

International Education Journal



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Designed by Katherine Dix

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Finding the true incidence rate of plagiarism¹

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This paper reports on research that explores the use of detection software in the fight against plagiarism. The aim of the research was to determine if the true incidence rate of plagiarism could be found for a cohort of Higher Education students. The paper outlines the problems and issues when attempting this. In addition, this report highlights the views of students when such a service is being used. The findings suggest that the use of such detection services is not without problems and raises the issue that such services may have less value in detection and more value as a learning and teaching tool.

Plagiarism, detection software, higher education

INTRODUCTION

Concerns over plagiarism were once again brought to the fore in the United Kingdom in a Prime Minister's Special Report broadcast on BBC Radio 4, which outlined the results of a survey of British Universities regarding plagiarism (details in *The Guardian*, 2003). Approximately 50 plagiarism cases per university could be calculated from the figures broadcast, and "a third said they were having to deal with many more such cases [of plagiarism] compared with a few years ago" (*The Guardian*, 2003). It was clear that following the 2003 survey there was an overwhelming sense that plagiarism is on the increase.

The incidence rate of plagiarism varies widely in the literature. Some studies have calculated rates based on questionnaires asking students whether they have plagiarised in the past (such studies often investigate the wider topic of cheating of which plagiarism is a part). For example, Franklyn-Stokes and Newstead (1995) reported that "Behaviours such as: copying each other's work, plagiarism, and altering and inventing research data were admitted to by more than 60 per cent of the students" in their sample. Other tutors have closely examined work handed in by a cohort of students to determine the incidence of plagiarism. For example, Austen-Baker (2003) reported in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* that, of the 60 scripts viewed, "Only 6 were wholly free of plagiarism and about 4 were significantly plagiarised or the result of collaboration". Jones (2003) suggests that "it is estimated that up to 10 per cent of degree level work is now affected by so called *mouse-click plagiarism*". These findings highlight the growing concern over the influence of the internet, which has expanded massively in the last few years.

The expansion of the internet has undoubtedly resulted in a vast resource base that is readily accessible to students (Gresham, 2002; Park, 2003). It makes life easy for the student to plagiarise and difficult for the tutor to catch the guilty. The ease of co-called 'cutting and pasting' from

¹ This paper was originally presented at the *Joint Information Systems Committee Plagiarism Conference at Newcastle, England 28-30th June 2004* (Price (previously Lakomy) and Price, 2004).

sources on the web is clear and tutors can no longer be expected to know everything that has been written on a topic in intimate detail. Even without the use of essay banks or papermills, intentional plagiarism is easy.

The fight against plagiarism, in this new era, is using the plagiarist's tools – the web. Services such as the United Kingdom's Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC) Plagiarism Detection Service trawl the web and its own database of previously uploaded work to match text within an essay to that published on web pages or in the database. If matched text is found, and a reference or acknowledgement is conspicuous by its absence, the plagiarist has been caught.

In investigating the incidence of plagiarism and evaluating the use of such services, there is, however, the dilemma of whether or not to tell students before they submit a piece of work, that such a service will be used. Not telling them may be deemed unethical, but telling them will alert them and probably lead to a change in their behaviour, deterring some who might have been tempted to commit plagiarism. On the one hand, such a change in behaviour may be exactly what is desired – a deterrent to reduce the incidence of plagiarism. On the other hand, it disguises the true incidence of plagiarism when such a service is not in operation. Hence, it may be possible that true incidence rates for plagiarism will never be known unless essays are checked **after** they have been handed in, with no prior warning to students. This, however, creates an ethical dilemma, particularly if plagiarism is found.

The purpose of the present study was to try and determine a more accurate rate for plagiarism than has been established in many previous studies.

METHOD

The University of Southampton subscribed to a free trial offer of the JISC Plagiarism Detection Service. The service was offered to several Schools and Departments within the University. Information Systems Services (Southampton University's computing department) ran a number of demonstration sessions and tutors who showed an interest were invited to trial and evaluate the service.

Staff teaching on one particular course were keen to trial the service. They selected one unit for an undergraduate third year cohort where the service could be used as part of the assessment for that unit. The major piece of coursework for students on this unit was a traditional style essay on a related topic.

Students were not told the service would be used until they had written their draft essay **but** they knowingly submitted the draft to the service to receive feedback before a final (amended) submission was handed-in for marking. The timing of the submission and feedback is shown in Figure 1. The draft essay produced by each student was to be peer reviewed as part of the unit assessment with students giving feedback to each other before their final submission. The detection service, therefore, was incorporated as part of that feedback process. This meant that students were able to respond to the service's plagiarism report by changing their essay and eliminating and resolving any problem text (for example, by referencing correctly) before handing in the final version.

Data Analysis

Essays were submitted by the students to the service and were analysed, taking the basic concepts outlined in Weinstein and Dobkin (2002) but adapted for the present study. Weinstein and Dobkin investigated internet plagiarism by analysing identified text that matched internet sites and categorised them into three clearly defined groups: (a) legitimate research, (b) small-scale plagiarism, and (c) large-scale plagiarism. Initially it was proposed for the present study that each

highlighted piece of text from the Plagiarism Detection Service report within an essay was to be placed into one of three categories:

- **Not plagiarism** – referencing and acknowledgement present and correct according to our guidelines and expectations.
- **Minor plagiarism** – plagiarism in the strictest sense but deemed to be more a case of poor academic practice, for example, quote marks are missing for copied text but the author or source is acknowledged.
- **Plagiarism outright** – highlighted text with no evidence of reference or acknowledgement or quote marks if needed.

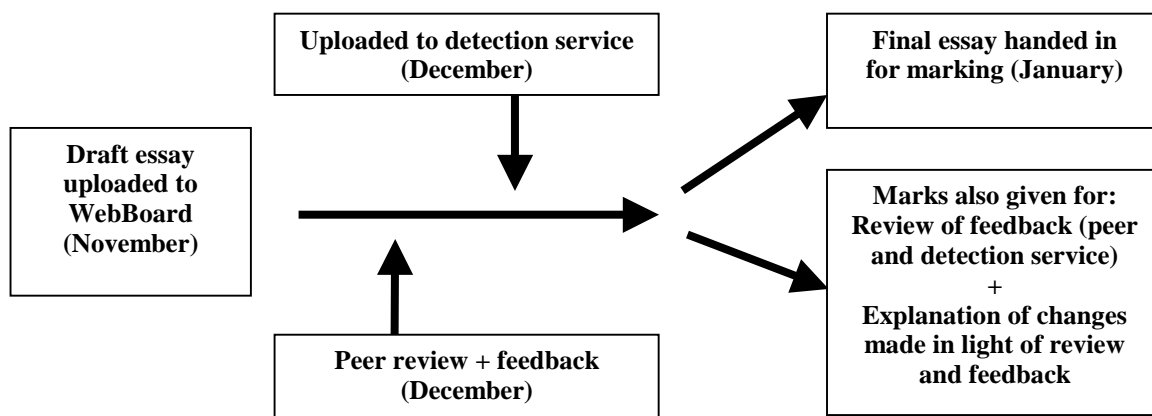


Figure 1. Schematic of assessment and timeline

From this, rates for internet plagiarism were to be calculated and compared to reports in other literature. In addition, the Year Three group was asked to comment on the service and their experience using it.

Difficulty with the Data Analysis²

In theory, the data analysis should have been straight forward but in reality it was not. The following are examples of the difficulties, issues and interesting examples found when trying to analyse the reports returned by the Plagiarism Detection Service.

Example 1

Note that this is a simple example to illustrate what happened with more complexity in other instances.

One student wrote: “Diabetes is one of the leading causes of death and disability in the United States with type 2 diabetes accounting for 90-95% of all diabetic cases” (Author name cited in Author name, 2000, p. 1345).

The text *Diabetes is one of the leading causes of death and disability in the United States* was highlighted by the JISC Plagiarism Detection Service in one colour, and the similarity was attributed to [http://www.aoa ... Diabetes.html](http://www.aoa...Diabetes.html).

² Please note that in order to maintain the anonymity of individuals and web sites highlighted in the following section, names, dates and full internet addresses have been shortened where necessary.

The text *accounting for 90-95% of all diabetic cases* was highlighted in a different colour, and the similarity was attributed to [http://www.fit ... diabetes.pdf](http://www.fit...diabetes.pdf) by the JISC Plagiarism Detection Service.

This does not show plagiarism on the part of the student, but potentially there are three different possible sources for this quote and only two being highlighted by the Plagiarism Detection Service. It should be noted that this simple example more likely illustrates ‘common knowledge’ where attribution is not required. However, the current study did throw up similar examples to this where common knowledge was not likely to be a defensible argument.

Example 2

One student wrote: By the latter half of the century the Pima Indian lifestyle had become ... and excessive food consumption (Author name, 2003, p. 101)

Text in the essay was highlighted by the Plagiarism Detection Service and the similarity attributed to the database when, in fact, the student had not used quote marks but had acknowledged a legitimate, though not web-based, source. The way the student has written this part of the essay, without quote marks, implies that he or she had paraphrased the information from the attributed source. However, checking the side-by-side version of the report and the database essay highlighted as similar, there was a strong similarity between both highlighted texts within each essay. The question arises, therefore, as to whether either of the students truly paraphrased from the original source (in this case it was actually a very poor attempt at paraphrasing). Alternatively, it could have been that one student had copied from the other – since the highlighted section was relatively short, direct copying from one student to another was not likely to be the case.

Example 3

The similarity with the database, which was highlighted in some instances, was flawed. For example, a few students uploaded their reference section in addition to the main text of the essay despite the fact that they had been asked not to. As several students used some of the same journal articles, once one reference list had been uploaded to the service then any others may have shown similarity in the report if they too uploaded their reference section and used the same reference source(s). The advice, therefore, is for tutors to insist that students only upload the main body of the text and not reference sections or titles within the essay upload box.

For data analysis in such cases, flawed highlighted text was not counted at the in-depth analysis stage.

Example 4

One student wrote, without quote marks: It is now important to move from demanding more data to learning how to apply what we already know to every day society (Author name, 2000, p. 670).

The JISC plagiarism detection service highlighted *move from demanding more data to learning how to apply what we already know*, and attributed it to [http://www.ann ... 010.html](http://www.ann...010.html). Checking the side-by-side versions, the web site had the following text: We must move from demanding more data to learning how to apply what we already know.

The web site version had no acknowledgement of a source or quote marks, but it is questionable whether it is really the sort of sentence several authors would come up with and, therefore, might not need acknowledgement. This certainly should have had quote marks in the student’s essay.

Example 5

One student wrote: It also supports Author name (2000, p. 669) who states that “one of the most powerful predictors of the development of diabetes in genetically susceptible persons is weight gain in adulthood.”

The detection service highlighted a similarity for the quoted text to that found on the web site [http://www.ann ... 010.html](http://www.ann...010.html). The web site had the exact same wording: It was not in quote marks and was attributed to a completely different group of authors to that acknowledged by the student. As with the first example above, there are several different sources for the same quote. Again this exact example has been used as an illustration and may fall into the area of common knowledge but, as with Example 1, similar cases were found that could not be defended on the grounds of common knowledge.

Example 6

In some instances the identified web site could not be accessed to check against the student’s work. This made it difficult, at times, to determine the category to place it in. In order to conduct the data analysis the tutor had to best guess the category in these cases and this is clearly a potential risk of error within the data analysis.

Example 7

One student wrote (underlined text shows the text highlighted by the detection service’s report): In regards to exercise prescription for the prevention of osteoporosis there is a wide variation that exists thus the exercise intervention is often poorly defined (thus not reproducible) or is not applicable to clinical practice (e.g., "walking 50 minutes on a treadmill at 70 per cent VO2 max"). Coupled with this the types of exercise and skeletal sites measured vary widely across studies therefore, making it difficult to find a certain exercise that could delay the symptoms of the disease. Despite these shortcomings, most studies show at least a trend toward improvement in such measures as falls, strength, and balance, as well as Bone Mass Development.

In this case and others like it, the section has a large but broken up part of it highlighted by the Plagiarism Detection Service. Although the highlighted text comes from the same source, the individual bits are found spread around the identified source, for example, some from the beginning and some from the end of the web page. Deciding if this should be considered as one or several instances of similarity was a potential area for inconsistency. To avoid this, one tutor completed all the analysis and attempted to be consistent in handling the reports, counting each instance if it had been taken from several different places within a source.

Given the above difficulties, analysis of the data was slower than anticipated and it was decided to perform preliminary analysis on the whole group and then in-depth analysis on a systematically selected sample of 15 from the 57 essays uploaded in the class (that is 26 per cent of the group). The three essays attaining the highest similarity with colour coding of yellow (25 – 49 per cent similarity) were analysed in-depth plus every fourth essay that was uploaded until a total of 15 had been analysed.

Analysis was completed in the following two ways:

- reviewing all sources and instances highlighted, including those from the Plagiarism Detection Service’s database, but which were not flawed (see discussion above); and
- reviewing all sources and instances highlighted, excluding those from the Plagiarism Detection Service’s database.

RESULTS

When reviewing the similarity index for all 57 students, the initial results shown in Figure 2 suggest no **major** plagiarism problems within the majority of the group, although the three in the higher index (25 – 49%) may have given rise for concern from these initial figures. The mean similarity index was found to be 9 per cent ($\pm 8\%$). Only further review would determine if their work was of concern.

The average number of matched sources (including database sources) per essay was 3.8 ± 3.5 (mean \pm standard deviation) with a mode of three and the average number of sources (excluding database sources) per essay was 3.3 ± 3.4 with a mode of one. This finding suggests that most students were not heavily reliant on internet sources, or at least those internet sites identified by the detection service.

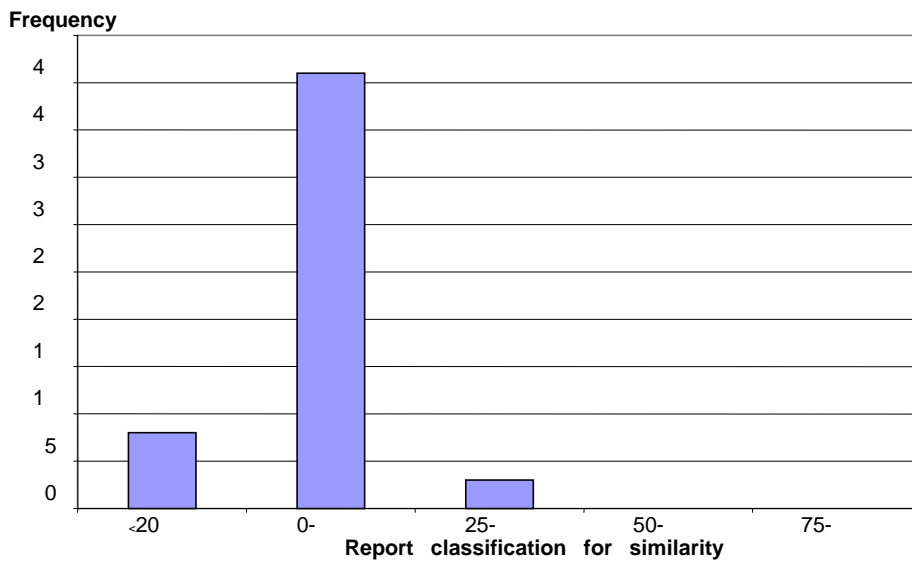


Figure 2. Frequency of students by similarity index

Table 1 and Table 2 show the in-depth data analysis for 15 (26%) of the group. It should be noted that the average number of sources identified was slightly higher for the sample than that for the group as a whole. It can be seen that students tended to use a source more than once within an essay by the fact that the average number of text highlights was greater than the average number of sources. Excluding the database sources did not change the plagiarism rates greatly although it did raise them very slightly.

Table 1. Data analysis on identified sources

Database matches	Average number sources identified per essay	Average number		Plagiarism rate	
		showing minor plagiarism	showing plagiarism	not including minor plagiarism	including major and minor plagiarism
Including	4.8 ± 2.9	1.0 ± 1.6	1.8 ± 2.8	0.30	0.50
Excluding	4.1 ± 2.9	0.9 ± 1.4	1.7 ± 2.5	0.32	0.56

Table 2. Data analysis on instances of highlighted text

Database matches	Average per essay total text highlights	Average per essay		Plagiarism rate	
		minor plagiarism	plagiarism	not including minor plagiarism	including major and minor plagiarism
Including	10.3 ± 10.0	2.9 ± 3.6	3.0 ± 5.0	0.19	0.46
Excluding	9.0 ± 8.8	2.5 ± 3.0	2.7 ± 4.4	0.22	0.49

Plagiarism rates were below one third when only considering plagiarism (but excluding minor plagiarism) although, the rate rose to around 50 per cent of identified sources and instances for all types of plagiarism (both ‘major’ and ‘minor’). Plagiarism rates differed depending on whether identified sources or instances of highlighted text were considered. It should be remembered here that the rates are those of the highlighted text and are not rates for the essay as a whole.

Student Comments on the Service

Many students recognised the potential of such a service for prevention and as a deterrent. Several liked the idea of using it before handing in a final submission to check if the essay has any inadvertent problem text within it. The following are some examples of what students wrote about the service.

Example 1: “This program definitely has potential, but only highlighted quotes in my essay that had been correctly referenced. I believe JISC would reduce the risk of accidental plagiarism through simple human error.”

Example 2: “... those individuals that are worried about plagiarism, and know their referencing ability is not always accurate would find the service beneficial to put their mind at ease.”

Example 3: “Its ability to search all resources on the Internet was fantastic and in return gave me peace of mind.”

Example 4: “It would keep students on their toes.”

Example 5: One enthusiastic student even went so far as to say: “It helps to point out poor referencing and bad note taking styles. I hope it will become part of every essay procedure.”

For some students, the report then prompted them to correct their work and add in a reference for highlighted text. In this context it is a useful teaching tool. The following examples highlight what students reported about using the feedback of the report.

Example 1: “When I got the report back it only highlighted one sentence.... I did go away and research this sentence and get a reference, even though I had written it off the top of my head.”

Example 2: “Helped me to indicate an area where I need to add a reference.”

Some astute students picked up on the limitations of the service. The following are examples of what students had to say on this aspect.

Example 1: “Some highlighted sentences that JISC gave me were not from the source where they believed it to come from. JISC also failed to pick up on sentences and quotes that came from many other sources that I had used and referenced correctly....”

Example 2: “... the essay obviously contains some work that was not my own i.e. other people’s work which I had referenced, it seems like the database from which JISC compares work is not very large! My reference section contained over 20 references and the database did not pick up on a single one of them.”

DISCUSSION

The present study resulted from an evaluation of the JISC Plagiarism Detection Service by staff at the University of Southampton. Data analysis was problematic and while it was hoped to find a true incidence rate for plagiarism by the fact that students uploaded their draft essays when they

had had no prior knowledge of the service, the finding of this study was that a true incidence rate may, in reality, never be found.

Analysis of data showed that the average number of internet sources identified by the service per essay was relatively low (approximately 3 to 4 sources per essay). This is likely to have been due to the fact that the students were all in their final year and tutors had stressed the importance of using journal articles for their work at this level. In addition, search strategies are taught in the first year and are then revisited at various stages throughout the degree course. During such sessions students are warned of the limitations of web sites as sources for information in as much that anyone is free to publish on the web and not all information is reliable. It would appear that students, therefore, are using the web sparingly by the time they reach the third year. It should also be remembered, however, that, at the time this work was undertaken, the service was not able to access some web sites, for example, through gateways, and so actual use of the internet for sources is likely to be higher than indicated by these results. Since most of the gateway sources would be for e-journals and other such reliable sites, the actual use of such sites would not generally be cause for concern unless there had been plagiarism of them. It must be acknowledged, of course, that not having these sites identified means that possible plagiarism of those sites could not be viewed and analysed.

In calculating plagiarism rates, it is clear that the rate is heavily dependent on what is analysed, and whether it is according to sources or instances. If further analysis were to be done at the level of counting the number of highlighted words of plagiarised text compared to the number of highlighted words not plagiarised, this may well result in yet another different statistic. The flaws and difficulties highlighted previously in analysing the reports make it extremely difficult to attain a consistent and comparable rate. Comparison of rates between cohorts and institutions can only be made if the same method and classifications are used throughout. For example Weinstein and Dobkin (2002) defined 'small scale plagiarism' as "material with either no attempt at citation or improper citation that composes less than 10% of the overall paper." In the present study there was no percentage of the overall paper defined: sources and instances were either counted as not plagiarism, minor plagiarism, or plagiarism according the citation conventions expected by the tutors. Is it possible, therefore, that a true incidence rate for plagiarism will never be found. It not only depends on whether or not students have been warned of the use of the service (see introduction for argument of how this might affect incidence rates) but it also depends on the analysis undertaken. Until there is a common standard for analysis and a system that can trawl through **all** published material, then academia will never know the true incidence rate for plagiarism.

The question arises, therefore, how such a service is best used. The student comments would suggest that it may be best used as a teaching tool rather than as a policing service. Some students were quick to recognise the limitations of the report in so far as what the service was able to identify. If tutors wanted to use it as a detection tool, then they would need to hide its limitations, as they currently stand, from the students. This might mean having to deny them access to the returned report under normal circumstances, the exception being if it had been decided to take them to a plagiarism panel. The problem of ethics rears its head once again!

At the end of the day, one important question to answer is how many of the students would have been taken to a plagiarism panel if these essays had been the final submitted version? Of the 15 students viewed for in-depth analysis, all except one had some highlighted text. Of those 14 with highlighted text, only four showed no signs of any minor or major plagiarism. On the face of it, this looks alarming, but in viewing the sample group there was only one student who was likely to have been taken forward to a plagiarism panel. Interestingly, this was the student who had the highest similarity index at 33 per cent, had a high number of internet sources identified (12), had

37 instances of highlighted text of which 11 showed minor instances of plagiarism and 17 showed plagiarism.

CONCLUSION

In using the JISC Plagiarism Detection Service and trying to determine a true incidence rate for plagiarism, more questions have been raised than answered. It is clear that the originality report produced by such a service is only the starting point and that further detailed analysis by the tutor is required. This is acknowledged by JISC who state that “The report is, however, non-judgemental Academic judgement is still required to determine whether plagiarism has, in fact, occurred”(JISC Plagiarism Advisory Service pamphlet, 2003). The difficulty for the academic fraternity is deciding if a case for plagiarism should be taken forward to a panel. This must be based on quantifiable evidence and clearly defined criteria against which the work can be accurately and consistently measured. In the present study, plagiarised material was counted in terms of sources and instances, but where should the line be drawn for a student to be accused of plagiarism and then taken on to a panel? Is it if 10 per cent of sources are plagiarised, 20 per cent of the words, 50 per cent of the instances, or only if **major** plagiarism appears, whatever the definition of that may be? Institutions need to set policy giving clear definitions and statements regarding plagiarism in quantitative terms. The JISC Plagiarism Detection Service clearly has potential for identifying the amount of text to be further analysed and can help provide quantifiable evidence following further analysis. However, current limitations, and difficulties with analysis, added to the lack of defined policy within some institutions, means that at the moment it would probably be better used as a deterrent and in a teaching and learning capacity, to improve referencing techniques and develop good academic practice.

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The effectiveness of problem-based learning in the web-based environment for the delivery of an undergraduate physics course

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This paper reports the investigation of the effectiveness of Problem-Based Learning (PBL) within a web-based environment in the delivery of an undergraduate Physics course. The effectiveness was evaluated by comparing the performances and the perceptions of the sample students (n=67) using the web-based PBL and comparing the outcomes with those of the web-based Content-Based Learning (CBL). The comparative post-test performance analysis conducted using a student t-test statistical analysis ($p < 0.05$) revealed that the experimental web-based PBL approach yielded better performances than the controlled CBL approach. Where perceptions were concerned, the analysis also revealed that students exposed to the web-based PBL approach responded more positively with their knowledge enhancement compared to students exposed to the web-based CBL approach.

Problem-based learning, web-based learning environment, physics education, constructivism, online learning

INTRODUCTION

Problem-Based Learning (PBL) is a total approach of education and involves a constructivist approach to learning (Harper-Marinick, 2001). It is a well-known alternative approach to traditional disciplinary-based professional educational program in higher education. The emphasis of PBL is that students learn through the process of solving so called 'real-world' problems. The features of PBL regarded as essential for enhancing student learning are learning in context, elaboration of knowledge through social interaction, emphasis on meta-cognitive reasoning and self-directed learning (Boud and Feletti, 1991; Norman and Schmidt, 1992). Using PBL, students acquire life-long learning skills which include the ability to find and make use of the appropriate learning resources. PBL is also a curriculum development and instructional system that simultaneously develops both problem solving strategies and learning by placing students in the active role of problem solvers confronted with practical problems in the workplace (Poon et al., 1997).

The advances of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) present an enormous shift in the manner PBL is conducted. The provision of synchronous and asynchronous collaboration and the availability of enormous and ever expanding course related web-pages provide a new dimension to the PBL approach. The process of PBL that requires the individual to seek information and

knowledge to construct new understanding, meanings and concepts and the collaboration between peers towards the solution of authentic and real-world problems can be readily supported by current communication media based on the computer and ICT (McAlpine and Clement, 2001).

Apart from the role of CMC in supporting the process of conventional face-to-face PBL, attempts have also been carried out to incorporate the entirety of the PBL learning processes in the web-based learning environment suitable for the delivery of courses in open and distance learning (Poon, 1997; Taplin et al., 1999; Varanelli et al., 2001; Orill 2002; Koschman, 2002). In open and distance learning, there exists a spatial and time gap between students and teachers and the ability of CMC to surmount the physical and temporal constraints makes the web-based PBL approach for the course delivery particularly useful and advantageous. The web-based PBL involves a creation of instructional materials that facilitate problem presentation; the required self-investigations and analysis can be conducted through the online resources and the social interaction for peer-peer collaboration and student-teacher facilitation can likewise be easily performed through asynchronous forum boards or synchronous chats. The final presentation of the answers to the problem can also be easily conducted through the array of the educational media technology tools made available by CMC.

There have been several studies that attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the web-based PBL. Carderoy and Copper (2000) reported that students perceive the web-based PBL to be motivating, providing access to greater richness of resources and developing collaborative networks; the skills that they subsequently acquire are appropriate for their future professional activities. Arts et al. (2002) revealed that with a higher degree of student control related to aspects such as contents, the instructional path, pace and feedback, the PBL approach contributes significantly to improved cognitive gains. Ronteltap and Eurelings (2002) highlighted that the combination of synchronous and asynchronous tools in the web-based PBL leads to deeper levels of information processing when students compose documents that represent their personal knowledge based on their research from online resources.

Despite the importance of the web-based PBL especially for the course delivery in distance and open learning, there is no known study that attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of this approach relative to the widely available online Content-Based Learning (CBL) both in terms of students' performances and perceptions. The present study, therefore, seeks to explore the relative effectiveness between these two approaches and in doing so, raised the following questions:

1. How effective is the web-based PBL compared to the web-based CBL in terms of the students' academic attainments?
2. How effective is the web-based PBL compared to the web-based CBL in terms of the students' perceptions?

The findings to the above research questions would provide valuable information to the institution regarding the instructional approach to be taken in the delivery of course materials through open and distance learning especially for science courses. Such an approach should help the institution to enhance and improve students' academic performances, increase knowledge retention among them and enable them to acquire the necessary skills to solve workplace related problems using the advances of the CMC technology available today.

THE DESIGN OF THE WEB PAGE

In order to examine the effectiveness of the web-based PBL in terms of the students' academic enhancement, two specially designed Web pages were developed and installed online. The first Web page was the Web page designed according to the PBL approach which acted as an

experimental Web page. The second Web page, designed according to the Content-Based Learning (CBL) approach, acted as a control Web page.

The PBL Web Page

For the experimental web-based PBL treatment, two separate Web pages were developed under the topics of *Black Body Radiation, Radiation Spectrum and the Theory of Stefan-Boltzmann* for Lesson 1 and *Wien's Law, The Rayleigh-Jeans's Theory and Planck's Law* for Lesson 2 in an undergraduate course at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). The design was adapted on the model suggested by Harper-Marinick (2001) and consisted of the following sequences of learning,

1. **Introductory information** – introducing the process of PBL and the role it should play to accomplish the learning tasks.
2. **Presentation of an ill-structured and real-world problem** – serves as the organising centre and context of learning.
3. **Online collaboration** – discussion among peers to propose the hypotheses and identification of learning issues. The group subsequently delegated responsibilities to each individual to find out more information about learning issues.
4. **Online resources** – each individual was engaged in individual online research on the learning issue assigned to him.
5. **Follow-up online collaboration** – students reported on the research done, identifying overlapping issues, and discussing the new hypotheses and learning issues.
6. **Solution to the problem** - students collectively agreed upon the solution of the problem and the plan of the presentation.

The PBL web-pages can be accessed through the following URL addresses:

- a) Lesson 1: http://pppjj.usm.my/Fizik/sjh_3/default.html ; and
- b) Lesson 2: http://pppjj.usm.my/Fizik/sjh_4/default.html

The CBL Web Page

For the CBL treatment, two separate Web pages were developed containing the same topics as those developed utilising the PBL approach, i.e., *Black Body Radiation, Radiation Spectrum and the Theory of Stefan-Boltzmann* and *Wien's Law, The Rayleigh-Jeans's Theory and Planck's Law*, each for Lesson 1 and Lesson 2 respectively. The design was adapted from the Dick and Carrey Model (1996). It is a course material presentation that follows the objectivist principle of learning. Its sequence of learning is as follows:

1. **Introduction to the course content** – a brief introduction of the course contents.
2. **Learning objectives** - the students were given the expected learning objectives to be achieved at the end of the treatment
3. **Material presentation** – the material was segmented and the presentation of content was from a low level to a high level of understanding.
4. **Sample questions and answers** – the solved problems were shown to the students to enhance their understanding.
5. **Summary** -- summarising the course content.
6. **Evaluation** -- sample questions for self-evaluation.

The CBL Web pages can be accessed through the following URL addresses:

- a) Lesson 1: URL:http://pppjj.usm.my/Fizik/sjh_1/default.html ; and
- b) Lesson 2: URL:http://pppjj.usm.my/Fizik/sjh_2/default.html

RESEARCH METHODS

The sample in the present study consisted of the first year undergraduate Physics students enrolled in ZCT 104 – Modern Physics, a course offered in the first semester of the 2002/2003 academic session by the School of Physics, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). From a total of 457 students enrolled in this course, 67 were randomly selected for this study. The experimental design of the study involved a separation of the randomly selected sample into two groups and these groups were exposed to two separate learning sessions, Session A and Session B. Each session consisted of two lessons, Lesson 1 and Lesson 2 incorporating the PBL and CBL approaches. The schematic representation of the experimental design is given in Figure 1.

The experimental design that was used was the rotational-group design proposed by Mouly (1963). In this design, each sample was required to be exposed to the experimental as well as to the control treatments. This rotational procedure enabled the elimination of uncertainty due to the variations of the sample. The measured dependent variables in this study were the knowledge enhancement both in terms of the academic performances and students' perceptions. The independent variables were the instructional design of the web page, one utilising the PBL approach and the other utilising the CBL approach. Other moderating variables, such as computer competency, were found to indicate no statistical differences ($p < 0.05$) between the experimental and the control samples. The period of the exposure between the two groups was equally fixed at $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and the course content curriculum was also similar.

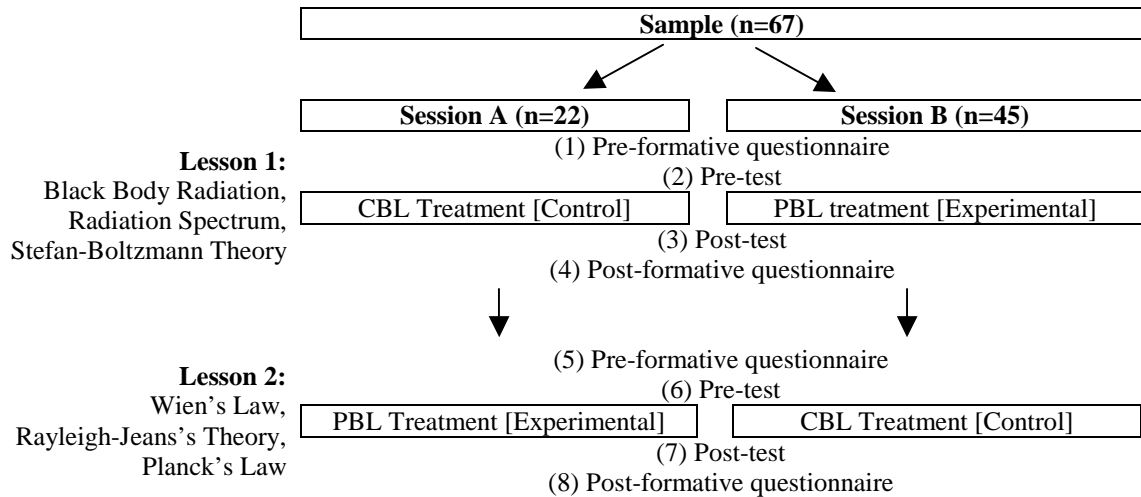


Figure 1. The experimental design

The instruments used to determine the dependent variables were the post-test and the post-formative questionnaire. The post-test consisted of 5 to 7 subjective questions, assessing and evaluating the students' actual academic attainments and understanding pertaining to the respective lesson's learning objectives with the given maximum mark of 100. The formative questionnaire required students to indicate their understanding of items relating to the course content material of each respective tutorial. Each item was accompanied by a four point Likert scale, with 1=denoting no knowledge, 2=little knowledge, 3=moderate knowledge, and 4=good knowledge.

A pilot testing involving a different sample was also carried out to ensure the internal consistency of the formative questionnaire as well to improve the design of the Web pages for the smooth running of the actual experiment. The data collected were analysed using a standard statistical package. The student t-test was in turn used to make the comparative analysis and the null hypothesis was that there was no difference in the students' knowledge enhancement both in terms of their perceptions as well as performances between the CBL and the PBL approaches.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 shows the comparative analysis between the means of the pre-test marks of the CBL and PBL approaches. As can be seen, there was no difference ($p < 0.05$) between the mean marks of the two approaches, implying that both groups were homogeneous in terms of the background knowledge before the treatments were carried out. Any indifference that might have existed in the background knowledge between the samples prior to the treatment would not have any influence on the results of the comparative academic performances and perceptual analysis.

Table 1. Comparative analysis between the mean marks of the CBL and PBL pre-tests for Lesson 1 and Lesson 2

	Session A		Session B		Mean Difference	t-test	p
	%	SD	%	SD			
Pre-test (Lesson 1)	Control CBL (n=22) 18.36	11.32	Experimental PBL (n=45) 21.80	11.62	3.44	1.314	0.256
Pre-test (Lesson 2)	Experimental PBL (n=22) 9.80	4.19	Control CBL (n=45) 11.14	10.10	1.20	-0.764	0.446

The comparative academic performance analysis was carried out with a comparison between the means of the post-test marks between the CBL and the PBL approaches. This analysis is shown in Table 2. As can be seen in Lesson 1, there was a significant difference between the mean marks of the PBL and CBL, with the PBL approach recording a higher mark. However, no significance difference was recorded between the two approaches in the Lesson 2. These results are an indication that the PBL approaches yielded a better students' academic performance or at the very least matched that of the CBL approach.

Table 2. Comparative analysis between the mean marks of the post-tests for the CBL and PBL approaches for Lesson 1 and Lesson 2

	Session A		Session B		Mean Difference	t-test	p
	%	SD	%	SD			
Post-test (Lesson 1)	Control CBL (n=22) 66.91	6.05	Experimental PBL (n=45) 73.56	9.94	6.65	8.301	0.05*
Post-test (Lesson 2)	Experimental PBL (n=22) 71.36	14.37	Control CBL (n=45) 72.59	6.25	1.23	0.151	0.699

*significant level $p < 0.05$

The enhancement of the students' knowledge prior to and after the treatments between the two approaches is shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3 for Lesson 1 and Lesson 2 respectively. It is evident that both approaches produced a considerable enhancement in terms of the knowledge constructed by the students. However, when the two approaches are compared, it is evident that the PBL approach yielded a superior learning enhancement.

The students' perceptual analysis in terms of the knowledge enhancement was carried out by comparing the post-formative questionnaire between the CBL approach with that of the PBL approach. The results of the analysis are shown in Table 3 and Table 4 for Lesson 1 and Lesson 2 respectively. The results in Table 3 showed no significant difference between the CBL and the PBL approaches. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that all the items recorded higher mean values for the PBL approaches. The results in Table 4 recorded significant differences for Items 1 and 3 with higher mean values for the PBL approach. In contrast, only Item 6 recorded significant

differences with higher mean values for the CBL approach. Other items recorded no significant differences and as indicated in Table 3, all of them registered higher mean values for the PBL approach. It is, therefore, quite evident that these results highlighted the advantageous features of the PBL approach as perceived by the students. The higher knowledge enhancement through the PBL approach perceived by them complimented the above findings of superior academic performances following the application of the PBL approach compared to the CBL approach.

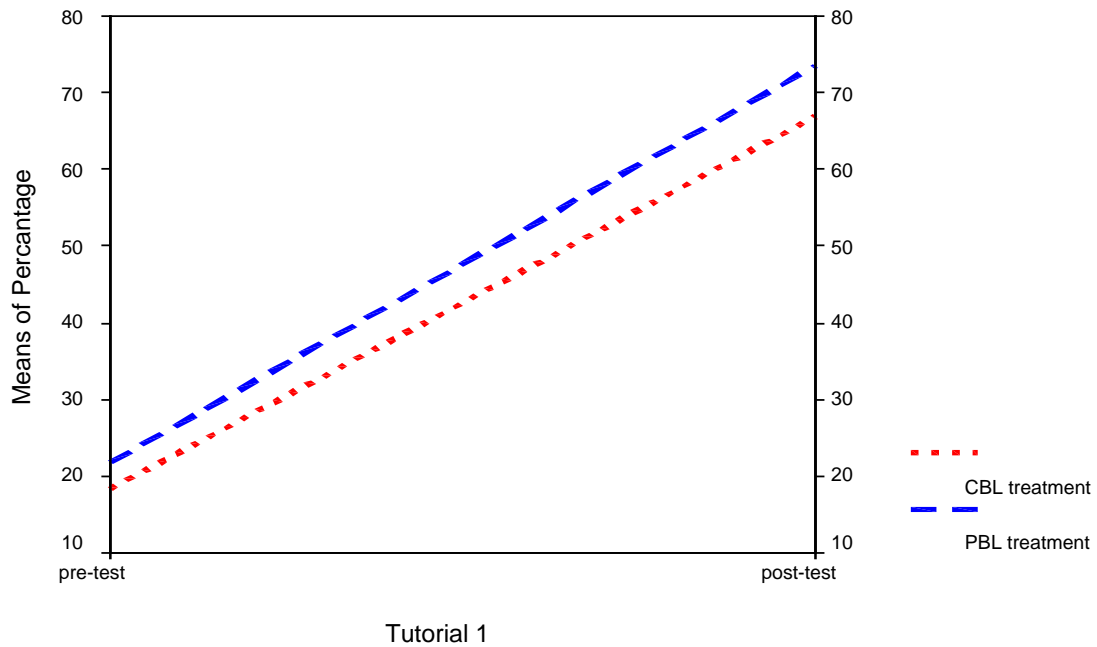


Figure 2. Graph showing the enhancement of the mean marks between the pre-test and the post-test following the PBL and CBL treatments for Lesson 1

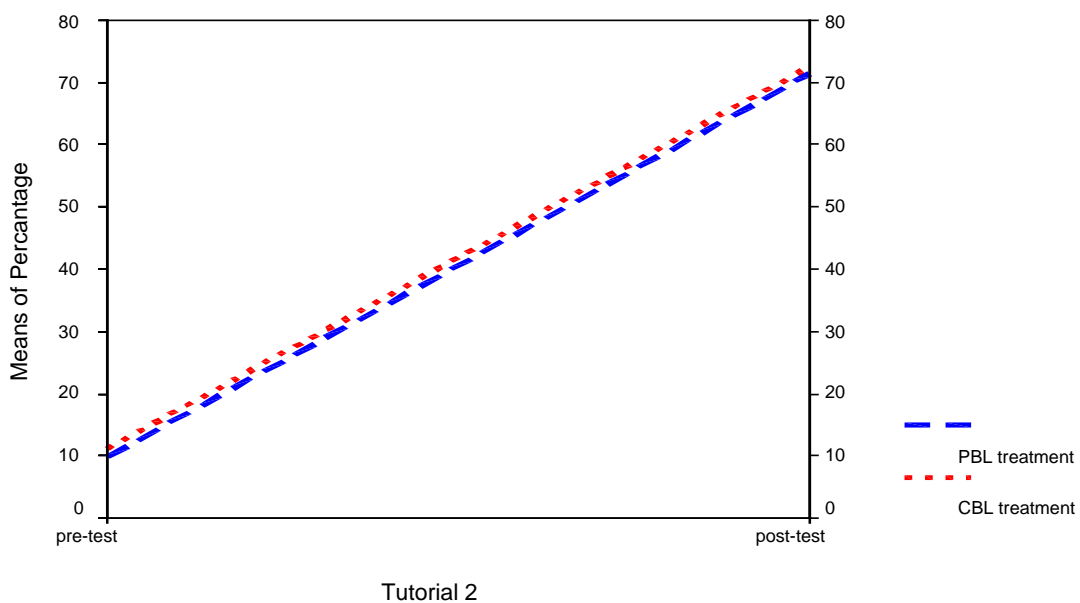


Figure 3. Graph shows means of percentages for the pre-test and post-test for the PBL and CBL treatments in Lesson 2

It is clear that the PBL approach brings about enhanced educational practices as far as the web-based course delivery is concerned. The inherent characteristic features of the PBL approach (namely, of learning in context, elaboration of knowledge through social interaction, an emphasis

on meta-cognitive reasoning and self-directed learning) can be easily supported by the current CMC technology leading to improved learning outcomes.

Table 3. Post-formative comparative analysis between control group (CBL; n=22) and experimental group (PBL; n=45) for Lesson 1

Item	CBL (mean)	PBL (mean)	t-test	p
The concept of the black body radiation	3.0909 (0.426)	3.0222 (0.839)	0.361	0.719
The characteristics of black body such as the spectrum, peak in light intensity graph and the temperature correlation of the black body radiation	3.0455 (0.375)	3.1778 (0.716)	-0.812	0.420
Application of the light intensity equation and the black body temperature equation	3.0000 (0.535)	3.2667 (0.837)	-1.362	0.178
The concept Stefan-Boltzmann temperature distribution	2.9091 (0.426)	3.1333 (0.869)	-1.142	0.258
Application of the Stefan-Boltzmann equation	2.9545 (0.486)	3.1778 (0.777)	-1.232	0.222

Table 4. Post formative comparative analysis between the control group (CBL; n=45) with the experimental group (PBL; n=22) for Lesson 2

Item	CBL (mean)	PBL (mean)	t-test	p
The concept of Wien's Theory	3.000 (0.426)	3.318 (0.477)	-2.759	0.008*
Application of Wein Equation	3.1778 (0.614)	3.454 (0.510)	-1.827	0.072
The concept of Rayleigh-Jeans Theory	2.9778 (0.452)	3.3182 (0.568)	-2.658	0.010*
Application of Rayleigh-Jeans Equation	3.088 (0.557)	3.227 (0.429)	-1.025	0.309
The concept of Planck's Theory	3.044 (0.520)	3.227 (0.528)	-1.344	0.184
Application of Planck's Equation	3.111 (0.682)	2.636 (0.727)	2.620	0.011*

*significant level $p < 0.05$.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has elucidated the effectiveness of the web-based PBL approach both in terms of the students' academic performances and perceptions and compared it to the commonly available web-based CBL approach. The results show that the web-based PBL approach has the ability to out-perform the web-based CBL approach in both aspects studied. This implies that not only do the students perform better but they also perceive that they have acquired better understanding of the concepts they are supposed to learn. Other advantageous features of the PBL approach have also been indicated, such as learning through social interaction, acquisition of skills in meta-cognitive reasoning and proficiency in problem solving in the workplace context. As such, efforts should be taken by the institutions of open and distance learning to consider the web-based PBL approach as one of the mechanisms for the delivery of courses in their educational program.

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Booni Valley women's perceptions of schooling: Hopes and barriers¹

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Schooling for girls is a relatively recent process in Booni Valley, a remote mountainous village in Chitral District, Pakistan. It is impacting greatly upon the lives of the women. This study has taken an ethnographic perspective and has assumed that an understanding of women's schooling requires a detailed, in-depth account of women's actual experiences in a specific cultural setting. The women in the study perceive their local language, Khowar, as having little value and place great importance upon learning Urdu and English, the official languages of Pakistan. The women also perceive schooling to increase their mobility and independence and to gain access to employment. However, gender structures are deeply rooted. The women encounter many barriers which restrict them from participating in many activities in the community.

Women, schooling, ethnographic research, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

A full understanding of women's schooling requires detailed, in-depth accounts of actual practice in different cultural settings. Studies need to take into account how women themselves actually think about schooling, their access to schooling, and how they apply their schooling skills in their daily lives. Rockhill writes that it is "important to look at schooling, both in terms of its symbolic meaning and the material realities in women's lives" (1992, p. 172). Ethnographic studies on literacy by Kulick and Stroud (1992), Farah (1992) and Rockhill (1993) are examples of a shift in the literature toward an understanding of people's perceptions of literacy and, to some extent, schooling in their lives. This paper on the women's perceptions of schooling in Booni Valley, Chitral District, Pakistan, is part of the shift in the literature on gender and schooling.

Southern nations' women have not benefited proportionally from economic growth and have not gained equal access to education as a result of gender biases within the traditional and modern sectors (Beneria and Sen, 1997; UNESCO, 2003). The withdrawal rate of girls is much higher than for boys, and girls do not enter school as frequently as boys (United Nations, 2004). Despite policies to ensure equal opportunities for education for all, women still continue to form the largest disadvantaged group in terms of access to education (UNESCO, 2003). Their difficulties are also affected by gender, class and ethnic bias (Jacobson, 1993).

Current research on women's schooling in the developing world has brought out the complexity of women's experiences with regards to schooling. However, most research reinforces the same gendered practices through which women are oppressed in their everyday lives (Rockhill, 1993).

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This research often presupposes Southern nations' women to be passive recipients of schooling who, in some instances, experience the same problems as women worldwide. Mohanty (1997) has criticised the construction of "third world woman" as a singular universal subject and the descriptions of these women which attempt to develop a common explanation and analysis. Although a pattern of the issues affecting women's participation in schooling is evident throughout most of the developing world, the way this pattern is perceived at different periods in history and in specific cultural situations needs further documenting (Kulick and Stroud, 1992; Street, 1992). Limited research on the way people perceive and apply schooling and literacy in their daily lives leads to a downplay of the creativity and cultural concerns of those people being taught to read and write (Kulick and Stroud, 1992). This paper provides an ethnographic account of Booni Valley women's perceptions of schooling in relation to language use, mobility, independence to read and write, and work. Furthermore, it describes the barriers which women face in meeting their gender needs.

CULTURAL CONTEXT

Booni Valley is located in Chitral District, the northernmost district of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan, and has a population of approximately 7500. The local language is Khowar, a language originally without script. Urdu, the national language of Pakistan and the language of instruction, is spoken by many. Some people also speak English. Islam is practised by most Chitralis and most Chitrali children learn to read the *Holy Quran* in Arabic. Subsistence farming is the predominant source of livelihood.

The terrain in Chitral District is characterised by rugged, barren mountains. A road network connects valley roads to villages, but it is poorly developed. During the winter months, the entire district is virtually cut off from the rest of the country as the Lowari Mountain Pass which makes vehicular access possible into and out of the district is blocked by snow. Although air travel is still possible to and from Peshawar, the provincial capital of the North West Frontier Province which lies 400 km south of Chitral, this link is also severely affected by the weather. The only so-called 'all weather' route available is through Afghanistan, but sensitive borders make travel through this route dangerous. Chitral's geographic position and topography make it isolated from the rest of Pakistan. The "dry and cold climate, paucity of agricultural land, inaccessible nature of the terrain, fragile environment and marginalised nature of its resources [have] made human existence here an extremely difficult task" (Mulk, 1990, p. 4). Women, in particular, face many challenges as a result of the harsh conditions. They work 16 to 18 hours a day collecting fodder, cooking, cleaning, caring for cattle, and caring for their children. Many young girls even miss days from school to help their pregnant or sick mothers.

Schooling in Chitral District

Over the past two decades, various initiatives by the Pakistan government and non-government organisations have been undertaken to improve the access to schooling for girls in Chitral District, Pakistan. Nonetheless, in this region girls are still at a disadvantage compared to boys. Of the significantly low overall literacy rate in Chitral District, the issue is worse for women. The female literacy rate in Chitral District in 1992 was 4.1 per cent and the male literacy rate in the same year was 14.3 per cent (AKES, 1994). These were among the lowest female literacy rates in rural areas of Pakistan. The enrolment rates for girls compared to boys in Chitral District were also much lower. In 2002, at the primary school level, 30,870 boys compared to 9,777 girls were enrolled in school; at the high school level, 9,340 boys compared to 1,609 girls were enrolled in school (ASC, 2002). In 2002, the number of girls' schools was also significantly lower than the number of boys' schools. There were approximately 190 girls' primary schools, 39 girls' middle schools, and five

girls' high schools in the district (ASC, 2002). In comparison, there were approximately 473 boys' primary schools, 45 boys' middle schools, and 42 boys' high schools in the district (ASC, 2002).

METHOD

Ethnographic research methods were used to learn from the local people about their culture and their conceptions of formal schooling (Haig-Brown, 1992; Spindler and Spindler, 1987; Spradley, 1979). The data were gathered through in-depth unstructured interviews, participant observation, and conversations with the local people.

In total, 27 women between the ages of 15 and 55 years were interviewed. They were of various backgrounds and included women who had been to school and women who had never been to school, either because schooling was unavailable to them or because their family did not allow them to go to school. Contact with these women was established through a research collaborator, Zarina², who also assisted with translating most of the interviews which were conducted in Khowar and with making sense of culturally specific data. Six interviews with school-going girls were conducted in Urdu with the help of the researcher's mother who speaks Urdu and who visited the researcher while she was in the field. In addition, statistical data and historical documents were collected from government and non-government organisations in Chitral District and Karachi, a major urban city in the south of Pakistan.

The interviews were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed. In order to validate the accuracy of translation, two interviews were checked with a second translator. The translations done by both the translators yielded similar results. The data were analysed using domain analysis (Spradley, 1979). After completing the domain analysis, cultural themes were identified to find the patterns that made up the culture. A cut and paste method to categorise the data under thematic headings was used.

BOONI VALLEY WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOLING

Language Use

Schooling has brought about a shift in values about language among the local people in Booni Valley. Khowar is becoming increasingly devalued and is perceived to limit opportunities for the women in the sample. It was not unusual for the women who only spoke Khowar to see themselves as ignorant and to exclaim scornfully to the researcher, "What is Khowar? We cannot do anything with this language." A motivating factor for the women to pursue schooling is to learn Urdu and English. These languages are perceived to be valuable and to allow the women to interact with non-local people. As Sultana, a woman with no schooling, said, "Education is good for [my daughter] ... at least she can talk with the guests" (interview). This confirms findings by Branson and Miller (1990), Kulick and Stroud (1992), and Street (1993) that local knowledge and local languages are devalued as people go through the schooling experience.

The researcher was probably one of the first women from outside the valley ever to visit these women in their homes and to speak with them about their life experiences. The women with no schooling would wonder why the researcher wanted to speak with them and not the men in their homes who usually had some schooling and were able to speak some Urdu. When the researcher told the women with no schooling that their experiences were rich and valuable, they would often tell her, "I am not an educated one. I cannot read and write. [I don't speak English]. I have nothing

² Zarina is a local Chitrali woman who was one of the few women to have had an opportunity to go to Karachi, a major, urban city in Pakistan, for higher education. She learned Urdu and English in Karachi. She is one of the few women in Chitral to have had the opportunity to pursue higher education outside the district. Pseudonyms have been provided to protect confidentiality.

valuable to tell you” (field notes). One woman also expressed, “If I had gone to school, I would have been able to talk to you” (interview). The women with no schooling often felt that they had nothing valuable to contribute to the study because they could not read, write, and speak in Urdu or English. The researcher also sensed that the women were embarrassed because they were dependent on the research collaborator to communicate with the researcher. The researcher, too, felt awkward at times to depend on Zarina to cross the boundaries of communication that were separating the women and herself. Not being able to communicate with the researcher, an ‘outsider,’ was a concrete experience that likely made the women feel even more limited by their own language.

Barriers to Language Use

An observation that the researcher made was the reluctance amongst women who had learned Urdu to communicate in this language. Although the researcher did not speak Urdu fluently, she had functional knowledge of it. Despite this, the researcher observed that the women were hesitant to communicate in Urdu with her. She perceived the women’s hesitation to be a result of gender and schooling barriers.

Gender barriers prevent women from interacting with non-local people. The data showed that many girls are discouraged from speaking at home once they reach puberty. The young girls’ mothers tell them that “they are grown up...so they should not speak a lot” (interview). One young woman with schooling felt that she would be able to speak confidently and to the guests “when [she] is old like [her] mother” (interview). Whenever the researcher visited women in their homes, she observed that when Zarina and the older women of the household were speaking, the younger women generally sat and observed silently, only interjecting with a few comments.

Generally, only school-going girls and women with employment have the opportunity to meet non-local people. Most of the women in the village who have finished school are unable to be absorbed into formal sector work. They remain at home and virtually never come into contact with people who speak Urdu or English. Their movements outside the household are restricted by family decisions, time constraints, and *purdah* – the institutionalised system of seclusion and veiling of women in some Muslim cultures. Aisha, one of the women with schooling, described her situation:

I have been to school ... I can talk with others. I can understand other languages like Urdu. I can also use Urdu to speak with others. No one at home speaks Urdu. I never speak Urdu at home. I do not get to speak it with others. No one comes in the house and I do not go outside. (interview)

Only one woman from the study sample with schooling mentioned that she was able to speak in Urdu with the wives of her husband’s business partners from other parts of Pakistan.

At school, women learn Urdu and English through memorisation and rote learning methods. This does not allow them to build conversational skills. Furthermore, they rarely get a chance to practise speaking Urdu and English outside the classroom setting or workplace. As a result, most of them do not speak Urdu or English fluently. Therefore, even those women with some knowledge of Urdu or English are reluctant to converse in these languages because they feel limited by their knowledge of them.

Mobility

A striking change in Booni Valley has been the shifting cultural boundaries with respect to gender relations. Cultural space in the valley is divided into public and private areas. Public space, that outside the household, is perceived to be different from private space, that within the household.

Previously, only men have participated in activities in public spaces; rarely have women been permitted to leave the household and most of their work has been centred in the private realm. Today, however, with schooling, healthcare, and rural support programs coming into the valley, it has become more acceptable for women to participate in certain areas of public space.

The women whom the researcher interviewed perceived schooling as allowing them to increase their mobility and enter into public spaces. Women with schooling thought that they would be able to travel out of the district, get training for paid employment, work in villages outside the valley, and speak with their children's teachers if they had any concerns. Women without schooling often compared themselves to the researcher and said that if they had been to school they could have left the valley, the district or the country to pursue other interests. Fatima, a woman with no schooling, compared herself to her daughter and to the researcher:

Of course, if a person becomes educated, she can go here and there, she can do everything like you; you got an education that is why you have come here. I have not got any education. I cannot go anywhere. My daughter has passed her matriculation so at least she can go somewhere; an uneducated person can't go anywhere. (interview)

Women without schooling saw themselves as prisoners confined to life around their home. A statement by Sultana illustrates this view: "In my time, if there was school, then I would have liked to go ... now I am living in a dark house and I don't go out" (interview).

Barriers to Mobility

While women have gained some form of freedom, they were still fairly restricted by traditions of accepted space that had been culturally embedded into their society for generations. For women, with or without schooling, to go anywhere, they first had to get permission from men. Unless they were going to school and, in some cases, to a paid employment position, this was usually denied. Moreover, in the unusual likelihood that they are permitted to leave their homes, the women needed to be accompanied by a male family member. Even within the village, women with schooling and women who had paid employment were not free to go everywhere. For example, girls who had to pass through the bazaar, the local market area which divides the village in half, took detours to school to avoid walking right in the middle of this space where only the men gathered³. In some instances, it meant walking twice as far to get to school. Even the researcher had to take detours through the bazaar when she was conducting her research. She also had to be accompanied by a man when she visited the women in their homes. Although some girls wondered what it would be like to have the freedom to enter the bazaar, none of them would attempt this on their own. To do so would risk their families' respectability. Moreover, they would feel very embarrassed to be in the presence of hundreds of strange men. Though the women expressed a desire for schooling for reasons that included increasing their access to the modern world, deeply embedded cultural traditions were creating a dichotomy between what the women desire and what they could actually have.

Independence to Read and Write

The ability to read and write was valued by the women as a means to independence. Mothers wanted their daughters to go to school and learn how to write so that they did not have to depend on anyone, especially men in the household, to read and write letters for them. Girls with schooling also valued the independence and practical benefits that literacy had given to them. Being able to read and write made it possible for Yasmin, one of the school girls, to live at the

³ One of the observations that I made in the village was that only the men enter the bazaar. They did all the household shopping, including buying the women their clothes, shoes, and other personal items.

Aga Khan Girls' Hostel⁴ in Booni. She did not have a father so her older brother who worked outside the district made the household decisions. She shared an example of this:

We can write letters... Our mothers depended on others, especially the educated sons to write or read a letter for them. My desire was to get registered at the hostel. I wrote a letter from here to my brother and told him about the hostel. He wrote back to me and gave me permission to go. (interview)

Being able to read and write had opened up communication for the women with schooling.

Barriers to Independence to Read and Write

Despite women's desire to be literate and despite the independence that some women had gained from acquiring this skill, gender barriers still made women dependent upon men. Zehra had completed Class 11 through distance education and had to fill out an application form to write the examinations. She said that her older brothers were very busy so no one was able to bring a form for her. Being a woman she could not go to the bazaar to get a form for herself. Zehra applied too late and did not get an admission to school:

No one brought any forms for me to fill out. We are not allowed to go out. We are not allowed to go to the bazaar. We are not allowed to go [wherever we want to], so I could not get any forms in time. (fieldnotes)

Therefore, even with literacy skills, women still relied upon men as women could not go into the public space of the *bazaar*. This restriction of space cost Zehra the opportunity to continue her studies.

In some households, women were dependent on men not only to bring the forms, but to fill out the forms. Aisha wanted to complete her Class 12 through distance education, but her husband did not want her to continue her studies. She explained, "My husband does not want me to do more schooling... He says he will [bring the forms] and fill [them] out for me [when he thinks I should do more studies]" (interview).

Schooling and Employment

Most women in the study viewed schooling as an opportunity to get employment. As women's space within the community had extended to school and to the wage sector, school girls were being exposed to other formally educated women with employment and they aspired to become like them. This was described by Shahnaz:

I started to take more interest in middle school because I started to think about my future employment. I really wanted to be a teacher...I used to see other teachers, my teachers, and I wanted to become like them. (interview)

Most young women who went to school hoped to get employment as they perceived this to be a way to progress. They perceived schooling as the key to earning an income and having an easier life. This was reflected in Naseema's thoughts on women's income: "Women who [work] earn and control their earnings ... they can buy anything ... women who do not earn money have to wait for the men" (interview). Sultana added: "I have too much work to do in the fields. The job is easy for teachers ... If I was a teacher, I would have sat on a chair" (interview). These findings suggested that the spread of schooling was perceived to be a way to gain access to opportunity and progress.

⁴ The Aga Khan Girls' Hostel in Booni Valley houses approximately 50 girls from neighboring villages where high schools for girls were unavailable.

Barriers to Paid Employment

Most women who completed their schooling in Booni Valley were joining the large pool of the educated unemployed. The valley's economy was unable to absorb the increasing number of women with schooling who expected to get into the paid labour market. Gulshan described that when she was looking for work, she was one of "200 women who recently applied for four teaching positions at the government school" (interview). The areas of paid employment open to women were also limited. Women were streamlined into the teaching and health professions⁵ as well as into women's organisations as these areas of work were perceived to be culturally acceptable. Because their mobility was restricted, many women could not leave the valley to look for work. This led to much disappointment for them. Shahnaz wanted to teach, but there were no jobs available in Booni Valley. She did not ask her father if she could look for employment outside the valley. She knew that he would not permit her to leave the valley.

I have not asked my father if I can get employment [outside Booni Valley] ... I would have to go far away to teach. I would have to transfer out of Booni. He does not want me to leave Booni. (interview)

Many young women in Booni Valley experienced frustration because they were unable to or were not allowed to get paid employment. This was expressed by Rabia:

I have tried to look for employment ... I applied at the social welfare office ... There were many girls who applied and I felt very bad when I was not hired ... I feel my future is *thabar* (ruined). If I remain this way, my future will be destroyed ... I feel bad for myself when I am at home and the other women are going to work. I feel bad to do all the housework. (interview)

Although women in Booni Valley with schooling hoped to find employment, their opportunities were limited both economically and culturally. This led to much disappointment and frustration for the women.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In the extremely isolated community of Booni Valley, women's goals and values are shifting as a result of schooling. Language shifts are resulting in cultural change where women have placed great value on Urdu and English, and have devalued their local language, Khowar. Over the years, women in the village have become more mobile in terms of going to school and having employment. However, gendered space which divides the public and private realms limits women from leaving the village to pursue opportunities of higher education and paid employment. While women's independence has also increased in that they are able to read and write and, therefore, communicate with others, they are still dependent on men to some extent to facilitate this communication. The women perceive schooling as an opportunity to get employment, yet economic and cultural barriers prevent them from having their hopes met. Therefore, despite schooling, most women are unable to be absorbed into formal sector work.

There are two important implications of these findings for research on gender development. First, as stated above, this study is an example of the shift in literature toward an understanding of women's perceptions of schooling in their lives. It supports Rockhill's (1992) view that it is important to take into account how women themselves actually think about schooling, their access to schooling and how they apply their schooling skills in their daily lives. Previous studies have often assumed that Southern nations' women are passive recipients of schooling who experience

⁵ Most women who were in the health profession worked as lady health visitors (LHVs). LHVs are female paramedics based in the field.

similar problems as women worldwide. These studies have not explored women's perceptions of schooling in their own particular cultural context, which is critical for an understanding of their specific needs. This paper has attempted to study women's perceptions of schooling in their own cultural context, and the women's experiences reveal how schooling has met or has fallen short of meeting their needs.

This study also has implications for the development of girls' schooling in areas where schooling has never existed for them. Schooling must be rooted in the realities of these women's lives and must take into account job opportunities for the women. The curriculum content should be expanded so that the learning is linked to the realities of the women's lives, particularly as cultural and economic barriers often prevent women from working outside the home. In order for the deeply rooted gender barriers in Booni Valley to be removed so that gender equity in schooling is achieved, specific policy interventions will also be required.

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The potential of Singapore's ability driven education to prepare students for a knowledge economy

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This paper focuses on the attempt by the Singapore government to introduce a new education paradigm to prepare students for success in a knowledge economy. The paper highlights the policy statements and changes for a new paradigm known as an Ability Driven Education (ADE) in Singapore. The ADE, launched as part of the Thinking Schools, Learning Nation vision in 1997, has the explicit aim of developing creative, innovative and life-long learners who will rise to the challenges presented by a knowledge economy. The paper discusses the potential of the ADE to prepare students for a knowledge economy by exploring some issues and challenges in Singapore. The concluding section raises implications for the key stakeholders of education in Singapore.

Ability Driven Education, knowledge economy, Singapore, life-long learners

INTRODUCTION

A knowledge economy marks a shift from the old economy of the industrial age. In the past, government leaders could focus on investing in some of the potential of some students. In a new economy which depends on knowledge, ingenuity, innovation, and mobilisation of the talents of all, government leaders need to develop all the potential of all the students (Brown, 2000; Ryan, 2000). A knowledge economy is characterised by rapid obsolescence where knowledge-intensive activities contribute to an accelerated pace of technical and scientific advance (Powell and Snellman, 2004). Such an economy values intellectual capital with knowledge being constantly created and exploited in a dynamically changing future (Shapiro and Varian, 1999). Successful individuals are those who possess the ability to innovate and learn continuously (Bell, 1973; Drucker, 1993; Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995; Prusak 1997). It is therefore imperative for government policies to stress upgrading human capital through promoting access to a range of skills, especially the capacity to learn (OECD, 1996).

The government of Singapore is acutely aware of the need to prepare its future citizens to be active and successful contributors in a knowledge economy that relies heavily on innovation and entrepreneurial abilities. In order to educate its current students to develop such skills, the government has invested in a new educational paradigm, an Ability Driven Education (ADE). The ADE, launched as part of the Thinking Schools, Learning Nation vision in 1997, has the explicit aim of developing creative, innovative and life-long learners who will rise to the challenges presented by a knowledge economy. This paper highlights the policy statements and changes for a new paradigm known as an Ability Driven Education (ADE) in Singapore. It discusses the potential of the ADE to prepare students for a knowledge economy by exploring issues and challenges in Singapore. The concluding section raises implications for the key stakeholders of education in Singapore.

AN ABILITY DRIVEN EDUCATION (ADE) FOR SINGAPORE SCHOOLS

An Ability Driven Education (ADE) represents a paradigm change in the education framework adopted by the government in Singapore. There have been three phases in the history of education in Singapore (Chen, 2000). The first phase was a 'survival' phase when the aim was to produce trained workers in the early years of Singapore's independence and industrialisation. The next phase, an 'efficiency' phase, fine-tuned the system through measures such as streaming in order to produce skilled workers for the economy in the most efficient way. In other words, the government projected the manpower demands in various sectors of the economy and trained people to fit into jobs in those sectors. The current paradigm, ADE, aims to equip and prepare students to meet the challenges in a knowledge economy by taking into consideration their individual abilities and talents. Then Minister for Education, Teo Chee Hean, explained that there are no pre-determined sets of jobs in a knowledge economy; instead, it is the collective talents and abilities of all Singaporeans that will define the economy and what jobs and opportunities are available (Teo, 1999b). Economic growth has become innovation-driven rather than efficiency-driven as the focus is shifted to the ability of the country to innovate, rather than the ability to absorb and adapt advances made elsewhere and to make products more efficiently (Tharman, 2003b). Students in Singapore will need not only the skills to apply the knowledge they have acquired but also the ability to create new knowledge. As creativity and innovation are the key driving forces to progress in a knowledge economy, non-traditional forms of learning like arts education has become valuable (Ng, 2002). The former Senior Minister of State for Education, Peter Chen, elaborated on the relationship between the education system in Singapore and the knowledge economy:

In a knowledge economy, intellectual capital is the nation's wealth. But intellectual capital is not just about a person's mental or intellectual capability. It also embodies other equally important aspects that make up a whole person. The education system in a knowledge economy should be to provide a balanced and well-rounded education that will develop every individual morally, intellectually, physically, socially and aesthetically so that his or her full potential can be realised. This is the aim of my Ministry (Chen, 2000).

An ADE consists of two components (Teo, 1999a):

a. Identification and Development of Individual Talents and Abilities

We will aim to help every Singaporean excel according to the combination of talents and abilities he possesses; and

b. Harnessing of Talents and Abilities

We will inculcate in our young national values and social instincts so that they will be committed to the nation and actively contribute their talents for the good of the society.

There are two main policy changes in the implementation of an ADE in Singapore: greater flexibility and choice in educational programs, and greater autonomy at the school level which will allow a greater variety of programs across schools (Teo, 2002). First, students have more choices from the different types of new schools and programs available in Singapore. There are schools that offer the Integrated Program (IP) where students skip O levels and head straight for the A levels or the International Baccalaureate (IB) diploma, specialised schools in sports, the arts, and science and mathematics schools. To present a broader picture of the schools' performance in academic and non-academic domains, the annual ranking of schools has been replaced by banding. More emphasis is placed on non-academic activities like sports where traits like resilience, team spirit and resourcefulness are inculcated in the students. Secondly, flexibility and autonomy will be given to school principals to admit more students based on the criteria laid

down by the schools. This may include both academic and non-academic criteria such as artistic or sporting talent. School leaders are also entrusted with more authority to manage their resources as they tailor their programs to meet the needs of their students. To offer more opportunities for students to nurture their talents and abilities, schools are encouraged to select and develop their niche areas. A niche area can be a sport such as rugby or a program such as teaching students about robotics. Through a comprehensive swathe of programs, the MOE hopes to reduce the emphasis on examinations, focus on a holistic education, and promote a broader definition of success for schools (Ministry of Education, 2004a).

REFLECTIONS ON THE POTENTIAL OF AN ADE FOR SINGAPORE SCHOOLS

Identification and Development of Individual Talents and Abilities

What is the real potential of an ADE to prepare students for success in a knowledge economy? It is important to relate our discussion to the two components of an ADE, the first one being the aim of the government to 'help every Singaporean excel according to the combination of talents and abilities he possesses'. The presence of skilled workers with diverse talents and abilities is crucial to help Singapore meet the challenges of a knowledge economy. By developing all the potential of all the students, the government hopes that they will provide the creativity, innovation and enterprise needed in a knowledge economy.

But the achievement of this aim depends not only on the policy changes, but also on a change in the mindset in Singapore. There is a need for the key stakeholders of education in Singapore to define success more broadly to include both academic and non-academic talents and abilities. However, the general perception is that academic achievement is still the most important. In particular, the aptitude and ability to excel in academic subjects like mathematics, science and the languages take precedence over musical, artistic and sporting talent. It is a well-known fact that students in Singapore are heavily dependent on private tuition in academic subjects in order to achieve well (Quah, 1990). Statistics show that the number of tutorial schools registered with the Ministry of Education has increased by 86 per cent in the last five years (Tharman, 2004a). More tellingly, 50 to 60 per cent of upper primary students receive tuition in subjects that they already excel in. Educators also observe that teachers in Singapore are very focused on testing; in particular, one lecturer at the National Institute of Education in Singapore commented that mathematics teachers in Singapore "take their job very seriously and drill the students really hard" (Ho and Lin, 2004a). It is not uncommon for a typical primary school student to attend lessons and enrichment classes in school, and spend three hours each day doing assessment tasks and another two hours of tuition (Almenoar and Chan, 2004).

The orientation towards academic subjects such as Mathematics and Science has already borne fruits for Singapore. A study by Green from the University of London Institute of Education shows that Singapore students perform better than their counterparts in the United Kingdom at every level through to basic degrees (quoted in Teo, 2001). About 20 per cent of each cohort in Singapore gain a Mathematics A level compared with around 7 per cent in the UK. In a more recent study, it is reported that the primary four and secondary two students in Singapore outperformed students from 48 countries in these two subjects at the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in 2003 (Ministry of Education, 2004b). The fixation with academic ability is further corroborated in a recent study to find out the contributory factors for Singapore's high performance in these two subjects. The study reveals that the most popular educational aspiration cited by students is to 'finish university' (Ministry of Education, 2004b).

It is also important to note that schools in Singapore still rely on academic performance as a measure of success. This is in spite of the shift from ranking schools based on exact academic

scores to banding schools with similar academic performance. Although the exact positions of the schools are no longer revealed under the banding system, schools are still assessed based on how high a band they are placed in. This means that schools still need to compete with one another to get into or remain in the desired band. While academic performance is no longer the main determinant of a school's ranking, it remains a significant indicator for a school to be favourably banded. The School Achievement Tables display the number of awards the schools have won in value-added academic areas as well as non-academic fields such as the arts and sports. This means that school leaders may focus on those non-academic programs that will reap the greatest number of awards for the schools, and drop those that are unlikely to produce quantifiable results for their school. What is likely to happen is another round of inter-school competition and rivalry, albeit under a different set of criteria. It is therefore unclear how the decentralisation of schools will help every student explore and cultivate his or her talents and abilities.

Harnessing of Talents and Abilities

The second component of an ADE is the aim by the government to 'inculcate in our young national values and social instincts so that they will be committed to the nation and actively contribute their talents for the good of the society'. It is essential that all the government's efforts to develop the talents and abilities of the students are channelled to benefit Singapore economically. But this is possible only if the students themselves are imbued with a sense of loyalty and commitment to the country. Then Minister for Education, Teo Chee Hean, stated that "schools have to prepare tomorrow's Singaporeans for life in a global world, as well as root them to our nation" (Teo, 2001). This need for students in Singapore to be nationalistic is given an added urgency due to the globalising influences in a knowledge economy. Observing that many Singaporeans travel overseas and are exposed to diverse influences in an increasingly globalised world, then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong noted that the students needed a 'sturdy values system'. This will define who Singaporeans are and anchor them to a place called home: "Otherwise, we will be mocked as 'bananas' – yellow on the outside but white inside" (Goh, 2004).

That there is a need for Singapore students to possess 'national values and social instincts' is seen in the influences of 'Western values' on the students through the learning of English. Chua (1985) observes that while English proficiency gives Singaporeans greater access to global economic opportunities, it also opens the door to cultural influences from Western sources. The government has noted that students in Singapore have embraced certain 'undesirable Western values' such as Western permissiveness, decadence, and the loss of work ethic (De Souza, 1980). For example, the former Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew, noted that the young in Singapore have adopted 'contemporary Western attitudes to work', described by him as 'the same desire to avoid taking jobs which are considered demeaning or are dirty or heavy' (quoted in De Souza, 1980, p.215). To counter these external influences and promote a set of desired values in students, the government has selected a set of values known as Our Shared Values. The government states that these values "capture the essence of being a Singaporean" and "help to preserve the cultural heritage of our ethnic communities" (Remaking Singapore Committee Recommendations, p.2). These shared values are nation before community and society before self, community support and respect for the individual, the family as the basic unit of society, consensus in place of conflict, and racial and religious harmony. The government has also introduced National Education (NE) in schools since 1997. NE aims to develop in all Singaporeans national cohesion, the instinct for survival, and confidence in the future.

However, it appears to be a daunting task to develop students who are global in skills and outlook yet rooted to Singapore. The government has painstakingly invested in the education of the young, equipping them with the requisite skills, knowledge and language ability to compete

internationally. This increased marketability, however, has given the impetus for the young and successful to leave Singapore due to personal reasons such as taking up a better job offer or simply wanting a slower pace of life. The former Deputy Prime Minister, Lee Hsien Loong, explained how the government is placed in a rut:

This is the dilemma for the Government. The more successfully we educate you, the more mobile you become. But if the best educated up stakes and leave, then Singapore will regress and fail. It is right to invest in our people. But we can only continue to do so if those who benefit the most from this system contribute back to it their fair share and more (Lee, 2003).

CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR KEY STAKEHOLDERS OF EDUCATION

Given the prevailing mindset which focuses on academic achievements, and the competing influences and values faced by the students in Singapore, how can an ADE help to meet both the individual and community needs? There is a need for the key stakeholders in education – principals, teachers, parents and students – to work together to balance educational ideals with pragmatic considerations to achieve what is best for the students and society at large.

Principals are in the forefront as they are now given more autonomy to run their schools and market their programs and activities to the public. There is now a greater responsibility and accountability to the other stakeholders in education who want to have a greater say in the school policy and practices. The practical challenge is for principals to match, as closely as possible, the needs of the school as a whole and the needs of individual students. Limited resources and opportunity costs mean that schools have to decide where to channel their money, time and manpower in order to develop their niche areas. How then can the schools still cater to the talents and abilities of individual students? One suggestion is for schools to explore ways to encourage student initiative and to tap onto the resources of the community. Under a new policy initiative, students can earn up to two points in a non-academic activity (known as co-curricular activity or CCA) if they start a new CCA, an ad hoc activity or a one-off event. In one instance, two students from a secondary school that does not offer soccer succeeded in organising a two-day soccer match in school for their schoolmates. In another school, the students acted as guides at the Singapore Science Centre for younger children (Ho and Almenaar, 2004). These, and many more projects, could be conceived, planned and executed by enthusiastic students under the proper guidance of the teachers. Ultimately, as Mrs Carmee Lim, executive director of the Academy of Principals, puts it: “Results are just one snapshot of life. Each school should put up its own target for its students, ultimately promoting the enjoyment of whatever they choose to do” (Tor, 2004).

In the midst of all these educational reforms under ADE, the challenge for teachers is to keep up with the plethora of changes while sustaining their passion to teach. There have been complaints about the heavy workload faced by teachers and the pressure from the school management (Liew, 2004). Consequently, some teachers respond to educational changes with a sense of pragmatic scepticism (Hall and Hord, 1987). Cognisant of the stress and constraints faced by teachers, the Ministry of Education has introduced a number of initiatives such as providing more teachers to schools, developing teachers through Learning Framework, and expanding Teacher Work Attachment (TWA). More than ever before, teachers are encouraged to explore different pedagogical methods that are innovative, interactive and enjoyable. Through an array of appropriate communicative activities, students will not only enjoy learning, but perform better in that subject. That students’ enjoyment in a subject contributes to their performance is affirmed in a recent study that shows that three in every four students attribute their good results in Mathematics and Science to their enjoyment in learning the subjects (Ho and Lin, 2004b). One such effective teaching method is peer teaching where the students took turns to explain topics to their classmates with the help of the teacher as facilitator. The success of this teaching method is

testified to in one school where classes that have tried this method outperformed the rest during the end-of-year examinations ('Curriculum change pays off for school' *The Straits Times* 16 December 2004). It should be pointed out that teachers need to adapt their teaching methods and materials to suit the local cultural context (Tan, 2005). Efforts should also be made to teach moral education beyond a utilitarian perspective; the task is to educate imaginative minds by stimulating students to reason critically about moral issues (Tan, 2004).

Apart from principals and teachers, parents play an indispensable role in supporting the initiatives under an ADE. The marketisation of education in Singapore means that parents are given more options to decide on the kind of education they want their children to receive. For example, the latest change to the bilingual policy where learning is flexible and customised allows parents to choose how much English and Mandarin they want their children to learn in schools (Ministry of Education 2004b). But given the examination-oriented culture where parents impose a lot of pressure on their children to excel in their studies, how much room are parents willing to give for their children to explore their talents and abilities? The truth is that many pragmatic parents seek to fulfil their aspirations vicariously through their children, expecting them to be lawyers, doctors and accountants, and not artists, ballet dancers and poets. However, parents need to realise that young Singaporeans have become increasingly more individualistic. Driven by pragmatism, this group resent excessive social engineering, seeing it as curbing personal freedoms, and stifling both initiative and creativity (Zainul and Mahizhnan, 1990). Increasingly, more young Singaporeans who have completed their education in Singapore have regretted spending too much time and energy on academic subjects that helped them ace their examinations but not helped them appreciate life. A typical view is expressed by a young Singaporean who stated that there is an over-emphasis on Mathematics and Science in Singapore schools. Questioning the functionalist approach to education, he alluded to the intrinsic worth of education:

Are we learning a lot more than necessary for science and maths? ... Education is about preparation for life, not just to pass exams. It is nice to top the world in maths and science but, as we all know, we have only so much time; we need to distribute our learning more evenly, to other fields that will be crucial in our later years. This will enable us to have a culture too and not merely be walking computers. (Kai, 2004)

Given the changing social norms and external influences due to globalisation, parents and other stakeholders in education need to accept the fact that they may no longer impose their expectations on their children. Through mutual understanding, open-hearted interaction and constant dialogue, all the key stakeholders of education need to decide on what is really best for the country and its critical resource – its children and youth.

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Democratic development and the role of citizenship education in sub-Saharan Africa with a case focus on Zambia

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In addressing issues related to problems of democratisation in Africa, this paper attempts to relate the issue to the need for citizenship education and the role that can play in social development. Citizenship should be central to the formation of viable civil societies that claim a tangible stake in national public spaces in post-Cold War Africa. These and related topics are discussed relative to new possibilities that could lead to the full realisation of the concept as well as the practice of enfranchised citizenship and inclusive social development in aspiring democracies in the Sub-Saharan African context. The complexity of the development 'problematique' that Sub-Saharan Africa is facing is unique in that it is multi-dimensional, but above all else, politically located. It is, therefore, central to our discussions here that to correct the continent's current schemes of underdevelopment, pragmatic schemes of governance must be achieved. To do that, we are suggesting, new possibilities of citizenship education should be formulated for the general African scene in general, and for democratising but still both institutionally and economically weakened Zambia.

Citizenship education, democratisation, structural adjustment programs, civil society, sub-Saharan Africa, Zambia

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to discuss and analyse a number of concepts and their possible practices that would fall within descriptive parameters of education (or citizenship education), democratisation and social development in the Sub-Saharan African context. Education in its various expressions (formal, non-formal, and informal) is understood to be fundamental to the establishment and formation of a citizenry which recognises and values the importance of participatory engagement in the process of governance and institutions of government that would be relevant to particular societal arrangements (cf. Dewey, 1926). The first part of the paper engages select perspectives on the processes (and problems) of development, democratisation and the role of civil society in these and similar realities in the sub-continent.

The second part of the paper looks at, and discusses the concepts of critical citizenship and citizenship education, and the role they could play in re-routing depressed democratic and social development situations in the area. Selectively attached to our analyses of, especially, citizenship education is the notion that, beyond any direct political possibilities and interactions that might be attributed to it, it should also represent some means of what the Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire

(2000 [1970]) would call platforms of social ‘conscientisation’, which would entail, at least for us, not only a more enhanced and more active public political space, but also a critical and proactive understanding of the citizens as to why current governance arrangements are not instigating ameliorative mechanisms in their social and economic well-being. Here, citizenship education in places like Africa where oppressive regimes have justified their actions as the best available alternative, the transformative possibilities of citizenship education, in fact all education, would be sought so as to denaturalise highly uneven development realities between the elite and the masses. The final section introduces what may be described at this stage as a preliminary, limited focus on the principally established but still operationally underdeveloped case of Zambian democracy and the need to strengthen it through select possibilities of citizenship education. The Zambian situation in democratising Africa is important in that it represents a grassroots-instigated move to a more viable program of public governance.

PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRATISATION

The social and economic problems facing twenty-first century Africa, including governance weaknesses and the now celebrated institutional mismanagement are complex, multi-furcated and, by-and-large, attributable to a number of issues that have both historical and political implications and ingredients. One could say that African problems of development emanate, more often than otherwise, from political ineptitude committed, over a long period of time, by the political elite. Even in what may seem like, at least partially, exonerating the European colonial project, which cannot be the case, it may be pragmatic to say that countries like Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe inherited economic infrastructures that were relatively developed. That is, relative to current realities on the ground complemented by the betrayal of people’s expectations in the postcolonial period. In the midst of the current misfortunes, therefore, and based on the centrality of sound public policy for both development and democracy, we concur with other observers (see, *inter alia*, Museveni, 2000; Sandbrook, 2000) who emphasise the point that unless the political component in the Africa public space is corrected, problems of development would continue unabated in the foreseeable future.

It is also the case, that with oppressive systems of governments on the African landscape, Africa’s so-called ‘best and brightest’ have been out migrating in the last 25 years, which only made matters worse for the less educated and economically less endowed segments of the population. Contrary to the contemporary African case, one might suggest in other epochs and at different intersections of time and space, citizens might have organised more effectively using the available, counter-hegemonic of civil society, trade unions, student associations, religious organisations and opposition political parties and demanded good governance and accountability from their governments. Generally, and as Pinkney (1999) suggests, sound governance systems do not initially start with hastily organised multi-party elections and quasi-immature parliamentary debates, but are greatly influenced by actions that emanate from citizens themselves, which, in the long run, would strengthen civil society so that it can exercise a check on those who have political power. It is actually this form of pluralist and participatory democratic systems that are more likely, than say the current top-down management of democracy in post-Cold War Africa, to sustain public programs and relationships that are more transparent and more accountable to citizens’ desires and needs.

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT: ENTRENCHING OR TRANSFORMING CENTRALISED DOMINATION?

It is the case that citizenship and democracy projects organised by grassroots associations and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), especially local NGOs, are blocked by the tendencies

and the practices of state leaders, despite their claim of being democrats, who demand absolute power and control over the activities as well as the rights of citizens. This is often accomplished through the same or similar structures used by colonial rulers of the imperial era. Unexpectedly, the hierarchical domination institutionalised by colonial powers, and appropriated by many postcolonial African elites is also promoted by the agents of the neo-liberal agenda of economic globalisation through the work and, indeed, management and development ideologies of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) or "global state economic governance institutions" (Van der Pijl, 1998).

One of the results of the management schemes by these global state economic governance institutions, in particular the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank, has been to neutralise, or re-direct, the activities of state as well as civil society organisations through the developmentally problematic Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Abdi, 2002). SAPs generally call for reductions in government spending on health, education, and welfare; trade liberalisation; privatisation of state enterprises and deregulation of government restrictions on acceptable allocation of resources; currency devaluation to promote export earnings to repay foreign debt; and weakening of worker protection in areas of wages and workplace conditions (Bello, (2002, p. 43). In the particular instance of Zambia, it has been reported that foreign debt has forced Zambia to divert scarce resources away from health, education and social services. So much so that continually the number of poor in Zambia has increased, with over 73 per cent of people living in poverty and over 58 per cent living in extreme poverty (KAIROS, 2002, pp. 2-3).

Further evidence of the underlying intent of SAPs and SAP-related policies, as strong counter-development realities in the African context and elsewhere, is manifested in the Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) purported to be a corrective to the global debt crisis by the World Bank and the IMF. In fact, KAIROS has stated that "The 'debt forgiveness' which, for example, Zambia received in 2000 merely clears bad debts from the creditors' ledgers and ensures an ever-increasing flow of resources out of Zambia in the form of debt servicing" (KAIROS, 2002, p. 4). Despite the stream of rhetoric from the World Bank and the IMF, therefore, "the current debt relief framework has failed Zambia, just as it has failed other highly indebted poor countries across Africa and the global South, affirming that the cancellation of Zambia's debts is the only rational response to the failure of the HIPC Initiative" (Booker in KAIROS, 2002).

Thus, in order to gain a more balanced perspective on the issues and problems faced by African states and civil societies in the quest for reliable platforms of development and, possibly, horizontally concretisable regimes of democratic governance, one may have to look beyond the borders of individual states, and focus on the transnational workings of global state economic governance institutions. To a large extent, the difficulties facing the states and the peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa find their roots in a global ethic of *saive-qui-peut* (Boyle, 1999), an interesting expression that has some important meanings for the free market orientation of these transnational entities. Here, while Boyle (1999) principally focuses his argument on the development of private educational systems in major African urban centres that are managed by small numbers of privileged state or bureaucratic elites, the analogy has a clear and practical application in the wider African context. Behind the current move of local and regional urban elites to consolidate and extend their privileged positions for their offspring, which, by the way, is hardly anomalous to the basic philosophies and practices of globalisation, the rush to achieve class distinctions that attach local elites to the goodies of the global economy (Hoogvelt, 2001), the stage is set, actually established, for the gradual abandoning of viable public educational systems which are replaced by private ones, thus ushering the zigzagging of the transnational capitalist class manipulating the rules of international trade, finance and commerce (Oxfam, 2002).

Shortly before the implementation of SAPs and with the Reagan administration assuming power in the United States in 1981, as Bello (2002) notes, the perception became that America was not only to roll back communism, but also to discipline the Third World. Viewing the situation from this ideological plateau, one should realise that whatever it claims to represent, the neo-liberal agenda is not designed to improve quality of life for people, or to enhance conditions conducive to the establishment of lasting principles of democracy and participatory citizenship. To the contrary, as Bello (2002, p. 42) points out again, the genuine operationalisation of the neo-liberal paradigm would lead to the “dismantling of the so-called ‘state-assisted capitalism’ that was seen as the domestic base for southern national capitalist elites, and to the weakening the United Nations system as a forum and instrument for the South’s economic agenda”. In reality, therefore, as was concluded in a 1988 report of the UN Commission for Africa, “the essence of SAPs was the ‘reduction/removal of direct state intervention in the productive and redistributive sectors of the economy’” (cited in Bello, 2002, p. 44).

The projects of weak governance, complemented by the forces of globalisation and the specific demands of SAPs all weakened public education, and by extension, jeopardised not the general social development that would have resulted from this, but the critical awareness of citizens to demand full democratic rights that could have enhanced their lives in the two successive and bleak decades of the 1980 and the 1990s. Modern African education, as Boyle (1999) extensively discusses, followed three historical phases: (a) the colonial education with its false but still widely diffused civilising mission, 1910-1960; (b) independence education for the national development and institutional building; and (c) the current case which he describes as austerity education, *or the Sauve Qui Peut* program, which was in place from 1980 to the present and which mainly speaks for the period when "local elites endeavour to escape from failing public and denominational schools and use their new autonomy to create private educational services, mostly in cities" (Boyle, 1999 p. 15). In the new configurations of the case, the noble goals of universal literacy, and deliberate and expansive emphasis on the much-talked-about "Education For All" (EFA) project (UNESCO, 2000) and greater equity in the public education system have been largely abandoned.

These three phases closely parallel the stages in the development of the global state economic governance institutions with their emphasis on economic dominance, backed with the threat, and, increasingly, the use, of military force. In addressing factors which influence the quality of social provision in the African context, Osei-Hwedie and Bar-On (1999, p. 91.) also find

Three distinctive historical-ideological periods and their associated political-economic orientations... how community-based social provision in the pre-colonial era gave way to voluntary and non-governmental activities; how nationalist governments subsequently supplanted these modes of provision; and how in the wake of the structural adjustment programs, the trend has shifted again to community provision of social services.

The other side of this argument, with respect to community and regional initiatives in the civil society sector, is that, generally, the on-going realisation of the neo-liberal agenda of privatisation and trade liberalisation is seen in the emphasis on the “extension of the provision of outside services, such as education, health, and government-sponsored employment-substitution programs ... [rather than] realistic income-generating schemes with outputs that go beyond mere physical survival for participants” (Osei-Hwedie and Bar-On, 1999, p. 114). Likewise, the lack of encouragement of local authority participation, engagement and incentive continues to weaken initiatives in the absence of outside direction and control. Local control of social development institutions is often denied on the camouflaged basis that it takes time to build local organisational accountability and governmental capacity and that, in the short run, it makes more monetary sense

to import the required skills and expertise from outside the community. Consequently, “as providing for people is easier and politically more effective than developing their capacities, development remains the domain of technocrats, be they in government or in NGOs” (p. 115). Here, the current global *status quo* flourishes, with non-Africans, whether they be Western governments sponsored experts or selectively benevolent NGOs pour into the continent, bringing with them, disparate and fundamentally problematic views as to what should constitute the “modern, efficient and just society” (Morales-Gómez, 1999, p. 4). In a well-known paragraph, Lyes (1996, p. 195) likens this scenario to the “*de facto* recolonisation of Africa by [among others] aid consortia, World Bank structural adjustment teams, the UNHCR, and the UN food program.”

The case generally leads to social policy and programming issues in Africa and probably elsewhere, where things are implemented “with an almost total absence of systematic assessment of the outcomes... without a reliable knowledge base... [and] with little input from recipient countries” (Morales-Gómez, 1999, p. 6). In order to see more of this tragedy in African educational and socio-economic development, one can look at the so-called ‘newest kid on the block, i.e., the supposedly local-born New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). NEPAD has been characterised by some as an integral part of the African renaissance while others see it as a further refinement of the structural adjustment logic that so effectively transfers surplus capital into the hands of the world’s central bankers and those who control those banks. The official position is that NEPAD prefigures a new stage in Africa’s relationship with other global partners, where respect for human rights, transparency and accountability in governance will be the norm. At the same time, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the African Regional Organisation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (AFRO-ICFTU) reiterated, in July 2002, their “support for the objectives and principles informing NEPAD... [but] remain critical of the manner in which NEPAD was developed with the exclusion of civil society and trade unions” (www.icftu.org). This last point may actually define why NEPAD is no longer so stylish, as it has become, at the end of all the rhetorical promulgations, another good idea that could only be implemented when Western governments see it as serving their African agenda.

What we have, therefore, in the current configurations of African development, is what the late Nigerian political economist Ake (1996) has aptly called ‘a false and uncultured program that is basically the absence of development’. To counter these and similar trends, through, among other things, pragmatic and quality public programs of education, is the possible attainment of what Aina (1999) calls a new understanding of ‘development consciousness’, or “the ways people perceive, think of, and are conscious of development as a process intended to transform their lives in a positive and beneficial direction and of its contribution to the improvement of material and other well-beings” (p. 69). Here, there is a recognition and concern about the role of the international financial institutions in “the de-legitimisation of the African state and its forced withdrawal from the provision of basic services and other forms of direct social provisioning, but also the emergence of a kind of consciousness that denies the validity and relevance of social policy in the development process” (p. 69). This de-legitimisation or expropriation of responsibility must be reversed. Aina further notes that “Africa needs not only to reclaim development, but also to face the challenges of social reconstruction, that is, rebuilding social institutions and support systems eroded by years of neglect and the efforts of both internal and external forces to undermine them” (p. 70). Still, because of the bleak African situation, one should not give up on new initiatives including NEPAD, which, if configured with more meaningful input from the South, may address some of the concerns we are describing here.

THE DEMOCRATISATION PARADIGM: SELECT PERSPECTIVES ON AFRICA

We like to start here with the assumption that the introduction of a new paradigm in any analytical disposition in the social sciences and education could be dangerous, for it would expectedly involve, at least from a theoretical perspective, a new way of doing things. But again, as democracy was not a common practice in Africa, things have indeed changed in this case. Still, as Nzongola-Ntalaja (1998) says, there are controversies concerning the feasibility of democracy and democratic governance in contemporary Africa, which should not mean that democratic practices, beyond any labelling essentialities, are foreign to the continent, or more grotesquely, are the exclusive properties of Western societies. Democratic norms and principles are universal, but the institutions that inform democracy and the concrete forms of its political practice may vary in time and space. These are the spatial and temporal dimensions of democratic practices. African authoritarian rulers often argue that democracy is cultural and historical and should not be dictated from the West. They relentlessly argue that Africa has its own forms of so-called 'Africanised democracy'. The argument has been used to shift attention from all the human rights violations, political repression, economic mismanagement and failure mentioned above, or to account for corruption and bad governance that is rife in Africa. If we accept that democracy is a universal phenomenon, then we should be talking of democratising Africa rather than Africanising democracy. Ukpokodu (1997) observes that most African nations tend to shift back and forth between three types of government systems: democratic, semi-democratic, and authoritarian. The shift is normally caused by threats to their *status quo*. African governments, with the exception of a few like Botswana, become combative when civil society and opposition political parties challenge their governance and corruption. Political persecution, violence and treason charges are targeted at those threatening the *status quo*. For instance, in Zimbabwe from 2000 to 2003, opposition members of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), including its entire top leadership cadre, were arrested for non-existent treason charges. The charges were trumped up by the ZANU (PF) government in order to induce fear into those fighting for the democratisation of Zimbabwe. These are political tragedies that make participatory democracy elusive in Africa.

Democracy and the rule of law are dialectical and, by and large, contain within themselves the not so alien polemics of good governance. Osaghae (1999) explains democratisation or transition to democracy as a political process that has to do with the transformation of the state and political society. Democracy thrives in a nation where political rights and the rule of law supercede party politics and protectionism. Participation in political, social and economic decisions by the governed irrespective of their gender, political affiliation, ethnicity, race, and religion, and good governance that respects the rule of law, are more important than political control and protecting ruling class interests. In Africa, where state-centered politics is crucial to economic and social relations, the overriding imperatives are to strengthen state structures through democratic, accountable, and responsive forms of governance that are tolerant to alternative voices and dialogue. These ideals accelerate participatory democracy, which is a prerequisite to personal, social and economic development. Tragically, freedom of expression, alternative information, free and fair elections and freedom of association are anathema to African governments.

Nzongola-Ntalaja (1998) argues, for example, that democracy from a philosophical, historical, and comparative perspective is a universal principle of governance that is a moral imperative, a social process, and a particular type of political practice applicable to all human societies. Nyerere (1998, p. 27) also contends that "democracy means much more than voting on the basis of adult suffrage every few years; it means (among other things) attitudes of toleration and willingness to co-operate with others on terms of equality." Most African dictators reject democratic values based on equality and respect of alternative opinion. They resist both a political culture and ideology that empowers civil society. In addition, they frustrate demands for transparent and non-repressive political arena that enhance political, social and economic accountability. Thus, most of

these leaders are hostile to democracy, which could be achieved through democratic transitions. Hence, the need, not only to appreciate the pragmatics of citizenship and, through effective possibilities of citizenship education so as to educate the African public to take advantage of the current winds of democratisation that are, at different configurations and speed, blowing across this large, populous but harshly underdeveloped zone of the world. Next, we engage the conceptual and possible practical foundations of citizenship, complemented by a quasi-dense theoretical discussion of citizenship education and its relevance for contemporary African societies.

CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

In general, citizenship is associated with national identity as affirmed by membership to a particular nation-state that is itself defined by globally recognised national boundaries. Generally, it is the state that packages and regulates the identities of its citizens and controls individual and social rights and responsibilities. In that setting, individuals or citizens carry identity cards, passports, and driver's licences that attest to national identity (or citizenship) within the confines of their country's frontiers or in other parts of the world. More often than otherwise, citizens do not partake in, or even influence this project of identity packaging. It is the reality of a given state's omnipresent power to legitimate citizen's legal and other statuses that actually gives it so much power to control the overall being of its so-called citizens. Generally, citizenship might have been historically seen as similar to membership in, and accompanying relationships with the nation-state. In these more complex times, though, Davies and Evans (2001) would be right when they note that currently, citizenship is a multi-dimensional construct and practice with a wide-ranging arenas and intersections of operation, and as such is characterised by a cluster of social and other elements that perpetuate different levels of contestations that are contiguous and continuous. And while they might talk about emerging world perspectives on global citizenship (cf. Dower, 2003), still, as Africans are fundamentally deprived *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world, their citizenship situation is also less fluid, politically disenfranchised, and, therefore, begging to be understood in both quasi-rigid historical and currently deprived (in terms of citizenship according fundamental inalienable right) realities.

Again, as Ndegwa (2001) observes, conditions that permeate African nations have changed very little from authoritarianism, and have been inimical to democratisation and consolidation of democratic rule. Any discussion on citizenship cannot be divorced or separated from the polemics of democracy, human rights, the rule of law and social justice. These areas, therefore, remain sites of struggle within the context of individual Africans and collectivities such as civil society associations with most still fighting for basic political rights, which, as mentioned above, would be the key for any effective reconfiguration of the present African condition. In fact, it is mainly that platform of unequal citizenship that has precipitated and, in many cases, sustained the disastrous primarily political or politico-economic upheavals in Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Rwanda, and Somalia.

Citizenship Education: Theoretical Perspectives with Reference to Africa

As Soltis (1988) noted, all education generally involves an element of citizenship training. Citizenship education and political education are, for the most part, similar (Torney-Purta, 1990), and we are using the two concepts interchangeably, but the former would subsume more into its sphere of analysis. As Cogan (1998) and Niemi and Junn (1998), note, the moral, ethical and social objectives and implications of citizenship would accord citizens the possibility of understanding why things are as they are. This is important, for in order to create citizens, one must identify with the whole political tradition and its derivatives so as "to make a claim about one's *moral identity*; [and] to commit oneself to continuing a particular story because one thinks

it is morally worthy of continuance” (Callan, 1997, p. 125). Generally speaking, though, a primary aim of citizenship education is to elevate the level of people’s participation in the political process (Quigley and Bahmueller, 1991). This participation is probably needed more today in Africa than any other continent or area of the world. But people, it must be understood, cannot acquire effective citizenship by simply being a part in the exercise of emerging democratic possibilities in the continent. Thus, we concur with the position that whether it is Africa or elsewhere, the viability of democratic development would greatly depend on citizens effectively taught about the mechanics, processes, values as well as virtues of democracy (Enslin et al., 2001; Hahn, 1998; Oakeshott, 1951; and Dewey, 1926).

Dewey’s *Democracy and Education* (1926) which, in its time, was an important watershed in understanding the relationship between democracy and education, and would undoubtedly remain a classic well into the twenty-first century, effectively emphasises how expansive programs of learning, albeit not exclusively in civic education, would help sustain national or possibly international projects of democracy. We can also see the work of the late Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire (2000 [1970], 1973) where, despite the primacy of educational philosophy in his works, are important works of citizenship education that provocatively analysed critical literacy and the resulting social conscientisation so the underclass could harness new and transformative programs of political awareness for development. In the Sub-Saharan African context, a unique program of education with clear political objectives (Education for Self-Reliance) was formulated by Tanzania’s first President, Nyerere (1968) with nationalist and periodically noble perspectives, but with limited initial success. In Nyerere’s case, especially, it is clear that, despite the continuing need of his ideas and projects, a combination of a global capital onslaught (McHenry, 1994), apparently aided by social class consciousness that permeated the Tanzanian public, with all eventually derailing his programs of rural and agricultural development-oriented education. In Freire’s case, on the other hand, there has been a remarkable consistency in how his program of grassroots citizenship has influenced past as well as current formations of popular consciousness. That is, even if the practical operationalisation of critical pedagogy may be limited, the continuing appropriation of his progressive philosophy of education for horizontal emancipation, by community and civil society associations in Latin America and elsewhere, is widely visible and conducive to possible projects of social and political enfranchisement.

With these points on citizenship and citizenship education, it is our understanding, in fact conditional agreement with Bishop and Hamot (2001) that democracy is, by-and-large, a cross-cultural construct and practice, complemented by the reality that despite any inherent weaknesses in the case, it would still be ranked above anything that Africans have experienced in the past 40 years of postcolonial existence. With the problems of development persistent in the African context, therefore, and full citizenship rights not yet bestowed upon the public, complemented by the long-term manipulation of both the language and politics by the continent’s metamorphosing elite, it is our contention that there is a great need to formulate and implement effective and, where needed, culturally sensitive programs of citizenship education that both formally and informally educate the public about political processes as well as their fundamental rights, complemented by the important virtues of democracy that could all enhance the viability of current life situations. Yet, this will not be an easy process, for the meanings as well as the operationalisations of democratic governance in the African context will, especially, remain contentious, for these have to deal with and address expansive transformations of citizenship and governance relationships, discourses and practices that must take shape and become entrenched. That being as it may, though, we submit that the long journey to use inclusive projects of citizenship education to achieve practical and accountable systems of governance in strategically de-linking Africa is worth the effort and should be prioritised. In the final section of the paper, we briefly look, relative to the preceding discussions, at the case of democratising Zambia, and

the need to undertake specialised programs of citizenship that should entrench the fledging but still underdeveloped democracy of the country.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT: A BRIEF FOCUS ON ZAMBIA

This brief focus on Zambia examines the possible cases of educational programs that promote political participation in the country. Zambia in central Africa ended 27 years of one-party rule in October, 1991. With the rescinding of Kaunda's long reign in 1991, and the assumption of power by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), Zambia embarked on the road to democratisation and was, in effect, one of few Sub-Saharan African countries where genuine and sustained domestic mobilisation led to democratic governance in the early 1990s. As Joseph (1998), Hutchful (1997), Ihonvbere (1996c, 1996b, 1996a) and Sandbrook (1996) note, in most other countries of the region, the so-called early 1990s wave of democratisation simply 'constitutionalised' already existing authoritarian regimes, thus, leading to a new rise of 'illiberal democracy' (Zakaria, 1997). Here, autocratic rulers simply re-aligned old structures and loyalties to stay in power. Some of the contributing factors to Zambia's more viable move to democracy might have been that, with a population estimated (in July 2000) at 10 million, Zambia is the second most urbanised country (after South Africa) in Sub-Saharan Africa. It has also one of the continent's highest literacy rates, which was expected to reach 88 per cent in 2000 (Mwansa, 1995). These factors are complemented by an above average (in regional standards) per capita income of US \$880.

The magnitude of the Zambian public's disengagement from political participation was described by Bratton (1999) who, in a comprehensive essay entitled, 'Political Participation in a New Democracy', affirmed that while "voter turnout in founding elections was high in many African countries in the early 1990s exceeding 85% of registered voters, in Zambia's case, it vacillated between a high of 46%... [and] a shockingly low 14%" (pp. 549 and 555). The continuing cases of weak political participation in post-1991 Zambia also attest to an electorate that is, beyond the practice of voting, disengaged from politics. When Zambians were, for example, asked to what extent they were active politically, close to 75% said they were either not politically active at all, or minimally involved in political issues such voting, organising electoral programs or registering voters (Bratton, 1999). On another and still important level, it is also the case that, besides the country-wide depressed levels of political participation, the problem is selectively gender and age-specific such that in all national and regional elections since 1991, women tended to vote less than men, and younger people had lower voter turnout rates than older folks. The gender and age-specific factors definitely represent serious problems for a country where women outnumber men, and where close to 50 per cent of the population is under 14 years of age. And if one would have thought, as was understood then, that the third national elections, which were held in December and which ushered in the presidency of the current leader Mwanawasa, would change the overall situation for the average Zambian, it is the case that in early 2004, both the current socio-economic situation and any dividend from democracy that might result from close to 14 years of open governance, do not represent tangible progress for the people. Even if the 2002 elections witnessed relatively higher voter turnout rates that were seen as responding to allegations of corruption against former President Frederick Chiluba who has since been acquitted, for us still, as elsewhere in the wider continental context, political participation, as a multidimensional construct and practice, would go beyond the simple act of voting, and involves citizens fully partaking in defining and acting within and through their country's political processes, objectives and results. To see this, one should look beyond the election-specific weaknesses of the case that show us how the collective effects of the overall political apathy in the Zambian public space could have endangered the general essence or even the existence of the country's emerging

democracy. With the new governance arrangements, regardless of how you label them, not improving the lives of the average Zambian, the possible disquiet among the populace might have exacerbated the occurrence of a number of democracy-endangering occurrences including opposition groups boycotting elections, one president attempting to change the constitution and run for a third term, junior army officers staging an unsuccessful *coup d'etat*, all complemented by the continuing dissatisfaction with a worsening economy that many are blaming on democracy itself.

With Zambian democracy, by-and-large, not meeting the aspirations of the people and with hitherto political interactions potentially representing a clear danger to both the spirit and the corpus of this central country's new democracy, therefore, we were proposing more intensified projects of citizenship education that contribute to the open and more inclusive discourses and practices of democracy that might lessen the political apathy described above. It should go without saying that Zambia's problems of political and continuing economic underdevelopment should be contextualised within the core of the expansively discussed and still prevailing institutional and related livelihood weaknesses that contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa has become well-known for (on the overall African situation see, among many others, Abdi, 2003; Bayart et. al., 1998; Tsie, 1997; Ake, 1996; Monga, 1996). We also concur with the crucial point that in order for Zambia to achieve a long-term and viable situational turn up, it has to achieve, as other parts of Africa should also do (Sandbrook, 2000; Gyimah-Boadi, 1998), a fully-functioning and fair political space.

In order to realise a well-governed and inclusive political platform, one should understand that Zambians, with a long history of colonialism and a non-democratic extensive reign during the postcolonial period, cannot suddenly appreciate the intricacies as well as the virtues and valued practices of democracy. In that vein, we agree with Enslin et al. (2001) that in order for democracy to succeed, people need to be taught to become democrats. It is on this understanding, therefore, that we suggest that in order to achieve a viable, participatory democracy that is not culturally alienating in the post-Cold War Zambian social and political spaces, some potential points of policy and programmatic departure must include important citizenship education-related undertakings. The first of these could be investigating and critically understanding the institutional, informational and attitudinal problems that are hindering general political participation in this partially democratising country. The second will focus on designing and implementing specific educational programs that could especially target the raising of people's participation in all facets of the political process, and especially in the case of women and youth. And the third will undertake the formulation as well as the establishment of collaborative efforts that involve the Zambian Electoral Commission and the Zambian Ministry of Education, with the aim of developing ongoing programs of citizenship education that selectively permeate all levels of the schooling system.

While we are not prescribing specific methodologies to achieve these at this point, we can still state that the formulations of these citizenship education programs can either be formal and implemented within public school settings and/or conveyed informally through, for example, civil society-based forums or through the electronic or printed media. It is, indeed, the case that in Zambia and, undoubtedly, elsewhere in theoretically democratising Africa, the overall relationship that common people have with the governance arrangements have not changed that much since 1990, and if liberal democracy or its possible African versions should herald inclusive possibilities of social development for Zambia and other countries, the processes themselves must become inclusive, and citizenship education must be enlisted to contribute to that realisation.

Again, new citizenship education programs will not necessarily, we should know, cure all the development ills of Zambia, and, of course, would not establish or sustain fully inclusive practices

of the political space, That is not even the case in established Western democracies. What they could instigate, at least in the short run, on the other hand, is to rearrange people's relationships with their government, thus precipitating a new Zambian state that is more accountable, more transparent in its public policy agenda and public resources management and, therefore, more responsive to public demands and expectations.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we engage in a theoretical and quasi-eclectic discussion of the continuities of African underdevelopment, the role new civil society forums could play in alleviating these problems and the need for new conceptualisations and practices of citizenship that should counterweigh the malaise of governance that has characterised this old continent in the previously promising postcolonial period. We are cognisant that with many decades, if not centuries of colonial and post-independence oppression, complemented by the failed but still circulating policies of SAPs, as discussed extensively above, Africa needs new formulations of enfranchised citizenship, which may be achieved through post-Cold war constructions of citizenship education that should strengthen current exhortations of democratisation that are, in many cases, more rhetorical than real. Finally, we have stated a limited discussion on the situation of Zambia, which, as things started in the democratic front in early 1990s, should have achieved better prospects on both political and economic fronts. But as desirable and highly needed progress (on all fronts) stalled even here, we are calling for an Africa-wide and Zambia-specific understanding that in order for citizens to become willing, informed and effective democrats, they must be minimally taught to understand democracy and, in the process, behave democratically.

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Technology integration in education in developing countries: Guidelines to policy makers¹

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Technology such as Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is a potent force in driving economic, social, political and educational reforms. Countries, particularly developing ones, cannot afford to stay passive to ICT if they are to compete and strive in the global economy. The health of the economy of any country, poor or rich, developed or developing, depends substantially on the level and quality of the education it provides to its workforce. Education reform is occurring throughout the world and one of the tenets of the reform is the introduction and integration of ICT in the education system. The successful integration of any technology, thus ICT, into the classroom warrants careful planning and depends largely on how well policy makers understand and appreciate the dynamics of such integration. This paper offers a set of guidelines to policy makers for the successful integration of ICT into the classroom.

Technology integration, developing countries, policy makers,
ICT in education guidelines, education reform

TECHNOLOGY, EDUCATION AND THE GLOBAL MARKET

Much has been said and reported about the impact of technology, especially computers, in education. Much research has been conducted throughout the world to evaluate the positive effects of technology on learning, and to investigate the kind of enhanced learning environment that technology provides in the classroom. In short, considerable resources have been invested to justify the place of technology in education, and many research studies have revealed the benefits and gains that can be achieved by students, teachers and administrators.

Integration of ICT in education has been a contentious issue. At one extreme, there are some who are not convinced that ICT will bring the pedagogical benefits that have been so much touted about (Cuban, 1986; McRobbie and Thomas, 1998; Oppenheimer, 1997; Peat and Franklin, 2003; Postman, 1990, 1993, 1995; Stoll, 1995, cited in Vestich, 1997). At the other extreme, advocates like Edison (cited in Saettler, 1990, p 98), Negroponte (1995), the co-founder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab, and Papert (1996) claim that technology will change the educational landscape forever and in ways that will engender a dramatic increase in the performance of learners. In between the two extremes, there are others who adopt a balanced approach. They are convinced that ICT, if properly integrated, has the potential to enhance the teaching and learning process (Apkan, 2002; Bork, 2003; Dwyer, Ringstaff, and Sandholtz, 1990; Kian-Sam Hong, Abang Ahmad Ridzuan and Ming-Koon Kuek, 2003; Lee and Dziuban, 2002; Thompson, 2003). If properly integrated, ICT-enabled education has the potential to promote the

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development of students' decision-making and problem solving skills, data processing skills, and communication capabilities (Whitworth and Berson, 2003).

Motivated by the prospect of greater economic, social, educational and technological gains, both developing and developed countries, are bringing about education reform, with a clear focus on ICT integration in education. Countries have been investing considerably in terms of money, expertise, resources and research to integrate technology in education as smoothly as possible so that the classroom environment is made more conducive for enhanced teaching and learning. Nations have recognised not only the positive effects of technology in education, but also the pivotal roles that it plays in securing jobs in the competitive job market of the 21st century. Prospective job applicants increasingly need to be computer-literate in order to qualify for job positions. Moreover, for countries to compete with each other in the global information-based and knowledge-based economy, they need a workforce that is skilled in the use of technology to gain the necessary competitive edge over one another. Hence, it is no longer a question of if technology should be integrated in the school setting, but a question of when and how to integrate technology so that it benefits all the parties concerned – students, teachers, administrators, parents and the community. Countries that fail to recognise and act according to the trends in new content and new methodologies in education and training may find it very hard to compete in the global economy (Christensen, 1997; Delannoy, 2000).

Few statistics are available from developing countries. Much research in the area of technology integration in education has been conducted in technologically advanced countries, but little in the so-called developing or third world countries. On the one hand, this implies that the former countries now possess a wealth of knowledge, skills, expertise, and the competitive edge that most of the latter countries do not possess. On the other hand, the latter countries can gain a lot by learning and adapting the 'ready-made' skills and expertise of their advanced counterparts, and they can do so with relatively less money. This means that developing countries and poorer nations do not require investing as much as their more developed counterparts have had to do. They can benefit immediately. Nevertheless, just like any development project, this technology integration in education will still require considerable investments and it has to be systematic and well planned.

This paper looks at how developing countries and poorer nations can adopt, adapt, and apply the knowledge gleaned by countries that have already embarked on the ICT integration bandwagon in their own educational systems. It is hoped that the insights put forward in this paper will enable such countries to make better plans on how to create their own pool of skilled and expert educational technologists. The paper first establishes a ground for technology integration in education; then, it highlights various ideas and insights on planning this integration process; and finally, it recommends what can be done in the context of developing and poorer nations, bearing in mind that many of them have very few or no computers in their schools and limited infrastructural, technological, and financial resources.

For the purpose of this document, technologically advanced countries and developed countries are regarded as synonymous, and developing and poorer countries are collectively referred to as developing countries unless explicitly stated otherwise. Also, policy makers refer to the people who are decision makers in education such as school principals, education superintendents, regional education directors and, district-level or state-level educational administrators. Also, unless stated otherwise, technology is used to include the computer system, Internet and World Wide Web, networks and communication devices, and software.

JUSTIFICATION FOR ICT INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

Technology in education should not be considered as a replacement for face-to-face instruction but rather as a support to “attain objectives that have not been attained efficiently otherwise: expanding access, promoting equality, improving the internal efficiency of educational systems, enhancing the quality of education, and preparing new and old generations for a technology-driven market place” (Haddad and Jurich, 2002, p. 47). Technology in education offers the following benefits to the educational community and the society:

- An enhanced learning environment for learners. Technology provides a motivating learning environment whereby learners are given the opportunity to be constructively engaged with instruction. Research has revealed that, if properly implemented, learners can reap the pedagogical benefits of technology in the classroom. Experts today increasingly advocate the implementation of the constructivist model of learning rather than of the traditional instructivist model (Clark and Sun, 1996; Means and Olsen, 1997; Williams, 2000).
- A powerful tool to supplement teachers’ instruction in classroom. If properly used by teachers, technology can foster more interest in learning on the part of students, and teachers can use it in the instruction of their respective subjects. Technology has the potential to make instruction easier, more challenging and motivating for teachers.
- An administrative tool for teachers and administrators. Apart from classroom instruction, teachers are also involved in class administrative duties such as student record keeping, lesson planning, preparing handouts, tutorials and slides, preparing exams papers, marking papers and recording of results, performing some type of statistical analyses on marks, and so on. Administrators are also involved in a variety of work that requires technology, such as the computation of school performance for a certain year, keeping of records of employees, and preparation of school budget.. Technology can therefore become an extremely useful tool in handling of a number of the administrative tasks for both teachers and administrators.
- Increased access to education and inclusive education in the school. Schools have had at heart the integration of all students regardless of their cultural, racial and socio-economic backgrounds, as well as their strengths and weaknesses in any area into an integrated school community. Technology has been recognised as providing a means of helping schools achieve this goal of promoting equal access to education. Also, it has the potential to offer increased access to education to students with disabilities.
- A communication platform. In the not so distant past, geographical distance was a major hurdle when it came to communicating with people around the world. Technology has changed that. Through networks and the Internet, it is now possible to communicate with anyone in the world. Technology has also presented schools with an excellent medium to share ideas and experiences. Students, teachers, and administrators can communicate, exchange knowledge and concerns, meet experts and peers, and share work in collaborative projects through the use of technology.
- A passport to employment and to gaining competitive edge in the global economy. Increasingly in developed and developing countries, job markets are demanding a computer literate workforce. In the not too distant future, knowledge and skills of computer use will become a basic requirement for securing a job and for a nation to compete for a share of the global market. Technology in education can prepare students now to integrate the world of work and competition tomorrow.

PLANNING FOR TECHNOLOGY INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

Just like any project, technology integration in educational settings requires an implementation plan. Without a needs-analysis, proper planning and management activities, projects are doomed to slow progress or outright failure. Levine (1998) emphasises the importance of having a plan that is based on real school needs and one that is realistic, achievable, and effective. The plan should be produced, not for the sole purpose of putting technology in the classroom but to reflect the real needs of schools in order to make effective technology deployment and to produce enhanced learning environments. The involvement of all stakeholders in the preparation and execution of the plan has been identified as a catalyst in the integration process.

Levine (1998) proposes the following the components of an effective technology integration plan in schools:

- Formulating a planning team
- Collecting and analysing data
- Formulating the visions, goals, and objectives
- Exploring available technology
- Determining training and staffing needs
- Determining a budget and funding sources
- Developing an action plan
- Implementing the plan
- Evaluation

Still relevant today is a three-phased approach to the process of systematic planning and implementation of computers in schools formulated by Cheever et al. (1986). The three phases are:

- **Strategic planning.** This involves establishing institutional goals at district/state level, identifying the necessary resources to achieve goals, planning the acquisition, deployment and disposition of the resources. Examples of strategic planning activities are the writing of long-term plan for the integration and use of computers in schools, and the appointment of citizens and committees to work towards funding acquisition.
- **Management control.** This is concerned with the actual acquisition of the necessary resources and planning their integration in the classroom to meet the institutional goals. Examples of management control activities are the formulation of instructional objectives of a certain subject at a certain grade level when computers are introduced to teach and learn that subject, and the development of school-level budgets for resource acquisition and staff development.
- **Operational control.** This has to do with the day-to-day usage of computers in the classroom. Examples of activities are the scheduling of computer access to teachers and students, and the computer usage policies.

Levine (1998) and Cheever et al. (1986) thus inform us how essential it is to plan at different levels based on real needs in order to increase the probability of getting the acceptance and support of all other stakeholders both philosophically and financially. Therefore, technology integration requires the preparation, implementation and evaluation of holistic plans at various levels – the classroom, school, district, state, and across the nation. It is important to ensure that these plans do not conflict with or diverge from each other. Rather, they should be compatible, integrative and synergistic.

MORE INSIGHTS FROM A FEW CASES

The Case of South Africa

Writing about educational reform in South Africa, Christensen (1997) proposes a two-pronged strategy for implementing technology-enhanced educational reform at the national level and at the global level internationally. He states that an economically developing country like South Africa faces two types of challenges – international and national. At the international level, it faces the same global market competition as economically advanced countries – a market that is increasingly being driven by information and knowledge instead of industries. Many schools in the developed countries are still using the teacher-centred model in classroom instruction as opposed to a collaborative and constructivist one that current education reforms recommend (Williams, 2000). Students in such schools are thus not being educated to enter the knowledge-based economy of the near future. The same situation applies also to developing countries. At the national level, South Africa faces a huge task, beginning with changing public and professional perceptions and ending with changing educational practice at grassroots levels.

Christensen (1997) recommends the use of the best combination of educational technologies to meet the national and international challenges. This combination will consist of low-cost, high-impact, mass-delivery approaches through radio, television, and printed text in order to meet the national challenge, and computers and the Internet to meet the international challenge. However, Christensen warns against the danger of promising too much or ignoring real limitations. Educational reform is a positive process but recommendations that are made should be realistic, feasible and dependent on the economic, social, and political situations of a country. A majority of developing countries, mostly the third world countries, face the same challenges and many of Christensen's recommendations apply to other developing countries as well.

The Case of Mauritius

As part of its education reform, the Republic of Mauritius introduced ICT as a subject in 2003 into primary schools under the School IT Project (SITP) (Ministry of Education and Scientific Research [MOESR], 2002). In 2003, ICT teachers completed their initial training at the Mauritius Institute of Education and were subsequently posted in all the primary schools throughout the country (Jhurree et al., 2004). However, until now, there are no computer laboratories or adequate ICT resources in primary schools. A direct result of this situation is frustration among ICT teachers and a sense of disillusionment in the nation.

Lack of funding and inadequate planning have been postulated as two major obstacles to the implementation of the SITP project. Funding has always been a perennial hurdle in any project. However, by compounding it with politically-motivated promises, lack of political commitment (Kenny, 2001), and misjudgement of the massiveness and scale of the project by policy makers, the project was likely to suffer a setback.

The government has now revived the project by adopting what it calls the phased-implementation approach. Under this formula, around 50 computer laboratories would be set up each year in 50 primary schools instead of equipping all 284 primary schools at one time. This approach has been advanced as being more realistic and feasible. Undoubtedly, the amalgamation of achievable and realistic targets with firm commitment from authorities will move the technology integration project a step closer towards success.

The Case of Warren County, USA

An evaluation study on the district's instructional and administrative use of technology in Warren County public schools, Kentucky, was conducted and recommendations were made thereafter in

how to integrate and deploy technology more effectively and efficiently in these schools (Clark and Sun, 1996). The following recommendations were made:

- The need for proper infrastructural support such as for proper hardware, software and, networks and Internet access, in order to provide the required logistical support to schools. Proper hardware can be obtained by either upgrading old machines or redeploying them to run software that requires little computing power, or by purchasing more powerful ones. Proper software should allow more exploration, collaboration and communication rather than the traditional drill-and-practice software (see also Means and Olsen, 1997).
- The improvement and expansion of professional development programs on the hands-on instructional use of technology in classroom. These programs need to be continuous and relevant to the needs to the teacher. Considerable authority should be given to schools in deciding the nature, scope, and frequency of the programs.
- The development of a district-wide technology plan focusing on the integration of technology in education to provide an enhanced learning environment.
- The investment of more effort by the district to inform teachers about software focusing on communication, application, and exploratory activities instead of tutorial activities.
- The provision of more technical support to teachers, both in how to handle the technology for administrative works and how to make pedagogical use of it in the classroom.
- The equipment of classrooms with computers so that teachers and students have easy access when they need them.

The study by Clark and Sun (1996) adds the following recommendations:

- District-supported 'group-buy' of computers by teachers and students for home use in order to reduce the incompatibility that may exist between school computers and home computers,
- The provision of assistance to teachers regarding training and support in the use of technology in instruction.

Though the Warren County had already integrated technology in the schools, the study was an effort to evaluate the impact or success of this integration. It showed the need to conduct evaluation exercises on a timely basis in order to determine the degree of success of implementation of any technology integration plan. This evaluation study also helped in identifying areas of strengths and weaknesses.

The Case of the State of Michigan, USA

The concept paper on technology and educational reform produced by the Technology and Telecommunications Planning and Advisory Group (TTPAG, 1994) of the Department of Education of the state of Michigan in the United States discusses a five-year plan for the integration of technology in schools in its quest to reform education in the state of the Michigan. The Department of Education has recognised the role of technology in reforming education and in bringing positive change to the teaching-learning environment. The concept paper offers insights that are also applicable and useful to many developing countries. It proposes the following measures:

- The formulation of and adherence to an implementation plan. Like any project, technology integration needs to be properly planned and the plan needs to be adhered to and its implementation monitored. Without this, there will be little or no chance for successfully achieving the set goals.

- The creation of an information network in and among schools with access to the Internet.
- The creation of new technology-rich learning communities of teachers and students that (1) foster more active learning, (2) provide access to information, (3) enable teacher-student communication and collaboration irrespective of time, geography, age and ability, (4) transform the classroom into a global learning environment by providing links to the rest of the world, and (5) link homes, schools and society so that learning not only occurs in schools but anywhere and at anytime during the life of an individual.
- Opportunities for the professional development of in-service and pre-service teachers, parents, community members, and local boards of education in upgrading their technological skills.
- The allocation of adequate funding for the establishment of a state-wide informational and educational network and for staff development programs targeted to increase skills and competencies of school staff in its use of educational technologies.
- The development of a set of educational technology standards for the creation of a flexible technology-based learning environment that promotes and maintains full participation, open communication, and equal access. This ensures that users of technology such as teachers, students, administrators, and the community will be able to access it, and communicate with each other without having to worry about the changes in and differences among the technological platforms constituting the learning environments.
- Fostering a partnership among government, business, and educational institutions, such as schools and universities. This partnership involves all stakeholders concerned and would create a forum whereby they can collaborate constructively in the technology integration process.
- Uniform distribution of funds. A proper scheme for allocating funds needs to be established. This scheme must not only include one-time funding but continuous and recurring financial support.

Though the state of Michigan already had a number of technological capabilities and infrastructure, like a data network connected to the National Science Foundation NET (NSFNET), the National Research Network, and the Internet, the goal of the concept paper was to extend and improve these existing facilities to grant access to a wider community of learners in schools and community. This plan, despite dating back ten years, still offers strong propositions which apply to any country in the world.

Other Cases

According to its ICT integration plan for education, Hong Kong has taken the following initiatives, among others, of (1) offering technical support on a contractual basis to schools, (2) opening school labs after school hours for students to increase access, (3) implementing a pilot scheme of demonstration schools with a view to establishing best practices in ICT education similar to countries such as Australia and Singapore, and (4) setting up a nationwide school network similar to countries such as Singapore, Australia, and Mauritius. It also lays much emphasis on issues of access and connectivity, teacher empowerment, curriculum and resource support, and community-wide culture that fosters more involvement and collaboration among school management, teachers, students, parents, the business sector and other community bodies (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2004). Furthermore, while the Malaysian Smart School Project plan (Ministry of Education of Malaysia, 1998) stipulates the setting up of a Teacher's Room resourced with Internet access, access to educational databases and professional networking

tools, the government of New Zealand emphasises the empowerment of not only teachers but school administrators as well in the use of ICT.

World Links, a project initiated by World Bank in 1997 to assist developing countries bridge the digital and knowledge divide and empower the youth, provides many interesting lessons (Hawkins, 2002). Technology integration programs have suffered failure because of (1) little or no professional development initiatives, (2) the absence of national policies on ICT education, and (3) the lack of community involvement. These mistakes were therefore not repeated in the World Link project and the author reports that the project was successful. Web-based tools and services such as emails and, web hosting, and wireless technologies have also been proposed. An alternative to wireless technologies can be the use of dedicated high-speed lease lines with a view to overcoming the barrier of using computers in school due to unreliable connections. It is also recommended that Ministries of Education establish close partnerships with telecommunications providers to show them the benefits of providing subsidised access to schools such as expanded client base and positive image.

With regard to technology and systemic educational reform in the US, Lane (n.d.) notes the following:

- Redefinition of the educational community, the roles and relationships between the partners in that community
- Restructuring of curriculum, instruction and assessment
- Redefinition of the structures and technologies of the school, recognising that it is also a player in the educational process
- Redefinition of where learning takes place and what it means to be 'educated'
- Time for teachers to learn to use technology, to experiment with its use and to create effective lesson plans that contribute to the learning needs of students
- Consistent access to a range of similar technologies at all levels of education for teachers and students, in schools, individual classrooms, libraries, home and the workplace
- Ongoing needs assessment

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR TECHNOLOGY INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

On the issue of cost and financial mechanisms, there are various categories that need analysis in the calculation of financial investment. These include: (1) hardware, (2) software, (3) connectivity, ongoing maintenance and technical support including personnel, (4) professional development and training, (5) facilities, locale, and renovation, and (6) project management cost (Bakia, 2002). It would be suicidal not to consider all of these various categories of investments because they function in a holistic manner. If any one category receives more attention to the detriment of the others, the project could collapse.

Funding is an important ingredient to the successful integration of technology in the classroom. Cheever et al. (1986) identify six sources of funding. These are:

1. School budget: The first place to look for funds is the school's operating budget. However, due to limitations of this fund, large purchases of technological devices are difficult.
2. Bond issues: School districts also have capital budgets, apart from the operating budgets for schools, usually targeted toward the funding of major projects such as the construction of a new school and other facilities. Capital budgets can be obtained through floating bonds.

3. Educational collaborations: Through collaborative efforts among schools and other organisations, both local and foreign, funds can be raised and provided to schools. Also, school districts can purchase technological devices like computers and printers in bulk from a single vendor so as to reduce the purchasing costs. Through collaborative efforts, educational software can also be developed or purchased.
4. Federal or State Funds: If the government has a vision of improving education and integrating computers in education and if it is committed to this vision, then the task of getting government funding should also be explored.
5. Corporate Grants: Many wealthy companies receive tax deductions, along with societal recognition and customer market, for the help, in funds or other financially quantifiable terms, they give to institutions to achieve the latter's goals.
6. Private gifts: Financial support can also be obtained from private sources such as parents-teachers associations, civic groups or individuals or alumni, special fundraising events.

Added to this list could be international donor organisations such as USAID, World Bank, and UNESCO. These sources can be exploited by developing countries to obtain funds towards the equipment of schools with computers (Haddad and Jurich, 2002). Opening school computer laboratories after school hours to the community can also be a source of finance (Hawkins, 2002).

SECURING THE COLLABORATION AND COMMITMENT OF MAJOR STAKEHOLDERS TO THE ICT INTEGRATION ENDEAVOUR

There are a number of major stakeholders in ICT integration in schools. Three such stakeholders are teachers, school administration and parents. They form the cogs of the wheel that drives the ICT integration engine, and their involvement at the outset cannot be underestimated. Failing to take this into account may result in either slow or no integration.

Changing the attitudes of teachers toward ICT education is also crucial. Teachers are at the forefront when it comes to influencing the teaching-learning process inside the classroom. It is therefore important to change their attitude towards a computer-based learning environment. Miller (1988) suggests that school administrators should encourage teachers to develop a positive attitude about computers and to have minimum skills in using computers for educational purposes.

Administrators should be careful in the process of changing teacher attitudes. This process should be conducted so that teachers do not feel threatened in any way due to the introduction of computers in the classroom and such that they learn to appreciate the virtues of computers in education. They should be given positive accounts of how computers can make their teaching duties easier and more pleasing. Also, they should feel secure from the fear of job loss due to the integration of computers. They should be reassured that their jobs will not be threatened in any way by computers, and that computers will rather complement their classroom instruction.

Another step towards securing the trust and commitment of teachers to the ICT integration endeavour is their inclusion in the decision-making process alongside the policy makers as from the start (Cuban, 2001). Education reform has too often followed a top-down path whereby teachers have not been involved in decision-making. Decisions have been made for them by some higher authority without taking on board their opinions and suggestions. Teachers tend to feel that policy makers do not understand the classroom dynamics and hence they do not know what works and what does not at the grassroots level. Consequently, teachers tend to resist the implementation of such decisions. Therefore, involving teachers, and school administrators, and the community for that matter, maximises their sense of belonging to the integration process and hence their collaboration to the whole endeavour.

GUIDELINES FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS AND POLICY MAKERS

The reality in many developing countries is not a secret or an obscure reality. For instance, Africa is considered to be the poorest continent and it is overrun by a plethora of problems ranging from political instability and social unrest, to disease and poverty. It is also difficult to obtain figures to gauge the technological and digital divide between Africa and the rest of the world. Access to technology and ICT correlates with the economic health of a country (Haddad and Jurich, 2002). Many developing countries do not have the resources that other countries have. The major disparities lie in the following areas:

1. Vision of an education for the 21st century – many countries have little or no vision on the need to reform their education systems and their commitment to accommodate the challenges they will face in the global market economy of the 21st century (Christensen, 1997).
2. An economic reality – many countries do not have the financial means to support technology integration in schools. Also, educational reform in many nations is more rhetoric than a priority with, for example, some countries allocating much more of the budget to military ends than to education.
3. Knowledge, skills and expertise.
4. Infrastructure – many countries do not even have a proper physical school infrastructure, such as libraries, classroom furniture, electricity, and telephone lines.

Developing countries usually tend to be at the undesirable end of the digital divide spectrum. However, they cannot afford to stay passive and be left behind in race for better social, economic and education prospects. They face challenges at both national and international levels similar to what Christensen (1997) says about South Africa. His recommendations about the use of the best combination of educational technologies to meet the challenges are still valid nearly a decade later.

The Guidelines

The list of guidelines that follows is neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. It is meant to be used for the establishment of priorities and goals regarding national policies on technology integration in education. Therefore, while some items in the list may be long-term milestones for some countries, other countries may look at them as intermediate or short-term goals. Countries may then need to establish their own priority lists based on what they can afford in the short-, intermediate- and long-terms.

- Establishment of a priority list. This is one of the first issues that needs to be dealt with at the outset. Social, economic, political, educational and technological disparities exist between and within developing countries. Likewise, there are differences in terms of electric supply, ICT and telecommunications infrastructure within and between these countries. National policies in ICT Education and a priority list need to be formulated accordingly. Countries have to establish first where they want to be and why in terms of ICT and ICT in education before considering how much money they have (Trucano and Hawkins, 2002). Asking what is to be achieved is the second type of question to ask. It will then be possible to know what kind of technology to put in place in schools. The context where ICT will be integrated is the next category for consideration as the cost will depend on the place of implementation. The ‘who’ and ‘when’ questions need answers also because implementation depends on whom it will affect and also the time frame for such implementation.
- Preparation of technology integration implementation plans. Implementation plans should be prepared at the strategic, management and operational levels, with clearly defined milestones

and schedules. Plans should be prepared by responsible and qualified persons in light of information gathered on real school needs, goals and objectives, availability of resources, training and staff development needs, and funds. If we are to learn from the case of Mauritius, the milestones should be realistic, achievable and effective. The effectiveness of the plans and milestones achievements should also be monitored and evaluated. Moreover, plans should be changed in light of the deliberations of the evaluation process.

- Involvement of all major stakeholders, such as teachers, schools administrators and parents at the outset in making decisions on ICT integration in education. Also, changing the attitudes of teachers toward such integration is important. Many teachers, both in developed and developing countries, are apprehensive about using computers for instructional purposes. Therefore, their attitudes need to be changed such that their collaboration and commitment are secured so as to achieve success in the integration process.
- Exploration of funding sources. Implementation costs can be very high. They include the cost of (1) hardware, (2) software, (3) connectivity, (4) ongoing maintenance and technical support including personnel, (5) professional development and training, (6) facilities, locale, and renovation, and (7) project management cost. Therefore, all possible sources of funding such as school budgets, bonds, educational collaborations, federal or state funds, corporate grants, private gifts, and donor organisations should be explored. Opening school computer laboratories after school hours to the community can also be a source of finance.
- Trying out of the technology-enhanced education project on a pilot basis. Even the best designed models that have been successful in one context may not work elsewhere. Conducting a pilot run of the project in some schools may help to identify and correct problematic areas before more investment is done (Tinio, 2003).
- Setting up of adequate school technological infrastructure. An important milestone for countries, both developing and developed, is to equip their schools with computers and associated accessories and tools such as appropriate educational software, printers, scanners, and multimedia systems in laboratories, and if the budget allows, classrooms also. A teacher's room with Internet access can also be set up. Schools should plan to provide school access to the Internet, preferably through school Intranets. Many pedagogically sound educational software packages for exploration, collaboration, and communication exist on the Internet and they can be downloaded freely or for little cost. The use of dedicated Internet connection lines increases the speed of access to resources outside the schools. However, both dial-up phone line connections and dedicated Internet connections are rather expensive and not affordable by many schools. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that many developing countries have inadequate telecommunications facilities, and this may present an obstacle to the provision of Internet access. Wireless technologies can be an alternative to dial-up or fixed line connections. However, it should be borne in mind that while the telecommunication systems remains inadequate and are not easily available to school and homes, and while the cost of using these systems remain high and unaffordable by users, the great potential offered by the networks and the Internet as an educational tool will not be achieved. All stakeholders, including government and parents, need to make every effort towards providing adequate network access to schools. Computer laboratories and/or computer-resourced classrooms need to be properly designed to house the various technology-based devices including access points to the Internet and/or the school Intranet.
- Identification of a priority list of staff training needs. Teachers, librarians, and administrative staff need to be trained, though teachers may need much more training than others. Due to limited funds, time and replacement staff, it is important to establish training-needs lists ordered according to priorities. These lists may be done on a timely basis. Thereafter, plans

must be devised so as to allow teachers and other staff to receive appropriate training. Training can be conducted either by professional organisations or by staff within the same school or other schools through workshops.

- Synchronisation of training with infrastructure. To maximise and strengthen the transfer of learned skills to the classroom, the time gap between training and actual classroom integration should be small, immediately if possible. The opportunity of putting into practice immediately what has been learned during training is more likely to increase the skills and confidence of teachers. To this end, the necessary infrastructure in terms of classrooms, computer labs, and other related ICT logistics should already be in place by the time teachers complete their training.
- Use of best combination of educational technologies in the form of low-cost, high-impact, mass-delivery technologies such as TV, radio, and printed text. This can be an interesting option in the face of financial hurdles for the purchase of computers, related peripherals and appropriate software. For TV- and radio-based projects, broadcasting stations could air educational programs either freely or at little cost (Haddad and Jurich, 2002).
- Conduct of frequent, needs-based, timely and hands-on staff training in the following areas:
 - For all staff*
 - How to handle and feel at ease with technology
 - How to do administrative tasks using technology
 - For teachers*
 - How to integrate technology in the classroom and make use of it in the teaching of subject matter
 - How to manage the technology-based learning environment with limited computers
 - How to assess learning outcomes of students as a result of using technology in addition to traditional classroom instruction
 - How to look for and evaluate educational software and integrate it in the classroom
- Identification of teacher training institutions. In order to train teachers, and other school staff, in how to integrate technology effectively and efficiently in their classroom teaching and for administrative purposes, the appropriate training institutions need to be identified and their collaboration secured.
- Gradual integration of technology into classroom instruction. It is not technology that revolutionises education, but rather the way in which it is used by teachers and students. It is not advisable to change current classroom practices of teachers abruptly without giving them enough time to get used to the presence and utilisation of technology as an instructional aid. For teachers to adopt technology as an instructional aid, they need to experience some degree of success with it. This experience will motivate them to make further and more effective instructional use. The transition from non-computer based instruction to an engaging computer-based learning environment should be gradual, smooth and well planned. Through subsequent training conducted in a timely fashion and support available in schools (such as mentors, school inspectors, and support from school administration) and outside schools (such as information, resources, and technical support), teachers will be able to make increasing instructional use of computers in the classroom. They will be able to move from little to highly learner-engaging instructional use of computers.
- Provision of easy access to technology to all teachers and students. Computers should preferably be located in classrooms instead of computer laboratories so that users can access them throughout the school day. However, it may be very expensive to equip all classrooms with computers, let alone having a single well-equipped laboratory. Developing countries

should aim at putting as much technology as possible in computer laboratories first, then gradually equipping classrooms as and when budgets allow.

- Implementation of an outcome-based assessment. The assessment of students' performance should be more on what they can do instead of how much time they have spent during learning. Performance assessment should aim at evaluating the performance of the student in the new technology-based learning environment where learning has been taking place by exploration, collaboration, and communication. Assessment should aim at evaluating the number of learning objectives attained, instead of rating one student with respect to another through written examinations.
- Provision of technical support to schools. Schools require the necessary technical support to successfully implement technology in education. Schools will need to (1) maintain and repair their technological devices, (2) provide some degree of support to teachers within the school building so as to train them in how to use technology in their classroom instruction, and (3) provide adequate support to teachers and administrative staffs within the school so as to train them in the use of technologies for administrative and communication purposes. Maintenance can consume from 30 to 50 per cent of initial investment in hardware and software (Moses, 2002). This aspect of integration cannot be underestimated. As a solution, district-level and/or school-level technology coordinators can be appointed and given computer maintenance and staff training responsibilities. Technical support can also be obtained from other schools, and teacher-training institutions can provide expert level advice in new educational software packages and their use in the classroom. The idea is for schools not to wait for formal training programs in order to equip teachers and administrative staff with the necessary knowledge and skills to make effective use of technology, but they should explore other possibilities as well.
- Appraisal and motivation of teachers. Appraising, motivating and giving due recognition to teachers for their work of integrating technology in classroom can be important. Teachers not only need to be professionally supported, but emotionally as well. By giving them managerial and peer support for their effort of technology integration in instruction, and by giving them their due recognition by praising them for their work, teachers will be more motivated and willing to further explore the pedagogical potential of technology-based classroom instruction (Sammons, 1994). A staff-appraisal scheme can be developed and implemented to reward teachers according to their effort, dedication and success in applying technology to enhance the learning environment.
- Recycling and redeployment of older machines. Computer recycling is an ecologically sound alternative to the purchase of new PCs (Haddad and Jurich, 2002). Many schools can only afford a limited number of powerful, multimedia, and up-to-date computers. However, older computers can be acquired, either by purchase or donation from public and private institutions, and they can be redeployed in schools. These machines can run educational software that does not require advanced technological features. There are several places from where these old machines can be acquired, for example, (1) local, regional and national government offices, (2) private industry which in turn can be motivated through tax breaks or other financial incentives, (3) computer stores, and (4) private households that want to dispose or donate their PCs (Thomas, 2002).
- Creation and subsequent computerisation of the school library. Students and teachers need access to curriculum materials as conveniently and easily as possible. This can be achieved by having computerised libraries in schools. However, many schools in developing countries have few or no library facilities. Hence, the setting up of libraries in schools is an important priority for educational administrators. Moreover, schools that already possess libraries can start computerising them. Computerisation will handle such activities as curriculum materials

recording, cataloguing, indexing, searching and, connecting to other electronic educational resources. Therefore, the library will not only be a place of putting low-cost, high impact print medium, but will also provide fast and easy access to curriculum materials to teachers and students, it will also ease the job of librarians and library technicians.

- Technology standards for compatibility and software licenses. To prevent incompatible technology between schools and home, schools and districts can adopt common technological platforms such as common computer systems, like PC or Macs, and common networking technologies, like TCP/IP. Licensing issues will also have to be sorted out even in the case of acquiring older PCs (Thomas, 2002).
- Setting up of an information and educational network linking schools and other educational organisations together. African SchoolNet organisations are good examples (Issacs, 2002) such as the SchoolNet Cameroon, SchoolNet South Africa and SchoolNet Namibia. SchoolNet Africa is another example of an educational network but of a far wider span than just a single country. The establishment of such networks can foster more cooperation, communication and collaborative efforts among educational institutions. This endeavour consumes considerable resources in terms of money, effort, planning and monitoring, and many developing countries may find this difficult to implement. However, a long-term goal for schools in developing countries could be the creation of such networks.
- Partnership with corporate organisations and higher education institutions. The initial and/or continued support, in the form funding and technical support, for technology integration is bound to be a major problem to be faced by schools in many developing countries. Thus, looking for alternative means of support is advisable. Such alternative means can come from higher education institutions and corporate organisations in the form of funding, technical and technological expertise, computers and other technological devices that can be obtained either as donations or purchased in bulks. These institutions can also be very good sources for acquiring older machines.
- Establish links with other institutions within the country or with other countries. Through those links, knowledge, expertise, experience can be shared across schools. Students will have the opportunity to indulge in more collaborative work and, individual and group project works as well. They will be able to contact peers, teachers and experts in their subject areas and other areas of interest. Collaboration is an important factor in determining the success of ICT integration projects (Haddad and Jurich, 2002). For instance, this can be achieved by (1) adapting existing materials produced elsewhere to local contexts, (2) dividing the integration work among participating institutions and countries and thus sharing the expenses, and (3) sharing resources such as allowing access to users beyond school hours for a fee or other relevant support.
- Support teachers and students in purchasing computers. School-supported, district-supported and/or government-supported purchases of computers by teachers and students can increase technological-platform compatibility and familiarity with the technology. To reduce incompatibility between computers in schools and at home, the schools, local authorities and the government can provide support for teachers and students in terms of finance or partnership deals with computer sales companies.
- Equipment of community centres with technology for increased access to students. For schools that cannot afford a computer lab, community centres can be used as a place to provide wider access to technology. Equipping these centres can provide the opportunity for students, teachers, and the community to learn about and with technology.

- Correspondence between the workplace, students' access and use of technology. Students learn better when they evolved in a learning environment that closely reflects the workplace in both the types of activities and the types of technological resources. Many developing countries may find it hard to implement this correspondence. However, a long-term milestone could be the provision of authentic learning situations which could be achieved by matching the workplace to the classroom.
- Creation of relevant legal frameworks. ICT has the ability to go beyond national barriers to reach international legal frameworks. Therefore, required laws and regulations can serve as facilitators in the promotion of easy and equal access to ICT and at the same time as watchdogs to deter unethical, illicit and illegal use of ICT. Deregulation against monopolies by government or private organisation, accreditation and certification especially in the era of e-learning, and the protection of intellectual property rights (Haddad and Jurich, 2002) are a few areas where legal frameworks are required.

Equipping schools with computers can be very expensive for many developing countries. Although computers have become cheaper in recent years, they still remain expensive and unaffordable to many. However, in the face of change and the shift towards technology integration in schools, developing countries must start equipping schools with computers. A student-computer ratio of one-to-one could be very desirable, but surely unattainable even for developed countries. Developing countries should, however, put enough computers in schools that allow, at least, for group activities on the part of students and enough hands-on practice to all the students. However, one important lesson to remember is that technology by itself does not enhance the teaching-learning process and environment (Levine, 1998). It is the effective and efficient use of technology along with effective teaching strategies and a classroom environment conducive to learning that will bring about a positive change.

CONCLUSIONS

On the issue of technology integration in education, there are considerable disparities between developed and developing countries. Developed countries have more resources, knowledge, skills and experience than developing countries. However, developed nations suffer from many of the same challenges and concerns as developing nations, though to different extents. They suffer from the same concerns of teacher apprehension and motivation, and lack of appropriate educational software and technical support, and the same challenges of providing adequate teacher training, of taking care of infrastructural inadequacies, and implementing learner-centred instruction and proper assessment procedures in schools. Much can be learned, however, from what developed countries have done to deal with their technology integration problems, and much can be applied to developing countries. This paper has advanced a list of guidelines intended for educational administrators and policy makers. Stakeholders should not treat the list as prescriptive, but more as suggestions that will help them produce realistic, achievable and effective implementation plans at district, school and classroom levels based on a priority list. Developing countries should establish a list of priorities based on their needs, specificities and capabilities, and then apply appropriate guidelines to execute and evaluate their plans. However, high in the priority list should be the conduct of needs-analysis and establishment of goals, the securing of funds, procurement of ICT infrastructure, the training of teachers, providing adequate support to schools and teachers, and involving major stakeholders in the decision making process. All this should be cemented by a firm commitment by the authorities and a constant evaluation and management of the implementation process.

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Adjustment problems of Iranian international students in Scotland

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“Please understand (with sincere heart) the need of the overseas students. The differences in culture and religion do not mean that we cannot stay and live together happily.” (Student comment, Rogers and Smith, 1992, p.7)

Despite the important contribution of the adjustment of international students to successful academic performance in the host country, little research has been done in the United Kingdom. The aim of this study was to collect factual information about adjustment problems of Iranian international students in Scotland, such as psycho-social and cultural adjustment problems. The findings of this study underline the importance of sojourn’s expectations in cross-cultural adjustment particularly in the case of migrants from developing countries to Western countries and also the role of religion in adjustment. On the other hand, this study questions the role of the acculturation particularly in the case of international students and adjustment. The study concludes by making a series of recommendations to agencies involved with international students. These include provision of more pre-arrival information, better accommodation, extensions of financial or employment support and improved support to the barriers of students.

Adjustment, international students, Iranian students, family and social factors, Scotland

BACKGROUND

International students have long been a subject for debate. It is supposed that overseas students mainly travel to the United Kingdom in order to take advantage of courses and special fields of study, which are not available in their own countries. Basically globalisation has transformed the national boundaries of the educational territory in the world.

International students have a significant presence in the higher education of the United Kingdom and continue to grow. According to statistics available from the Higher Education Students Agency (HESA), the total numbers of international students in the United Kingdom in the year 1994/95 was 163,713. The number increased to 221,606 in the year 2001/02. The total number of Iranian international students from 1994/95 to 2001/02 increased from 143 to 160 in Scotland. In addition, according to a report by the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education of Iran most Iranian international students now attend higher education in the United Kingdom.

International students, as long-stay tourists, have a significant injection into the United Kingdom economy due to the fact that they pay full tuition fees and also their expenditure on the United Kingdom-produced services and goods (Kelly et al., 2002). The total expenditure is “twice the

value of United Kingdom exports of coal, gas and electricity in the same year.” (McNamara and Harris, 1997, p. 2) In addition, non-economic benefits arise from overseas students such as English course and culture and understanding between races (McNamara and Harris, 1997). Despite the importance of the adjustment of international students for their academic success in the host country, little research has been done in the United Kingdom (Halamandaris, 1995; Maundeni, 2001). In contrast, the universities in the United States, Australia and Canada have undertaken most of the research on sojourner adjustment (Furnham and Bochner, 1986; Ward and Searle, 1991; Halamandaris, 1995). Furthermore, none of the previous investigations in the United Kingdom have looked specifically at Iranian students and the adjustment process. Studies have concentrated more on general issues of migrant groups.

Any living in another country creates problems of adjustment to the host country for the migrant, and overseas students are not exempt from this process. Understanding of this process is very important to the success of this sojourner population. From the arrival of international students in the host country, they encounter many different and unexpected problems. Students may need to adjust to a new educational system, which differs considerably from the methods of study in their own country. There can be some difficulties in adjustment to British customs or in obtaining suitable accommodation and desired food, whether for religious or personal reasons. The host country may not provide sufficient support for the overseas students.

Recent research suggests that psycho-social adjustment is influenced by various cross-cultural variables, such as the amount of contact with host nationals, length of residence, finance, and accommodation. Furthermore, previous studies have suggested that the adjustment of international students differ according to the country of origin and country of study. In addition, a range of economic and psycho-social factors that affected adjustment has also been identified.

Although, previous studies have approached the study of adjustment through the measurement of one or a limited number of variables, this study seeks to investigate a range of variables that seem to affect the process of adjustment of international students.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

The present study attempts to explore the experience and psycho-social and cultural adjustment concerns of a group of international students from Iran in the universities of Scotland. In order to achieve this, a cross-sectional study and semi-structured interviews were conducted. The method for this study was a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches for the purpose of providing meaningful and rich information and enhancing the validity of the overall analysis. In order to obtain clarity, applicability of the adjustment's measures, and understandability of questions, a pilot study was administrated. The sample was selected from Iranian students who were spending a length of time, ranging from six months to five years, at their place of study after which they intended to return home. This research did not include people who had grown up in the British culture and in the British academic system. The population for this research was all Iranian postgraduate international students in Scotland. At the time of distribution of the survey it was approximately 70 students. The selection of the sample was non-probability sampling because the research population could not be fully listed for sampling. Questionnaires were distributed by email to students on the Iranian Students Association email list in Scotland. The researcher was not able to access the mail address of students due to Data Protection Act but the Students Association was willing to forward questionnaires. At the time of distribution of the questionnaire most Iranian international students were attending the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Forty-eight questionnaires were returned. This represents a response rate of 80 per cent, given the known numbers of students.

The interviews were conducted at times and locations depending on the respondents' preferences. The interviews were set up in the university of the respondents and ranged in length from 30 to 45 minutes. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. The advantage of using a tape recorder is for preventing loss of vital data or recall error. Although all students in the sample were able to speak English, semi structured interviews were conducted in Persian by three students and in English by one of the students. The first step was for the researcher to assure the respondents that their name was not going to be disclosed under any circumstances. All names and any other identifying signs were removed from the interview material and all recording materials were stored in a place where only the researcher could access to them, and once the study was completed all identifying signs were destroyed.

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for statistical analyses.

The students who participated in the study had the following characteristics: the majority of the students were male, PhD students, attending Glasgow University. Many of the students were in the second or third year of their study. Most of the students were studying in life sciences subjects. The majority of students were married, living with their family and had two children. A minority of students mentioned their spouses were also students. The majority of students were government funded; therefore, it was supposed they would be more likely to return to their home country. The age of most students tended to be older than their Scottish counterparts. The majority of students had lived in a large or capital city in Iran. Religion of all students was Islam.

FINDINGS

The study examined the dynamic of the cross-cultural adjustment process, in particular, cultural, academic and material factors affecting the process. Findings of this study can be divided into three different sections: material, academic or cultural issues. Academic issues related mainly to relationships with supervisors and the independent or dependent methods of learning. Material issues included employment while studying, spouse's employment, pre-arrival information about material factors such as housing, and childcare facilities, length of the scholarship, health and medical treatment. Cultural issues were understood as the Scottish language or accent, participating in leisure and social activities and bringing up of children in a different culture.

Material Issues

In terms of significance of the study the majority of the students face difficulties in employment issues while studying and this applies to their spouse as well.

Table 1 shows that of 32 of the respondents, the majority of students (81%) indicated that they had difficulty in finding a job while studying. As one of the students said:

Medical students are not allowed to do their main job regarding treating patients due to British legislation.

Table 1. Difficulty in finding a job while studying

Amount of difficulty	Frequency	Per cent
No difficulty	6	19
Difficulty	26	81
Total	32	100

In addition, the statistics in this study showed that 82 per cent of the respondents experience many problems finding a job for their spouse, which would help to overcome financial problems. Only 18 per cent of students said that they did not have any serious problems.

A student during interview described difficulties in terms of finding a job for students and also their spouses as follows:

Students and their family must keen to find a job. It is possible in some cities such as Manchester and not in another one like Glasgow. Having job apparently has no benefit on the study and may damage the improvement. All these come from not enough support from the sponsor.

They expressed concern and dissatisfaction about receiving pre-arrival information regarding such things as housing and medical treatment and also funding in relation to the length of scholarship.

Table 2 indicates the extent to which the students were satisfied with receiving adequate information about study and living in Scotland. A student in interview expressed:

University prospectus usually includes some general and positive information about the city, such as weather, tourist attraction, etc. They do not let student know about more realistic statistical information about difficulties, which exist in the city, in particular in more deprived areas, namely, crime, racist, drug, and so on.

Table 2. Level of satisfaction with pre-arrival information about study and living in Scotland

Options	Frequency	Per cent
Satisfaction	15	31
Dissatisfaction	33	69
Total	48	100

Table 3 indicates the extent of financial difficulties.

Table 3. Difficulty in financial matters

Level of difficulty	Frequency	Per cent
Not at all difficult	5	11
Occasionally difficult	22	48
Frequently difficult	9	20
Always difficult	10	21
Total	46	100

Table 3 shows that of the 46 respondents, the majority of the students (48%) said that they occasionally had financial difficulties. Forty-one per cent of the students said they frequently or always had difficulty in financial matters. In contrast, only 11 per cent of the students said that they did not have any problem. Housing difficulties, as shown in Table 4, exacerbated financial difficulties.

Table 4. Difficulty in accommodation

Level of difficulty	Frequency	Percent
Not at all difficult	11	23
Occasionally difficult	21	44
Frequently difficult	11	23
Always difficult	5	10
Total	48	100

Table 4 shows that many of the students (44%) indicated that they occasionally had difficulty in accommodation matters. Twenty-three per cent of the students said that they frequently had difficulty and, in contrast, the same percentage (23%) indicated that they do not have any difficulty. Ten per cent of the students said that always had difficulty.

Even those students who had been to the United Kingdom before experienced difficulties. A student from Edinburgh who has been sent to the United Kingdom by the Ministry of Petroleum to continue his education said:

As I have been in the United Kingdom before coming to Scotland, it was not too difficult to cope with the problems I had ... I mean, getting accommodation, registering my son, getting health care and so on. The only problem is that we have to

be a bit tough about expenditures here. We pay 55 per cent of our salary for rent and this makes life a bit tough. I am happy that I came here rather than London.

One other area where material issues arose was health and medical care. Sixty-one per cent of respondents said they were dissatisfied with the medical treatment they received.

Academic Issues

Some students said they did not need to attend an English course for a variety of reason: previous study in the United Kingdom, having a high score in IELTS, or not much difficulty in English language generally. However, other students said language was a problem because of non attendance in an English course before coming to the United Kingdom, no time to get language skills because of paperwork and bureaucracy, or lack of availability of English courses.

The majority of the students indicated that they were satisfied regarding academic issues such as student experience, student advisory system, research facilities, relationship with supervisor or lecturer and also staff, university English course and university assessment system (see Table 5). However, they were often dissatisfied with the length of their scholarship.

Table 5. Students satisfaction with aspects of academic life in Scotland

Options	Very satisfied (%)	Satisfied (%)	Dissatisfied (%)	Very dissatisfied (%)
Student experience	30	65	4	0
Student advisory system	7	60	16	18
Research facilities	27	60	10	2
Length of scholarship	2	27	47	29
Relationship with supervisor or lecturer	47	43	11	0
Relationship with other staff	17	73	10	0
University English course	8	50	30	13
University assessment	5	71	16	8
Ability to face up to problems	13	87	0	0
Life in general at the present	2	94	4	0

In relation to other academic problems, analysis of the data showed that the majority of students had no difficulty in using computer or administrative matters in the university. Further, they evaluated their relationship with their supervisor and lecturer as 'good' but most of the students occasionally had difficulty adjusting to the British methods of study and coping with the pressure to perform well.

Cultural Issues

It can be seen in Table 6 that the least cultural problems appeared to be on issues like finding food items they were used to, understanding cultural differences and using TV and radio. The greatest cultural problems for the students were bringing up children in a different culture and also participation in social or leisure activities. Although the research sample showed that they understood and appreciated cultural differences between home and host country, they felt sometimes there is misunderstandings about their culture from their host country. Their main concerns are about bringing up their children according to Iranian culture or perhaps according to Islamic religion, values and norms.

Table 6. Degree of cultural difficulties

Cultural problems	Level of difficulty (%)			
	No at all	Occasionally	Frequently	Always
Upbringing children	13	32	34	21
Understanding cultural differences	23	62	15	0
Using TV and radio	31	33	27	9
Participating in social or leisure activities	17	29	27	27
Finding food items they are used to	54	35	9	2

One of the students, for example, explained the reason for non-referral to consulting services as follows:

Although there exist some centres in the universities and in the city to help students with their problems, as I have found, their services are mostly theoretical (in a non-academic phrase 'lip service') instead of some practical ways.

Findings indicated that students rely more on spiritual support than practical support. In addition, the students recognised the main person who could help them in solving the problems, in terms of helpfulness from one to four respectively, was their partner, friends, supervisor, and sponsor.

Finally, despite identifying problems according to available data from the survey, 71 per cent of the students said they would advise friends and their relatives to come to Scotland for the purpose of their studies for the following reasons: enjoy staying here, research and skills can be achieved better here, language is English, a new experience, for making scientific relationships, the variety of students from different cultures and religions.

DISCUSSION

The degree of difficulty in adjustment varied from student to student. The factors such as academic, psycho-social and cultural problems can affect a students' adjustment in Scotland. These factors impact independently or in conjunction with others and influence student adjustment in a new environment.

According to one model, adjustment is defined as a process relating to interaction between the personal characteristics of the students together with the structure of the host community (Sadrossadat, 1995). In other words, the greater the similarity between characteristics of students and the host community, the easier the interaction. Acculturation, satisfaction and also achieving the expectations of the host country enhance student's scores in adjustment. Van Rooijen (1986) pointed out that adjustment related positively with satisfaction and negatively to report some symptoms of stress. As a result, well-adjusted students seem to be less likely to feel helpless and more able to make satisfactory social contacts. The present study confirms these issues but also finds that material factors are significant. In this study, when students find themselves in the situation, where they are dissatisfied with the length of their scholarship and have difficulty in some unexpected costs like childcare and housing and medical treatment, they do not adjust to the host country easily.

Most of the students had difficulty in finding a job for their spouse and themselves to help them maintain a healthy financial status. The spouses had worked full or part time in their home country but in Scotland they are unable to work in their area of expertise. Consequently, previously working spouses moving to Scotland lose professional identity and also the advantages of a double income, and suffer greater financial restrictions and instability. This problem is concomitant with the restrictions that the students have in finding a job at the time that the students start writing up and usually scholarship money is running out. The study reported here also found difficulties like adjustment to British methods of study are more difficult than language because the students moved from a dependent learning system to an independent-self motivated system. It would appear that structured assistance needs to be given to students in making the transition to the British system successfully.

Another area of concern for international students is the communication issue. Host language proficiency is generally considered an important variable in determining successful cross-cultural adjustment. Many previous empirical studies like that of Ward and Kennedy (1999) support this view that higher language skills tend to be equated with greater adjustment. This is because many

scholars believe that host language competence is at the centre of the acculturation process (Verthelyi, 1995). In fact, successful communication is necessary to feelings of psychological well-being and satisfaction with life. On the other hand, in a study of Iranians in Southern California, Barati-Marnani (1981) indicated that variables such as English proficiency and length of stay had no positive correlation with level of cultural assimilation. Furthermore, as Kegan and Cohen (1990) pointed out, the single factor that contributed to both personal and social adjustment and cultural adjustment is speaking English at home. In this study statistics show that the majority of students speak English at home rarely or never. Therefore, the students do not make acculturation to host country in the easy way.

Although it is accepted that there are greater cultural differences involved when speaking of developing countries and the students sometimes find themselves going through a period of cultural shock, the statistics in this study illustrate that the students clearly understand cultural differences. Pearson-Evans (2000) in a study of Irish students in Japan contended:

linguistic skills posed one level of difficulty, but interpreting non-verbal behaviour and the underlying communication rules, based on cultural values and cultural 'logic', were the most challenging problems they faced (p: 244).

The importance of family and children in their value system in Iran proves to be the most significant aspects of diversity and a key factor in the amount of the culture shock experienced. Findings of this study support the views of Verthelyi (1995) and also of Maundeni (2001) who found that several wives accompanied their husbands because it helps them feel more secure and better. However, as the students in this sample showed, the majority have difficulty in bringing up children here. This finding is supported by many researchers, such as Lipson (1992) and Chachian (1997). In their study of first generation Iranian immigrants in the state of Iowa, they found that:

The majority of parents raised their children (or intend to do so in the future) based on Iranian cultural values, but they also realise that to maintain ethnic purity in a multiethnic society is impractical, if not impossible. (Chachian, 1997, p. 624)

Similarly, in a research on Iranian immigrants in the United States, Lipson (1992 p. 16) found that a source of concern was "how their children were absorbing American norms and values."

In relation to the influence of religion in this study, it had a positive influence on the students. It was a source of spiritual support and helps students overcome adjustment problems and be able to tolerate their situation better.

While the characteristics of host country like religion and language are different from the home country of the students, acculturation and therefore adjustment to the host country is very slow and not simple. Although there is some consensus about the city and also the university as a welcoming multicultural environment (due to the presence of a large number of ethnic and religion backgrounds), 85 per cent of the students indicate that they are satisfied with facilities available to them for participation in religion or beliefs in Scotland.

Other aspects of the sojourn are judged as more positive or negative because the students view themselves through a complex comparative lens, which includes past experiences, present circumstances, and future expectations.

Many of the students have little chance of becoming familiar with the host country before departure. They did not have full departmental and institutional induction. The author's observation is that disliking living conditions in the host country may be dependent on the previous conditions in the home country where home is seen by the students as better and desirable. It should be mentioned that the majority of my sample were lecturers in universities in Iran before coming to Scotland. They were living in good welfare conditions or perhaps, in the

case of privately funded students, from reasonably wealthy families and perhaps from the middle or upper classes of society of Iran. Furthermore, expectations about western countries based on information from past graduates often clash with the realities experienced on arrival with high expectations.

In summary, the findings of this study underline the importance of the sojourners' expectations of cross-cultural adjustment particularly in the case of migrants from developing countries to western countries and also the role of religion in adjustment. On the other hand, this study questions the role of acculturation, particularly in the case of international students and adjustment.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

To Universities

While universities cannot plan to overcome all problems and protect students from them, they can establish ways, either formal or informal, to make this transition easier. Chan and Drover (1997) suggested mechanisms:

to sensitise local students and staff to the significance of cultural differences, to encourage intercultural communication, to promote participation at different levels of institutional decision-making, and to foster a sense of belonging. (Chan and Drover (1997, p. 59)

Specific recommendations derived from this study to universities include the following statement:

- Send more detailed pre-arrival information for the students about childcare facilities, housing opportunities, ethnic minority communities' activities, and financial considerations. Universities should try to develop a more realistic picture of students' expectations about university life and overall try to facilitate better planning about their sojourn experiences.
- Offer multicultural training workshops to those who come into contact with international students to be more aware of intercultural and intracultural diversity and adjustment process and for more effectiveness in working with them.
- Awareness about dependent and independent learning methods should be encouraged. Provide friendly atmosphere in the university and encourage home students to have more interaction with international students. The Students Union can help in this matter and bring students together regularly. This strategy can have two benefits: first, home students become more aware of different cultures and, second, international students can improve their use of the English language.
- It is important for supervisors to be aware that because of limitations of time of scholarship they should assist the students in the best ways they can. As Brown and Atkins (1988, p. 129) argued "supervising overseas students may require more time, effort and skill than supervising home British students."
- Providing assistance to international students requires taking into account cultural and religious restrictions, particularly in providing social and official receptions and leisure activities in the university to suit all students' needs with different backgrounds. An institution receiving international students should take overall responsibility for the well being of their students during their stay in Scotland. Providing university accommodation at a reasonable cost, especially for married students with families would help overseas students overcome the problems of isolation and homesickness. Universities should be sensitive to the needs of female students in providing low cost childcare facilities inside the university. Universities

should provide students with opportunities for temporary' employment to overcome their financial difficulties.

To Embassy and Sponsors

- Decrease bureaucracy and making arrangements for English course before sending students abroad to ensure that their English skills are adequate for studying in the United Kingdom. In the case of students studying in Scotland, this should ensure that they are familiar with the Scottish accent before leaving for the host country. It is appropriate that beside using tape and video, using some Virtual Learning Environments (VLE) like Video Conferencing and Distance Learning is recommended. They can arrange some meetings specially with supervisor to be more familiar with language, accent and a research project before coming here.
- Provide the students with an information package would lessen students' frustrations and save valuable time. Services should be more sensitive to students' welfare particularly length of scholarship, which creates financial problems. It is perhaps the main source of stress for students.

To Other Public Institutions

Public institutions should be more aware of the needs of international students and try to take more practical approaches to the students' welfare and for reducing possible signs of adjustment problems. This would involve the following:

- Introduce international students to the public as contributors for increasing the economy of the United Kingdom and also as the best source of understanding between different nations and cultures by mass media for preventing the making of judgments in public as asylum seekers and discrimination against them.
- Housing departments try to allocate a better place in the city to international students in order to make them to feel more secure during their stay in the United Kingdom.
- Education departments should be more aware of cultural differences. They should consider in their curriculum programs these differences to reduce parents' worries about bringing up their children in a different culture, and by providing childcare facilities at a reasonable price for the students.
- Health departments should try to improve their consideration of the health and medical treatments of international students.

Finally, as Okorocho (1997, p. 289) pointed out:

they should ensure that departments and institutions are seen to be giving overseas students value for money. This satisfies the overseas students and pays dividends in the long run because a satisfied customer is the best possible marketing agents for acquiring new students."

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Autonomy and liberalism in a multicultural society

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That children should be educated to be ideal citizens, capable of making rational and informed decisions, has been proposed in cultures ranging from Ancient Greece to current societies. In particular, societies that favour liberalism preach the primacy of the individual autonomous citizen and a concomitant tolerance for others. In modern multicultural societies, ways must be found to maintain stability and tolerance of cultural differences. Some cultures do not favour the primacy of the autonomous individual, so educators face a dilemma. Should they promote autonomy in their students, even though that is counter to some cultures' values, or should they abandon promoting autonomy in favour of even-handed treatment of all cultural values? This paper argues for the former, maintaining that educators have a duty, as a matter of professional ethics, to equip their students with the ability to make their own decisions in a modern complex world.

Autonomy, liberalism, ethics, multicultural, citizens

THE AUTONOMOUS CITIZEN

The proposition that children should be trained to become ideal citizens has found favour with educators, historically and currently. In Ancient Greece, Aristotle (and before him, Socrates) discussed how this might best be done (Goodman and Lesnick, 2001). More recently, the 'Community of Inquiry' has been promoted as a valuable pedagogical tool (Lipman, 1991). In a Community of Inquiry, school students are taught to use logic and evidence to produce a rational position, to present their positions to their (presumed equal) peers, to exchange views fruitfully with them, and to come to a considered conclusion as a result of the evaluation of competing propositions. At the very least, a Community of Inquiry is expected to promote rationality, reasonableness and autonomy. Enthusiastic pragmatists have higher expectations, maintaining that the product of reasonable and well informed members of a Community of Inquiry can be defined as truth.

Whether or not 'truth' can be so defined, a strong case has been made for such a definition of 'justice'. In 'A Theory of Justice', Rawls (1971) famously proposed that a just society is one in which the social arrangements conform to the sorts of principles rational people would agree to if they were in a position to do so. Rawls' view, though criticised for its hypothetical and abstract nature, has been highly influential. The hypothetical people in his 'original position' are taken to be rational and well informed. They are, therefore, exhibiting the same qualities promoted by a Community of Inquiry.

Actual citizens (as apposed to hypothetical) find themselves confronted with a complex society, which demands decisions on matters technical, political, economic and social. Frequently, people need to seek advice from professionals, such as medical doctors and financial advisers. These professionals can only advise, though. Paternalism is not acceptable. Professionals and politicians alike must consult with clients and citizens who are taken to be sovereign. Derived from Aristotle,

Kant, Mill, and Rawls, the ideal is a person who is reasonable, rational, well-informed, self-determining, autonomous, and tolerant of others (Winch and Gingell, 1999; Blackburn, 1994).

Legal arrangements assume this. Political philosophers propose social arrangements that flow from the deliberations of reasonable, rational, autonomous people. Educators teach children to develop into such persons.

Of course we do not have uniform goals. Whether individuals are acting as clients or as citizens, we do not agree on what constitutes the good or how best to achieve it, and even if we did, we would not agree about how to prioritise competing outcomes (Chappell, 2003). But we do not disagree on how to deal with differences. We promote reasonable and rational deliberation, and accept in common the primacy of the principle of autonomy. We have consensus, do we not?

Alas, no. Not even Rawls is prepared to promote the primacy of autonomy in principle, and other ethicists do not believe it works in practice.

AUTONOMY CHALLENGED

Fagan (2004) points out that many societies are complex and multicultural, and that people's deliberations occur within the context of their cultural and religious beliefs. Some cultures, he maintains, do not value autonomy, which generates a problem for the provision of social and professional services. Fagan argues that "The autonomy principle may be presently invalidly applied in certain circumstances because the conditions for the exercise of autonomy have not been fully or even adequately satisfied" (p. 15).

As an exemplar, Fagan refers to a study of Saharso on the status of married women in Hindu communities in the Netherlands. Saharso argues that "married Hindustani women's potential for exercising autonomy is severely restricted..." because "...Hindustani women are typically brought up to believe that the wife must obey her husband unconditionally" (p. 22).

A Hindustani woman suffering physical abuse is entitled to seek legal protection and medical treatment. Clearly the principle of autonomy allows an individual to seek, accept, challenge or reject legal and medical advice in the light of their own beliefs and personal circumstances. However, her personal circumstances may be that her husband, supported by their shared cultural beliefs, has forbidden her to seek protection or accept treatment for her injuries. Her culture teaches obedience to husbands rather than personal autonomy, rather than the democratic ideal of a self-determining citizen.

It can further be argued that such women have no effective right of exit from their culture. They do not themselves recognise that as an option, having internally accepted the beliefs of their culture and their cultural identity within it. They have no practical means of exit, either, being constrained financially and by the shame they would bring on their families if they abandoned the marriage.

So it seems that a citizen's life can be severely constrained by their cultural beliefs and an expectation that a citizen can or will act autonomously may be unwarranted. This in itself is problematic, but there are wider implications for society as a whole. It is not possible to respect various cultural beliefs and at the same time to promote the principle of autonomy. So which should be favoured and what should be the basis for political and social arrangements?

Rawls recognises this as a serious problem. "A modern democratic society is characterised not simply by a pluralism of comprehensive religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines but by a pluralism of incompatible yet reasonable comprehensive doctrines. Not one of these doctrines is affirmed by citizens generally" (1993, p. xvi).

Rawls' assertion that no one doctrine is affirmed by citizens generally implies that the doctrine of autonomy is not asserted by citizens generally, not even by reasonable citizens. He goes on to ask, then, "How is it possible that there may exist over time a stable and just society of free and equal citizens profoundly divided by reasonable though incompatible religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines?" (1993, p. xviii).

His answer is political liberalism.

POLITICAL LIBERALISM

It needs to be made clear that political liberalism is not to be confused with comprehensive liberalism. Comprehensive liberalism favours autonomy. Political liberalism is neutral. It is political rather than comprehensive because it applies only to the basic structure of society, its social institutions. "For Rawls, given the inescapable condition of pluralism, the only adequate strategy for the justification of social arrangements is one that is restricted to public principles and ideals: one that avoids references to comprehensive doctrines that are not shared by all reasonable citizens" (Costa, 2004 p. 3).

It is important to distinguish between the terms 'reasonable' and 'rational', and to note that while we may associate autonomy with the latter, it is not necessary for the former. Rawls defines 'reasonable' this way. "Persons are reasonable in one basic aspect when, among equals say, they are ready to propose principles and standards as fair terms of co-operation and to abide by them willingly, given the assurance that others will likewise do so" (1993, p. 49).

This contrasts with his definition of 'rational' which "Applies to a single, unified agent (either an individual or corporate person) with the powers of judgment and deliberation in seeking ends and interests peculiarly its own" (1993, p. 50).

Rawls' political liberalism, then, emphasises reasonableness and tolerance of differences, rather than rationality and autonomy. Of course, he is not against autonomy, merely neutral concerning the wide variety of doctrines espoused in a modern democracy.

A number of criticisms of political liberalism can be (and have been) made. Is it possible to promote political liberalism in a democracy without promoting comprehensive liberalism? Is political liberalism superior to the promotion of autonomy anyway? And how does this debate help us to deal with the case of the abused and constrained wife who needs but cannot seek social services and professional advice?

A frustrated social service provider could be forgiven for exclaiming 'I wish she had not been brought up to obey her husband but had been taught to make her own decisions.' Such a sentiment raises the issue of the role of education in a multicultural society. Rawls mentions this issue only briefly (1993, p. 199), but others have taken up his case for political liberalism in education, and furthered his argument for it (de Wijze, 1999; Costa, 2004).

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

Citizens in democratic societies spend their early, formative years at school. Schools, then, can be seen as the battleground whereon various cultural traditions, values and doctrines, struggle with each other for dominance and future viability (Gutek 2004). Most schools are government run and attempt to cope with this battle. Some schools are independent or religious, and aim at preserving and promoting the particular doctrines of the group that supports them.

There are three key models of private and public institutions in our society. The family represents institutionalised private values. The state represents institutionalised public values. And the school epitomises the fusion of the two. As an amalgam of private and public interests, the school is no less important than the distinctly private or the

distinctly public. In some ways it is the most important of all, because through it, past and present generations deliberately and consciously attempt to stamp a design upon the future. (Lipman, 1991, p. 7)

Schools cannot escape cultural and political conflicts (Ibrahim, 2003). The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child is dismayingly ambivalent on how they should be resolved (1989). On the one hand, there are cultural groups who would like to educate their children with their groups' beliefs and shield the children from all other beliefs. On the other extreme is Rawls' political liberalism which recommends educating children about all beliefs without favouring any particular group or doctrine. Between them are those who believe in developing in the child the autonomous ability to choose between the competing doctrines. De Wijze calls this last 'comprehensive liberal education' or 'CLE' and Rawls' position 'political liberal education' or 'PLE'.

The sole purpose of a PLE is to teach children the requisite values, civic skills and basic knowledge necessary for a successful and enduring political liberal society. A CLE in contrast, seeks to teach a conception of the good based, for example, on the values of individuality and autonomy. (De Wijze, 1999, p. 2)

According to whichever view, then, the **sole** purpose of education is to provide for an enduring society. In contrast, many philosophers of education consider that the professional responsibilities of teachers range well beyond such a narrow focus. Indeed, such a narrow focus implies that political liberals do not consider that teachers are even professionals, but merely instruments of the state.

Are teachers employees undertaking routine tasks of passing on information, or are they skilled professionals who make judgements that affect clients' welfare? If they are professionals, who are their clients – their employer, the state or their students?

A profession has a number of characteristics (Kalaitzidis, 2002). It is recognised by society as having the responsibility of meeting particular needs of people. Typically, these needs are seen as vital, for example, health or legal representation. Education is clearly a vital need. Professionals have specialist knowledge attained through university training (Phenix, 1958). Accordingly, teachers have qualifications attained by some years of university study. Professionals are subject to the standards of a professional registration board, as are teachers.

If then, education has the hallmarks of a profession, what are a teacher's professional obligations and ethical responsibilities? It is surely absurd to propose that teachers have no ethical responsibilities to their students. This, in turn, implies that their students are their clients, whatever obligations teachers may have to society as a whole. This is common to the idea of a profession, that is, that professionals provide expert assistance to their needy and vulnerable clients within a context recognised and respected by the wider society. The needs of the client are a primary ethical consideration, and indeed philosophers of education such as Peters and Rousseau are 'against treating children as little mannikins, as material to be poured into an adult mould' (Peters, 1972, p. 41).

Nonetheless, students are social beings, and potential citizens, so attempting to isolate teachers' ethical responsibilities to the child from the demands of a complex society is illogical. Similarly, there is little point in arguing about whether society is merely the sum of individuals or whether individuals are the sum of their social relationships. If we consider the needs of students as future citizens and compare these needs with the demands of a democratic society, we are not confronted with an intractable dilemma.

It is obviously in people's interests to live in an enduring, stable and successful society. In theory, stability might be achieved through Plato's autocratic paternalism. A more attractive alternative

might be Hume's traditions and agreements or Rousseau's general will (Lindsay, 1954; Trigg, 1988; Rousseau, 1968). In practice, modern democratic societies are multicultural, so methods are needed for navigation through differing traditions and competing concepts of the good. Citizens need navigation equipment and a modern democracy needs citizens who are so equipped. Educators, then, have an obligation to provide the equipment. Mere knowledge of the cultural landscape is insufficient. The navigation of it requires the skills and dispositions to make decisions, in short, autonomy.

Let us return to our particular problem, the constrained wife, and our general problem, the multicultural society, and consider what form of education should be promoted.

Admittedly, when confronted with Rawls' question of how to achieve a stable pluralist society, some people would reply 'Do away with pluralism'. Some fundamentalist religious families have sought to prevent their children coming into contact with ideas that compete with their religious views (de Wijze, 1999). Some people are anti-immigration because they fear the conflict arising from the competition of cultures. (It is interesting to note that Rawls' 'Political Liberalism' assumes no immigration. His supporters, de Wijze and Costa, appear not to have noticed this. In actuality, the cultural complexity of modern societies is largely due to immigration. Rawls dismissed this as a 'distracting detail' (1993, p. 12), but one might reasonably question why it is not a fatal flaw in his analysis, rather than a detail.)

People who recommend abandoning pluralism in favour of a single doctrine, that is, their own, should be viewed with suspicion (Woolcock, 1998, p. 37). It is likely that the doctrine they promote advantages themselves over others' interests. Even where there is no apparent unfair advantage of one group over another, one must ask why their particular doctrine should have any precedence over any other? To date, we do not enjoy the result of an Enlightenment Project, that is, a widely accepted doctrine which is philosophical, reasonable and comprehensive (Rawls, 1993, p. xviii). Rawls and nationalists notwithstanding, immigration and multiculturalism are a fact of life. Indeed, it can be argued that the great virtue of multiculturalism is that a citizen can compare ways of life and concepts of the good, thus enabling a productive and efficacious choice. Such an argument, however, presupposes the existence of autonomy. It does not, though, presuppose the moral primacy of autonomy, only its instrumental value.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN EDUCATION

Because the multicultural society exists, educators have a professional obligation to equip their students to deal with it. Certainly they may respond to Rawls' question of how to achieve stability, and their response may include providing for tolerance of different views and understanding. But, as argued above, an educator's professional obligation does not end there. It would be a dereliction of duty to abandon the child's future to chance, to the power plays of conflicting cultures.

Political stability, while desirable, is not enough. Reasonableness, while virtuous, is not enough. As numerous educators argue, a core purpose of education should be the promotion of rationality (Moshman, 1999). Neutrality is not enough. Mere information is insufficient. Students about to take their place as full citizens in a complex democratic society need the skills and dispositions to make judgements between competing values, cultures and doctrines. They need autonomy both in the practical sense of self-determination, and in principle. They need it to secure their own welfare, to negotiate social arrangements such as the professional/client relationship, and to direct the operations of their democratic society.

This view of the role of education in producing ideal citizens is not, it must be acknowledged, immune to criticism. Perhaps it is optimistic, even utopian. The abused Hindustani wife could be described as suffering from false consciousness. She has internalised a set of values which

actually exploit her, and so has no effective autonomy. But perhaps this is true of all of us. We all internalise values we have picked up from whatever culture in which we have matured. Even the strongest sense of self-determination may be a delusion. Members of minority cultural groups sometimes accuse members of the dominant culture of being insensitive and ignorant of others' experiences and cultures. But this is true of everyone, minority and dominant alike. Nobody is neutral, nobody is without cultural influences and nobody is universally cognisant of all cultural influences. The suggestion made above that the benefit of a multicultural society was that one could choose from a smorgasbord of values is one that cannot be realised. Nobody has that much autonomy (Anderson, 2003; Larraine, 1983; Winch, 1964).

Nonetheless, autonomy remains the best candidate for the determination of social arrangements, as a political principle, and in the philosophy of education. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how a multicultural society could operate without it. Citizens would be stuck with a set of cultural values and beliefs they were born with, or paralysed with indecision. Neither relativism nor chance are adequate moral justifications for the adoption of any particular cultural belief. Fagan raises the problem of how a professional should deal with a culture-constrained non-autonomous adult, but provides no solution. The neutrality of Rawls' political liberalism is simply inadequate for the task.

Autonomy can be seen as intrinsically valuable, that is, an indispensable characteristic of a flourishing person. Alternatively, it can be viewed as merely instrumental, as a means of navigation in a complex society. Either way, it is the professional obligation of educators to promote it in their students.

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Emirati pre-service teachers' perceptions of Europe and Europeans and their teaching implications

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In our increasingly globalised world, it is very important to see how Europe is perceived by non-Europeans and especially from people who have for a long time been considered the 'Other'. In the study reported here, the image of Europe and Europeans is explored based on the perceptions of 478 Emirati (United Arab Emirates citizens) prospective teachers. In general, the results reveal that the respondents' perceptions of Europe and Europeans are mainly negative, although there are also some positive and neutral perceptions. Emirati perceptions of Europe and Europeans confer to one major point that Europe represents economic, scientific and technological development but Europeans lack moral values. The findings have to be understood as reflecting the socio-cultural, political and historical milieu to which the subjects of the present study have been exposed. Suggestions to teaching methods, school curricula and study programs are made.

Arabs, Europe, stereotypes, intercultural education, United Arab Emirates

INTRODUCTION

A Profile of the United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) was formed from the group of tribally organised Arabian Peninsula sheikhdoms along the southern coast of the Arabian Gulf and the northwestern coast of the Gulf of Oman. The United Arab Emirates is a federation formed in 1971 by seven emirates known as the Trucial States – Abu Dhabi (the largest), Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Fujairah, Ras al-Khaimah, and Umm al-Qaiwain. The country covers about 83,000 square miles. Current official estimates show that the population is approximately around 4.041 million, of which only 27 per cent are UAE citizens. The rest include significant numbers of other Arabs (Palestinians, Egyptians, Jordanians, Yemenis, Omanis) as well as Pakistanis, Indians, Iranians, Filipinos and West Europeans. The majority of UAE citizens are Sunni Muslims with a small Shi'a minority. Also, most foreigners are Muslims, although Hindus and Christians make up a portion of the UAE's foreign population. The official language is Arabic, but English and Farsi are widely used, and Hindi and Urdu are spoken by many of the Asians. The UAE experiences a rapidly expanding economy and is becoming a tourist and economic hub in the region (Gulf Research Center, 2005).

Learning to Live Together

The debate concerning the relationships between the Arab world and Europe or the West at large, has drawn the attention of many scholars due to social, cultural, political and economic facts that either unite or divide these two worlds. Dangerous misunderstanding and stereotypical perceptions have been ascribed to the Arab world and Arabs, especially after 9/11. Therefore, one of the most fundamental challenges today is how to exchange views in order to build a positive

relationship between the West and the Arab world based on mutual respect, recognition and understanding.

It is argued that among the most important competencies needed in our times is learning to live together. It constitutes one of the four pillars of education as defined in the Delors Report (1996) and aims at developing an understanding of other people and an appreciation of interdependence in a spirit of respect for the values of pluralism, mutual understanding and peace (cited in Hallak and Poisson, 2000). Learning to live together is a process that requires particular skills for a culturally diverse world in which we can learn to share values, appreciate cultural differences and work together for common social purposes (Reardon, 2002). One of the major goals of the principle of learning to live together is the elimination of stereotypes. Slone et al. (2000) found that stereotypical attitudes of Israeli children toward Arab children could be altered through an educational experience aiming at reducing cross-ethnic stereotypical attributions of Jewish children toward Arab children.

The role of education in developing international understanding and the promotion of intercultural education has been advocated and adopted within the framework of international organisations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe among others. UNESCO has listed a number of guiding principles for educational policy with respect to promoting international understanding. One of these principles is understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations. It has been also recommended that member states of UNESCO should promote, at various stages and in various types of education, the study of different cultures, their reciprocal influences and their respective ways of life, in order to encourage mutual appreciation of the differences between them (Coomans, 1999). The school curriculum can thus play an important role in promoting creative cultural dialogue and interaction, especially by injecting the intercultural approach in all school subjects (Rassekh, 2001). Concerns about the curriculum and teacher awareness of cultural differences, ethnocentric attitudes and global consciousness can be also found in the recommendations of other organisations such as the Council of Europe.

The rationale behind all these initiatives is based on the belief that students arriving in the classroom bring with them certain preconceived or distorted notions relating to other groups. Research shows that schools, family and the media are the major agents influencing children's perceptions of other countries (Harris, 1998). It becomes easily understood that the school and university have to be involved actively in preparing students and teachers for the implementation of the new curricula that will promote the principles and norms of the shared values and appreciation of diversity.

The *Council of Europe Committee of Ministers: Recommendation No. R(84) 18* of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding, recommends that teachers should be trained in such a way that they (among other things):

- recognise that ethnocentric attitudes and stereotyping can damage individuals and therefore, attempt to counteract their influence;
- realise that they too should become agents of a process of cultural exchange and develop and use strategies for approaching, understanding and giving due consideration to them;
- make teachers and pupils more receptive to different cultures by, inter alia, incorporating into teacher training the use of authentic materials and artifacts in the classroom, thus enabling them to see their own culture in a new light;

- encourage the development and use of appropriate materials to support the intercultural approach in the training of teachers and in school in order to give a “truer” image of the different cultures of their pupils (cited in Batelaan and Coomans, 1999).

There is, thus, an urgent need not only for reforming the school curricula but also for introducing courses at Universities to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century with specific focus on education for learning to live together. The question then is: Are pre-service teachers in the United Arab Emirates prepared to integrate the concept of ‘learning to live together’?

The study reported here aimed to answer this question by investigating how Emirati pre-service teachers create an image of the ‘Other’ (in our case the Europeans), while at the same time confirming their own identity as a contrast to this. It is assumed that this could be predictive of the kind of education they get and their readiness to integrate themes related to the principle of ‘learning to live together’ across the curriculum.

Given the pluralistic nature of Emirati society, which includes people from different ethno-cultural backgrounds, we should expect that Emirati pre-service teachers should hold fewer stereotypic attitudes towards the ‘Other’ and in our case, towards Europeans. Relevant research in the past has focused on the perceptions of American people towards the Arabs and the Arab world. Particular attention has not been given to the image of Europe and Europeans among the Arabs of the Gulf States, and especially of those who are going to educate the youth.

Discerning the Socio-cultural Boundaries of Europeans and Arabs: An Historical Perspective

In understanding the stereotypical perceptions held by Emirati pre-service teachers towards Europeans, there is a need to discern the socio-cultural boundaries of these two worlds as they have been constructed through history.

Europe has always been more of a mental construct than a geographical or social entity, with Christianity being a key component of its identity and with its inhabitants sharing common beliefs and ways of life (Lowenthal, 2000; Stone, 2002). The concept of Europe as a geographical area was challenged by the emergence of the Persian Empire and its threat to the Hellenistic Civilisation. As Str ath (2002) points out, the Persian Empire promoted the idea of a Western civilisation against an Eastern one, where both were increasingly loaded with values and counter-values. Although, the Persian threat had not been realised, Europe and more specifically its southern part experienced its first socio-cultural influence through the eruption of the Islam, the second monotheistic challenge and its spread along the North African coast, in the 7th century A.D. This introduced a marked division between the European Christianity and the Islamic newly established world.

It is widely known that the relations and encounters between these two religions have been mostly characterised by negative mutual perceptions, which started from the Crusader wars in 1095, through the Anglo-French colonialism to the American support for Israel (cf. Jawad, 1993; Weede, 1998). From the late eighteenth century through the Second World War, the West was dominant militarily, politically, economically and culturally in the Arab world (Watson, 2002). Although, nowadays, the Arab world has gained its independence from the European powers, and despite the economic and technological relations, which have been beneficial, the political context of these relations has been critically bound up with the central political issue of the Middle East, that is the Arab-Israeli conflict (Jawad, 1993). The 9/11 attack intensified the Western perceptions of an Islamic threat, which has been always used as a means for military and political interventions. Despite some differences between American and European approaches to Middle

East issues, it is expected that the historical legacy, and more specifically, the colonial heritage, is still shaping the Emirati's images and perceptions of Europe.

Stereotypes about the 'Other'

In introducing the term 'stereotype', Lippmann (1922) defined it "as pictures in our head" and stressed the point that people are naturally predisposed to classify their perceptions and thoughts into patterns without which an orientation would not be possible. In general, psychologists view stereotyping as a natural phenomenon, in that all humans develop mental categories in order to make sense of their environment. In other words, a stereotype is any categorical generalisation for people or social groups that ignores individual or social variability and difference which ultimately affects our behaviour (McNabb, 1986). In this study, particular attention is drawn to social stereotypes, that is "the attributes that most subjects ascribe to a large percentage of the target group" (Hewstone and Giles, 1997, p.272) because they are more resistant to change and they affect inter-group relations. However, it has been argued that stereotypical ideas about the 'Other' can change only if accompanied by changes in political, economic and social conditions.

Although stereotypes are not always negative, research usually concentrates on negative stereotypes towards the out-group. Research shows that stereotypes include negative evaluations about the out-group, which we tend to see it as homogeneous and monolithic and positive ones for the in-group (Hewstone and Giles, 1997). There is a tendency to define culture in terms of our own beliefs and practices, or in other words, our worldview, and then interpret all differences as deficiencies (Saville-Troike, 1995). The 'Other' is judged according to our own cultural frame, which represents the normal or even superior. Different worldviews often lead to mutual misperceptions, hostility, or conflict (Bennett, 1995). As Allport argues people prefer the familiar because of "the principles of ease, least effort, congeniality and pride in one's own culture" and not because of prejudice (cited in Bennett, 1995, pp.21-22). Related to stereotypes are prejudices, which are most often negative attitudes towards members of a group, and could result in frequent hostile and discriminatory behaviour toward the 'Other' (Brislin, 1993). Children acquire stereotypes and prejudices from the world around them. The appearance of prejudice among children raises the issue of how it is acquired and transmitted. Prejudices are usually explained by direct parental or social agency socialisation or by broader cognitive and affective developmental processes (Slone et al., 2000). The way individuals perceive each other is usually determined by their personal backgrounds, a mix of cultural, socio-political, ideological and religious factors. Ongoing exposure to other cultures can help to increase tolerance and intercultural understanding as students learn to acknowledge and appreciate both differences and similarities. It is thus expected that Emirati's experiences to other cultures might have influenced positively their perceptions of the 'Other', which in our case is the Europeans. However, as indicated above, the historical legacy, and more specifically, the colonial heritage and the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict, created and maintained by the Western powers, is expected to affect negatively Emirati's images and perceptions of Europe and Europeans.

METHOD

The study was conducted in the three colleges of education in the United Arab Emirates: Ajman University (private institution), the United Arab Emirates University, and Zayed University (Dubai campus), both public institutions. Data were collected through an open-ended questionnaire that was administered by the colleges themselves during the 2002-2003 academic year. In the College of Education at Zayed University, the questionnaire was delivered to all students of the Dubai campus due to the small number, while in the other two Colleges it was delivered to classes. In total, 478 pre-service teachers (189 from Ajman University, 181 from United Arab University, and 108 from Zayed University) responded to the questionnaire. All

subjects were females, with an average age of 21 years old. The medium of instruction at Zayed University is English, while in the other two institutions it is both English and Arabic. All subjects are UAE nationals. Besides background questions (institution, gender, age, nationality), the questionnaire consisted of an open-ended question asking the subjects to write down what comes to their minds when they hear the word Europe and Europeans¹.

The research method applied here used a set of categorisation procedures for making valid and replicable inferences from the written answers of the subjects to their context. The method combined qualitative (defining the categories) and quantitative (determining numbers within categories) aspects. The main research procedures were based on the following steps or levels that have been guided by methodological assumptions found in the works of Brown and Dowling (1998); Scheurich (1997) and Brannen (1992): Coding, Categorising, Classifying, Checking, Comparing, Inferring.

Coding

Deciding what to set as a unit of analysis is fundamentally an interpretive judgment and choice (Kirk and Miller, 1986). This step involved simply determining the basic unit of analysis, that is, any word or phrase denoting the subjects' perceptions of Europe and Europeans, and counting the frequency each described trait appears. Scoring the facts, although not essential in qualitative research, was considered necessary in the process of weight attributed to the categories formulated in the next step or level. The frequency was coded into three groups: (a) less frequently (<50%), b) frequently (50-70%) and (c) very frequently (>70%).

Categorising

"The process of grouping concepts that seem to pertain is called categorising" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.65). This step involved creating meaningful categories to which the unit of analysis can be assigned. Three categories were formed, namely: (a) positive statements, (b) negative statements, and (c) neutral statements, which are exhaustive and mutually exclusive.

Classifying

This step involved verifying that the units of analysis (words and phrases) can be easily and unambiguously assigned to the three categories, according to the frequency of appearance.

Checking

In order to check the consistency of classification (Inter-rater reliability), a second rater was asked to classify the units into the same categories. The check assumes consistency in the classification between independent 'raters' and the main researcher. Very high consistency (closely to 90%) has been found and when differences emerged consensus was reached through discussion (inter-subjectivity).

Comparing

This step involved comparing the three categories in terms of frequency of ascribed concepts defining 'Europe' and 'Europeans' in each category. The creation of a transcription or matrix of

¹ The way the question has been phrased poses some dangers for stereotyping because it seems that the variety and diversity that characterize the notion of Europe and Europeans is ignored. However, talking about Europe and Europeans in general, it does not mean that differences between Northern and Southern Europe as well as between Western and Eastern European countries are ignored. As mentioned above, Europe is considered as a mental concept, where its inhabitants share some common beliefs and a way of life characterized by diversity and nuances.

the main categories and the placement of phrases and words that define them according to the frequency they appear facilitated greatly this procedure.

Inferring

This step involved drawing contextual assumptions about the content of the ascribed concepts, largely discussed in the introductory section.

FINDINGS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

The analysis of the findings reveals a high degree of animosity towards Europeans and Europe. Negative statements as compared to positive and neutral statements heavily load the respondents' perceptions of Europe and Europeans. More specifically, Emirati pre-service teachers' negative perceptions of Europe are intertwined and very frequently rate with the mostly cited statements referring to crimes and dirty habits as well as a tendency to control and dominate other countries. To their minds, Europe stands as the imperialist militaristic enemy, which poses a threat to the Arab or Islamic culture and existence. They also refer to the hatred of Christians towards Muslims and Europeans' lack of moral principles. Words and phrases such as 'Lack of ethics' and 'Lack of family ties' were frequently mentioned in their responses. It is also worth pointing out that the word 'Prejudiced' was also stated in their negative perceptions of Europeans.

Some examples of phrases denoting animosity include the following:

- “[Europeans] wish all bad things to Arab and Muslims”,
- “Should be boycotted”,
- “We can live without them”,
- “Good countries but gangsters”,
- “They only care for money and scientific development and how to destroy Muslims”,
- “Europeans commit so many sins and ethics are not in their minds. Living life of animals”,
- “I hate Europeans like any other Muslim does because they enjoy torturing Muslims and we will win regardless of how much they destroy us”,
- “Strange prejudiced ideas about Arabs”,
- “Europe is developed but unethical”,
- “Well developed but no ethics. May God help all Muslims living in Europe”,
- “Good economy but no ethics”,
- “Europe claims to be developed but they only try to control others either by conquering countries and destroying their cultures or by demolishing ethics”
- “Conquering and lack of ethics although developed thinking”.

A number of powerful positive notions, although fewer compared with negative ones, are associated with Europe. These typically include Europe as a place, which is industrially and technologically developed, although polluted, where there is freedom of speech and democracy, two notions that are mentioned very frequently. Europe had already by the late eighteenth century began to symbolise the ideals of freedom and progress against the autocratic rules and social backwardness (Lowenthal, 2000). Less frequently, they mentioned 'heritage', 'history', 'cultural development' and 'human rights'. From a positive perspective, Europeans were also associated with phrases and words such as 'sense of time', 'punctuality', 'time management' and 'work ethics'.

On the neutral side, that were least frequently stated, the subjects associated 'Europe' with holidays because of the climate and the weather as expressed in phrases such as: 'good weather', 'green lands', 'beautiful scenery', which is in contrast to the hot gulf climate and desert land. It is worth pointing out that some subjects perceived Europe as a country or a place where the English language is spoken.

In an attempt to explain why Emirati pre-service teachers felt like that and expressed a high antipathy towards Europe and Europeans, we should look back to history and politics. The history of the Crusader wars between Christendom and the Dar Al-Islam was one reason, followed by the fact that a glorious past (the Islamic civilisation was a direct source of learning for the West) had been transformed to a miserable present (recent Western domination of the Arab world) creating feelings of grievance and injustice (Jawad, 1993). It is obvious from subjects' answers that a negative impact of the colonial and post-colonial period has been left in the Arab societies, and there would seem to be a very vivid image of the Western powers interfering in the internal affairs of the region in order to control their resources. This could also be seen in frequently mentioned words such as 'to control others', 'to conquer', 'using others'. The Israeli-Arab conflict is another hot issue that although not mentioned frequently, contains strong emotional attributes.

Examples of comments dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict included such statements as:

"Prejudiced people always taking side of Jews and trying to control other countries".

"Israel, wishes all bad things to Arabs and Muslims".

"Europeans don't know Arabs except what Jews want them to know".

"Europeans are disliked in the Arab world because of the stand with the Jews and Sharon".

According to results of the study it seems that Emirati pre-service teachers are not convinced that European policy on the Palestinian issue is fair, and among the Arab world in general, the Arab-Israeli conflict creates bitter feelings, a finding substantiated by other studies (Jawad, 1993; Watson, 2002).

The economic and technological superiority attributed to Europe and its inhabitants was associated with religion (Christianity) and as a threat to Arab or Muslim traditions and morality. As one subject put it: "Developed scientifically but not religiously". Clearly, the ideological (Islam-religion) issue has been functioning as an important determinant of subjects' perceptions of "Europe" and "Europeans". As has been pointed out in other studies, Arabs believe that Western values are penetrating the Muslim world leading to cultural alienation and widespread corruption in their societies (Jawad, 1993).

For the great part of the respondents, being European somehow implies being immoral. The results of this study re-affirm the observation that Arab countries tend to perceive European or Western countries as materialistic, secularist, with a laxity in sexual behaviours and the dissolution of family (Watson, 2002). In this vein, it is perceived that Western domination has brought alien values and immorality in the Arab societies. As Jawad (1993, p.220) points out, "the prevailing images of the West as a consumer, permissive and decadent society make the West both an alluring and a despicable place from the Middle Eastern point of view".

DISCUSSION

The present study aimed to investigate Emirati pre-service teachers' perceptions of Europe and Europeans, which constitute the 'Other'. The results indicate that prospective Emirati teachers who participated in the study hold more negative stereotypical perceptions of Europe and Europeans than positive and neutral ones. In general, it seems that there is a reaction against anything that represents Europe and Europeans and this seemed to be explained by the colonial

and post-colonial Western intervention in the Arab world, either military or cultural. It is also clear that the ideological aspect (Islam) highly affects respondents' perceptions of Europe and Europeans along with the secularist Western attributes that were perceived by the respondents as a threat to the Arab-Islamic value system. These results reconfirm the popular Western assumption that Islam and Arabs' relations to the West, is that of conflict (Taji-Farouki, 2000). The imposition of Western secularist approaches has been severely criticised by contemporary Islamic scholars as doing pervasive damage to the moral and ethical values of Arab or Islamic culture and heritage (Ali, 2001; Cook, 1999). This is a contradiction, however, since the Arab world has introduced Western modes of administration, law, and social institutions and, as well, its education is heavily influenced and is being influenced by the West. In the United Arab Emirates, which is considered a country sympathetic to Europe and the West at large, for example, two of the most prominent universities are called American, and most of the other tertiary institutions are based on Western staff and adopt Western patterns of development. While respondents' education is planned and delivered by a Western dominated faculty, their images and perceptions of Europeans seem to reflect the Islamic reformers in the nineteenth century who "struggled against the encroaching Westernisation of their societies, and they rooted their responses more deeply in Islam" (Watson, 2002, p.7).

As has been pointed by Cook (1999), modernity and development, stand for Western modes of doing things and modern Islamic nations still struggle to meet the scientific and technological changes demanded by the modern period. This is evident in many of the subjects' statements such as the following: "Well developed in computers and related fields. I wish our country could be the same". One of the main dilemmas United Arab Emirates faces is how to reconcile the requirements of modernisation with their traditional values (Bahgat, 1999). On the one hand, they see Europe as a model that they would like for their societies, and on the other hand, they perceive it as a way of hegemonic domination over the Arab and Muslim world. The subjects admire Europeans because of their technological and scientific development, but at the same time, they criticise them with respect to values and moral development. It is worth pointing out, that Islam as a religion does not reject science and technology per se, but rather the pervading Western philosophy of secular science.

It is, thus, crucial to introduce curricula that are fostering respect for, and preservation of, cultural traditions and indigenous values and ways of life, while they are concerned for finding a balance between traditional or national and modern or global elements in the curriculum (Hallak and Poisson, 2000; Skaflestad, 2000). Countries in the Gulf region are quite conscious of the value of their cultural heritage and Islamic studies have a particular place in the school curriculum. According to Bennett (1995), an important goal of the principle of learning to live together, is the development of multiple historical perspectives. Such perspectives are based upon knowledge and understanding of the worldviews, heritage, and contributions of diverse nations and ethnic groups, including one's own. Subject matter from the fields of history, literature, social studies and the arts can be used to provide understanding about people's contemporary culture, worldview and differing interpretations of human events. This knowledge builds an awareness of historical and contemporary developments among the world's diverse nations and ethnic groups. People can achieve a psychological balance between cultural pride and identity on the one hand and appreciation of cultures different from their own on the other.

Learning to live together with other cultures and learning to appreciate the cultural diversity that exists both in their country and outside seems to be essential (Byron, 2001), To this end, there is a need to re-examine textbooks for possible bias and stereotypical statements and introduce appropriate teaching methods that promote intercultural understanding, tolerance and empathy. Fostering the sense of shared values and a common destiny is the basis for international co-operation and solidarity (Rassekh, 2001). Education for international understanding is

interdisciplinary and must be diffused through all subjects, especially at the primary school level. It seems also, that the respondents lack an in-depth knowledge of Europe and tend to have superficial and stereotypical notions about this continent and its people. One of the misconceptions found among the respondents is that they think that all Europeans are Christians, whereas it has been estimated that 23.6 million Muslims are living in the European Continent (cited in Karic, 2002). In other words, they compare a geographic or political area (Europe) to a religion.

TEACHING IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study have certain implications for teaching methods, school curricula and teacher professional development, in order to combat stereotyping. The very frequently listed negative images of Europe and Europeans go in parallel with the absence of intercultural understanding concepts in the school curricula and the colleges of education². It is worth pointing out, that the United Arab Emirates have set up a project (UNESCO, 1994, p. 12) that aims at revising, updating and developing school curricula across all school levels and in the curriculum areas of social studies, Arabic and English language, religious education, philosophy and civics. In that project, both interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches are to be adopted for introducing the topic of international education across the curriculum. The new curriculum to be implemented defines two major ways: first, by developing students' capacity to perceive and understand their involvement in a global society and their responsibility towards it; and, second, by developing students' capacity to understand and make judgments and decisions about world issues. However, despite continuous reviewing and updating, the present-day school curricula in the United Arab Emirates have not been developed with regard to intercultural understanding. As stated, in the recent reform initiatives undertaken by the Ministry of Education (MoEY, 2000, p.45), "Cross cultures both locally and worldwide require the education system to produce generations receptive to other cultures, able to interact positively and dialogue equally with others". Therefore, it is important for individuals to recognise that there are different worldviews and combating racism, prejudice and discrimination means lessening negative attitudes and behaviour, which are based on bias and misconceptions about the 'Other'.

In the context of globalisation and increased interdependence among countries and cultures nowadays, this paper argues that education has a key role to play in combating stereotypes, overcoming prejudices, and dispelling myths about the 'Other'. More specifically, there is an urgent need for the United Arab Emirates education to change these negative images and perceptions, both by revising the school curricula and textbooks in order to reflect values of tolerance and understanding of various peoples and cultures that make up their country and the world at large, and by integrating intercultural education into the study programs of colleges of education. A review of the study programs at the three Universities that respondents come from revealed a lack of intercultural education courses that could tackle the issue of international understanding. It is, thus, necessary to introduce courses for intercultural understanding in teachers' education, which will increase the awareness of existing stereotypes and prejudices about the 'Other'. Such curricular interventions are particularly timely in the light of the current socio-political situation between the Arab world and Europe or the West at large.

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² However, in a future study it would be interesting to examine students' sources (e.g. school, family, peers, television, newspapers) of their knowledge and attitudes towards the 'Other'.

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The shifting paradigm: Who is the intellectual of the 21st century?

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The world is in a constant state of flux and as a consequence, definitions and perceptions of the word 'intellectual' are subject to change. This paper undertakes a succinct historical review regarding this notion by considering two paradigms, which are called here the 'Lake Paradigm' and the 'Well Paradigm'. It is argued that these two paradigms fail to educate the intellectual of 21st century. Then a new paradigm, the 'Valley Paradigm,' is put forward, which is thought to be capable of educating a new generation of intellectuals.

Intellectual, learning, education, interdisciplinary, knowledge

INTRODUCTION

The notion of an Intellectual has always been of man's utmost interest and concern. Although *The New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* defines an intellectual as "A person who engages in academic study or critical evaluation of ideas and issues", it goes without saying that this notion is a time-oriented issue in nature and thus in any given period of time, it is perceived differently. This paper endeavours to classify these perceptions retrospectively into two paradigms which I call the 'Lake Paradigm' and the 'Well Paradigm'. It proposes the idea that the 21st century intellectual does not fall into either of the two paradigms. Hence a new paradigm is introduced and supported by evidence which I call the 'Valley Paradigm'.

The Lakes

Since the dawn of the recorded history to the time which Drucker (1994) has called the beginning of the Industrial Era, science has been viewed as enlightenment. It was divided into a few main branches, the full mastery of which was feasible by any individual who then would be called a 'Hakim' or a 'Guru'. These individuals might have been called the intellectuals of their time as they had a shallow understanding, compared to our current perception of science, yet deep in its own magnitude, since nearly everything that could be called science was known to them. In short, one could say 'intellectuals knew something about everything'. Their span of knowledge covered a wide variety of subjects, but as science was in its early stages of growth, their collective body of knowledge was not very deep by contemporary standards. In this sense, I have used the metaphor of a lake, since a lake is not usually deep but it covers a relatively wide area. Such intellectuals would have met successfully all the expectations of their time. Figure 1 illustrates a typical example of such an individual.

The Wells

With the advent of the Industrial Era, different branches of science began to diverge and became more and more independent from one another. At the same time, they started to grow quantitatively at an accelerated pace. This divergence gave rise to disciplines that once did not

even merit a title in the earlier disciplines of the Lake Paradigm era. As the sciences became more and more specialised and detailed, each discipline thrived qualitatively as well as quantitatively and consequently the trend in education moved toward educating and producing experts who had an in-depth knowledge of one and only one discipline. They were individuals who were supposed to know 'everything about something'. Their knowledge could be described as a deep well, hence the metaphor of the well. The vertex of this paradigm was in the last quarter of 20th century with the increase in the numbers of PhD and post-PhD holders all around the globe, and particularly in the United States that was considered to be one of the cradles of the modern world's education. These individuals became the intellectuals of their time. Figure 2 provides an example of such an individual.

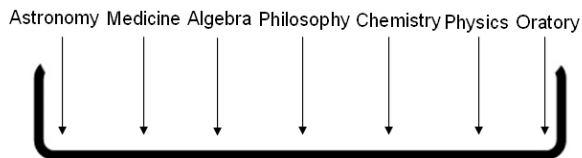


Figure 1. A typical lake individual



Figure 2. A typical well individual

The Call for a Change

The ever-increasing and divergent growth of disciplines in the 20th century, though outstandingly influential in the modern world, causes a phenomenon which I dare to call 'scientific alienation' among different disciplines. Each discipline has become discrete and narrow to the ultimate extent at the expense of losing sight of 'the big picture'. Thus the interrelatedness of the essence of knowledge as a human enterprise is gradually being ignored. This deficiency is highlighted when the intellectuals of the well era have failed to provide solutions to problems and dilemmas they have encountered in different realms as they each try to devise a solution from their own limited perspective. This is not to discredit such individuals. The root of this inability lies to some extent in the changing nature of problems and issues of modern society, the society which Drucker (1994) called 'the knowledge society'. These new concerns, which are essentially organic in nature, call for a new paradigm which would educate individuals with different capabilities.

The Valleys

The issues and concerns of the modern world are multifaceted and organic and thus any attempt to deal with them from a single perspective is doomed to fail for obvious reasons. The systematic nature of such issues makes any given solution to one aspect potentially counterproductive in respect to other aspect(s).

One remedy to this is provided with the introduction of interdisciplinary fields of study such as industrial psychology and neurolinguistics. Such fields of study have tried to shed some light on the previously ignored or untouched areas and have proved to be useful, but as they grow richer and more solid in their own right, they have become dogmatic and have lost their flexibility and insight.

The intellectual of the 21st century is an individual who possesses a deep knowledge of one or two disciplines (the abyss of the valley) as well as some knowledge of a number of other disciplines (the steep sides of the valley). Such individuals would be expected to ‘know a lot about some thing and something about a lot of things’. He or she is a living example of an interdisciplinary individual. Figure 3 illustrates a typical example of such an individual.

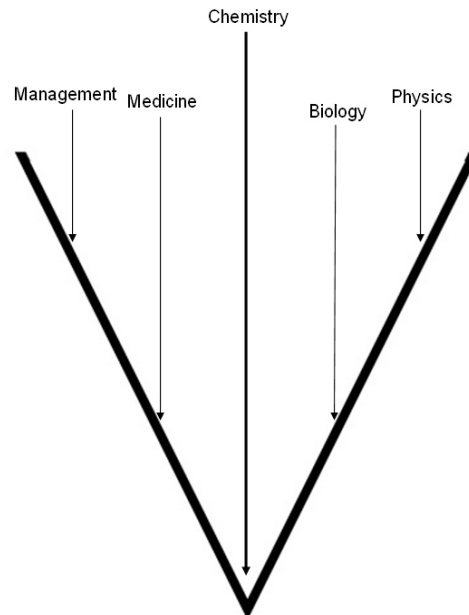


Figure 3. A typical valley individual

Such individuals can enjoy the full benefit of synergy. In other words, the possession of a great deal of knowledge from a wide variety of disciplines would build a totality which is more than the sum of the parts. Fulfilling the definition that is presented in the introduction to this paper, such individuals are likely to develop a unique capacity to provide “a critical evaluation of ideas and issues” since they can see numerous aspects and facets of issues. In other words, these intellectuals can see issues that are in the murky areas of a discipline invisible to experts in those fields. As such, I would improve the earlier definition of an intellectual as follows: ‘A person who engages in the study of a *number of disciplines* in order to empower *him or herself* to provide critical evaluation of ideas and issues and to *shed light* on new areas of knowledge by seeing *invisible networks* among different areas’.

Part of the evidence for the functional value of such individuals comes from real life examples. Some of the most revolutionising ideas and concepts in science in the late 20th century came from individuals whose abyss area of expertise was different from their field of specialisation (the valleys). Their multidimensional view helped them see the network of interrelated elements which had continued to elude the most meticulous observations of the experts in those fields (the wells). A good example would be Noam Chomsky, a celebrated professor of linguistics whose ideas about philosophy, intellectual history, international affairs and United States foreign policy have unquestionably revolutionised a good number of paradigms in these fields. Another illustrative example is Abdol Karim Soroush, an MS holder in pharmacology who earned his PhD in the history and philosophy of science. His ideas in the realm of divinity, philosophy and epistemology have earned him worldwide recognition.

Another way of detecting evidence would be to consider the fact that some of the most profound ideas such as buffering in change management, fuzzy logic in engineering, neural networks in management, to mention just a few, come from biology, mathematics and neurology respectively.

If it had not been for the individuals in the target discipline or field who developed an orientation in the source discipline, such innovations could not have taken place.

These pieces of evidence give credence to the desirability and functional value of such valley individuals. There is, therefore, a call for a paradigm shift on the part of learners from mono-discipline learning areas (well) to move towards a multi-disciplined (valley) paradigm of learning. Naturally such a shift should be supported and facilitated by educators and the whole education system through a parallel paradigm shift.

CONCLUSION

Today's problems cannot be handled with yesterday's solutions and problem solving techniques. The appropriate solutions and techniques do not seem to come from a mind bound to any single discipline. This is not to say that each individual is supposed to know everything, but I believe that the days of individuals who rely on a single field of expertise are numbered.

The valley paradigm that I have suggested might be viewed as the recipe for the education of a 21st century intellectual, and I believe that it is likely to be the means of survival in the 22nd century as well.

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Multicultural education and racism: The case of Arab-Australian students in contemporary Australia

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This paper discusses the social and cultural dimensions of the educational experiences of Arab-Australian students. It seeks to explore the cultural attitudes and the social experiences of Arab-Australian secondary school students from two schools situated in Melbourne's northern region. The paper seeks to examine how Arab-Australian students and their families understand and construct their own social and educational experiences in relation to schools' initiatives as well as wider social discourses. The empirical findings presented in this paper suggest that there are critical links between Arab-Australian students' perceptions of belonging, identity and citizenship on the one hand, and their attitudes to schooling and educational experiences on the other. The study's findings show the need for current patterns of multicultural education research and practice to incorporate more systematically socio-political dynamics beyond the confines of school and family factors.

Racism, identity, multicultural education, Arab-Australian students, Australian identity

INTRODUCTION

In July 2004, a public school in the northern suburbs of Melbourne announced its imminent closure. Blackwood College was located within a socio-economically disadvantaged community and had served a culturally and linguistically diverse student population, where over 50 per cent of students were of Arabic-speaking backgrounds (Student Outcomes Division, 2003). Enrolments had been dropping steadily for a number of years, and students' average educational attainments fell significantly below Victorian state averages (Student Outcomes Division, 2003).

There appears to be a variety of complex and interlinked factors contributing to the school's ultimate closure. In addition to insufficiently resourced structural change, one contributing factor appeared to include the public embroiling of Blackwood College in the complex politics of Australian multiculturalism in the post-September 11 environment. In 2002 a prominent tabloid journalist argued that the school had become a 'sour ethnic ghetto' dominated by Arabic-speaking Muslim students and their families (Bolt, 2002) and was home to violent Lebanese 'ethnic gangs' (Bolt, 2004a). After the announcement of the school's closure, the same journalist wrote that Blackwood College had been 'killed by ethnic division' (Bolt, 2004b), contending that multicultural educational policies had resulted in a 'too-heavy concentration of Muslim students, particularly Lebanese' (Bolt, 2004b), 'trapping immigrant students in their own closed culture' and leading to a rejection of Australia (Bolt, 2004a). As a consequence of this media representation, the school acquired a reputation for being educationally ineffective, isolated from mainstream Australian society, and serving only one ethnic group constructed in populist media discourse as criminal, deviant and threatening. At the time of the closure announcement, even the Victorian Opposition Spokesman for Education echoed this negative representation of the school,

arguing that the Government had failed to intervene in a school that was a ‘hot-bed of violence and thuggery’ (*Herald Sun*, 31 July 2004).

Against this tense socio-political climate, this paper seeks to explore the cultural attitudes, the social insecurities and educational experiences of Arab-Australian secondary school students at Blackwood College and at Clayfield Girls Secondary School.¹ It does so by examining how Arab-Australian students and families at these schools understand and construct their own social and educational experiences. It is argued that at a time when Arab and Muslim communities in Australia are often represented as the ‘pre-eminent folk devil’ (Poynting et al., 2004), critical links may exist between Arab-Australian students’ perceptions of belonging, identity and citizenship on the one hand, and their attitudes to schooling and educational experiences on the other.

ARAB-AUSTRALIANS IN CONTEMPORARY AUSTRALIA

While Arabic-speaking communities in Australia are marked by diversity of religion, nationality, gender and class, it is most notably language that makes them a distinctly identifiable group. Figure 1 illustrates the growth of Arabic-speaking communities in Australia.

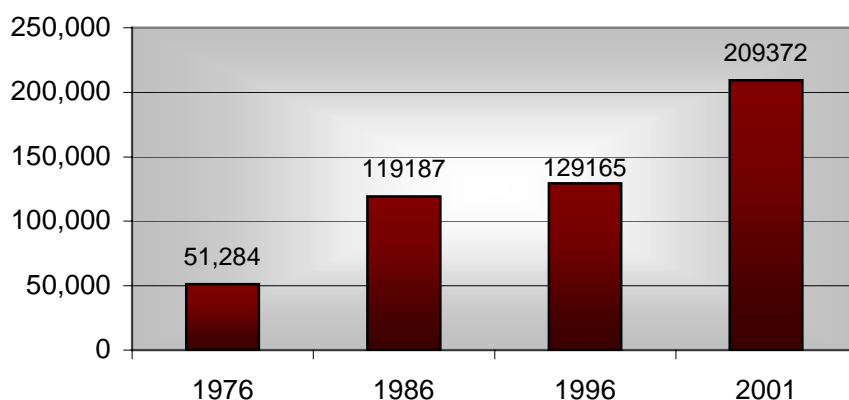


Figure 1. The growth of Arabic-speaking communities in Australia

Source: ABS, 2001.

Arab immigration constitutes 8 per cent of the total migration to Australia, and the 2001 Census recorded that there were 209,372 people who spoke Arabic at home across Australia (ABS, 2001). This figure makes Arabic the fourth largest language, other than English, spoken at home in Australia. As Figure 1 indicates, between 1976 and 2001 the population of the Arabic-speaking community quadrupled in size. This demographic growth, however, has not translated into improved social and economic indicators. In fact, income levels of Arab-Australians fall well below the national average, with Arab-Australian communities experiencing some of the highest rates of unemployment in Australia (ABS, 2001; VOMA, 2003). More critically, the impact of the current socio-political environment upon Arab-Australian communities necessitates a reassessment of young Arab-Australians’ educational experiences. In particular, in the wake of September 11 and the so-called War on Terror, it has been shown that young Arab-Australians experience significant social and cultural marginalisation stimulated by increased racism and the processes of exclusion (HREOC, 2004; Poynting and Ang, 2004; Poynting et al., 2004; White, 2004).

¹ Blackwood College and Clayfield Girls Secondary College are not the schools’ real names.

STUDY DESIGN

While constituting only part of a broader study of educational strategies to meet the needs of Arab-Australian students, for the purpose of this paper qualitative data gathered through focus group discussions with Arab-Australian students and parents are analysed. Given the thematic approach of this paper, data elicited from teachers and school principals are not included in the analysis as the main focus is on students' social attitudes and cultural perceptions. The analysis presented here is influenced by a qualitative, ethnographic tradition of research, focusing on 'the meaning that individuals and groups attach to their own and others' actions' (Connelly, 1998, p. 126). Therefore, the findings presented here cannot be generalised as representing the social and schooling experiences of all Arab-Australian students and their families. They should only be regarded as indicative of trends and variables that *may* similarly affect Arab-Australians in other schools.

In total, four focus group discussions were held. Three were with students ranging from ages 12 to 18: two at Blackwood College (BC) and one at Clayfield Girls Secondary School (CGSS). Students were randomly selected and approached to participate in the research, with consent from their parents being a condition of participation. One parent discussion group was also held, bringing together parents from both schools. See Tables 1 and 2 for the numbers of participants in the study and their gender composition. In order to safeguard against the possible compliance of individual participants with the majority opinion, the focus group discussions were structured around thematic questions that were used as prompts to elicit differing views from all participants. The focus groups were conducted by the researcher and facilitated by an Arabic-speaking community worker known to the students and their parents at the school. Her language skills and the level of trust she engendered greatly aided the ensuing discussions, particularly with parents who spoke little English.

Table 1. Numbers of Arab-Australian student and parent participants

Participants	Blackwood College	Clayfield Girls Secondary	TOTALS
Students	25	11	36
Parents	3	9	12
TOTALS	28	20	48

Table 2. Gender of students

Gender	Number of Students
Female	22
Male	14
TOTAL	36

Australia is the country of birth for 72 per cent of the participating Arab-Australian students and of the remaining 28 per cent, most were long-settled in the country (see Table 3). Of the second-generation Arab-Australian students, 54 per cent identified their backgrounds as Lebanese. An overwhelming majority (89 per cent) of students nominated their religion as Islam (see Table 4).

Table 3. Country of birth of students

Country of Birth	Number of Students
Australia	26
Iraq	3
Lebanon	2
Kuwait	1
Greece	1
Unknown	3
TOTAL	36

Nine of the 12 participating parents were women. All participating parents were born overseas, with seven born in Lebanon, and others born variously in Palestine, Algeria, Egypt and Iraq. Only

one of the parents was Christian, with the remainder being Muslim. Educational backgrounds varied considerably, as shown in Table 5.

Table 4. Religion of students

Religion	Number of Students
Islam	32
Christianity	3
Unknown	1
TOTAL	36

Table 5. Arab-Australian parents' educational levels

Educational Level	Number of Parents
Negligible formal education	1
Primary school	5
Secondary school	4
Tertiary education	2
TOTAL	12

The Participating Schools

The two schools participating in the research project are public schools located in the northern suburbs of Melbourne, one co-educational (Blackwood College, referred to as BC) and the other a single-sex girls' school (Clayfield Girls' Secondary School, referred to as CGSS). The schools were, in effect, self-selecting, approaching the researchers to help them better address the educational challenges facing their Arab-Australian students.

Both schools have some of the highest proportions of cultural and linguistic diversity and socio-economic disadvantage in Victoria. In 2003, 80 per cent of BC's students were from a non-English speaking background (NESB), and CGSS had 69 per cent of NESB students. The largest language group represented in the student population was Arabic: 59 per cent at BC and 26 per cent at CGSS (Student Outcomes Division, 2004). Between 70 and 75 per cent of schools' students received some form of government financial assistance for their educational needs (Student Outcomes Division, 2003).

Measured by final year outcomes, the schools' average educational achievements fall below Victorian state averages. In 2003 the median study score across Victoria for final year subjects was 30 out of a possible 50. BC students on average received 19, and CGSS students 26 (*The Age*, 18 December 2003). Retention rates are also considerably below average (Student Outcomes Division, 2003). However, the schools achieved considerable levels of success in ensuring many students continued on to tertiary education and training. Seventy-three per cent of BC students and 77 per cent of CGSS students who had graduated in 2003 were in enrolled tertiary education or training in April 2004 (LLEN, 2004; *The Age*, 26 July 2004).

STUDY FINDINGS

Arab-Australian Students' Contemporary Social Experiences

Throughout the focus group discussions, students argued that political events, most notably September 11, had changed the way Arab-Australians are perceived and treated by the community. The students discussed the conflation of Arab and Muslim communities into a singular homogeneous category, constructed as synonymous with threat and terrorism, and often identified through visual markers of difference: "Like all Arabs are terrorists. Especially girls with scarves". Many of the female students were particularly concerned about negative attitudes towards girls and women who could be immediately identified with Islam:

Sometimes because we've got the scarf on it directs straight to us, 'oh they're Muslim'. Like if you look at her (indicates a peer not wearing a scarf), you're gonna think straight away, 'oh she's not Muslim, not her'. They're not gonna know unless she actually said it ...

Female students recounted numerous instances of verbal abuse, while male students more commonly identified instances of structural exclusion from accessing mainstream social resources. Here a group of boys discuss racialised barriers to employment:

It's hard to get a job these days 'cause you're Lebbo (Lebanese). I swear to God.

Some people have to change their name.

My brother can't even get a job 'cause his name's Osama.

My second name is Mohammed, and when they read that, they go, you're bad.

The criminalisation of Arab and Muslim identity in Australia was also a common theme in students' discussions. Some students were highly attuned to the racialisation of crime in the Australian media (Collins et al., 2000; Poynting et al., 2004). In the following discussion, a group of boys discern a stark contrast between media treatment of crimes committed by Arab-Australians as opposed to Anglo-Australians. They make reference to recent coverage of a 'gang rape' case in Sydney involving young men of Lebanese, Muslim background:

Especially the media, 'cause the media, they show us as bad people through the news'.

And they always refer, 'they are Lebbo'.

Yeah, 'they are Lebbo' and they mention our religion.

'Oh, they're Muslims.' See, they don't go, 'oh, a Christian man raped this girl', it's all 'a Muslim man raped this girl'.

Yeah, and every time a Lebanese or someone Muslim does something they get jailed, and if some Aussie would go kidnap a baby, they'd get ...

It would just say 'A man kidnapped a baby'. If it was a Muslim, 'an Arab kidnapped this kid', they wouldn't say a man.

Boys in particular expressed high levels of distrust of police, often as a direct result of experience, having found themselves under close police surveillance as potential criminals.

Overall, students moved fluidly from discussing abstract processes of racialisation to relating personal narratives of racism. This pattern of conversation indicates a complexity in how the students made sense of their social experiences. They appeared able to see and make connections between their personal experiences of racism on the one hand, and structural exclusions and institutional exercises of power on the other. They seemed aware and disturbed by the tendency to use political events to construct stereotypical representations of Arabs and Muslims in Australia as a homogeneous, racialised, threatening 'Other', an image that the media perpetuated powerfully in its coverage of national and global political crises (Poynting et al., 2004).

While the Arab-Australian students involved in the study were predominantly of Lebanese descent, students of Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi and other national backgrounds also participated. Yet despite the diversity of national backgrounds, the students did not commonly identify themselves collectively as being 'of Arabic-speaking background', 'Arab-Australians' or 'Arabs'. Even the term 'Lebanese-Australian' was used only in rare instances. The participating students almost exclusively used the term 'Lebbo' to describe themselves, and being Muslim was seen as a source of unity and a marker of cultural identity and belonging to a social group. In fact, in the context of discussing their experiences of racism, the students tended to downplay their 'Australianness' and

question whether they are ever likely to be accepted as Australians. One typical response to the question of whether they see themselves as 'Australian' was one boy's decisive reply, "No, I think about myself being Lebbo". The following excerpt from an exchange between two boys highlights the uncertainty many students expressed about claiming a hybrid Lebanese-Australian identity:

Student A: *I don't like being, you know, Lebbo and English, 'cause like, I'm both, right, and I still get teased, see no one teases me, 'oh you're Aussie, you're half this that', they always come to me 'oh you're Lebbo you're Lebbo', like that, especially Aussies, like they don't know that I'm half, so they always go 'you're Lebbo'.*

Student B: *But you're not necessarily half Aussie.*

Student A: *I was born here.*

Student B: *Alright, alright, I know what you mean.*

This brief exchange highlights the intricate and complex process of negotiating inter-cultural identities. It is not clear whether Student A defines his hybrid Lebanese-Australian identity by ethnicity, or national citizenship status. He appears to place an emphasis on the latter by arguing his 'half Lebbo, half Aussie' identity arises from him being born in Australia. Student B appears to challenge Student A's ambivalent sense of hybrid identity by suggesting that Australian citizenship and birthplace may not equate with being 'Aussie'. As Student A suggests, racial identifiers are often used to differentiate and exclude ethnic minority groups from a dominant, mono-culturally defined Australian identity.

Mirroring this sense of ambivalence about 'being Australian', students also often appeared uncertain about whether they regarded Australia – even partly – as home. Some students argued that Lebanon was their sole, true home – despite the fact that they may never have lived in Lebanon. When asked why this was the case, they related their apparent rejection of the Australian national space to the exclusion and racism they experienced within it:

Nah, I'd rather go live back in Lebanon, yeah I'd rather live there. I used to live there, and I've been in Australia for like ... 18 years. Everyone reckons Australia is like, um, it's a free country and everything, but the truth is, no one's been all around this world, and like, I reckon Lebanon's the best, like, it's full-on free, there's no one there to tell you what to do, there's no cops comin' up to you, and like, there's not bad things that happen there.

No racism.

In contrast with this sense of antipathy towards Australia, many of the students held strong connections to their local community. The students regarded the culturally diverse nature of their local area positively because it provided them with a sense of belonging, security and cultural identity. While a sense of differentiation is achieved for the students through their 'Lebbo' identity, they also appeared able to interact easily and harmoniously with young people from other cultural backgrounds in their local area. Students in different focus groups recounted their multicultural friendships with pride, with frequent comments such as "I got Chinese friends, Vietnamese friends ...". In this sense, the students indicated that they possessed strong 'socio-cultural resources' to show a new way forward for inclusive social relations (Butcher and Thomas, 2001, p.57). Students' interactions with other young people appear to support the idea that:

while some young people are very consciously claiming their ethnic identity, they also link a more 'tolerant' and 'open-minded' attitude with their association with diverse friendship networks ... [and] while many young people have a sense of exclusion and rejection from mainstream society, for the most part they are not cynical about a

commitment to values of tolerance, equality and diversity (Butcher and Thomas, 2001, p. 57).

While developing inter-cultural friendships was viewed positively, students also appeared to generate belonging and comfort from living within local communities with high proportions of Arab-Australians: "It's nicer to live in a suburb where you got the same people as you, it's better, like, I used to live in Broadmeadows when I first came here, it's all Turks and Lebbos so that's good" Some students suggested that living within Arab-Australian communities afforded them protection from racism and a social space in which to belong, helping to negate the feeling of cultural exclusion from mainstream Australia:

But these days, to be honest with you, everyone's like, like all the Lebbos are starting to come together, and like, all the stuff like that 'cause of all what's happening these days, all these racist people happening, so everyone's like sticking to their own culture.

Years ago it wasn't like this, there wasn't much Arabs, much Arab communities so it was hard and racism and all that, but now it's good 'cause like when you're down and that, there are more Arab communities and everyone gets along and everyone's family.

What it means to be Australian, and to belong in Australia as part of a national community, is "currently the subject of much public contest, [as] the politics of race, ethnicity and nationalism are tightly bound together" (McLeod and Yates, 2003, p. 30). While contemporary Australia as a national space and "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) did not appear to engender a sense of belonging for many of the students, the identification with place and community did seem to shift between different scales of reference. Local geographies, in particular, afforded students a connection to place and community. Friendship networks appeared to be sufficiently open and accepting to allow the students to develop meaningful relationships with a diverse range of young people. Yet students also acknowledged the value of living in communities with a high proportion of people from similar cultural backgrounds, particularly in terms of solidarity against perceived racist discourses and practices.

Pressures of racism and exclusion were exacerbated for these students following the events of September 11 and the ensuing backlash against Arab and Muslim communities in Australia (HREOC, 2004). The students' experiences and perceptions of racism and exclusion had had negative effects on their considerations of individual and collective identities. This was illustrated by the way many of them were, at the very least, ambivalent about their sense of belonging to the Australian national community.

Arab-Australian Students' Schooling Experiences

For many students, friendships seemed to be one of the few elements of their schooling experiences about which they felt positive. Generally, racism between students was not considered to be a significant problem. Most participants felt that the issues they had with racism or inter-cultural tension at school were linked more to student-teacher relations. Boys, in particular, expressed unhappiness at school, often in terms of anger and frustration. The following exchange between male students incorporates a wide range of concerns about relations with teachers:

I was suspended 17 times because of her (a teacher), and for the stupidest reasons too. And I didn't get to say anything that I wanted to say, they wouldn't let me speak.

They don't give you a fair go, man.

They're racist, they always pick on Lebbos.

Like especially in this month, Ramadan, they should understand what we're going through, they shouldn't force us to do things that make us scream and all.

I got chucked out of class in the first period, I don't think they understand you. If it keeps going like this, I don't know what I'll do.

See, the teachers at this time of year have got to help you to understand and be good. Say if I'm doing something bad, they should go, 'oh you're fasting', like this, like help us out a little.

As the above discussion suggests, students frequently discussed a lack of meaningful communication between themselves and teachers, often feeling that teachers make little attempt to understand them culturally. More generally, students across the two schools conveyed doubts about teachers' commitment to quality teaching and to meeting the needs of students from different cultural backgrounds. The school environments were also represented as being inert and disengaging, with many students arguing that this held them back academically and negatively affected their levels of ambition and motivation.

Yet, some students also reported positive relationships with certain individual teachers. When asked what makes a good teacher, these students gave various replies, including the following:

They listen to you.

They understand you.

They come from a different religion too, and they understand, like, you know what I mean?

'Cause you know like the Australians, they don't know what we've been through, and what we are going through.

None of the students believed that there was any significant multicultural content within the existing curriculum. Some male students expressed a desire for more multicultural educational content, particularly relating to their own culture, to combat what they saw as an Anglo bias:

Have a subject for it, like in history, all we learn about is the Anzac war and all that stuff. Why don't we learn about our culture as well?

Despite the frequency of negative feelings about the schools' learning environments, the vast majority of students who participated in the research expressed a desire to complete secondary school. The students at BC who wanted to pursue further study or training mainly aspired to join TAFE colleges. Discussions of educational ambition among the girls at CGSS were more mixed, with some students wishing to attend TAFE colleges, and some university.

Students generally felt very positive about their social interactions with other students although the research findings suggest a significant level of disengagement with the schools as learning institutions. They frequently attributed their own disengagement from school and the processes of learning to: (a) perceptions of teacher disinterest in them as individuals, and as young Arab- and Muslim-Australians; (b) perceptions of teacher racism; and (c) low teacher expectations of their schooling achievements.

The study also appears to confirm the critical importance of race, ethnicity and cultural identity in students' attempts to make sense of their social and educational experiences and the worlds in which they live (Mac an Ghail, 1988, p. 155; Troyna, 1993, pp. 130-131). The discussions with students indicated that schools and teachers need explicitly to address and repudiate racism in order to ensure students' educational engagement. Participating students, suffering from racism in the broader social environment, often appeared to be suspicious and distrusting of the school's role in perpetuating racialised patterns of privilege and disadvantage. Teachers' claims to being

'colour-blind' and treating the students as individuals were not effective in satisfying students that teachers do not hold prejudiced attitudes. Students were well aware of how racism operates in complex ways in the social environment. They were looking to their schools and teachers to actively convince them that complex societal practices and patterns of racism were not simply also permeating their schools. Without schools giving greater acknowledgment to students' social experiences of racism and creating an environment where racism is explicitly resisted, students appear less willing to place trust in the school as a social unit and, consequently, more willing to disengage from it as an educational institution. Without a trust in the school, students are unlikely to engage fully in schools' educational processes and achieve their optimal educational outcomes.

Parents' Perspectives on Social and Educational Experiences

One major concern expressed by parents regarded their own abilities to support their children's education. Parents argued strongly against the stereotypes of Arab-Australian parents lacking interest in, or undervaluing, education. However, many parents acknowledged that they had limited resources in terms of language skills and educational background to actively assist their children in pursuit of successful educational outcomes. They indicated how teachers sometimes humiliated their children if they had not completed their homework, and yet teachers did not understand the family barriers to students undertaking successful study at home. It was argued that schools needed to recognise that in some cases second-generation or long-settled students may have special educational needs, even though – unlike newly-arrived students – they may not exhibit problems with the English language. For example, parents indicated a firm desire for well-resourced homework groups to enable their children to receive the assistance with their study that the parents themselves felt unable to offer.

The second key concern raised by parents was the effect of racism upon their children's educational outcomes. While all the parents were keen not to overstate the prevalence of racism within their children's schools, they felt that it existed as a persistent undercurrent that "*kills the spirit*" of some Arab-Australian young people:

There are problems, and one of them is the students feel ashamed and have low esteem and is unable to get his work done like the rest. Also when the teacher, which is very seldom, is biased or something ... the student may feel shy and want to change schools. Why they want to change schools? Racism. Sorry to mention this, it's very important. A lot of people do not mention this, the teachers are being biased because you're wearing a hijab. Not all teachers are like this but there are some who kills the spirit of the student.

It was felt by many parents that some teachers made distinctions between girls wearing the Muslim *hijab* and those who did not. Two parents related an incident where a teacher reportedly called a girl wearing the *hijab* a 'napkin head'.

Parents were in no doubt that the current manifestation of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim sentiment has the effect of isolating their children from Australian society. They felt that their children often have to prove their 'Australianness', causing them suffering:

The media is really racist, sometime coming to scary stage. Especially what's happened in America, then Bali. Up to now, we really hope nothing happen to any Australian because we don't want someone to say something to our children, or to destroy our house, or something like that. The children think they are being targeted, because they've become like a soft target, because of the media here.

The media makes them feel they are not Australian. You know, like it's not their country.

A number of parents believed that issues of exclusion in the broader social environment may impact upon Arab-Australian students' educational experiences. It was argued that to combat the potentially destructive impacts of racism on their children's learning, methods of communication between students and teachers had to change markedly. In one woman's account, more constructive engagement between teachers and Arab-Australian students could hold the key to improving student-teacher relations, student behaviour, and educational outcomes:

The teachers, they should make at least one day a week, a few hours, and just sit down with the classroom, be honest, be frank, find out what's bothering the children. And the teachers can tell the children too, what bothers them about their behaviour, about their attitudes, and then vice versa. And then they can start working together ... Like especially when the school is like, what, 50 per cent Arabic? And with everything that's going on around the world, it has a very big effect ... It affects the children because the children are gonna say, "this is Australia, we haven't done anything here. The Muslim community hasn't done anything. So they're calling us terrorists?" And so the children are gonna take this and go all over the place in their mind and say, "well, I'm not gonna listen to any teacher".

While some parents considered this inclusive, transformative method of student-teacher engagement to be crucial to addressing their children's social experiences of racism and exclusion, other parents favoured more teaching focus on issues of racism and inter-cultural relations.

All parents involved in the research reported high levels of educational ambition for their children. They appreciated that the schools made efforts to recognise the particular needs of their children, for example, being sensitive towards religious observances and developing literacy programs. The Arabic-speaking cultural diversity facilitator placed in each of the participating schools (as part of the larger study upon which this paper is based) was regarded by parents to be highly important, if not crucial, to their improved communication with and participation in the school community. However, parents also acknowledged that low educational outcomes was a significant issue for Arab-Australian students, and that there was an urgent need for dialogue about why this may be and how it could be addressed by schools. The parents had clear concerns and suggestions, particularly focused on the recognition by schools of the specific needs of second-generation students, and the necessity of explicitly addressing issues of racism and exclusion. Parents tended to feel that while instances of overt teacher racism may have been rare, those that did occur had a major effect on their children.

CONCLUSIONS

The fundamental purpose of education is to ensure that all students, no matter what their linguistic, cultural or socio-economic background, benefit from learning in ways that facilitate their full participation in the economy and in the broader community. While schools may reproduce social inequalities, including racism and its effects upon particular minority groups, schools are also in a rare position of being able to challenge social injustices directly. Transformative practices may be undertaken to effect positive change in the school environment, both at social and educational levels.

For this to happen effectively, schools and educators need to be equipped with the necessary resources and experience to challenge social inequalities in the educational environment. Students and parents in the participating study often expressed an explicit desire for learning environments where their social experiences of racism and exclusion, and their cultural backgrounds, were acknowledged and actively engaged with. For this to be achieved, an integrated approach needs to

be adopted, where schools, parents and communities form a strategic partnership aimed at reducing the effects of social barriers and at meeting the challenge of cross-cultural negotiation.

This findings suggest that socio-political dynamics affect not only young Arab-Australians' sense of identity, but also their educational experiences. It is not suggested here that there is a direct causal correlation between the two or that the effect of racism and exclusion is the sole factor influencing Arab-Australian students' educational experiences and outcomes. However, racism was a factor of concern readily and repeatedly identified by students and parents. Although parents indicated that overt teacher racism is a rare phenomenon, students' reactions to particular instances of unhappy interactions with teachers cannot be dismissed as over-sensitivity. Instead, by focusing on such incidents students may be voicing an acknowledgment that cultural prejudice colours multiple facets of their experiences and opportunities, including education, and that these instances are simply the most apparent. This is why current patterns of educational research may need to be extended to reflect socio-political dynamics beyond the confines of school and family factors.

At the very least, this study's findings suggest that the effects of racism on young Arab-Australians, particularly since the events of September 11, have been underestimated in educational research and practice. In addition, this study, coupled with the recent closure of Blackwood College highlights the urgent need for innovative approaches to teaching in culturally diverse schools, wherein quality education – with systematic multicultural perspectives—would be viewed as a basic right, and an essential means to social and economic development.

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Adult education in Nigeria: The consequence of neglect and agenda for action

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In spite of the rich variety of natural resources in Nigeria, the country is still very much underdeveloped. Within and outside Nigeria, analysts are of the view that the country clearly has the potential to be prosperous. As Nigeria attempts without much success to pull itself out of the quagmire of underdevelopment, the inevitably persistent question has been: given the resources at its disposal, why has the country remained mired in poverty? This paper attempts to provide a partial answer by arguing that Nigeria's inadequate commitment, over the years, to pursue the development of adult education as a strategic objective, as well as an instrument for national development has been one of the major drawbacks to the country's efforts to pull itself out of poverty. Underscoring the role of education in contemporary society, the paper proposes an adult education agenda for Nigeria.

Adult education, adult learning, development education,
Nigerian education, entrepreneurship education

INTRODUCTION

With a population of about 120 million, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the largest unit of people of African origin in the world. The country is endowed with a variety of natural resources. Nigeria is a member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and a leading producer of palm oil, cocoa, and rubber. Ironically, poverty continues to ravage the potentially wealthy country. Nigeria is ranked 151st of 177 nations in the 2004 Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2004a). Between 66 to 70 per cent of Nigerians are poor, and the rate of unemployment is about 15% (United Nations Development Programme, 2004b).

This paper argues that the pervasive poverty in Nigeria partly derives from sustained inadequate commitment to the development of adult education. The paper first engages in a historical review of inadequate attention to adult education in Nigeria, highlighting in the process, missed opportunities to develop adult education significantly and to utilise it as a veritable tool for national development. It then briefly discusses education in contemporary society, underscoring its economic, social, political and cultural value. Finally, the paper proposes an adult education agenda for Nigeria. Adult education, for this paper, "encompasses all education and training activities undertaken by adults for professional or personal reasons. It includes general, vocational and enterprise based training within a lifelong perspective" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2003, p. 4).

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF NEGLECT

Nigeria was colonised by Britain. The British government had no clearly defined policy on education for Nigeria before 1925. Education activities in the colony were managed by colonial

administrators, in consultation with Christian missions and their home offices. (Fafunwa, 1974). In 1922, a commission set up by the Phelps-Stokes Fund to look into education in West and Equatorial Africa, which included Nigeria, produced a report titled: *Education in Africa*. The report emphasised the need for a policy on adult and community education (Fafunwa, 1974). The commission's recommendation for the development and institution of a policy on adult education represented the first key formal acknowledgement of the need to develop adult education alongside youth education or schooling. The commission stressed the education of the entire community if education was to result in meaningful development. To educate the children at school while the adult population remained largely illiterate and uneducated amounted to a grossly inadequate utilisation of education in development.

Following the Phelps-Stokes report, the British colonial government issued its first education policy for Nigeria in 1925. The policy and its implementation strategies did not address, in any significant way, community or adult education. Rather, the colonial government concentrated on school education. Consequently, a significant opportunity to begin to develop adult education in Nigeria was missed.

However, in 1951, the Central Board of Education endorsed a policy on adult education. The aim of adult education, as articulated in the policy, was to organise remedial primary education for adults. This included basic adult literacy and craft-making. The policy stressed the importance of women's participation in adult education (Fafunwa, 1974). Following the policy, adult literacy classes sprung up in many parts of Nigeria. There was considerable enthusiasm for adult literacy among the people and the governments of the three regions of Nigeria: East, West, and North. The enthusiasm was particularly strong from 1950 to 1956, but the free primary education schemes initiated from 1955 and 1957 resulted in the waning of the enthusiasm and in drastic decline in government support for adult literacy. The enormous cost of free primary education left little resources for adult literacy. Thus, the first somewhat serious attempt at adult education lost steam or even collapsed.

In 1959, the Ashby Commission was appointed to determine Nigeria's human resources needs, as well as the country's needs for post-secondary education over the next twenty years, 1960-1980. Reviewing Nigeria's primary, secondary and post-secondary education, the commission noted that the country had made progress in these levels and recommended further expansion. The commission was, however, curiously, silent on adult education. Consequently, very little attention was paid to its development. Nevertheless, adult education flickered in some communities unattended to by the federal government. It was barely kept alive by regional governments and voluntary agencies.

Nigeria became independent in 1960. Since then, there have been several National Development Plans articulating the country's development priorities and strategies. None of the plans provided a comprehensive framework and impetus for the development of adult education. The Nigerian National Policy on Education was adopted in 1977 and modified in 1981. The policy provides for equal access to education, including continuing and further education, and commits to the eradication of illiteracy and promotion of lifelong learning. Beyond the articulation of desired outcomes, nothing much has been achieved in terms of significant development of adult education. For instance, 28 years after the adoption of the policy, the literacy rate for Nigerians 15 years and older is about 66% (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2004). There has hardly been a sustainable, virile, and coherently comprehensive set of programs demonstrating government's commitment to adult education as a strategic priority in Nigeria's development.

Although the National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education was established in 1990 to monitor and coordinate adult education programs, as well as to conduct research related to the development of adult and non-formal education in the country, adult

education programs continue to operate mainly as disparate, piecemeal activities that are not integrated into a coherent, purposeful strategy in pursuit of a national development vision. Many government sponsored adult education activities have been chronically anemic due to inadequate funding, and lackadaisically implemented owing largely to a historical lack of passion and vision for adult education as both a strategic goal and an instrument for national development. Adult education curricula are hardly forward-looking or responsive to the strategic needs of the economy or to the personal, social and political development needs of the vast majority of Nigerian adults. Frameworks for organising and delivering programs are hardly innovative or forward-looking. The lack or inadequacy of physical and instructional facilities in government-owned adult education training centres is indicative of the neglect and marginal status of adult education (Aderinoye, 2002).

Inadequate commitment to the development of adult education is not unique to Nigeria; it is a typical phenomenon in most African countries. A number of factors account for the underdevelopment of adult education and education generally in Africa (Omolewa, 2000; World Bank, 2001). They include “the constraints of funding, lack of continuity of policy, increasing huge debt, problem of gender and language” (Omolewa, 2000, p. 15).

EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

There is hardly any industrialised country without a well-developed adult education and training system – a system that not only provides a rich variety of programs or courses that respond to both personal and national development needs, but also seeks to remove barriers to adult participation. The relatively routinely heavy investment industrialised countries make in adult education and training is informed by the critical role of knowledge and skills in modern economy. The economic productivity value of education generally is supported by human capital theory (Denison, 1962; Shultz, 1961). The theory considers human resources as a vital economic factor. It, therefore, espouses the pursuit of education for economic productivity. Education directly contributes to the growth of national economy by improving the skills and productive capacity of workers. Conversely, the theory postulates that a lack of education keeps individuals and nations poor. The implication of human capital theory for the individual in the context of a modern economy which emphasises knowledge, skills, and technology is that the acquisition and continual updating of knowledge and skills is imperative.

Closely related to the economic productivity rationale for education is the rationale of professionalisation of modern society (Cullen, 1978, Eraut, 1994). Professionalisation or occupational rationalisation (Cullen, 1978) is driven by a number of factors. The complexity of modern society calls for the services of a multiplicity of diverse occupations, which demands the preparation of large numbers of people for the different occupations. Besides, modern society needs knowledge-experts in diverse fields for knowledge generation. Systematic pursuit of knowledge about the physical and social world can best be handled by experts. Similarly, efficient and effective application of knowledge and skills to valued social purposes requires specialists. Thus, professionalisation, or the reality of ‘expert society’ makes the acquisition of ‘expert knowledge and skills’, obtainable from participation in education, a necessary requirement for entry into occupations or professions.

Countries also invest in education because education facilitates personal and social development. It is becoming increasingly limiting for anyone to function in modern society without a good measure of education. Even though Nigeria is not quite there yet, the imperatives of ‘information and technology society’ demand that individuals possess at least basic literacy and numeracy skills, as well as, general social knowledge. The rapid obsolescence of knowledge and skills literally requires individuals who need up-to-date knowledge and skills for personal development and occupational purposes to participate continually in education or lifelong learning. Taking into

account the multiple social and economic roles of education in modern society, 'institutionalists' (Meyer, 1992), observe that contemporary society has institutionalised education as a citizenship right, as a social virtue, as a public good, and as a stratification process.

ADULT EDUCATION AGENDA

An adult education agenda for Nigeria would entail the development and implementation of a systemic adult education policy. The policy would be guided both in conception and implementation by a philosophy of continuing education or lifelong learning. Lifelong learning as a philosophy and a way of life emphasises that learning should be ongoing throughout life. A responsively comprehensive adult education policy should seek to institute and sustain a culture of learning that will lead to the emergence of a learning society (Edwards, 1997). As Nigerian adults grapple with the problems and opportunities in their personal lives, they are simultaneously challenged to contribute to the development of their communities and society. Hence, lifelong learning becomes imperative, not only for the effective functioning of individuals at the workplace and in their own communities, but also for the renewal of society itself. A systemic and comprehensive adult education policy would pursue, among others, the following key objectives.

Provision of incentives for adult participation

Adults are generally saddled with occupational and familial concerns. In a country like Nigeria, where poverty is currently pervasive, people are preoccupied with how to eke out a living. Consequently, motivating adults to participate in education and training programs that are not employer-sponsored would require a variety of incentives, such as subsidised child care services especially in the cities, flexible scheduling, and career and personal guidance services.

Coherence of programs

In most developing countries, adult education programs are not integrated to ensure a relationship among the programs, and to ensure that each program, at once, addresses the needs of adult participants, as well as the needs of society. Coherence would also seek to ensure that the programs or services prospective participants need are available, and that ways in which participants can transition among programs are provided. A coherent adult education policy would have a unifying mission, as well as organisational structural mechanisms for coordinating programs and activities. The policy would provide a clearly defined framework and guidelines for the participation of non-governmental organisations, the private sector and international organisations in adult education.

Comprehensiveness of offerings

There is a tendency in developing countries to concentrate efforts in adult education on literacy or basic education. If the talents and abilities of the adult population are to be developed, mobilised and optimally utilised in national development, there must be comprehensive education and training opportunities for adults. A variety of professional, vocational and general education programs and courses must be available and affordable. Listed and briefly discussed below are examples of broad themes or topics around which programs could be developed and offered not just in cities, but also in rural communities. Of course, many more themes could be added to the list; there is no intention here to be exhaustive.

Personal development and family management

Responsive adult education should aim at helping adults to make informed choices in managing their personal and familial concerns. Adult education for personal development would provide

learners guidance on how to access information regarding issues, such as health, nutrition, family planning, education and career opportunities for self and children.

Civic and peace education

Citizens need to understand how government functions, and what their responsibilities and rights are. They should know the procedures they can utilise to constrain or influence their leaders. Civic education programs would help to bring about a more politically aware citizenry. Gartforth (1980) stressed the need for an educated populace if democracy is to succeed: “without an educated electorate democracy is impossible, for it requires of its citizens alert, informed, critical interest and, as far as possible, participation in the processes of government” (p. 36). In Nigeria, national unity has been a challenge. The country is multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and culturally diverse. Mutual suspicion and unhealthy rivalry among different ethnic groupings tend to constitute a draw-back to national unity or cohesion. Rivalry, suspicion, and violence among ethnic and religious groupings could be minimised through well-designed peace education programs institutionalised in communities across the country. It is believed that education can help to bring about a culture of peace. Acknowledging education as a means to a culture of peace, Ministers of Education, under the aegis of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), resolved in 1994 “to pay special attention to improving curriculum, the content of text books, and other educational materials including new technologies, with a view to educating caring and responsible citizens, open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve them by non-violent means” (UNESCO, p. 2, 1994).

Community development education

Community development is another area adult education can play a key role in Nigeria. Given that about 64 per cent of Nigerians live in rural communities (United Nations Development Programme, 2004b), responsive adult education programming can be utilised to raise people’s consciousness and make them aware of their circumstances and opportunities. Freire (1973) advocated a consciousness-raising process designed to help individuals to become aware of the fundamental problems in their lives to the extent that they are motivated to take action to improve their circumstances. Community development education programs could be developed around themes, such as leadership, stewardship and accountability, self-help, teamwork, basic economic and health issues, as well as social change process.

Entrepreneurship education

Viewed broadly, entrepreneurship education aims to equip learners with skills, knowledge and dispositions that can help them develop or implement innovative social or business plans. Gottleib and Ross (1997) view entrepreneurship education in terms of creativity and innovation applied to business, governmental and social, enterprises. Entrepreneurship education could help to reduce the high rate of unemployment in both urban and rural areas of Nigeria, by equipping adults with the knowledge and skills for setting up and running small businesses effectively. Entrepreneurship education, however, is not only about pursuing economic ends; it also helps learners to develop entrepreneurial or problem-solving skills they could use in addressing personal and social challenges. Entrepreneurship education that proactively prepares learners for an unpredictable world can not only help to overcome dependence and hopelessness but also stimulate the emergence of an enterprising culture that values creativity, flexibility, self-efficacy, self-employment and self-sufficiency.

Literacy

Nigeria cannot develop in any significant way if the majority of Nigerians are not first considerably developed. Literacy is critical to the development of individual Nigerians and the country. The Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life (ICPQL, 1996) graphically highlights the limitations of the illiterate. In contemporary society in which laws, rules and instructions are written, illiteracy is a “severe handicap when participating in decisions affecting life: it is tantamount to disability, affecting every aspect of living. It confines job opportunities to the most menial and low-paid tasks” (ICPQL, 1996, p. 174). For a significant number of citizens to be illiterate in multi-ethnic Nigeria is a national handicap. None of the three major indigenous languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) is the lingua franca, and the English language which the majority of the rural dwellers can either not speak or write well enough or cannot speak or write at all is the official language. Consequently, the participation of illiterate Nigerians in national discourse and in sundry social and economic transactions is hardly significant or meaningful.

Content and Pedagogy Quality

In keeping with the philosophy of lifelong learning, a responsive and systemic adult education policy would require continual review of both content and method of delivery of programs in order to ensure their currency, appropriateness and effectiveness. The relevance of content to both the needs of learners and of the economy or society should be a key factor in judging quality of content, especially in personal, social and occupational programs. Quality of pedagogy would be judged, among other things, by the extent, to which teaching methods adhere to the principles of andragogy (Knowles, 1984) and constructivism (Ornstein and Hunkins, 2004). It is common in developing countries for adult education courses to be taught by teachers without adult education training. Such teachers tend to utilise conventional ‘school-like’ pedagogical approaches that are not quite appropriate for teaching adults. This can make participation in education unattractive to adults, especially those who may be suspicious of, or may have had unpleasant experiences with schooling.

Research and Evaluation

A purposeful and systemic adult education policy would need, for its continuing effectiveness and development, an ongoing and methodical process of gathering and analysing data about its operations. Research and evaluation would seek to answer questions like the following: To what extent are the various adult education programs meeting their stated goals? What is the impact of the programs on quality of life and the economy? What are the barriers to participation in each program? How effective and learner-friendly are the pedagogical and delivery methods? Is the adult education system diverse enough to address the various needs of the economy? How might the system and its programs be improved?

CONCLUSIONS

With enrolments of about 16,797,078 primary and 4,448,981 secondary students in 2001 (Dike, 2001) and university enrolments of 411,347 in 1998 (Jibril, 2003), Nigeria has made modest but significant progress in the development of formal and youth education. Nevertheless, a country that almost concentrates its educational investment on youth and formal education is unwittingly failing to develop and utilise its human resources optimally. Considering that knowledge and skills have become the means for individuals and nations to be competitive, the high rates of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria, in spite of the country’s natural resources, can be attributed, to a significant extent, to the lack of an education and training system committed to equipping adults to contribute more effectively to social, economic, political and cultural

development. National development or competitiveness, no matter how passionately desired, is not likely to occur to any meaningful extent if a country is not earnestly committed to a sustainable and coherent adult education policy purposefully articulated with its development goals.

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The study of sociology in Turkish higher education¹

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This paper seeks to reveal the differences among seven departments of sociology in Turkish universities based on studies carried out since 1985 by sociologists working in these departments. Since sociology and sociological education started in 1914, there have been many evaluations of sociology in Turkey. The present study differs from others in its evaluation methods. The basic assumption of this study was that none of the sociological studies could be carried out within the confines of only one sociological subfield such as economic or educational sociology. Based on this assumption, a six-point evaluation tool known as a composite index was used in each study. After collecting publications, a group of sociologists held comprehensive discussions and allocated the proportion of the composition for each sociological subfield represented in each study. The results, based on sociologists' published studies in seven well-established departments in Turkey, showed that there were major differences between departments. Among them was Middle East Technical University (METU), where teaching was in English and many staff members had been educated in England or the United States. The sociology department in that university was the leader in almost every field studied.

Turkey, sociology, sociology education

INTRODUCTION

Each discipline has its own unique developmental history in society. In other words, the needs and interests of a society provide a base and direction for each discipline (Gans, 1989). Sociology as a discipline originated during and after the Industrial Revolution in nineteenth century Europe. When sociology and its training are considered in Turkey, the inception can be found to have started at Istanbul University during the Ottoman Empire in the same period as it began in France, just before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. There was no industrialised society with its accompanying problems in Anatolia. Therefore, sociology was seen as a tool to help solve the political and administrative problems of the Ottoman Empire by thinkers educated in France who were aware of the development of sociology as a new discipline (Sezer 1989; Kasapoglu, 1991a, 1999).

Therefore, in both France and Turkey, sociology was accepted and earned respect as a science during the twentieth century, but with quite a different purpose. Sociology was seen as a salvation tool of the state for the Ottoman Empire, rather than Turkish society. During the First World War, the Ottoman Empire almost collapsed and was regarded as a 'sick man' by the coalition of opposing countries (such as Great Britain and France) who had already established their armed forces in the Ottoman Capital of Istanbul.

The first sociology lectures were given by Ziya Gokalp, who introduced Emile Durkheim's sociology to Turkey. Ziya Gokalp was widely accepted as the founder of sociology in Turkey and

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his sociology was essentially based on statism, nationalism, corporatism and solidarity. His naturalistic and positivistic sociology was always more dominant than other alternatives such as Prince Sabahattin's (Kasapoglu, 1991b).

Prince Sabahattin, as the follower of Le Play, together with Edmond Demolins, introduced decentralisation and, therefore, liberalism and individualism to Turkey. His approach did not gain power in Turkish sociology, mostly because of the social structure of Turkey (Sezer, 1989). It could be interpreted that non-individualistic and, therefore, communitarian features along with statism and a strong need for building a nation-state following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire played an important role in these developments. Ziya Gokalp, as the father of the ideology of Kemalism and his sociology, provided a base for the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Mustafa Kemal, who was called Ataturk (the father of all Turks) based his ideology (Kemalism) on principals of republicanism, statism, nationalism, and secularism. Secularism was accepted for many years because of the personal prestige of Ataturk. However, it eventually ran up against the social reality that 95 per cent of the Turkish population was Muslim and the people began to resent secular regulations. In the last elections, in November, 2002, Turkish voters rejected all the established parties in favour of a pro-Islamic party. Some members of this so-called Justice and Development party desire radical Islamism. Others were and are merely Islamic conservatives who would prefer to see their religion given some public recognition, in the same way that United States' traditional 'civic religion' is a kind of diluted non-sectarian Protestantism. The leaders of the Justice and Development party have pledged themselves to moderation, democracy, the Turkish constitution, the support of NATO, and entry into the European Union.

With the dominance of Ziya Gokalp's sociological approach, Turkish sociology gained a hybrid identity as a combination of nationalism, solidarity and westernisation in the years between 1923 and 1929. Turkish identity was and is unique as it joins Islam to a strong sense of being European. In Kemalist Turkey, the European identity was uppermost. Today that is visibly changing. The new system might become a model for other Islamic countries.

Another sociological tradition emerged in Ankara, which became the capital of the Republic of Turkey in 1939. In the Faculty of Letters (the original name was Language, History and Geography), Niyazi Berkes and Behice Boran, both educated in the United States, started to give sociology lectures along with other social scientists from Ankara.

During the 1940s there were two centres for sociology in Turkey, one in Istanbul and another in Ankara. Ankara's school was more field and particularly rural study oriented, whereas Istanbul was more focused on theory and philosophy (Kiray, 1986). In this period, in order to communicate with the wider society, sociological publications increased. Sociologists competed with each other through journal articles. For example, *Yurt ve Dunya (Country and World)* was published by Behice Boran to inform society about world events. Boran, the owner and editor of the journal, was from the Faculty of Letters. On the other hand, *Insan Dergisi (Journal of Humanity)* was from Istanbul University.

Until 1938, there was only one university in Turkey, Istanbul University. In Ankara, there were only independent faculties such as the School of Law, the School of Agriculture and the Faculty of Letters. Although many faculties were already established, they were reorganised to form Ankara University after 1938. Sociology education, which started in the Faculty of Letters in 1939, ceased to exist in 1947 and sociology professors were fired from their positions. It was an embarrassment to the Ankara Government and Turkey. Since there was no independent organisational system under the Ankara government, all higher education was dependent on the Ministry of National Education. Politicians simply were not happy with Behice Boran's and Niyazi Berkes' field studies carried out in Ankara and Manisa villages. This can be interpreted, and was also stated by Niyazi Berkes himself, that the research of sociologists at Ankara University created a risk for

their administration. Although they were scientific investigations, the politicians were frightened by the confrontation with reality. Sociology professors from the Language, History and Geography faculties were called communists and it was the worst labelling under conditions found during the Second World War. Therefore, if they were allowed to continue studying in their departments, certainly sociology in Turkey would have been more institutionalised and developed. Thus, it can be said that the foundation of sociology began with political requirements and was interrupted several times for political reasons. It was widely agreed among sociology professors that the prevailing ideology was the most effective factor in sociology in Turkey at that time (Kasapoglu, 1991a, 1999).

There is a consensus among sociologists that, between 1950 and 1960, Turkish sociology stagnated, but of course, its teaching in university departments continued. In 1950, Hilmi Ziya Ulken, a professor at Istanbul University, attended the First International Sociology Association Congress in Zurich and was elected as a member. Another congress was held in Amsterdam in 1953 and, again, a group of sociologists from Turkey attended. After 1960, especially during the 1970s, new sociology departments were founded and there were 25 independent sociology departments at different universities.

In 1980 Turkey had another political intervention and many sociology professors were dismissed from various universities for the sake of the state. The development of sociological studies and their teaching accelerated mostly because of Turkey's strong motivation and intention to enter the European Union. For the past 30 years Turkey has sought to join the European Union (EU) and, during the same period, the Europeans have promised to consider the matter favourably, at a future point in time. Tacit until now, opposition to Turkey's EU membership is nonetheless strong and deep in Euro-elites. What lies behind this opposition, of course, is the fact that the Turkish population is about 95 per cent Muslim.

It can be said that especially after 1990 there was relatively more democratisation in every field including sociology. Therefore, a group of academics founded the Sociological Association in Turkey in 1990. Since the original association, which was founded in 1950, was closed a year later, this new one was a very important initiative for Turkey and its sociologists who had always felt themselves under political control and subordinate to the state. This was the first civically organised movement for Turkish sociologists. The first step towards the foundation of the association came from Ankara University professors and postgraduate students who had suffered from previous political intervention. Therefore, it can be said that the foundation of the Sociological Association was an important milestone in Turkey's social science history and the process of democratisation.

Since the use of the word Turkish in the association's name depended upon permission and approval of the Turkish Great National Assembly, founders of the association had hoped to get this word in the title which was quite important for both national and international recognition. However, the Sociology Association finally gained recognition as an 'association for the benefit of society' ten years after its foundation in 1999. This recognition afforded many advantages and enabled the avoidance of bureaucratic control and tax payments.

The number of members in the Sociology Association is now 425 and sociologists from both universities and various work places support their association. Many projects are carried out by the members, among which are environmental projects such as resettlement, studies of the impact of disasters and large scale family studies that are supported by state and voluntary organisations.

After its foundation, the Sociology Association, the only extant organisation for Turkish sociologists, has held a national congress once every three years: in 1993, 1996, and 2000. Each congress has focused on different topics that were considered important for the prevailing problems of Turkish society at the time such as "Contemporary Developments in Turkey and the

World" (1993), "Migration and Society" (1996), and "Conflict, Integration and Differentiation in Turkey and the World" (2000). Congress committee members were always careful to maintain links between world development and developments in Turkish society. The congress was important as it decreased compartmentalisation (Aksit, 1986) among sociologists who were not aware of others' studies.

Participation increased from 75 to 135 papers with each meeting of the congress, particularly contributions by younger sociologists from all over Turkey. They presented papers that paralleled the changes occurring in the wider world. Globalisation, identity, social mobility, migration and various other social problems, including gender were the most investigated topics. There were always serious methodological discussions in the methodology sections. Recent discussions on post-modernism and qualitative ethnographic research have drawn an increasing amount of participation in these sessions. On the other hand, it was observed that most sociologists, regardless of the congress title or theme, submitted their papers and integrated themselves formally in terms of the paper title, rather than changing the content of the paper. In other words, without considering the content of their research, they liked to participate in the congress. At the third congress, although it was announced that there was a plan to publish all papers, it was determined after serious discussions that only 22 papers from the 135 papers submitted were selected by the scientific committee of congress for publication.

OBJECTIVES

Although it was more comprehensive and there were links between studies and their environment that emerged, this paper aims only to seek answers to the following questions in order to paint a picture about the present status of sociology in Turkey:

- (a) What sub-disciplines have been studied most in Turkish sociology since 1985? and
- (b) Are there significant differences between sociology departments and their research in terms of the main subdivisions in the sociology discipline?

RESEARCH METHODS

In this research, there were several stages that followed one another. In the first instance, the names of the universities that would be included were decided. Since most of them were newly established and there were not many staff members in their departments, it was decided to conduct research on the seven oldest universities that had, therefore, more developed sociology departments: Ankara, Istanbul, Middle East Technical University (METU), Bogazici, Ege, Mimar Sinan and Hacettepe.

The second important decision was the date of the studies. Since there was already one comprehensive study conducted by Aksit (1986) covering studies up to 1985, it was decided to assess the studies carried out or published after 1985.

The coordinator and principal investigator of this research was a senior sociologist who knew most of the investigators personally as she was the vice president of the Sociology Association. Her letter sent to all sociologists in the seven sociology departments explained the research objectives and requested the name of all publications, and a copy of each, as well as the author's CV. Following these requests and industrious efforts, all necessary information, including books as well as abstracts and entire articles of presented papers that were expected to be published, were collected and reviewed by a group of senior student sociologists and the coordinator of the research herself. Data collection continued for almost an entire semester and the objectives and research methods employed in the studies were then carefully examined in the second semester of

2001. The researchers' CVs and their recognised academic qualifications, as well as departmental differences, were also taken into consideration.

For joint papers, only the first author's credentials were considered. The papers based on the same data presented at different meetings were counted only once, again to prevent redundancy. Original articles were evaluated, but the papers that reviewed only existing literature were not included. Therefore, 989 studies out of 1175 were used for the final evaluation.

For the assessment of studies, it was decided to weight each study by scoring it according to a specified scale and then to transfer it to the computer files. The research coordinator's recommendation about the basic assumption of the study played an important role in the development of the measurement scales used for the study. It was assumed that sociological studies, although they were grouped under certain headings such as economic or industrial sociology, might share qualities similar to other studies. The most difficult studies to evaluate were about women workers in industry or bureaucratic organisations or at the village level. There were many examples that were not easy to label, either organisationally or medically, such as studies on hospitals. Since there was no institutionalised way of classifying subfields in sociology, the research team decided to develop a six point measurement scale. After long discussions, the group reached a consensus for the weight of each study, in order to avoid making subjective evaluations and prevent redundancies as other studies had done (Aksit, 1986). For example, if a study was done about health workers' problems in Turkey, it was assigned three points for the sociology of sickness and health and three points for social stratification. Thus, an original composite index unique to this study was developed and used.

After lengthy discussions, the definitions of subfields were defined as follows: theory and methodology (including discussions on post-modernism), applied sociology, sociology of the family, economic sociology (including industrial sociology), political sociology, sociology of education (including the sociology of professional education), sociology of sickness and health, social stratification (including organisational sociology and social mobility), sociology of communication (including media studies), and the sociology of art and culture.

Besides these classifications, all studies were also reviewed according to their location. Rural and urban differences and combinations of both of these were used for grouping because there had been several studies that were based on rural and urban comparisons.

Finally, studies were classified according to their relevance to social issues. After reviewing all the extant studies, the research team reached a consensus on 14 different social problems: deviance, violence, technological changes, children and young adolescents, young adults, women, aging, unemployment, discrimination, inequality, poverty, tourism and the environment.

Because the data were based only on the work done by sociologists who were in academic positions at universities, it might have seemed that an important limitation had been created for this study in the first instance. Actually, the reality was different, since most of the studies were done at universities in every field of study, including sociology, in Turkey. Therefore, studies undertaken by sociologists from the seven oldest and relatively well-established universities were assumed to represent sociological studies carried out after 1985 in Turkey.

After the weighting and scoring process, all data were analysed using the SPSS computer program and discussed according to the stated research objectives.

RESULTS

There were 989 studies carried out by 75 sociologists available for evaluation. Distribution of sociologists according to their status and gender was as follows: there were 26 full professors, 18

associate professors, 17 assistant professors, 8 research assistants and 6 lecturers. More than half of the 75 sociologists were female (45).

The distribution of studies according to the sociologists' status in the seven departments is presented in Table 1. There were statistically significant differences among departments and the number of studies carried out by full professors was higher than others (55%). The percentage of studies carried out by professors in the oldest universities, such as Istanbul (85%) and Ankara (71%), were higher than in other departments. Since there were more senior professors with a high number of publications, findings were as expected. On the other hand, the staff composition of each department might have played a role in these differences. Although Istanbul (seven sociologists) and Ankara (six sociologists) were the oldest departments, there were fewer staff members there than elsewhere (18 at METU; 12 at Mimar Sinan; 12 at Ege; 11 at Hacettepe and nine at Bogazici).

Table 1. Distribution of studies according to sociologists' status in seven university departments expressed as percentages

Status	University departments								
	n	Ankara	Istanbul	M.Sinan	Bogazici	METU	Ege	Hacettepe	Total
		139	78	145	63	303	132	129	989
Full professors	26	70.5	84.6	58.6	68.3	40.6	40.2	54.3	54.4
Associate professors	18		10.3	24.1	23.8	31.7	12.1	23.3	20.2
Assistant professors	17	29.5	5.1	14.5		10.6	31.8	21.7	17.0
Lecturers	8					5.6	14.4		3.6
Research. Assistants	6			2.8	7.9	11.6	1.5	0.8	4.8
Total	75	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Chi-square=267.480; df=24; p<0.000

The distribution of studies according to gender in the seven sociology departments is given in Table 2. There were significant differences between departments and, in contrast to research in other departments, there was a very high percentage of studies carried out by male sociologists at Istanbul and METU. This interpretation was based on the fact that there were more male sociologists in these departments than female sociologists. Further, since male sociologists had both seniority and more publications than young female research assistants in Istanbul, these findings were as expected. When gender composition was analysed for each department, it appeared that there was female domination in most of the departments except at Istanbul University where there were five male and two female staff members and at METU, which had 10 male and eight female members of staff. Although the distribution of research studies according to gender was similar for the total sample, it seemed that female and male sociologists were competing with each other as 49.8% of the research was carried out by female and 50.2% by male investigators. However, since the number of females (45) in total sample was higher than males (30), male sociologists' research studies were still proportionally greater than females' studies.

Table 2. Distribution of studies according to gender in seven faculties as percentages

Gender	University departments								
	n	Ankara	Istanbul	M.Sinan	Bogazici	METU	Ege	Hacettepe	Total
		139	78	145	63	303	132	129	989
Female	45	87.8	5.1	37.9	55.6	28.7	55.6	90.7	49.8
Male	30	12.2	94.9	62.1	44.4	71.3	44.4	9.3	50.2
Total	75	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Chi-square = 293.028; df=6; p<0.000

The distribution of 989 studies according to the subfields of sociology is given Table 3. Studies in theory and methods of analysis were the most numerous, probably because of the popularity of discussions concerning modernity and post-modernity and the criticism of positivism. For over 15 years, Oncu (1986) has discussed the evident relationships between central (Western studies) and peripheral (local) studies. Turkish sociologists have been interested in studying and writing

articles about Michel Foucault and Jurgen Habermas. Papers on globalisation have also been numerous and, since these were relatively new subjects in Turkish social science, literature that introduced new areas of research was an easy way to write and publish an article. It can be said that there were hardly any completely original articles as most of them were based on direct translations of Western literature. For papers on research methods, the same interpretation may be construed. Most of the articles were merely introducing new developments (most of which were developed years ago and were new only for Turkey) on qualitative research techniques such as focus group studies or discourse analysis and deconstruction. Therefore, it might be said that the periphery was following the centre without any attention to their application. Writing or talking about them was an indicator of the anti-positivist tendencies that have been very popular among Turkish sociologists in recent years.

Applied and, therefore, policy-oriented sociological studies represented less than 10 per cent of the research output, mostly because of sociologists' attitudes. Policy oriented research was seen as a technical and, therefore, less valuable issue. There was a common belief that, to be a good sociologist, one had to write theoretical articles, regardless of their importance or originality. On the other hand, applied sociological studies take more time and energy, require more financial support and team work and, therefore, more collaboration than simply sitting alone in front of the computer and writing independently about whatever you have studied in Western literature. In the past, there were few sociologists who knew foreign languages and there were no internet facilities. It would seem that this kind of activity is no longer given credence or considered as a theoretical basis for research studies.

On the other hand, a distinct reaction concerning the term research itself arose among anti-positivist sociologists in Turkey. According to them, only the studies based on data collected from the field were considered to be research whereas activities that reviewed the existing studies were simply 'literature reviews' (Ecevit, 1994). Table 3 shows the percentage and distribution of studies according to subfields.

Table 3. Distribution and percentage of studies according to subfields

Subfields	University departments			Total
	n	Relevant	Irrelevant	
Theory and methodology	482	48.7	51.3	100
Applied sociology	94	9.5	90.5	100
Sociology of family	77	7.8	92.2	100
Sociology of religion	51	5.2	94.8	100
Economical sociology	114	11.5	88.5	100
Political Sociology	128	12.9	87.1	100
Educational sociology	63	6.4	93.6	100
Sociology of health	33	3.3	96.7	100
Communication	19	1.9	98.1	100
Art and culture	158	16.0	84.0	100
Social stratification	154	15.6	84.4	100
Social problems	357	36.1	63.9	100

The distribution, in terms of the sociological subfields in the seven universities is given in Table 4. There are significant differences among departments regarding theory and methods of analysis (Chi-square=92.2; df=30; p<0.000), political sociology (Chi-square=37.3; df=24; p<0.041), the sociology of art and culture (Chi-square=69.6; df=30; p<0.000), social stratification (Chi-square=36.9; df= 24; p<0.044), and social problems (Chi-square=308.7; df=78; p<0.000).

Sociological studies were higher in almost every field in the department of sociology at Middle East Technical University (METU) than at the other universities in this study. At this university, training was in English and most of the staff members in this department had received their doctorates in either England or the United States. In order to be promoted, staff members at

METU had to publish articles in scholarly journals found in the Social Science Citation Index. Therefore, their quality was higher than material published by the other universities and their quantity was also relatively higher as there were 18 sociologists employed in various capacities. On the other hand, at Bogazici University, training was also in English and the sociologists were also very well educated. However, their research studies were not as numerous, nor as varied when compared with those from METU. Therefore, it can be said that the sociologists' qualifications alone were not enough to create differences and quantity, thereby making the number of the sociologists an important factor. Since there were only nine staff members at Bogazici University, their total research output was less than was produced at METU.

Table 4 Distribution of sociological subfields in seven departments
(composite indices shown as percentages)

Subfields	n	University Departments							Total
		Ankara	Istanbul	Mimar	Bogazici	METU	Ege	Hacettepe	
Theory-Method	482	12.9	14.7	18.3	6.8	23.9	11.8	11.6	100
Applied soc.	94	16.0		19.1	4.3	28.7	18.1	13.8	100
Family	77	18.2		5.2	3.9	26.0	22.1	24.7	100
Religion	51	5.9	3.9	2.0	19.6	58.8	7.8	2.0	100
Economical	114	27.2	0.9	3.5	6.1	36.0	20.2	6.1	100
Political	128	6.3	11.7	10.9	11.7	40.6	11.7	7.0	100
Education	63	33.3	3.2	6.3	3.2	20.6	22.2	11.1	100
Health	33	51.5		3.0	18.2	15.2	9.1	3.0	100
Art and culture	158	10.8	2.5	34.2	6.3	23.4	7.6	15.2	100
Communication	19	5.3	10.5	10.5	10.5	26.3	21.1	15.8	100
Stratification	154	10.4	2.6	4.5	5.8	48.7	20.8	7.1	100
Problems	357	11.2	0.6	13.2	8.4	37.5	14.3	14.8	100

The study of the sociology of sickness and health, and issues related to professional education were higher in Ankara, mostly because of the research output of one sociologist who had been working in this field for almost 25 years. She had worked in the Ministry of Health in Turkey and her studies in these fields were the main reason for the differences encountered. Therefore, it can be said that if there was not much study in one particular field such as the sociology of sickness and health, one person's studies may have been the cause of the differences noted.

Distribution in terms of social problems in the seven departments is given in Table 5. Women studies represented a large proportion of subjects studied (37.8 %) and there were statistically significant differences between university departments. For example, women's studies courses were only 11 per cent of the total number of courses at Hacettepe but represented 50 per cent at Bogazici. Identity (15%) and deviance (12%) were the most studied social problems and, again, there were differences in distribution between the universities. There were several social problems that were not studied in many departments. Aging, inequality and unemployment were not studied at Ankara, Istanbul, Mimar Sinan and Bogazici universities.

Social problems were most often studied at METU (37.5%) followed by similar percentages at Ege and Hacettepe Universities. The oldest department, Istanbul University's Department of Sociology, conducted only two studies: one about youth and another about identity. Since there were no applied sociological courses at Istanbul University, their attitude and behaviour were consistent with an absence of knowledge in this field of study. Table 5 shows the distribution of social problems in the seven university departments.

Distribution of studies according to urban-rural classification showed that there were statistically significant differences between departments. Once again, METU was in a leading position because there were 60 recorded studies concerning either rural or urban sociology. Table 6 presents the distribution of studies according to an urban-rural classification based on the percentage of space occupied by each type.

Table 5. Distribution social of problems in seven departments (in percentages: n=357)

Problems	n	University departments							Total
		Ankara	Istanbul	M.Sinan	Bogazici	METU	Ege	Hacettepe	
Deviance	43			4.7		39.5		55.8	100
Violence	12			8.3		75.0	8.3	8.3	100
Technology	9	33.3				33.3	11.1	22.2	100
E.adolescent	17			35.3	35.3	11.8	17.6		100
Youth	26	19.2	3.8	11.5	7.7	15.4	11.5	30.8	100
Women	135	13.3		14.8	11.1	40.0	16.3	4.4	100
Aging	10						20.0	80.0	100
Unemployment	12						100		100
Discrimination	6	16.7		66.7			16.7		100
Inequality	2					50.0		50.0	100
Poverty	3			33.3	33.3	33.3			100
Tourism	5	20.0				80.0			100
Environment	22	36.4				40.9	13.6	9.1	100
Identity	55	7.3	1.8	18.2	10.9	54.5	5.5	1.8	100
Total	357	11.2	.6	13.2	8.4	37.5	14.3	14.8	100

Chi-square =308.711; df=78; p<0.000

Table 6. Distribution of studies according to an urban–rural classification based on space occupied by each type

Status	n	University departments							Total
		Ankara	Istanbul	M.Sinan	Bogazici	METU	Ege	Hacettepe	
		139	78	145	63	303	132	129	989
Full prof.	26	70.5	84.6	58.6	68.3	40.6	40.2	54.3	54.4
Associate	18		10.3	24.1	23.8	31.7	12.1	23.3	20.2
Assistant	17	29.5	5.1	14.5		10.6	31.8	21.7	17.0
Lecturer	8					5.6	14.4		3.6
Res. Assist	6			2.8	7.9	11.6	1.5	0.8	4.8
Total	75	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Chi-square=267.480; df=24; p<0.000

CONCLUSIONS

One of the main objectives of this study was to describe and discuss the study of sociology in Turkey. Since its foundation, sociology and sociologists have not been permitted to be independent in the practice of their profession as either professors in the classroom or as researchers in the field. There have always been many limitations and political pressures on them. For example, if Ankara University professors had not been interrupted, the sociology department of Ankara could have been one of the leading departments compared with METU. Unfortunately, however, this department has only had two full professors in the 53 years since its foundation. Istanbul University, the oldest academic institution, almost disappeared from many fields of research. There have been a few sociologists trying very hard, but they have been weighed down under the pressure of educational and administrative responsibilities. On the other hand, METU, with its relatively independent administrative system and well established infrastructure, has attracted more well-educated sociologists than other Turkish universities. Although it is younger, with only a 40 year history, METU has achieved success in almost all faculties. Since its foundation, almost 99 per cent of Turkish students hope to study in METU. Therefore, the quality of its students is also higher than at other universities and METU's leading position has been confirmed by the findings of this study.

According to Aksit (1986), there were 15 subfields in Turkish sociology, and this itself was a very important indicator of the improvements in terms of the differentiation and proliferation of studies in the field. There were also some indicators that sociology in Turkey was institutionalised as a discipline with insufficient links between theory and practice (Ecevit, 1994). It can be said that there have been some improvements, of course, but not enough. For example, there were changes

in the names of the fields of study, with medical sociology now referred to as the sociology of sickness and health. On the other hand, some new fields such as environmental sociology have emerged. In the past, environmental pollution was studied only by epidemiologists and medical sociologists. Women's studies has become more varied and accelerated and studies concerning identity and ethnicity have become more popular than personality studies. Instead of studying social classes, the study of poverty has increased. Cultural studies, along with ethnographic research, are now more highly valued than static quantitative surveys.

It can be said that all of these were not qualitative changes, except for the foundation of the Sociology Association in 1990. This was an important achievement designed to bring sociologists together in order to carry out more wide-scale research which requires greater teamwork and financial support. More comprehensive research, may lead to the development of original theoretical conceptualisations on the unique structure of Turkish society, rather than merely the application of Western theories which are often insufficient to explain the uniqueness of non-western societies.

This study showed that there were significant differences between departments when their studies were considered, but these differences were mostly caused by the social and political structure of Turkey, rather than organisational problems of the departments themselves. There were dialectical relationships between the structure of Turkey and the Turkish sociologist, but the political structure was more important or dominant particularly in the organisational structure of university sociology departments.

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