen their language training, but also courses specifically tailored toward management concepts;
2. Basics of organizations and bureaucracy. In their findings, the team discovered that the norms of a bureaucratic society were not highly developed in Somalia, and that a well developed system of policy, procedures, rules, and belief in formal organizational structure such as positional authority or responsibility within the organization were highly personalized, reflecting the influence of a clan structure. Thus, a curriculum dealing with the study of organizational behavior was recommended;
3. Computer skills- the newly re-designed BMT called for students to learn the word processing systems as well as applications of spreadsheets such as Lotus 1-2-3, and Harvard Graphics;
4. Mathematical and statistical concepts, and finally
5. Data collection, analysis, and preparation. (McCaffrey and Bourqure report, 1987).

On November 15, 1987, the Director of the Professional Development Program at the University at Albany, traveled to Mogadishu to present the findings and recommendations of the Curriculum Development Team. He requested a budget for an intensified BMT program in the amount of $ 350,000. However, USAID rejected this proposal, and directed that BMT be implemented consuming as few resources as possible, focusing on the development of basic skills which was critical to the students future performance in the graduate degree program in verbal, quantitative, and analytical skills. Thus, a watered down version of BMT which included the following course sequence was designed to be taught over 10-week quarters:

Quarter I: English for Managers, Quarter II: Introduction to Organization and Management, and Quarter III Organizational Case Studies. (The Kinney report, 1987)

The staffing for BMT courses during the lifetime of the project came from three different sources: the first were recruited from the faculty at the University at Albany, who were to teach as full-time instructors, and other faculty recruited through the SUNY system; a second group of instructors drawn from the U.S nationals who were residing in Mogadishu were recruited to teach on a part-time basis; and a group of Somali instructors who taught on a full-time as well as on a part-time basis. (Fourth Annual Progress Report, 1990). In addition to the above staffing arrangements, there were various guest lecturers in the BMT program. No Long-term Technical Advisors (LTA) were involved in teaching any BMT courses, with the exception of DCOP who taught throughout the lifetime of the project.

BMT's progress was hindered by many factors including the problems associated with the first phase of the English Component, a pre-requisite for the program. BMT never

had enough funding to support a library and educational materials. In the original contract, there was no clear indication as to whose responsibility it was to conduct the program. Moreover; the program was sometimes seen as remedial courses, and sometimes as preparatory courses. As President Bullaleh put it, "---Some students maintained that program was a drag which kept them longer than they were capable of, because they met the language requirement, and had academic training in management. Thus, they felt that they should have been exempted from the BMT. One could argue that the entire BMT program suffered from design flexibility" (Bullaleh, 1996).

Despite the early problems associated with BMT, the program had contributed enormously toward student entrance to the MBA/MPA degree program. It also improved their language skills, and filled their knowledge gaps in the area of organizational behavior. Once students completed their BMT program, they were moved successfully into the next level of the academic component (MBA/MPA degree program).

THE MBA/MPA DEGREE PROGRAM

From its inception, the primary objective of the SOMTAD project was the long-term development of managerial capacity within the public and private sectors of the Somali government. This was addressed through the development of masters-level training of Somali middle and upper level public and private sector managers. More importantly, the development of such an MBA /MPA program would have contributed toward the long-term capacity of the GSDR and the institutionalization of the Somali Institute for Development Administration and Management (SIDAM). The challenge for SUNYA officials was to develop such a program that met the academic and practical needs of the Somali individual students who would be participating in the MBA/MPA program, while at the same time assuring high quality academic standards comparable to that of graduate public and private business administration programs offered at the U.S. Consequently, it was not until the university officials returned from their feasibility study in Somalia in 1986, that discussions were held with Somali officials, SIDAM administrators, and with relevant Somali ministries. Only then was a concrete proposal of an academic program submitted to AED and USAID for consideration. The original contract between SUNYA, AED and USAID specified the nature of the academic program for project students which was to include the production of 210 graduate students in three cohorts, who would take two courses per quarter (3 months) for six quarters plus a thesis course at SIDAM. Upon completion of these 13 courses at SIDAM, Somali students would have a 4 -1/2months study tour at SUNYA, where they would take specifically designed advanced graduate courses in technical areas. Upon returning to Somalia, the students would have completed writing their theses and be awarded their MBA\MPA degrees by SIDAM and accredited by the Somali National University (project paper,1986). The original contract also called for the faculty to be drawn from four sources: SUNY/ Albany Faculty, Long- Term Advisors, and Somali instructors at SIDAM and Somali National University (SNU). More importantly, the MBA /MPA program encouraged the active participation of Somali faculty and other experts in providing information on the appropriate adaptation of course content and teaching methods to Somali needs. It would be reciprocally instructive: Somali faculty and LTA would be informed about the actual conditions under which managers and administrators in Somalia

work, while furthering their own development as professionals, and contributing to the institutionalization of SIDAM (Project Design Paper, 1985).

The process of designing and delivering the MBA/ MPA program did not begin until the first curriculum development team consisting of two faculty members from SUNYA, visited Somalia from Jan 20 to Feb 11 1988, where they held discussions with COP, DCOP, Somali officials, LTA, and others regarding the development of the first six MBA/ MPA courses to be delivered at SIDAM. Upon returning to Albany, the team drafted the MBA/ MPA core curriculum which consisted of seven courses: How to Organize and Plan for the Work Unit, How to Work with Individuals and Group; the Essentials of Organizational Control, the Essentials of Organizational Change, the Essentials of Human Resource Management, the Essentials of Organizational Performance; and Comparative Seminar on Public and Private sectors. These courses were based on a model of managerial skill development used by Whetten and Cameron (1984) in their text, Developing Management Skills. The model was built on the live components of the learning process: assessment, learning, analysis, practice and application. It was hoped that by using this model, the MBA/ MPA program would be on experiential learning, drawing on actual problems situations faced by Somali managers in business and government (Faerman and McCaffrey Report, 1988). In addition to curriculum development, the team recommended that funding be provided to bring two or three Somalis faculty counterpart to UA, and be in the classroom counter parts to UA faculty during the May - June 1988. The reason for the visit was to establish a direct working relationship between UA faculty and the Somali faculty of SOMTAD and to expedite and strengthen the entire curriculum development effort. Unfortunately, the proposed collaboration never took place.

A second curriculum development effort was made by a team consisting of two faculty members from the school of business. They arrived in Somalia on June11, 1988 and departed Somali on August 31,1988. Their basic mission was to develop additional case material based on Somali administrative problems to be used in the seven administrative cores, and explore strategies for adaptation of the five specialized MBA courses to assure relevancy to the Somali private sector environment. For this, they asked the LTAs for case materials for use in the MBA curriculum. but as the team put it ".... Cooperation by the LTA was less than expected, only three LTAs of ministries of Planning, and Finance provided us cases for MBA curriculum " (Bourque and Diamond, 1988: 5).

Both curriculum development teams which, visited Somalia during 1988 expressed caution about the Somali students understanding of management concepts and terminology. Furthermore, the Somali language did not contain equivalents for most scientific, technical, and management terminology and concepts. Hence, the curriculum development teams recommended that a "Lexicon of Public and Business Administration Concept" be developed and used in the BMT and throughout the graduate program as a companion to the courses. By the end of 1988 the draft of the lexicon was completed. Based upon the work of the curriculum development teams, review of reports on Somali educational systems, discussions with the individuals associated with the SOMTAD project, and meetings with SOMTAD students, the SOMTAD masters degree curriculum came into full being by start of 1989. The MBA/MPA was designed to consist of four stages of instruction totaling 53 credits. The Academic program was based on the master's degree offered at SUNYA. However, attempts were made to reflect the Somali environment. (Third Annual Progress Report, 1989)

THE MBA/MPA CORE CURRICULUM

The first stage consisted of seven courses built around an adult-learning model used in New York's Public Service Training Program for professional and managerial level employees earning graduate credit. At this stage, students who completed the BMT courses and fulfilled the English requirement took the seven-credit Basic Administrative program that was designed to provide the basic skills and knowledge for both MBA/MPA degrees. (See Appendix B for the MBA/MPA program sequence.)

In the second stage of instruction students would take five three-credit courses at SIDAM in a chosen field of either MBA/MPA track, plus a one-credit seminar in which the students selected a thesis topic related to a problem in public/private sector in Somalia.

In the third stage, students came to University at Albany for an intensive full-time study including a two credit course in an advanced research methods, and a four-credit seminar with a practicum involving a series of field trips to the New York State Legislature, and numerous Capital District private businesses, and two three-credit advanced courses in their area of specialization (chosen in stage II). The faculty and the SUNYA support staff were expected to put in a phenomenal amount of time and energy so that the students gained the most out of their field experiences. Students who had received the greatest amount of personal attention from faculty/staff apparently learned most and had enjoyed the experience to a greater extent than did those given minimal attention. (Heaphey, 1996).

The MBA/MPA program began in January 1989, as students in Cohort I began their two Basic Administrative Core courses. By mid-August 1990, 55 students in Cohort I arrived at the University at Albany, after completing all their SIDAM requirements. The original contract called for the students to complete their theses in Somalia. This did not happen because the civil war in Somalia intensified, prompting U.S mission in Somalia to remove all non-essential U.S Government and contract personnel, including all U.S nationals involved in the SOMTAD project. As a consequence, USAID granted SUNYA the permission for cohort I students to complete their thesis at Albany. By Dec. 1990, 32 out of 55 students of Cohort I (58.2%) completed their theses and were awarded the MBA/MPA degree. Eleven students left the program (20%), and 12 students (21.8%) completed only the course- work. The following Table 1 provides summary data on the 55 students who came to the University at Albany.

TABLE 1

ALL COHORT I STUDENTS	NO.	PERCENT
Completed coursework only:	12	21.8%
Completed Coursework & Thesis:	32	58.2%
Dropped out of the program:	11	20%
TOTAL	55	100

MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION STUDENTS	NO.	PERCENT
Completed coursework only:	10	32.2%
Completed Coursework & Thesis:	15	48.4%
Dropped out of the program:	6	19.4%
TOTAL	31	100
MASTER OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION STUDENTS		
Completed coursework only:	2	8.4%
Completed Coursework & Thesis:	17	70.8%
Dropped out of the program:	5	20.8%
TOTAL	24	100

By Jan. 1991, 60 Cohort II students completed their course-work at SIDAM, and were prepared to come to Albany, but this never happened because the project was terminated due to the Somali civil war. USAID could have brought the students to UA to complete their degrees but chose not to. By the time the SOMTAD project was terminated, 40 Cohort III students completed their fourth quarter course-work at SIDAM, and had selected their MBA/MPA degree and had taken one of the five required degree track courses at SIDAM. In 1990, a total of 75 students were dismissed from the academic program (including 12 Cohort I students who dropped-out of the program at the University at Albany without completing their course work; 52 of those students were dismissed for not passing the final TOEFL exam in May 1990, and others were dismissed for lack of attendance. By time the USAID terminated the academic program, there were approximately 148 students remaining (Final Report, 1991).

STAFFING FOR MBA/MPA COURSES

The project paper called for courses in the MBA/MPA program to be taught by instructors from four different sources: (1) Long-term Technical Advisors (LTA), (2) Trainers for Worksite Managers Unit (WMTU) (3) Somali Instructors from SIDAM and the Somali National University, (4) faculty from the SUNY system. By 1989, it was apparent that the assumptions envisioned in the project contract would not hold ground. No LTA ever taught for the MBA/MPA program, with the exception of DCOP, who continuously engaged in teaching and coordinating the academic program. The LTAs were never fielded in their respective ministries on time. Most of them did not have the academic qualifications to teach graduate-level MBA/MPA courses. And, they were burdened with day-to-day responsibilities in their ministries. The trainers submitted by Creative Associates also did not participate in the instruction of the MBA/MPA degree program as was originally proposed because the difficulties in scheduling workshops for WMTU in a timely fashion that coincided with the scheduling of the MBA/MPA academic program. Scheduling WMTU workshops was dependent on the release of the Somali Shilling Budget, which always delayed the payments of stipends and salaries of the participants. Some never received their

stipends for the WMTU. In addition, Creative Associate had difficulties in recruiting qualified individuals with the academic skills required to conduct the workshops (Final Report, 1991).

During the lifetime of the project (1986-1991), the SOMTAD academic program was always constrained in its ability to recruit, train, and retain Somali Counterpart instructors. It was expected that by its completion the SOMTAD project would produce a total of 78 Somali counterparts. The rationale was that each Cohort would produce 26 counterparts. By the time the second DCOP left Somalia in August 1990, a pool of 50 marginally qualified counterparts was available; however, these efforts were hindered by insufficient salaries and the lack of opportunity for further professional development. The counterpart's salaries were so low ($38-50 a month) that most of the time they dropped their assignments as soon as better opportunities became available. Moreover, the counterpart budget was managed by the Somali government, which sometimes did not pay the counterparts their salaries for up to six months. During the lifetime of the project 13 counterparts served in the academic program. Only seven counterparts remained in the project, when it was terminated in January 1991.

Throughout the SOMTAD project, the only stable sources of instructors came from the SUNY system. In fact, over 2/3 of all courses in the graduate program were taught by faculty recruited from SUNY system, particularly from the University at Albany. A total of 18 different faculty served in the graduate program and supervised the Somali counterparts from February 1988 to December 1990. The students received both variety and continuity in positions, as seven out of the 18 faculty had repeated assignments or taught multiple quarters (Final Report, 1991).

One of major objectives of the SOMTAD project was the placement of LTAs in seven different Somali ministries, and one in SIDAM. This component consumed greatest amount of money allotted to the project. It is therefore important to examine the process of placing the LTAs in their respective ministries and their activities during the lifetime of the SOMTAD project. The implementation of the LTA component was given to AED (primary contractor) in 1986. In fact, AED had begun recruiting LTA during the contract negotiation, and had hoped that all of them would be placed into their respective ministries by Jan 1987. However, none of them were in Mogadishu by this time. The first LTA was the COP who came to Somalia in March 1987. There were several factors that contributed to the delay of the LTAs. First, there was a lapse of time between the submission/revision of the proposal and the awarding of the contract. This delayed caused many LTA candidates to seek employment somewhere else. Secondly, the LTA interview process took so long. The final re-negotiated contract specified that LTAs should be interviewed first in Washington, DC by AED officials. If accepted at this level, they would nominate the candidate to USAID, and the candidate would then be transported to Mogadishu where they would be interviewed by the members of the Project Coordinating Committee (PCC). If accepted by this committee, the candidate would then be returned to Washington for final processing. In many cases, a candidate who was accepted by AED and submitted for nomination would be rejected by PCC in Mogadishu and the whole process of recruitment began all over again. (See Table 3 depicting of the process of placing LTA which sometimes took more than six months).

The lengthy selection process became even more problematic in the fall of 1989, when the USAID mission in Somalia requested that LTAs not be recruited until further notice, and that they not be sent to Mogadishu. Among the ministries that suffered from

this act were Planning, Interior, Treasury, and Industry. The President of SIDAM aired his frustration over the wasted investment in the LTA program:

> The Technical Advisors program had the largest budget of the SOMTAD project, and it produced the least results. Many of the technical advisors were never fielded and even those who arrived at their ministries, some left or were eased out before their tour of duty, and their replacements were not usually made. Toward the end of 1989, when the country's political and economic conditions began to deteriorate, the LTA was hit hard as USAID began to scale down the Project. (Bullaleh, 1996).

CONCLUSION

This paper examined the SOMTAD project from its inception, presenting the changes that went into the original design, and how it affected the implementation of the SOMTAD project. We learned that there were number of invalid assumptions made in the project design, that USAID had drastically reduced the original budget without scaling down any of the components, and that the Somali political and economic institutions had deteriorated by the time the project was being implemented. By end of the 1988, the Somali government was unable to meet its budgetary obligation under the terms of the project agreement because it was channeling resources toward the war efforts in the northern part of the country.

This overview of the SOMTAD project focusing on the academic component revealed that the English language program faced serious problems in its planning and implementation as the lack of proper supervision, shortage of funds and lack of qualified instructors set in. However, as the contract of the AED was amended, and accepted the responsibility of implementing the English Language segment, the program improved and contributed toward the preparation of the MBA/MPA degree program.

Also revealed was that the BMT component suffered serious delays which were due in part to the problems associated with the English language component and insufficient funding. As the program was taken over by SUNYA, there was an improvement in both administration, and teaching, there was proper coordination with the other components of the SOMATD project. The program was enhanced by the presence of SUNY faculty and the managerial skills of the Deputy Chief of Party, who managed, recruited, and coordinated the BMT with the English Language Program and the MBA/MPA program, despite a shortage of funds and educational materials.

The SOMTAD project, like any other developmental activity in Somalia, was not operating in isolation of the political, economic, and social environments of the country. Although the project design paper anticipated many of the external environmental problems that would be encountered, it provided little guidance in actually managing the project. Rapid changes in the Somali economy, particularly the run-away inflation, came about unexpectedly. For example, while the project was being implemented in 1987, the official exchange rate was 93 Somali shillings to each U.S. dollar. In December1987, it was 257 shillings per dollar. By December 1989, the exchange rate rose to 660 Somali shillings per dollar, and a year later, it deteriorated to 3811 shillings for each US dollar. These problems coupled with the mismanagement and corruption in the Somali government and the Civil

war, which drained the country's resources, and the government's priorities limited the ability of the Somali Government commitment toward the SOMTAD project.

The limitations inherent in Somalia's infrastructure including SIDAM facilities, lack of reliable transportation, availability of project offices, timely arrival of project materials and personnel effects due shipping and customs problem and to the USAID's procedures of procurements process, and in general the Somali infrastructure frustrated the project administrators, and affected their ability to implement the project in a timely manner. Moreover, the absence of an effective communication system made difficult the coordination of the project activities.

The organizational and administrative deficiencies inherent in the Somali bureaucracy also affected the implementation of the SOMTAD project. The organizational culture in Somalia rarely conformed to the American images of efficiency and rational decision making that were called for in the project design paper.

A serious shortcoming of the project was the placement of Long-term Technical Advisors (LTA). The recruitment and placement of the LTA had been uneven in the implementation of the project. Due to the time lags, some LTA who were available at the time of the project award was awarded were no longer on the market. Some ministries never received LTAs during the lifetime of the project. The GSDR support for the placement of LTAs was also deficient. LTA offices, furniture or equipment were not in place when LTAs were hired. This hampered their work at the ministries. Poor transportation and a lack of secretarial support continued to be a problem for the LTA restricting their activities at the ministries. Finally, the LTA program failed to provide the instructional support to the academic program that was proposed in the original project paper.

The biggest accomplishment of the SOMTAD project was its completion of the first Cohort I MBA/MPA degree program at the University at Albany. Had the project continued and not been overwhelmed by Somali the civil war, there was some evidence to indicate that the goals of the academic component may have been realized.

TABLE 2

LTA POSITION/MINISTRY	NOMINATED	NOMINATION ACCEPTED OR REJECTED BY USAID	INTERVIEW IN SOMALIA	USAID/GSDR ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION	ASSUMED POSITION IN MOGADISHU	CANDIDATE WITHDRAW	DATE OF SERVICE
Ministry of Labor and Sports Chief of Party							
Carl Clewlow	Jun. 1986	Accepted Jul. 1986	Sep. 1986	Accepted but worked at Home Office of AED until Jan 1987	Mar. 1987		Mar. 1987--Mar. 1990
Carl Ward	Mar. 1990	Accepted Mar. 1990	Mar. 1990	Accepted	Apr. 1990		Apr. 1990--Dec. 1990
SIDAM Deputy Chief of Party/ Project Training Coordinator							
Richard Nunez	Jun. 1986	Accepted	Sep 1986	Accepted 1986	Feb. 11, 1987		Feb. 1987--Apr. 1988
Mark Berger (Interim)	Mar. 1988	Accepted	Mar. 1988	Accepted	Apr. 1988		Apr. 1998--Jun. 1988
Edmon Fulker	Jun. 27, 1988	Accepted Jul. 6, 1988	Sep. 1986	Rejected Jul. 18, 1988			
Frederick Dembowski	Aug. 5, 1988	Accepted Aug. 9, 1988	Aug. 16, 1988	Accepted Sep. 4, 1988	Oct. 2, 1988		Oct. 1988--Aug. 1990

LTA POSITION/MINISTRY	NOMINATED	NOMINATION ACCEPTED OR REJECTED BY USAID	INTERVIEW IN SOMALIA	USAID/GSDR ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION	ASSUMED POSITION IN MOGADISHU	CANDIDATE WITHDRAW	DATE OF SERVICE
William Diamond	Sep. 1990	Accepted Sep. 1990	Sep. 1990	Accepted	Oct. 1990		Oct. 1990---Dec. 1990
Ministry of Planning							
William Waldorf	Mar. 1987	Accepted Apr. 1987	Apr. 1987	May 1987		May 1987	No LTA for this Ministry in 1986---1987
Juel Gochenour	Aug 1987	Accepted Aug. 1987	Nov. 1987	Rejected Nov. 1987			
Abdul Khan	Jan. 7, 1988	Accepted Jan. 17, 1988	Jan. 31, 1988	Accepted Feb. 4, 1988	Mar. 2,1988		Mar. 1988---Aug. 1988
Ministry of Commerce							
Lawrence Black	Nov. 11, 1987	Accepted Dec. 3, 1988	Jan. 8,1988	Rejected Jan. 17, 1988			
Richard Davis	Jun. 1989	Jun. 1989	Jun. 1989	Accepted	Jul. 1989		Jul. 1989---Aug. 1990

LTA Position/Ministry	Nominated	Nomination Accepted or Rejected by USAID	Interview in Somalia	USAID/GSDR Acceptance or Rejection	Assumed Position in Mogadishu	Candidate Withdraw	Date of Service

LTA Position/Ministry	Nominated	Nomination Accepted or Rejected by USAID	Interview in Somalia	USAID/GSDR Acceptance or Rejection	Assumed Position in Mogadishu	Candidate Withdraw	Date of Service
Ministry of Interior							
Flemming Heegaard	Apr. 18, 1988	Rejected May 15, 1988					No LTA during the SOMTAD project (1986---1990)
Earl Brown	Jun. 28, 1988	Rejected July 12, 1988					
Rashid Ahmed	Mar. 1987	Accepted May 1987	Jun. 1987	Accepted Aug. 1987		Withdrew from the position	
Ministry of Finance							
Charles Mohan	Jan. 1987					Feb. 1987	
John Healy	May 1987	Accepted May 1987	Jul. 1987	Final Accepted Aug. 1987	Nov. 1987		Nov. 1987---Aug. 1990
Ministry of Treasury							
John Behrens	Jan. 1987	Accepted Jan. 1987	Feb. 1987	Rejected			

LTA POSITION/MINISTRY	NOMINATED	NOMINATION ACCEPTED OR REJECTED BY USAID	INTERVIEW IN SOMALIA	USAID/GSDR ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION	ASSUMED POSITION IN MOGADISHU	CANDIDATE WITHDRAW	DATE OF SERVICE
Garold Lovorn	May 1987	Accepted Jun. 1987	Jul. 1987	Selected Aug. 1987	Nov. 11, 1987		Nov. 1987--- Aug. 1989
Ministry of Industry Sumer Aggarwal	Feb. 1987	Accepted March 1987	Mar. 1987	Selected May 1987	May 1987		May 1987--- Apr. 1987
SIDAM (Librarian) Burton Lamkin	Feb. 1987		Mar. 1987	Selected May 1987	Jun. 1987		Jun. 1987--- Dec. 1990

Source: (Final Report, 1991)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdulla, Ali Haji (1998). Personal interview with Abdulla, March 1998.

Abdulla, Ali Haji (1996). *Assessment of Private Sector Support under the SOMTAD Project.* North Carolina: U.S.A.

Bourque, D., and W. Diamond (1988). *Report of Curriculum Development and Administration Visit to Somalia.* Albany: University at Albany-State University of New York.

Bullaleh, Mohamed (1998) Personal Interview with President Bullaleh, Los Angeles, CA: U.S.A.

Burke, R. (1987). Memorandum on the SOMTAD project. Albany: Rockefeller College, University at Albany - State University of New York

Burke, R. (1989). *SOMTAD Project: Review of Project Design and Project Goals.* AED Mogadishu: Academy of Educational Development

Dembowski, F. (1990*). SOMTAD Project Final Trip Report.* Mogadishu: SIDAM

Doggett, J. 1986). *Private Sector Management Training and Technical Assistance Needs Assessment.* Washington D.C: US. Agency for International Development.

Ekstrom, C. (1993). "Budgetary Chaos and Evasion: The Case of Somalia." *International Journal of Public Administration* 16 (7): 1053 - 1070.

Faerman, S, and D. McCaffrey (1988). *Final Report of Curriculum Development Team.* Albany: University at Albany-State University of New York.

First Annual Progress Report: Somali Management Training and Development Project (1987). Washington, D.C: Academy for Educational Development

Final Report: Somali Management Training and Development Project (1991). Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development

Fourth Annual Progress Report: Somali Management Training and Development (1990). Washington, DC.: Academy for Educational Development

Gersony, R. (1989) *Why Somalis Flee: Synthesis of Accounts of Conflict Experience in Northern Somalia.* Washington, D.C.: Bureau for African Affairs, United States Department of State

Ghalib, J. M. (1995). *The Cost of Dictatorship: The Somali Experience.* NY: Lilian Barber Press.

Greenfield, R. (1991). "Siad's Sad Legacy." *Africa Report,* March - April 1987 : 17

Greenfield, R. (1987). "An Embattled Barre." *Africa Report,* Vol. 32, May - June 1987 : 65-69

Greenfield, R. (1989). "Barre's Unholy Alliances." *Africa Report,* Mar/Apr: 65-68

Government of Somali Democratic Republic (1984). *Somali Civil Service Study.* Mogadishu: Ministry of Labor , Sports and Social Affairs.

Government of Somali Democratic Republic, *Five-year Development Plan, 1982-1986.* Mogadishu: Ministry of Natioanl Planning.

Heaphey, J. (1996). "Reflections on the SOMTAD project" Survey Document, November 26, Virginia: USA

Heaphey, J, and D. McCaffrey (1988). *Assessment of the SOMTAD Project,* Albany, NY: Nelson A. Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, University at Albany--- State University of New York.

Holliday, Fred (1977). "U.S. Policy in the Horn of Africa: Aboulia of Proxy Intervention." *Review of African Political Economy.* No. 10 Sept./Dec. : 10

IEES (1984) Somalia: *Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment.* Tallahassee, Fl: Florida State University

IEES (1985). *Somali Management Training and Development project: Design Paper.* Tallahassee, Fl: Florida State University

IEES (1989). *Somalia: Education Management Information Systems. Final Report.* Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State University

Imhoff, Maurice (1988). English Language Program Assessment. Mogadishu: Academy for Educational Development.

Jirdeh, O. (1997). Personal interview with Jirdeh. Albany, New York

Jirdeh, O. (1996). Personal interview with Jirdeh. Albany, New York

Kinney, T.J. (1987). *SOMTAD Field Report: Administrative Report on the BMT, Course Scheduling, Academic Calendar, and Program Implementation.* Albany, NY: Office of Professional Development program at University at Albany-State University of New York.

Lambrecht, R. (1989). "Position Paper on English Language Training Program." in Clewlow. *SOMTAD Project Review of Project Design and Project Goals.* Mogadishu, Somalia: Academy for Educational Development.

McCaffrey, D. and D. Bourque (1987). *Report of Curriculum Development Team: Recommendations for the Basic Management Training* (BMT). Albany, NY: University at Albany-State University of New York.

Maren, M. (1997). *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity.* New York, NY: The Free Press.

Martin, D. (1996). " Responses to the Interview Document" Albany, NY

Martin, D. (1987). *Final Report: Academic Advisor/Selection Criteria.* Washington D.C. Academy for Educational Development

Mubarak, J. A. (1996). *From Bad Policy to Chaos: How an Economy Fell Apart.* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger

Nelson, H. (1982). *Somalia: A Country Study.* Washington, D.C: American University Press.

Nunez, R. (1996). Memorandum on the Status of the Somali Shilling Budget. Mogadishu, Somalia: SIDAM

Omaar, R. (1990). *A Government at War with its Own People: Testimonies About Killings and Conflict in the North.* New York, NY: Africa Watch Report

Project Implementation Plan Paper (1987). Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development.

Rawson, D. (1995). "Dealing with Disintegration: U.S. Assistance and the Somali State." In A. Samatar (Ed.).*The Somali Challenge from Catastrophe to Renewal.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Second Annual Progress Report: Somali Management Training and Development (1988). Washington, D.C: Academy for Educational Development

Third Annual Progress Report: Somali Management Training and Development (1989). Washington, D.C: Academy for Educational Development

United States Agency for Internal Development (1985). *Project Grant Agreement.* Washington, D.C: USAID

United States Agency for Internal Development (1985). *Improving Life through Economic Development: A pictorial synopsis of USAID activities in Somalia.* Mogadishu: USAID Mission in Somalia.

Windham, D. and D. Chapman (1990). *The Evaluation of Educational Efficiency: Constrains, Issues, and Policies.* Greenwood, CT: JAI Press, Inc.

Wolff, B. (1987). "Reflections on the Delivery of Graduate Management Training in Somalia." Unpublished paper.

World Bank Annual Report (1988). Washington, D.C: The World Bank

World Bank (1988): *Education In Sub-Saharan Africa: Polices of Adjustment, revitalization, and Expansion.* Washington, D.C: The World Bank.

Xu, M. (1991). The Impact of English – Language Proficiency on International Graduate Students' Perceived Academic Difficulty" *Research in Higher Education.* 30 (5): 557-569

INVITATION TO SUBMIT MANUSCRIPTS

The editor of *Educational Planning*, a refereed journal of educational planning issues, invites the submission of original manuscripts for publication consideration. *Educational Planning* is the official journal of the International Society for Educational Planning. The journal's audience includes national and provincial/state planners, university faculty, school district administrators and planners, and other practitioners associated with educational planning.

The publication's purpose is to serve as a meeting ground for the scholar-researcher and the practitioner-educator through the presentation of articles that have practical relevance to current issues and that broaden the knowledge base of the discipline. *Educational Planning* disseminates the results of pertinent educational research, presents contemporary ideas for consideration, and provides general information to assist subscribers with their professional responsibilities.

Articles preferred for inclusion are manuscripts from practitioners, reports of empirical research, expository writings including analyses of topical problems, or case studies. Unsolicited manuscripts are welcomed.

The following criteria have been established for the submission of manuscripts:

STYLE: All formatting should adhere strictly to the current guidelines set in the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.

LENGTH: The manuscript, including all references, figures or illustrations, charts and/or graphs, should not exceed 20 pages. In addition, an Abstract (between 100-150 words on a separate sheet of paper), describing the focus/foci of the manuscript should be included at the beginning of the manuscript.

WORD-PROCESSING: Double-space all text, with 1.88 inches margins top and bottom, 1.75 inches left and right, and 1.0 inch header and 1.0 inch footer. Lengthy tables, drawings, and charts and/or graphs should be scaled to the dimensions given and should preferably be camera-ready.

FORM OF SUBMISSION: Send **four hard copies and a computer disk (3.25 floppy disk) in Microsoft Word** of the manuscript and abstract along with a cover page including the following information:

1. Title of the manuscript
2. Date of Submission
3. Author(s) name(s), complete mailing address (es), business and home telephone numbers, e-mail address, and fax number(s).
4. Biographical information about each author not to exceed 75 words per author.

Author(s) name(s) or any other identifying information should not be included on the abstract or the manuscript. Authors are responsible for copyright clearance and accuracy of information presented and submission implies that the same manuscript has not been submitted to other publications.

Editorial reviewers and editors will review all manuscript. Points of views are those of the individual authors and not necessarily of ISEP.

Please send manuscripts to: Professor P. Rudy Mattai, Editor, SUNY – College at Buffalo, Bacon Hall 312J, 1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York 14222-1095. E-mail – *d.mattai@att.net*

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING
MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTION FORM
(PLEASE PRINT)

NAME: _____
Last First Middle

ORGANIZATION/DEPARTMENT (If Applicable): _____

_____

MAILING ADDRESS: _____

_____
City State Zip Country

FEES: Professional Membership and Subscription to Educational Planning = $46.00 US
Student Membership and Subscription to Educational Planning = $20.00 US
Payment by check, money order, or Purchase Order required with application

RETURN MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION AND PAYMENT TO:

Dr. Walter S. Polka, Superintendent
Lewiston-Porter Central School
4061 Creek Road
Youngstown, New York 14174

ORGANIZATION	The society was founded on December 10, 1970, in Washington, D. C. Over 50 local, state, national, and international planners attended the first organizational meeting. Since then its continued growth demonstrates the need for a professional organization with educational planning as its exclusive concern
PURPOSE	The International society for Educational Planning was established to foster the professional knowledge and interests of educational planners. Through conferences and publications, the Society promotes the interchange of ideas within the planning community. The membership includes persons from the ranks of governmental agencies, school-based practitioners, and higher education.
MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY	Membership in the Society is open to any person active or interested in educational planning and the purposes of the Society. To join the Society or renew a membership, please complete and submit the enclosed form. Please forward check/money order/PO to: ISEP Dr. Walter S. Polka Lewiston-Porter Central School 4061 Creek Road Youngstown, NY 14174

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING