Comparative Education Bulletin

Special Issue: Education and Development in Post-Colonial Societies

No.11

2008

Editor
Mark Mason

Production Editor
Emily Mang

Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong

Officers 2008-2010

President	David Chan
Vice President	Peter Shan
Secretary	Yang Rui
Treasurer	Lo Yiu Chun
Committee Members	Nicholas S.K. Pang
	Tang Kwok Chun
Past President	Mark Mason

Website
www.hku.hk/cerc/ceshk

CESHK Membership

CESHK membership entitles you to participate in a wide range of activities, such as seminars, conferences, and study visits. Members enjoy a 20% discount on books published by the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, and a reduced registration fee for the WCCES's World Congresses of Comparative Education. Subscription fees for 2008 are HK$150 (HK$100 for students).

**The CESHK is a member of the
World Council of Comparative Education Societies**

Comparative Education Bulletin No. 11 (2008)
比教教育通訊　第十一刊　（2008年）

Special Issue: Education and Development in
Post-Colonial Societies

Editorial:
Education and Development in Post-Colonial Societies

This special issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin* is published in the 20th anniversary year of the formation of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong. To mark this anniversary, included in this issue are two articles that were published in the first issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin*. Both articles are as apposite now as they were then. The first is Mark Bray's *Comparative Education Research in the Asian Region*, where the author considers some of the implications for the field as a whole. Examining the field of comparative education in Asia, Bray's paper charts the growth and increasing vigour which have led to a shift in the centre of gravity of comparative studies. The second reprinted article is Rupert Maclean's *Educational Innovations for Development in the Asia-Pacific Region*, written when he was Chief of UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID) in Bangkok. In his article, Maclean considers the purposes of UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) in the context of some widespread dissatisfaction with the quality and effectiveness of what currently occurs in education systems in the Asia-Pacific region, where education and schooling are seen as being essential contributors to economic development and key sources of influence in helping overcome development related problems.

The first three papers in this issue are the three plenary papers presented at the annual conference of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong in its 20th anniversary year. The theme of the conference considered education and development in post-colonial societies. This is an important theme, given that there are only six years remaining to the deadline of 2015 set for the achievement of Education for All (EFA) and of the education-related goals associated with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). There are key questions about the connections between education development policies and poverty reduction in post-colonial (and other) societies: Does education play any substantial role in development and the alleviation of poverty, or are the advantages of such educational interventions limited to the domain of human rights, such as the right to literacy? How are such outcomes most effectively extended to include, for example, skills development and job creation? If development interventions in the educational domain can contribute to the creation of wealth in a developing context, is it inevitable that the advantages accrue predominantly to those already better off and who have access to high quality schooling? Or, is it also possible that such interventions might contribute to more equitable distributions of wealth? If so, how?

From a sceptical perspective, numerous critiques have latterly been offered of the correlations that are often assumed to exist between education development policies and poverty reduction. What critiques of modernisation theory, for example, have proved to be the most trenchant? On what are the 'post-development' critiques based? How should education development policy-makers and practitioners take cognisance of these critiques? And, conversely, how do broader policies aimed at poverty reduction or economic growth impact on education, literacy and skills development? The articles in this special issue consider some of these questions and some of the challenges that face those working to achieve the relevant Millennium Development Goals and Education for All by 2015.

Crain Soudien, the current President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, was invited to present the keynote address as an acknowledgement of his leading scholarship in education and development in post-colonial societies. His paper considers the questions that post-colonialism asks of comparative education. Soudien provides a critical overview of post-colonialism's major concerns and assesses these concerns against our existing frameworks of analysis in education. He asks what is different about post-colonialism as a discourse and as a point of reference for a particular set of questions. How does it address the classic questions of power in the social sciences, such as inequality, difference, oppression, exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation?

David Chan's paper, presented as the Presidential Address, considers contemporary developments in higher education in the context of increasingly globalized societies from the perspective of post-colonial theory. Peter Shan, in his capacity as conference host, presented the third plenary address. His paper, co-authored with Sylvia Ieong, considers recent developments in education in Macau in the context of the tenth anniversary of that territory's transition from Portuguese colony to a Special Administrative Region of China.

The situations of Hong Kong and Macau offer interesting contexts in which to explore the theme of education and development in post-colonial societies. This issue of the *Comparative Education Bulletin* thus repays close attention not only by readers in those two territories, but by all academics, students and practitioners researching and working in the domain of comparative and international education and development in post-colonial contexts.

Mark MASON
Editor
Past President, Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong
Professor, Comparative and International Education and Development
Hong Kong Institute of Education

What Are the Questions that Post-Colonialism Asks of Comparative Education?

Crain SOUDIEN
University of Cape Town

This paper seeks to provide a critical overview of post-colonialism's major concerns and to assess these concerns against our existing frameworks of analysis in education. What is different about post-colonialism as a discourse and as a point of reference for a particular set of questions? How does it address the classic questions of power in the social sciences, such as inequality, difference, oppression, exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation? Does it offer new ways of understanding old questions? The point is made that post-colonialism provides an important counter-balance in educational discourse to the homogenising and universalising impulses that are evident in the kinds of globalised systems that are emerging everywhere. In these terms, it offers educational development an important language for engaging questions of justice and fairness as it confronts the large processes of change that are taking place in educational systems around the world.

Introduction

The field of Education, and particularly Comparative Education has regularly engaged with the provocation of post-colonialism. In recent years at least two journals have been established in response to the challenges raised by post-colonialism. A number of influential scholarly articles, monographs and more popular forms of writing, indicating the significance of the field, have also emerged (see Altbach, 1995; Tikly, 1999; Dimitriadis and McCarthy, 2001; Dimitriadis and Carlson, 2003; Crossley and Tikly 2004; Hickling-Hudson, 2003; Kumar, n.d and McLaren, 2006). "(But what", Crossley and Tikly (2004:149) ask, "has postcolonialism got to do with comparative education?" At some levels, they say, the answer is obvious: "After all, at the most basic and obvious level the vast majority of the education systems that we study as comparativists have their origins in the colonial era…. Furthermore, many existing education systems still bear the hallmarks of the colonial encounter in that they remain elitist, lack relevance to local realities and are often at variance with indigenous knowledge systems, values and beliefs" (ibid). They carry on to argue that comparative educationists have, over a number of decades made important contributions to the understanding of the colonial and post-colonial condition. Post-colonialism is clearly speaking to the field in interesting ways.

Marking it as interesting must, however, not obscure the intense debates that have taken place around its credibility. As Dimitriadis and McCarthy (2001:7) say, it is a highly contested space. Stuart Hall

(1996) has made clear how this contestation revolves around space and time. Which countries are to be included and which excluded? When are we talking about? Can it be used to refer to all kinds of struggles for all kinds of independence against all kinds of domination around the globe? Critics such as Benita Parry (2002:66) suggest that in and amongst the wide range of approaches taken to post-colonialism, of particular concern is the celebratory tone that is evident in much of the work produced in its name. And, yet, disconcerting as these are, Hall (ibid) has sought to show how the ambivalence and the ambiguity that have come to be associated with postcolonialism is its most productive quality. Central to this productivity is an interest in uncoupling some of the most enduring binaries that have marked modern and modernist discourse, self-other, black-white, rich-poor, able-disabled, believer-unbeliever, centre-margin and so on. For education, which has tended to subsist on these binary couplets, the moves that post-colonialism begins to allow are important in so far as they point to new horizons, new skies and critically new vantage positions for looking.

This paper seeks to build on these contributions. In the first instance, it seeks to provide a critical overview of post-colonialism's major concerns and in a second to assess these concerns against our existing frameworks of analysis in education. What is different about post-colonialism as a discourse and as a point of reference for a particular set of questions? How does it address the classic questions of power in the social sciences such as inequality, difference, oppression, exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation? Does it offer new ways of understanding old questions?

In a now no-longer new discussion about post-colonialism Quayson and Goldberg (2002) suggest that there are three significant clusters of attitudes and ideas that have emerged out of post-colonialism in the last twenty years: "(t)hese, in turn, might be taken as constitutive of generative ambiguities in the field" (Quayson and Goldberg, 2002: xi). The first cluster is preoccupied with epistemological issues and the presence, location and role of 'otherness' in Western approaches to knowledge and knowledge production. The second cluster is somewhat more complex, revolving as it does around issues of justice. It involves the political project of claiming the post-colonial as an object of study for the purpose of dismantling it. The question for post-colonialism Quayson and Goldberg (2002:xiii) say is an ethical one about a world future which is beyond the injustices of the present. The third cluster develops from the previous two and is concerned with the interdisciplinary nature of post-colonial studies. The issue with this interdisciplinarity is the ambiguity it generates with respect to both what its expressive and intellectual modalities might be and the content of these modalities.

4

The approach the paper takes is to work with these three sets of ideas and to see, firstly, how they can and have been used in relation to the field of education, and secondly, what implications they might have for work that is comparative in its intent. While post-colonial studies is constituted in the comparative nexus of the metropole and the satellite, its significance at a meta-comparative level, where comparison is looked at in post-colonial ways, presents an interesting and important set of intellectual questions. These questions have to do, fundamentally, with the value of and the values that accompany processes of comparison. In terms of this, the broad argument the paper makes is that post-colonialism, amidst the wide range of other things it does, puts in front of education and particularly comparative education important opportunities for reassessing and re-evaluating its ethical position. It seeks to emphasize how deeply comparison is imbued with an ethical imperative. To the insistent rituals and habits of ordering and hierarchalisation, that are almost the staple instincts of classification of the social sciences, it calls for caution, pause and greater reflection.

Much of the conceptual substance of the post-colonial critique has been with us for a long time. It does, however, as is suggested above, present a major ethical challenge to our hegemonic ways of understanding the nature of our world. Crucial in this is its attempt to reconfigure the historicist teleology of the idea of progress. Post-colonialism, in broad terms, seeks to offer a more capacious approach to human development. What it is attempting to do, I would suggest, is effect two major corrections to the dominant ways in which the nature of human development might be presented. This offer is premised on the belief and ethical conviction that no part of the world is inherently or intrinsically superior or inferior to any other part and that human progress is the obligation of and within the capacity of all human beings.

The first correction post-colonialism seeks to make is one of recovery. In response to much post-enlightenment thought that has focused on the individual as a self-sufficient subject, important strands of post-colonial thinking are about bringing back into perspective mutuality and inter-dependence (see Nandy, 2005). Human development in the post-colonial explanation is profoundly configured around the human individual as a social being. The second correction it seeks to make is essentially around the possibility that human progress is not activated only and aloofly in the distant capitals of Europe but is a complex endeavour that plays itself out differently in all parts of the globe (see Fabian, 1999). Agency, in particular, is not a human quality that takes its starting point in the ontological primacy of European elaborations of what it means to be human. It has diverse and multiple origins and is constantly in play in contradictory ways everywhere. The concepts and ideas that post-colonialism draws on to make these

moves, it must readily be conceded, are by no means new. There is a deep substratum of post-structuralist thinking that drives its analysis. Marx, Freud and their modern epigones are ubiquitous in post-colonial thought (see Chakrabarty, 2003, Bartolovich, 2002). But so too are their critics. It is a field, consequently, that is resonant with debate and argument, and, critically, new voices of authority from parts of the world that were considered incapable of generating worthwhile knowledge. As opposed to dominant forms of understanding and knowledge-production, which are shaped by the need to find certainty, it is inscribed in ambiguity. What it has done, one might suggest, is to dislodge the place, scale and volume of social analysis from its European perch and to redistribute it as a human project happening and able to be instantiated everywhere in the world, without, moreover, attaching to it – its issues, analyses and ways of seeing – privilege or disprivilege on the basis of geographical provenance. Thus, controversially in some scholar's eyes, Marx is criticised for his ethnocentricism. But, so too are the new post-colonial theorists, such as Bhabha, who are taken to task for their elitism.

The Challenge of Dominant Forms of Knowledge
The most frequently cited, and in some ways the most pre-eminent, contribution of post-colonialism to the social sciences has been in the way it has revisited the knowledge-identity couplet. The purpose of this line of thinking is to dissect empire as a space of knowledge and formation and to show how critical the experience of domination and resistance is to the making of modernity. Quayson and Goldberg (2002: xii) talk about the experience as the 'laboratory of modernity.' The very idea of subjectivity during the period of colonialism depends on the interaction of the Western 'self' with the subjected 'other.' But the purpose of looking at the relationship between knowledge and identity is not only an historical one. Central to it is the understanding that processes of migration and globalisation set in train profoundly complex reconfiguring processes. Centres and peripheries become incestuous sites of initiative and suppression and interest and disengagement. Holding up the general approach is the idea that the binary framework of self and other, epistemologically and ontologically, is inadequate and that, instead, to be confronted is the 'radical interdependency of forms' (ibid). The critique that post-colonialism makes of hegemonic understandings of knowledge is that the binary idea is not only false but designed to serve the larger, if opaque, project of power and hegemony.

The stimulus for this analysis was, of course Edward Said's Orientalism published in 1978. Said's purpose was to describe the nature of Western knowledge of the East, the Orient. He argues that the "

Orient was almost a European invention." Portrayed as romance and danger, desire and loathing, it was an imaginary canvas populated by Europe's 'other'. Carlson and Dimitriadis (2003:16) argue that it was in sketching out this 'other' that "Europe came to know itself and define its mission." This mission took material form, on the one hand, in the narratives, mythologies and fables upon which a discursive platform of symbolic value could be set, and, on the other, a set of corresponding apparatuses, instruments and strategies of power for making and remaking the coloniser and the colonised. Through this twin-strategy, discourse and its material instrumentalisation, it was able to construct what could be said and not said about self – the West – and the 'other' – the rest of the world. Out of it emerged the project of Eurocentricism, the making of the 'imperial hegemony" with the idea of the unquestioned dominance of European identity, so that "the scholar, the missionary, the trader or the soldier" knew where they were going before they arrived.

The narrative economy of this discourse rests on the authoritative voice of Europe which claims for itself the status of subject. The subjected, the colonial 'other', are to be spoken for. Carlson and Dimitriadis (2003:17) make the point that this voice is particularly patriarchal associated with a form of domination that was, and remains, ritualised in the workplace in the domination of women: "To be European, wealthy and male has put one in a position to not only possess and dominate people, but to speak for them as well, to tell their stories, to make them represent the exotic Other."

The value of this contribution has been immense. As Quayson and Goldberg (ibid) argue, post-colonial critics have demonstrated great nuance and indeed, let it be said, ethical balance in working with hegemonic knowledge's binaries in the ways in which they have questioned and destabilised both those emanating from the European centre and those in the colony itself: "…postcolonialism is itself an ethical enterprise, pressing its claims in ways that other theories such as postmodernism and poststructuralism do not." The methodology for effecting this – what one might understand as destabilisation – is twofold: in the first instance it begins with an anti-foundationalist critique. The nature of this anti-foundationalism consists of a concern with any given meta-narrative "whether (this) be centered on assumptions about subjectivity, history, or the value of canonical literature" (ibid). From this emerges the possibility of venturing towards the position that any structure of power is problematic. It seeks to offer the opportunity of critically recovering counter-hegemonic voice in a way that opens up the possibility for more democratic ways of seeing the world. The difference it represents in relation to post-structuralism is that it seeks to juxtapose texts and voice, irrespective of their origin, in a way which

permits and indeed facilitates the idea that not only is all knowledge constructed but that it has space for co-constitutiveness. Knowledge in these terms is not incommensurable. 'Western' knowledge is not constructed completely autonomously from thought in other regions of the world. It is the ethical possibility that shines through here (see the important work of Connell, 2007:228). Said, for example, approaches the situation through seeking to deconstruct readings, histories, the archive through an approach which allows different bodies of knowledge to come together in a mutually critical way. Neither has either an epistemological or ontological priority over the other.

What are the implications of this approach for us in education? What are the kinds of questions that arise in relation to post-colonialism's concern with the epistemological privileging accorded to Western forms of knowledge?

1. There are many ways in which the knowledge problematique has been addressed in new writing which seeks to take a post-colonial perspective. The most significant, of course, has been that which has sought to show how non-mainstream forms of knowledge have been marginalised and displaced by colonialism. Language, as several studies (see Ngugi, 1995) have shown is a major casualty in this process. There is, however, more to the ways in which non-Western knowledges and knowledge forms have been marginalised. The work of Weber (2005:999) on higher education is pertinent, as is that of Odora-Hoppers (2002). Mangena (2006:14), Minister of Science and Technology in the South African government, for example, has repeatedly argued that "because no education in the world is politically, ideologically and culturally neutral, the African elite (have become) strangers to their own people." The problem, Hountondji (2002:24), has argued, is that indigenous knowledge systems continue to exist, even side-by-side with dominant Western practice, but that in relation to it, it is mute. It is unable to articulate itself and is not articulated. The question that these kinds of critique provide is fundamentally about the marginali-sation of forms of knowledge that are not Western.

2. But they bring into perspective a much more profound question. Odora-Hoppers (2002) and Connell (2007) make the crucial point that the boundaries between different forms of knowledge have been shored up to the point that the entire epistemological address in Western sociologies of knowledge has been framed by the idea of incommensurability. The key point they make is that knowledge forms have different histories, and urge that the specificity of these histories be recognised, but they empha-

size that knowledge ought not to be racialised, culturalised (to coin a term) to the point where it is assumed to be so esoteric that it cannot speak outside of its framework of formation. Knowledge is simply knowledge they argue. The significance of this point is large and raises important new questions about how one might approach difference without the hierarchalising and compart-mentalising categories of distinction that currently enshroud the ways in which we work. How, the question arises, can we approach and use knowledge from any part of the world without the debilitating assumptions which have hitherto informed how we do this kind of work?

3. Bringing the discussion into the Education for All (EFA) domain, how can the epistemological insights of post-colonialism inform our readings of how children around the world ought to be dealing with the challenges of reading, writing and numeracy? EFA is clearly one of the most important rights-based developments that we have seen in international education in contemporary times. It is postulated on the premise that children everywhere have rights which must be respected if they are to be able to manage their freedoms and obligations as citizens in the modern world. But the anti-foundationalist epistemological approach of post-colonialism brings into view, in a way that the EFA possibly does not, all the positive differences that children in different parts of the world bring to the task of learning to be citizens. The virtue of the EFA exercise is highlighting the commonality of what children deserve to have around the world. It turns, however, this commonality into a positive that casts a shadow of negativity over everything else that the children might have which is not rendered visible and worthy in the exercise. The question that this precipitates is how a more sensitive understanding of EFA might be generated that understands that children need a variety of different kinds of literacies to develop and elaborate their citizen identities in different parts of the world.

Post-Colonialism and Justice

The second set of issues to which post-colonialism speaks is that of social justice. The emergence of post-colonialism as a field of study must be seen against the persistence of and even the elaboration of inequality between the former colonial powers and the economically developing world. Politically independent as the latter have become, it is the nature of their social and economic dependence on their former colonial masters, manifested most distressingly in poor health, low levels of education attainment and ubiquitous unemployment, that has become

a central concern of post-colonialism. What is it about the nature of the post-colonial settlement and particularly the *kind* of independence that the colonised received from their colonisers that has made it so difficult for marginalised groups to end their oppression and exploitation?

The relationship of post-colonialism, as a discursive field, to its focus of study, the geometries of power between the economically developed and developing, configures it in critical kinds of ways. The central issue which arises here, as Quayson and Goldberg (2002:xiii) put it, is that "postcolonial Studies is afflicted by the fact that it has to claim an object for academic study which it is obliged simultaneously to disavow. The claim and its disavowal are constitutive of its very object of study." They make the argument, by way of illustration, that this paradox is similar to that discernible in Feminist Studies where Feminist Studies names woman only to show how significantly this naming is a product and a constraint imposed by the voice of patriarchal power. What makes this an affliction, as it does in some ways for Feminism, is that Post-colonialism as a field of study benefits from the very conditions it seeks to unmask.

How this paradox might be approached is an important question for post-colonial scholars. How might they position themselves in relation to the immiseration, trauma and injustice of the world? How, more importantly, might they indicate in the kind of work that they do that this work is not self-serving, voyeuristic, on the one hand, or reproductive of the kinds of injustices that they are examining, on the other. Adorno as cited by Quayson and Goldberg (ibid) is useful here, he says: "the only philosophy which can be reasonably practised in the face of despair is the attempt to contemplate all things as they would present themselves from the standpoint of redemption." What, is the question, is the future relevance of Post-colonial studies? How does it speak to a time and a place when these conditions may no longer be?

The response to this from the field is simultaneously politically strategic but also ethically informed. The position involves the consideration of a utopian world but only for the purpose of asking what kinds of forces in the present need to be strengthened to increase the possibilities of such a utopia arising. "This entails", say Quayson and Goldberg (ibid), "in effect the definition through both theory and practice of an ethics of becoming." This ethics demands close and sustained attention "through both theory and practice" to the details of objects, events and phenomena under study to understand how their inner constitution and potentialities are of relevance for a new post-colonial order. It requires study which is

- both deep and wide, which seeks to always historicise the problems and is alert to the multiple modes of misrepresentation

which might be present in those historicisations;

- aware of the social structures which operate in any given context and seeks to bring their multi-scalar dimensions into view and the articulated features of these different scales. Central in these scalar configurations are the local and the global. Grounded in the local and the urgency of the interests of the local, post-colonialism seeks to have the global always in its sights. It needs to know how the global manifests itself in the local and how they both speak back to each other, and, critically, how then the local is able to rearticulate the global. As part of this it is interested in the economic, political and cultural and how these, as scales, interpellate, determine and regulate the nature of the subject and his or her relationships with the world of work, play and power.
- alongside of the structural, cognisant of the multiple and diverse ways through which agency is expressed and particularly so from and through those spaces, as the subalternists have made clear, which exist autonomously and independently of the hegemonic order; and, which is finally
- open to the possibility that in the interstitial web of relations between the dominant and subordinate that there might exist sites of significance which are either beyond seeing and/or being spoken for.

The implications of this posture that post-colonialism takes is to bring subjectivity and the making of identity into a particular kind of focus. Central in understanding this focus is seeing how the subject moves through the constraints and possibilities of the everyday, and, in the process, interpreting, responding to and remaking the everyday. As technology is mediated into the social world of the subject and brings with it, for example, ideas of self and other, loyalty to authority, loyalty to kith and kin, understandings of home and away, opportunities for mobility, new and different understandings of nature, time and space, important to understand are what structures of feeling, consciousnesses are precipitated.

The implications of this discussion for education are not at first glance obvious, particularly if one acknowledges the terroir on which post-colonialism operates as a complex terroir of simultaneous marginalisation and possibility, of powerful and durable hegemonies in relation to resourceful subjects. But there are important and large questions to raise here about the very nature of the kind of education which is dominant and hegemonic, particularly at the primary and secondary levels, everywhere in the world. The question that needs to be posed, it seems, is that of whether the form and the substance of education,

which continues to be presented as a unitary and homogenised intervention in the socialisation and formation needs of young people is appropriate. The large question, one which possibly arises independently of a post-colonial provocation, but which, one might suggest, is brought into stark relief by it, is that of the disciplining, governmentalist form that school systems everywhere have inherited and continue to imitate and reproduce from the industrial revolution (see Elliot and Grigorenko, 2007; Evans and Robinson-Pant, 2007). Does this form, which in its degraded versions was meant as a process of rescue for poor children, and in its enhanced form as a vehicle for the preparation of the privileged for leadership, work equally generously for children everywhere? As the work of Fataar (2007) in South Africa and that of Bonal (2007) in Latin America shows, young people who grow up in the margins are struggling to realise the promise of education. They are eager to take what it offers. But, what it gives them is the form of education only and not its substance. Young people emerge with the credentials that their systems have to offer. They have the diplomas and the paper qualifications which the systems emphasize are important. The substance of what they have, however, is superficial.

1. It would seem that the standard question that the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) provokes continues to be relevant. How might education equitably be offered to children from different starting points? How might it stop being a process for reproducing the inequalities that mark their lives? How can it be raised to levels which acknowledge that even poor children have the capacity for high levels of cognitive development?
2. In relation to this, how might the providers of education begin to explore new ways of working with the multiple and complex subjectivities that are emerging amongst young people everywhere to enable them to become critical new consumers of and makers of ideas, values and citizenship positions? The value, it seems, of post-colonialism is that it helps us bring a more complex notion of citizenship into perspective. Citizenship, in important subaltern readings of post-colonial life, is not a static, permanent and finished idea. It is an evolving idea. An important reading of citizenship that post-colonialism makes possible, working critically with and building off Mr Mandela's (1994) concern about 'enhancing the freedom of others' (see Soudien, 2006), is recognizing how processes of inclusion are themselves accompanied by those of exclusion. It is here that the idea of 'enhancing' the freedom of 'others' comes within the compass of the subalternist perspective emanating from India. Critical in this discussion is recognising the propo-

sition that democracy does not need to be reproduced only in the image of Western capitalism and that the global history of capitalism does not "reproduce everywhere the same history of power" (Chakrabarty, 2002:13). Chakrabarty argues that traditional Marxist approaches have fused power and capital and so, in the process, have effectively erased the presence of other forms of power operating alongside and within the hegemonic frame of capitalism. In the case of India a "heteroglossic structure" emerged that was "irreducibly plural… interlocking within itself strands of different types of relationships that did not make up a logical whole. One such strand critical to the functioning of authority… was that of direct domination and subordination of the subaltern by the elite" (ibid). A particular form of capitalism thus emerged which was directly related to its colonial origins in which the capitalist class failed to bring to a conclusion its universalizing project and had to come to the understanding that its acceptance of the continued existence of other forms of domination was unavoidable. As a consequence, Guha (Chakrabarty, 2002:13) argued, "vast areas of life and consciousness of the people" escaped any kind of "bourgeois hegemony." The question that this precipitates – that of rethinking how education addresses the multiplicity of subject possibilities in society – is, of course not new. But the form that post-colonialism gives it is certainly new. While much citizenship discourse operates in the familiar terrain of race, class, gender and perhaps sexuality, what this post-colonial intervention is doing is to make a point about different forms of consciousness. It is not the visible attributes of difference that are made the subject of discussion, but those that elude notice. The question that arises here is fundamentally that of how young people can be brought to recognize and work with the complexity of this difference. More challengingly, how in the sequestered worlds of home environments and media representations that operate around stereotyped ideas of identity, how might the heteroglossic, the layeredness of the current era, manifested sharply in modern youth identity, be made the subject of education? How might education be made relevant to the whole of the modern child and not just to parts of his or her identity? How might an education address, too, those elements of a child's mental and cognitive make-up which is characterized by fusion and multiplicity? How might young people be assisted to work with the full range of subject positions they occupy?

Post-Colonialism and Interdisciplinarity

Alongside of its concerns with epistemology and justice, post-colonialism has come to be characterised by the fact that it "seems to locate itself everywhere and nowhere" (Quayson and Goldberg, 2002:xvi). Finding expression in the fields of literature, art, music, social analysis, political studies, or being used as a mode of analysis and critique on and in those fields, it does not have a singular disciplinary home. It is not, furthermore, like the proximately similar interdisciplinary fields of ethnic and area studies, driven by a single focus. But unlike those two areas which arguably have arisen in response to the metropole's need to understand the 'other' and which are explicit sites of discoursing about the 'other', post-colonial studies seeks not to limit what it will 'go after'. Interested, even preoccupied, as it may be with the 'other', the 'other' does not exist for it as an object. The fall gamut of social relations that surround, are of consequence for and speak to the 'other', including the identity and role of the 'other's' 'other' – the dominant – come into its focus. The problematiques it seeks to engage with, consequently, are deliberately wide and open-ended and include, unlike, ethnic and area studies, the full human condition. The questions it seeks to ask are, therefore, multifaceted, of a discursive and/or empirical nature, theoretical and/or practical, psychological and/or social. They are, predictably, never anything less than complex. The human condition, it needs to be stressed, is profoundly complex and demands complex ways of coming to understand it. The consequence of this, say Quayson and Goldberg (2002:xvi), is that post-colonialism "is appropriatively (their emphasis) interdisciplinary. In other words, it is not just that it is interdisciplinary, but that anything that serves its purposes, whether originally thought of as post-colonial or not is pressed into the service of a post-colonial analysis."

What has this meant for post-colonialism? What does positioning the field as a site which seeks not to limit what it can look at and how it will look at issues mean? What does it mean to be a field which acts appropriatively?

The major and most crucial point to take away from a posture of appropriativeness is that there is no framework, paradigm, discipline, tradition from which post-colonialism will stand aloof. While it is true that its major analytic sources derive from post-structuralism, it has drawn from a wide range of theories. Holding it 'straight' – so to speak – has been, however, its focus on the post-colonial condition. This 'openness' has produced two significant outcomes. The first is to bring post-colonialism into a strong dialogue with fields from which it has borrowed such as cultural studies, feminism, disability studies, development studies, psycho-analysis and many more. The second, and of greater significance for this paper, has been the spawning of new and innovative theoretical approaches such as subalternity and hybridity.

While many writing from these perspectives may not see themselves as post-colonialists, and may indeed owe greater allegiance to the more mainstream and foundational disciplines such as history and sociology, that post-colonialism has helped bring into being these new theoretical approaches is deeply significant.

In subalternity a way of reading the experience of the colonised has developed which has fundamentally shifted the fields of history, sociology, anthropology and politics. The subaltern reading shifts the locus of agency in social behaviour from the coloniser to the colonised him or herself. It makes clear that social experience need not only be understood through or against the gravitational centre of the dominant and that people living in the margins have the possibility of narrating their pasts, presents and futures autonomously. In addition to living in the sphere of significance of the dominant, they might have access to modes of participation in the world which have their own independent rhythms, regimens and rituals. Resistance is not the only register in which they might operate.

Hybridity is an equally important concept. As framed by Bhabha (1994), it talks to the complex articulation of times, spaces and dispositions and their enunciations as phenomena that are irredeemably constituted as bricollage, borrowings, fusions and interpellations. Nothing is pure. Nothing is untouched. Everything is made up of bits and pieces that come from somewhere else.

Of the two concepts subalternity carries the greater significance for education precisely because it is framed around an understanding of agency. This agency, it argues, exists in much larger terms than simply a parasitic/dependent state in relation to dominance. In these terms post-colonialism provides important new ways to look for, recognise and understand the provenance of agency in the subjected. Agency does not only take flight in response to the ontological ideal of the dominant. It can arise in complex ways from sources that are not dependent on hegemonic regimens. How we can develop forms of educational provision that are alert to these often invisible sites of stimulation is crucial and especially so for education?

1. How, then, can we imagine new forms of education that are capable of working through and in the hidden spaces of agency? The most productive ways of doing so, it might be suggested, is to open education, as both a site for the recovery of knowledge and insight and also a space for the development of human capacity, as widely as possible. In this posture, education moves beyond its categorical and disciplinary boundaries to, as Hall (1996), explained what post-colonialism offered, 'thinking at the limit". What this thinking 'at the limit' suggests is the

necessity, in the first instance, for a trans-disciplinary orienta-
tion to learning, but, secondly, an openness to non-mainstream
forms of knowledge and understanding. The first question that
post-colonialism poses, redolent of the issues that arose in the
first set of issues raised, is that of what a trans-disciplinary and
trans-cultural education might look like.

2. Directly emanating from this, the second question that post-
    colonialism poses is an ethical one. How might a modern
    education process remain conscious of what the very best
    modern education can provide but also be flexible and capacious
    enough to tap into the inventiveness of young people's multiple
    subjectivities as these subjectivities draw on tradition – the old
    and marginalised forms of knowledge – and the globalising
    new approaches to understanding they disport everywhere?
    The challenge and the question is that of developing forms of
    education that allow young people to consciously enter their
    multiple social spaces, to read and understand them but also
    to critically intervene in relation to them. As the deeply sig-
    nificant work of Ngwane (2002) in the Eastern Cape province
    of South Africa shows, young people are able to appropriate
    the modes of engagement of modern education, in this case,
    debate, and to bring these into a conversation with older
    practices of socialisation – those of the practice of masculine
    initiation – but they are always in danger, as they make these
    moves by themselves, of making profound mistakes. While
    these mistakes are important pedagogical spaces in them-
    selves, they also bring with them deep anti-social possibilities.
    Young people in spaces where they are playing in unmediated
    and unguided ways with their multiple subjectivities are pro-
    foundly interesting subjects of study. However, what is clear
    is that simply by virtue of being human their proclivities for
    the good are as strong and able to be catalysed as the bad. The
    agency which they are able to enact is not therefore, on its own
    terms, virtuous, but can be placed to a range of different kinds
    of uses, many which will not be in either their or the public
    good's interest. It is here that post-colonialism offers powerful
    ways of talking to future directions in education in interesting
    kinds of ways. It is not seeking to validate any form of knowl-
    edge and the accompanying identity forms it makes possible
    for its own sake, but poses the question – indicating its locat-
    edness in a Western paradigm – of how all forms of knowl-
    edge and identity can be appropriated and used in ways that
    are simultaneously respectful and critical.

Conclusion

There clearly are many important insights which a post-colonial reading might bring to education and particularly comparative education. These, as the paper has attempted to show, have been productive and stimulating. Central amongst them have been the question of knowledge as a site of authority for validating/challenging inequality, the related questions of education as a site for acknowledging the rights of all citizens and of the ways in which it might speak to the desire of young people to exercise their agency. The large frame that this approach holds up for use is that of the complex political nature of the world of the dominated and the dominant. The point could be made that post-colonialism provides an important counter-balance in educational discourse to the homogenising and universalising impulses that are evident in the kinds of globalised systems that are emerging everywhere. In these terms, it offers educational development an important language for engaging the questions of justice and fairness as it confronts the large processes of change that are taking place in educational systems around the world.

Important as these developments have been, it does seem that the ethical stance that post-colonialism brings to the education discussion has been insufficiently explored. Recognising that post-colonial work is by no means focused in its analyses or inclined to a single dominant intellectual direction, it is important to emphasize its ethical orientation. While justice is at the heart of this orientation, more important for the purposes of this discussion is its insistence on making itself available wherever power asymmetries arise: to unmasking power in all its manifestations – seeking to contemplate, as Adorno said "all things as they would present themselves from the standpoint of redemption" (Quayson and Goldberg, 2002:xiii). The importance of this orientation is its simultaneous receptiveness but also caution with respect to all forms of being and understanding. As an orientation it is at once open to difference and its complexities and sensitive to the strengths and weaknesses that come with working in a space of difference. In this sense it abjures the categorical but is open to the possibility that in the categorical, such as modern Western forms of knowing, might reside important ways of thinking, feeling and coming to consciousness. It is in this sense, not against Western forms of knowing simply because they are Western. It does not, on the other hand, sacralise non-mainstream/indigenous knowledge forms and practices simply because of where they come from. Indigeneity is not a virtue in and of itself. Indigeneity subsists in a moral economy of good, bad and the indeterminate, both from its own point of view and from that external to it. Virtue and venality abound, in equal measure, everywhere.

The significance of this approach is that it is able to address the

present in all its complexity. It does not look to either a glorious future sanitised of tradition or of a golden past stripped of the evils of modernity. It recognises that the world is now irretrievably multiple and that past and present are interpolated in it in ways that allow for a wide range of ways of being. Spivak (1999:382), in talking of migrant groups of people, particularly in the West, explains how a post-colonial sensibility might work: "… if we are talking globality, it is one of the painful imperatives of the impossible within the ethical situation that we have to admit that the interest of the migrant, however remote, is in dominant global capital." On the other hand, she continues, "(i)n the case of Hindu India, a phrase as terrifying to us as 'Christian Europe,' no amount of reinventing the nature poetry of the Rg-Veda will in this view suffice to undo that history (of the ebb and flow of power" (ibid:383).

What emerges from this focus on the ethical for education is, surprisingly, a reaffirmation of much which is embedded in classical thought, namely the significance of education for a kind of civility and selflesslness. For comparative education it holds aloft the injunction that the act of juxtaposition, correlation and simply placing different phenomena and values alongside of each other is always a fraught one. But it doesn't come to this injunction in moral tones only. It draws on the full panaroma of world knowledge and world understanding and makes the point that all of this – our full inheritance as human beings – is relevant as we come to the act of attempting to understand both ourselves and each other.

References

Altbach, P. (1995). Education and Neo-colonialism. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (Eds). *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 452-456.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bonal, X. (2007). On Global Absences: Reflections on the Failings in the Education and Poverty Relationship in Latin America, *International Journal of Education and Development*, 27, 86-100.

Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bray, M. & Koo, R. (2004). Postcolonial Patterns and Paradoxes: Language and education in Hong Kong and Macao. In *Comparative Education*, 40 (2), 215-241.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chakrabarty, D. (2002). *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Connell, R. (2007). *Southern Theory*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Crossley, M. & Tikly, L. (2004). Postcolonial Perspectivesand Comparative and International Research in Education: A Critical Introduction. In *Comparative Education*. 40 (2), 147-156.

Dimitriadis, G. & Carlson, D. (Eds). (2003). *Promises to Keep: Cultural Studies,*

Democratic Education and Public Life. New York: Routledge.

Dimitriadis, G. & McCarthy, C. (2001). *Reading and Teaching the Postcolonial*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Elliot, J. and Grigorenko, E. (2007) Are Western Educational Theories and Practices Truly Universal? *Comparative Education* 43 (1), 1-4.

Evans, K. & Robinson-Pant, A. (2007). Windows and Mirrors in Comparative Education, *Compare*, 37 (1), 1-3.

Fabian, J. (1998). *Moments of Freedom: Anthropology and Popular Culture*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Fataar, A. (2007). Educational Renovation in a South African 'Township on the Move': A Social-Spatial Analysis, *International Journal of Education and Development*, 27, 599-612.

Hall, S. (1996). When was the 'Postcolonial': Thinking at the Limit? In I. Chambers & L. Curti (Eds). *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies Divided Horizons*. Lodnon: Routledge, 242-260.

Hickling-Hudson, A. (2003). Beyond Schooling: Adult education in Postcolonial Societies. In R. Arnove & C. Torres (Eds). *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield: Landham, Maryland, 229-251.

Hickling-Hudson, A., Matthews, J. & Woods, A. (Eds). (2004). *Disrupting Preconceptions: Postcolonialism and Education*. Brisbane: Postpressed.

Hountondji, P. (2002). Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context. In C. Odora-Hoppers (2002). (Ed) *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*. Cape Town: New Africa Books, 23-38.

Kumar, N. (n.d). The Scholar and Her Servants: Thoughts on Postcolonialism and Education. Unpublished paper at http://www-personal.umich_edu/~nitak/papers/maidservants.doc. retrieved 10/12/08.

Mandela, N. (1994). *Long Walk to Freedom*. Randburg: McDonald Purnell.

Mangena, S. (2006). Only When We Can Dream, Sing and Dance in Our Own Languages Will We Develop." *Cape Argus*, Tuesday, August 29, 2006, 14.

McLaren, P. (Ed). (2006). *Postmodernism, Postcolonialism and Pedagogy*. Melbourne: James Nicholas.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.

Ngwane, Z. (2002), "Apartheid Under Education: Schooling, Initiation and Domestic Reproduction in Post-Apartheid Rural South Africa", in *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994*, Pearson Education, Cape Town, South Africa, 270-281.

Odora-Hoppers, C. (2002). (Ed) *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*. Cape Town: New Africa Books.

Parry, B. (2002). Directions and dead-Ends in Postcolonial Studies. In A. Quayson, & D. Goldberg (2002) (Eds). *Relocating Postcolonialism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 66-81.

Quayson, A. & Goldberg, D. (2002). Introduction: Scale and Sensibility. In A. Quayson & D. Goldberg (Eds). *Relocating Postcolonialism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, xi-xxii.

Said, E. (1994). *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.

Soudien, C. (2006). Enhancing Our Freedoms: Education and Citizenship In

South Africa. The Wolpe Memorial Lecture, September 2006, University of Fort Hare.

Spivak, G. (1999). *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Tikly, L. (1999). Postcolonialism and Comparative Education. *International Review of Education*, 45 (5-6), 603-621.

Weber, E. (2005). 'Becoming Like Us': Global Discourses, Local Knowledge and Social Struggle in Comparative African Higher Education. In *South African Journal of Education*, 19, (5), 990-1001.

Revisiting Post-Colonial Education Development: Reflections on Some Critical Issues

David K.K. Chan
City University of Hong Kong

Post-colonial theories and narratives address matters of identity, gender, race, racism and ethnicity. Post-colonialism is concerned with the challenges of developing post-colonial national identities, and with the question how knowledge about the world is generated under specific relations between the powerful and the powerless. One variant of this theme critiques the existence of cultural colonialism, the desire of wealthy nations to control other nations' values and perceptions through cultural means, such as media, language, education and religion, mainly for economic gain. Post-colonial critics of developed countries' involvement in the developing world use Neocolonialism to criticize the former for not altering the economic balance between states, given the power of western imperialist capital after 'political de-colonization'. Such kinds of macro global regulatory frameworks and institutions, which strongly influence education systems across the world, subsumed under the international political economy of the "global capitalist system" in the name of the "knowledge-based economy", have substantially changed the education landscape, as well as the nature of education itself. The internationalization of higher education, with cross-border higher education patterns increasingly common, features significantly in this global game of competition, epitomized in world league tables of universities according to the criteria of the Anglo-American paradigm, in the name of international benchmarking. The paper thus addresses the main issue of whether the so-called "globalization of education" is really a "recolonization of education" in disguise.

The theme of this year's Annual Conference, namely, "Post-Colonial Education Development", has been one of the important themes in the field of comparative education since the 1970s and the 1980s. This theme is still relevant to us in this era of globalization, and thus it is worth our while to revisit the whole notion of "post-colonialism", and its possible implications for comparative education in its future development.

Variations on the Theme of "Post-Colonialism"
It was back in 1992 that Fukuyama's book on "The End of History and

the Last Man" depicted the end of the progression of human history as a struggle between ideologies, with the ultimate triumph of "capitalism" and its concomitant basis of "neo-liberalism" across the whole world at the end of the "Cold War". Fukuyama further predicted the eventual global triumph of the Anglo-American version of political and economic liberalism, proclaiming to the world the dominance of its "neo-liberalist" version of globalization:

> What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. (Fukuyama, 1992)

In their book, *Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics*, Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins wrote the following in 1996:

> the term post-colonialism ... is frequently misunderstood as a temporal concept, meaning the time after colonialism has ceased, or the time following the politically determined Independence Day on which a country breaks away from its governance by another state. Not a naïve teleological sequence which supersedes colonialism, post-colonialism is, rather, an engagement with and contestation of colonialism's discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies. ... A theory of post-colonialism must, then, respond to more than the merely chronological construction of post-independence, and to more than just the discursive experience of imperialism. (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996)

With such intellectual and social contexts behind them, so-called colonized peoples have to reply to their colonial legacy by *writing back to the center*, when the indigenous peoples write their own histories and legacies using the colonizer's language (such as English, French, Spanish) for their own purposes. A single, definitive definition of postcolonial theory is rather controversial and a lot of writers have strongly criticized it as a concept embedded in identity politics. The creation of a binary opposition, between the colonizers and the colonized, structures the way we view each other. In the case of colonialism, Orientals and Westerners were distinguished as different from each other (e.g. the emotional, decadent Orient vs. the principled, progressive Occident – refer to Said, 1985, 1993). This opposition justified the "white man's burden," the colonizer's self-perceived "destiny to rule" subordinate peoples. In contrast, post-colonialism seeks out areas of 'hybridity' and 'trans-culturalization'. This aspect is particularly relevant during our

various processes of globalization, be it economic, political, social and/or cultural in nature.

"Post-colonialism" is a set of theories in philosophy, film, literature, and other social sciences that deal with the cultural legacy of colonial rule. It deals with "cultural identity" in colonized societies; the dilemmas of developing a national identity after colonial rule; the ways in which writers articulate and celebrate that identity (often reclaiming it from and maintaining strong connections with the colonizer); the ways in which the knowledge of the colonized people has been generated and used to serve the colonizer's interests; and the ways in which the colonizer's literature has justified colonialism via images of the colonized as a perpetually inferior people, society and culture. These inward struggles of identity, history, and future possibilities often occur in the metropolis and, ironically, with the aid of post-colonial structures of power, such as the universities.

"Post-colonialism" also helps us in referencing neocolonialism to be the background for contemporary dilemmas of developing a "national identity" after colonial rule: the ways in which writers articulate and celebrate that identity (often reclaiming it from and maintaining strong connections with the colonizer); the ways in which the knowledge of the colonized people has been generated and used to serve the colonizer's interests; and the ways in which the colonizer's literature has justified colonialism via images of the colonized as a perpetually inferior people, society and culture.

In fact, the term neocolonialism first saw widespread use, particularly in reference to Africa, soon after the process of decolonization which followed a struggle by many national independence movements in the colonies following World War II. Upon gaining independence, some national leaders from the newly independent states of Africa and the Pan-Africanist movement argued that their countries were being subjected to a new form of colonialism, waged by the former colonial powers and other developed nations.

In lieu of direct military-political control, neocolonialist powers are said to employ financial, and trade policies to dominate less powerful countries. Those who subscribe to the concept contend that this amounts to a *de facto* control over less powerful nations. Both previous colonizing states and other powerful economic states maintain a continuing presence in the economies of former colonies, especially where it concerns raw materials, cheap labour and markets. Stronger nations are thus charged with interfering in the governance and economics of weaker nations to maintain the flow of such materials at prices and under conditions which will unduly benefit developed nations and Transnational Corporations (TNCs).

The concept of economic neocolonialism was given a theoretical

basis, in part, through Dependency theory by the works of A.G. Frank (Frank, 1966) and others; while Wallerstein later postulates his World System Theory of the "centre" – "semi-periphery" – "periphery" relationships in later years to further develop what has been established by Frank (Wallerstein, 1974, 1980, 1989). Overall, while the lasting effects of cultural colonialism are of central interest in the cultural critiques of neocolonialism, their intellectual antecedents are the economic theories of neocolonialism: Marxist Dependency theory, World Systems Theory, and the mainstream criticism of capitalist neoliberalism.

Post-colonial theories – as metaphysics, ethics, and politics – address matters of identity, gender, race, racism and ethnicity with the challenges of developing a post-colonial national identity, of how a colonized people's knowledge was used against them in the service of the colonizer's interests, and of how knowledge about the world is generated under specific relations between the powerful and the powerless, circulated repetitively and legitimated in order to ascertain imperialist interests. At the same time, post-colonial theory encourages thought about the colonized's creative resistance to the colonizer and how that resistance complicates and gives texture to European "imperialist-colonial" projects, which utilized a range of strategies, including anti-conquest narratives, to legitimize their domination.

Although the concept of neocolonialism was originally developed within a Marxist theoretical framework and is generally employed by the political left, the term neocolonialism is also used within other theoretical frameworks. One variant of the theory of neocolonialism critiques the existence of cultural colonialism, the desire of wealthy nations to control other nations' values and perceptions through cultural means, such as media, language, education and religion, among many other things, but ultimately these are for economic reasons.

One element of this is a critique of the "Colonial Mentality" (Fanon, 1952, 1961; Memmi, 1965), which writers have traced well beyond the legacy of 19th century colonial empires. These critics argue that people, once subject to colonial or imperial rule, latch onto physical and cultural differences between the foreigners and themselves, leading some to associate power and success with the foreigners' ways. This eventually leads to the foreigners' ways being regarded as the better way and being held in a higher esteem than previous indigenous ways.

In much the same fashion, and with the same reasoning of betterness, the colonized may over time equate the colonizers' race or ethnicity itself as being responsible for their superiority. Cultural rejections of colonialism, such as the Negritude movement, or simply the embracing of seemingly authentic local culture are then seen in a post-colonial world as a necessary part of the struggle against domination. By the same reasoning, importation or continuation of cultural mores or ele-

ments from former colonial powers may be regarded as a form of neo-colonialism.

Neocolonialism is a term used by post-colonial critics of developed countries' involvement in the developing world. Neocolonialism is usually taken as referring to the economic situation of former colonies post-independence. Critics of neocolonialism (Spivak, 1990) contended that 'political de-colonization' did little or nothing to alter the economic balance between states and the power of western imperialist capital. International legal frameworks and institutions, such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO, as well as corporate property rights and the operation of world markets have all been left under the control of the elites in the former metropolitan powers.

Under neo-colonialism, as under direct colonial rule, the relationship between the 'centre' and the 'periphery' is said to involve the export of capital from the former to the latter; a reliance on Western manufactured goods and services which thwarts indigenous development efforts; further deterioration in the terms of trade for the newly independent countries (Frank, 1966); and a continuation of the process of 'cultural Westernization' – all of which guarantee the West's market outlets elsewhere in the world. The presence and operations of the TNCs in the Third World are seen as the principal agents of contemporary neo-colonialism since these are seen as exploiting local resources and influencing international trade and national governments to their own advantages.

The linkage of economic change and education; and the interest of the World Bank in such developments would appear to support the thesis that education initiatives can be the agent of colonialism. This is certainly the case for schools, argues Carnoy:

> schools are *colonialistic* in that they attempt to impose economic and political relationships in the society *especially* on those children who gain least (or lose most) from those relationships. Schools demand the most passive response from those groups in society who are the most oppressed by the economic and political system, and allow the most active participation and learning from those who are least likely to want change. While this is logical in preserving the status quo, it is also a means of colonializing children to accept unsatisfactory roles. In its colonialistic characterization, schooling helps develop colonizer-colonized relationships between individuals and between groups in society. It formalizes these relationships, giving them a logic that makes reasonable the unreasonable. (Carnoy, 1974: 19)

Critics of neocolonialism argue that the past, or existing, international

economic arrangements that were created by former colonial powers were used, or are still being used, to maintain control of their former colonies and dependencies even after their colonial independences after World War II. The term neocolonialism can combine a critique of current *actual* colonialism and a critique of modern capitalist businesses' involvement in nations which were former colonies. Hence, the only way for indigenous local educators to raise the awareness and critical consciousness of their local people, via the process of 'conscientization' in education, is through a series of activities and engagements in the 'pedagogy of the oppressed' (Freire, 1970).

Critics of neocolonialism further contended that private, foreign business companies are here to stay in exploiting the resources of post-colonial peoples, and that this kind of economic control that is inherent to neocolonialism is akin to the classical type of European colonialism practised from the 16th to the 20th centuries. In broader usage, current especially in Latin America, neocolonialism may simply refer to the involvement of powerful countries in the affairs of less powerful countries. In this sense, neocolonialism implies a form of contemporary economic imperialism: that powerful nations behave like colonial powers, and that this behaviour is likened to colonialism in a post-colonial world. Others prefer to call this simply "recolonization" of some sort.

"Globalization of Education" vs "Recolonization of Education"?

In the first quotation from Fukuyama's book, the fact was mentioned that the hegemonic influence of the Anglo-American paradigm of a neo-liberal developmental model has penetrated across the globe, and is spreading its influences into the developing world. This kind of globalization process is often depicted by the West as the way towards the modernization for the Third World. Yet, we do need to ask the simple question whether the Anglo-American paradigm of neo-liberal developmental model can be some kind of a set of universal values that can be applicable to all traditions, cultures, and peoples of the whole world?

The kind of macro global regulatory frameworks and institutions of the education system, subsumed under the international political economy of the "global capitalist system" (Wallerstein, 1979), in the name of the "knowledge-based economy", has pretty much changed the environment and the nature of education, and has thus put us, as educators, at the 'periphery' of our own business under this tidal wave of globalization; while those high-powered decision- and policy-makers and politicians are in control of this game of education as a service industry (Ratinoff, 1995). The internationalization of higher education, with cross-border higher education systems, all of which have zeroed in this game of competition, such that all will have to be com-

pared and matched with quantifiable performance indicators, and to be finally epitomized in league tables of universities across the whole world, again according to the criteria of the Anglo-American paradigm in the name of international benchmarking (Mok, 2007a, 2007b).

For one thing, the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations under GATT is likely to reshape world economic structures for decades to come. The industrialized countries are attempting to extend their control of world trade and production through the inclusion of new areas (like services, foreign investments and intellectual property) into the GATT framework. Once they have succeeded in doing so, their TNCs would have gained unprecedented rights to set up their bases in the Third World (not only in industry but also in services), and to tighten their monopolies over industrial, as well as information and communications technologies.

The Uruguay Round, indeed, has rolled back the Third World's gains in economic sovereignty since independence, and thus ushered in a new era of economic colonialism and imperialism, where economic power has been ever more concentrated in the hands of the TNCs. The book, *Recolonisation: GATT, the Uruguay Round and the Third World*, by Chakravarthi Raghavan in 1990 dwells on this important theme, and it deals with exactly this kind of problem that we are now facing from the economic point of view (Raghavan, 1990).

The advent of transnational education is a phenomenon that is part and parcel of the globalization of trade in goods and services (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2001), and its emergence is fuelled by the inclusion of higher education as an industry under the framework of the General Agreement on Trade in Service (GATS) (Knight, 2002; Ziguras, 2003). Although a number of reasons may be provided for the internationalisation of higher education, including social, political and academic ones (Knight, 2004), the fundamental reason is mainly economic in nature, and it all boils down to "the competitive rush for international students and their money" (De Vita & Case, 2003, p.384). Matthews expresses a similar view and argues that such education is driven by national economic objectives and "the dollar signs stamped on the foreheads of full fee-paying overseas students" (2002, p.377).

Many governments know that there is a growing market in transnational higher education. Indeed, it is a large economic pie. According to OECD (2007), there were 2.7 million tertiary students studying outside their country of origin in 2005, an increase of 5% over the previous year. Given such a big market, it pays for governments to attract quality higher education providers across borders to add strength and attractiveness to their domestic higher education landscape, in order to attract these mobile international students. Therefore, the internationalisation of higher education has gone beyond the well-established

feature of the international mobility of students to the international mobility of institutions and courses on a large scale (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2005).

Under the strong tide of "managerialism" and "marketization" of higher education, universities have started to perceive themselves as some kind of a "business enterprise", and have to adopt business principles and mechanisms in their management, marketing and other ways of doing their businesses. Thus, they will have to be more sensitive to changing market needs, and try to differentiate themselves from others through various mission statements, appraisal and auditing mechanisms, strategic plans, marketing strategies, public relations and so on. Apart from this, students are considered as clients, or even customers, in the education marketplace, and their admission to universities is by access, and not by selection; the curricula are strongly influenced by market forces, such that emphasis is on the practical and applied value of knowledge, thus making drastic changes in the way that traditional modes of learning and teaching were delivered (Mok, 2000; Mok & Chan, 2002).

The "3Es" of "managerialism" (namely: "economy, efficiency and effectiveness") can be considered as the fundamental value of "consumerism" in a marketplace and excludes wider ethical judgments, leaving it to the market to decide between competing values and visions of the "good". Yet evaluation of any person or project needs to be re-framed in terms of the contribution that a person or community can make to social cohesion, tolerance of diversity, equity, social justice, and the public good of that society. The important values of citizenship, democracy, and collectivity are very different from the values of the market, or economic competitiveness, and they underpin a very different concept of the good society.

This brings home the fundamental issue of whether the primary significance of university education is solely for preparing and improving the job prospects of university graduates in the global labor market, or whether there are other higher ideals of university education – to prepare well-rounded personalities with critical minds capable of making major contributions to culture, democracy, science, economy and the society at large? While both types of aspirations are thought to be essential, it seems more likely that the values of "academic capitalism" (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) will be the dominating force in shaping the future direction and development of higher education. A more subtle impact on the higher education sector is the adoption of the discourses and values of the business sector, such as: downsizing (i.e. workforce reduction), the growing use of temporary employees, the strategy of outsourcing, privatization, corporatization, commercialization and commodification of culture and intellectual properties (Keat, 1999), etc.

"The running of education is like the running of business" (Ball, 1990, 1998) not only sounds familiar to us, but is, in fact, already part of the way that we can survive in this tidal wave of globalization.

The realities of the day, in terms of globalization, such as the growing importance of the market in education, the advance in information and communication technologies, internationalization and international mobility of staff and students, and the new trade agreements including higher education (de Wit, 2006; Knight, 2005, 2005a), have been the main thrust of development of higher education in the global scene. In response to urges for establishing a knowledge society, the overall demand for higher and adult education, especially professionally-oriented programmes, has increased significantly. The pressing demand for higher education has exceeded the capacity of the public sector and therefore a diversity of alternative providers has emerged, including international companies, for-profit institutions, corporate universities, and IT and media companies (OECD, 2002, 2004; Knight, 2006, 2006a; Vincent-Lancrin, 2005).

Furthermore, UNESCO has published the *Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Education* in 2005, which recommended governments to:

- establish, or encourage the establishment of a comprehensive, fair and transparent system of registration or licensing for cross-border higher education providers wishing to operate in their territory;
- establish, or encourage the establishment of a comprehensive capacity for reliable quality assurance and accreditation of cross-border higher education provision, recognizing that quality assurance and accreditation of cross-border higher education provision involves both sending and receiving countries;
- consult and coordinate among the various competent bodies for quality assurance and accreditation both nationally and internationally;
- provide accurate, reliable and easily accessible information on the criteria and standards for registration, licensure, quality assurance and accreditation of cross-border higher education, their consequences on the funding of students, institutions or programmes, where applicable, and their voluntary or mandatory nature (UNESCO, 2005: 13-14).

In general, the higher education sectors across the whole world are facing much more pressures and competitions from their counterparts in the global marketplace. Hence, different higher education stakeholders, including governments, higher education institutions, student bodies,

academic professionals, quality assurance and accreditation bodies, academic recognition bodies and professional bodies, and so on, are all now expected to respond to these changes proactively and strategically (Chan & Ng, 2008, p.489). Yet, it seems that the education systems of a lot of developing countries are not playing at a 'level-playing field' with the more advanced developed countries, and so are at a disadvantage from the very beginning of the game. (Altbach, 2004a).

In this way, some kind of a stratification of higher education sectors has already appeared in many countries across the world, such that institutions of lesser status are trying hard to rise up in the league tables, with many new institutions coming into existence in order to meet expanding social needs, while institutions of long-standing with distinction are also trying to further demonstrate their overall competitiveness by exhibiting their so-called "world-class" attributes in order to win out in this game of global competition. Quality assurance mechanisms and international benchmarking, with emphases on the monitoring of research outputs and the auditing systems of performance indicators and accountability, have become the main trend in higher education systems across the globe (Marginson, 2007). This further rationalizes and justifies the importance of the international university league tables, which have now been taken as symbolic yet powerful indicators and instruments to show the standards of universities to various stakeholders in today's competitive global education marketplace (Lynch, 2006).

We are now in the heyday on the call for the agenda of the so-called "World Class Universities" in our higher education sectors across the globe, but this is, indeed, a far cry from the reality of things. Yet, "the problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one.... We are in an age of academic hype in which universities of different kinds in diverse countries claim this exalted status – often with little justification" (Altbach, 2004b).

Furthermore, Altbach points out the social costs of building 'world-class' universities for nation-states: "putting too much stress on attaining world-class status may harm an individual university or an academic system. It may divert energy and resources from more important – and perhaps more realistic – goals. It may focus too much on building a research-oriented and elite university at the expense of expanding access or serving national needs. It may set up unrealistic expectations that harm faculty morale and performance." (Altbach, 2004b)

Those who are against this global trend will see those strategies for internationalizing higher education as only some sort of corruption of the indigenous local cultures and traditions in academia:

Despite the fact that many of the Asian societies discussed here were 'de-colonized' after the Second World War, many of them have not really 'de-colonized' in practice, since most of them have been influenced strongly by Anglo-Saxon standards or ideologies... the quest for world-class universities... not only created a new 'dependency culture' but also reinforced the American-dominated 'hegemony', particularly in relation to league tables, citation indexes and the kind of research that counts as high status. Asian (*or other – added by the author*) societies seem to have treated 'internationalization' as 'westernization' and 'modernization' or 'Americanization' since the 19ᵗʰ century.... Thus not only European but also Asian states should be aware of the differences between policy learning and policy copying. If we copy policy practices without proper adaptation and careful contextualization, we might easily encounter problems, including in Asia, a process of re-colonization, resulting in reproducing learning experiences that do not fit the specific cultural and political environments in the East.... Would there be only one 'international standard' as defined solely by, or even dominated by, the Anglo-Saxon paradigm? Who should be involved in defining the 'international benchmarks'? (Deem, et.al., 2008, pp.93-4)

Conclusion

Confronted by the new world order of information and communications technologies, the informational society, diasporic movements linked to globalization, cultural politics connected to post-modernity, and educational developments such as multiculturalism and critical pedagogy, educators of the twenty-first century face a daunting challenge. Because of the fact that more and more nation-states are using market principles to organize their educational systems, with an increase in global competitiveness, as well as the employment of a managerial ideology to administer such systems, the combination of these factors has led to a situation where work on educational initiatives is hampered by a lack of enthusiasm at the policy level, by a lack of coordinated effort at the system-wide level, and is neutered by managerial agendas at the institutional level.

Global impacts on education, such as the reinventing of a vision for education in a knowledge-based economy, the rise of managerial authority in a new education governance framework, the diversification of educational provision and financing, the decentralized, yet 'reregulated', management through strengthening quality assurance mechanisms, and the adoption of market/business principles and practices, can all be found in recent higher education reforms across the world. Again, this reflects and sharply brings into focus the various processes

of local responses to the new global agenda. More importantly, so are the processes associated with the restructuring and redefinition of the state-education relationship, as well as local adoption of the changing state capacity in revitalizing the various non-state sectors and actors for engaging in public service delivery and social policy provisions, such that these are some of the major local responses to the global agenda in higher education.

More importantly, the recent changes and transformations that are taking place in the educational sector in different countries seem to suggest that "marketization" of education has become a global trend, brought about by the process of globalization, under the tidal wave of which educational financing, curriculum, governance and management should have been re-oriented and re-shaped by market-oriented approaches and practices (Currie & Newson, 1998; Spring, 1998; Taylor, et. al., 1997). The blurring of boundaries between higher education systems has changed the global educational landscape, such that "there will always be centers and peripheries" (Altbach, 2002, 2007:2) in the world of globalized higher education, simply because the status of a 'world-class' will always be very selective in nature under the global game of competition. This kind of relationship simply reasserts the kind of 'dependency relationship' that has been there since colonial days.

We have been too focused on the "cult of efficiency" (Welch, 1998) in education, particularly so when setting our education agenda in the framework of market principles, practices and mechanisms. We have always believed in the axiom that "the market knows best", and its invisible hand of self-regulatory functions, which is supposed to bring us a better world of development, according to the 'free market' principle of neo-liberalism. Unfortunately, what we have been experiencing for the past few months of financial meltdown in the USA, which was then further spread across the whole world as a financial tsunami, has given us a toll of the alarm bell that reminds us, after all, that market failures, indeed, do take place when people become too greedy – that only money really counts. This, indeed, has sounded a strong warning signal that we need to go back to the basic and fundamental values of our society which is a common core for all mankind.

With the above observations, it seems valid that the development of internationalizing higher education in different parts of the world has drawn to our attention the issue of neocolonialism within the world academic community. Particular issues focus on the dominant role of the English language, either as a medium of instruction, or as a means for research outlets in internationally-referred journals; as well as the emergence of the culture of "performativity" in academia, as part of their intellectual property rights, patent rights, copyrights, and so on in transforming knowledge into products and services.

All in all, these various developments in higher education have confirmed what Bourdieu called "cultural capital" (1977), or what Slaughter and Leslie term "academic capital" (1997). If everything is reduced to a commodity, including human beings who are also considered as commodities in the labor market, then this reductionism to "commodity fetishism" (Willis, 1999, pp.141-9) will erode all the basic human values that our ancestors have been trying hard to put forth and fought to maintain in our human history. This is, indeed, one of the many crises that we have to face in the light of the process of globalization (Beck, 1998; Pyle & Forrant, 2002).

The creation of a fair, just, tolerant and caring society is not one which can be left solely to the market, nor to those who would merely compete in it. Society is more than the sum of its individuals, but creates the conditions within which such individuals live and develop. Citizenship is more than just the self-interested pursuit of consumable goods, but involves an awareness and concern for others in society. This points to an interdependence of citizenship and education, and of the possibility of a citizenship which transcends national boundaries: the "citizens of the world"! After all, cross-cultural and multi-cultural understanding, tolerance and the creation of democratic communities do not happen by themselves; it is the task of governments as well as those within universities to make this happen. The market and technical-rational management are no answer to it: they only reinforce their continued neglect.

However, if education is just to serve economic purposes and concerns about how much the amount of outputs can be generated, but neglect the important process of learning and teaching, then the outcomes of alienation and de-humanization in society maybe the final result. To this extent, it is crucial that we would need to strike a delicate balance between the state and the market by empowering the often neglected function of a civil society in bringing about a new vision of a society in which it is fit for humans to live with dignity and respect.

References

Altbach, P.G. (2002) "Centers and Peripheries in the Academic Profession: The Special Challenges of Developing Countries", in Altbach, P.G. (ed.) *The Decline of the Guru: The Academic Profession in Developing and Middle-Income Countries*. New York: Palgrave.

Altbach, P.G. (2004a) "Globalization and the University: Myths and Reality in an Unequal World", *Tertiary Education and Management*, 10(1), 3-25.

Altbach, P.G. (2004b) "The Costs and Benefits of World Class Universities", *Academe*, (January/February), available at http://www.aaup.org/publications/Academe/2004/04jf/04jfaltb.htm.

Altbach, P.G. (2007) "Empires of Knowledge and Development", in P.G. Altbach and J. Balan (eds.) *World Class Worldwide: Transforming Research Universities in Asia and Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

pp.1-30.

Amin, S. (2001) "Imperialism and Globalization", a talk delivered at the World Social Forum meeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January 2001, available at www.rrojasdatabank.org/impglob.htm.

Arrighi, G. (1990) *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World System*. Monthly Review Press.

Ball, S.J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Policy Sociology*. London: Routledge.

Ball, S.J. (1998) "Big Politics/Small World: An Introduction to International Perspectives in Education Policy", *Comparative Education*, Vol.34, No.2, pp.119-130.

Beck, Ulrich. (1998) *The Crisis of Globalization (Was Ist Globalisierung?)*. Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt am Main.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", in J. Karabel and A.H. Halsey (eds.) *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.487-511.

Carnoy, M. (1974) *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, New York: David McKay.

Chan, D. and Ng, P.T. (2008) "Similar Agendas, Diverse Strategies: The Quest for a Regional Hub of Higher Education in Hong Kong and Singapore", *Higher Education Policy*, 21 (2008), 487-503.

Currie, J. and Newson, J. (eds.) (1998) *Universities and Globalization: Critical Perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications.

De Vita, G. and Case, P. (2003). "Rethinking the Internationalisation Agenda in UK Higher Education", *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 27(4), 383-398.

de Wit, H. (2006) 'Quality Assurance of Interntionalization', Paper presented at the Osaka Conference on Internationalization of Universities, January 2006, Osaka Japan.

Deem, R., Mok, K.H. and Lucas, L. (2008) "Transforming Higher Education in Whose Image? Exploring the Concept of the 'World-Class' University in Europe and Asia", *Higher Education Policy*, 21(3), 83-97.

Fanon, F. (1952) *Black Skin, White Mask* (1986 Edition, with a foreword by H. Bhabha). London: Pluto Press.

Fanon, F. (1961) *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin.

Frank, A.G. (1966) *The Development of Underdevelopment*. Monthly Review Press.

Freire, Paulo. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum Publishing Company.

Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press.

Gilbert and Tompkins, (1996) *Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics*. Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Keat, R. (1999) "Market Boundaries and the Commodification of Culture", in L. Ray and A. Sayer (eds.) (1999) *Culture and Economy after the Cultural Turn*. London: Sage, pp.92-111.

Knight, J. (2002). "Trade Talk: An Analysis of the Impact of Trade Liberalization and the General Agreement on Trade in Services on Higher Education", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 6(3), 209-229.

Knight, J. (2004). "Internationalism Remodeled: Definition, Approaches and Rationales", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8(1), 5-31.

Knight, J. (2005) *Borderless, Offshore, Transnational and Crossborder Education – Definition and Data Dilemmas*. London: The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education.

Knight, J. (2005a) *New World of Academic Mobility: Programs and Providers Crossing Borders*. Background report prepared for UNESCO Latin America Regional Seminar on 'Academic Mobility in a Trade Environment: Issues, Opportunities, Riske', Mexico City, Mexico.

Knight, J. (2006) *Higher Education Crossing Borders: A Guide to the Implications of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) for Cross-border Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

Lynch, K. (2006) "Neo-liberalism and Marketisation: The Implications for Higher Education", *European Educational Research Journal*, 5(1), 1-17.

Marginson, S. (2007) "The Public/Private Divide in Higher Education: A Global Revision", *Higher Education*, 53(3), 307-333.

Matthews, J. (2002) "International Education and Internationalisation Are Not the Same as Globalisation: Emerging Issues for Secondary Schools", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 6(4), 369-390.

McBurnie, G. and Ziguras, C. (2001) "The Regulation of Transnational Higher Education in Southeast Asia: Case Studies of Hong Kong, Malaysia and Australia", *Higher Education*, 42(1), 85-105.

McBurnie, G. and Ziguras, C. (2005) *Transnational Education: Issues and Trends in Offshore Higher Education*. Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Memmi, A. (1965) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Souvenir Press.

Mok, K.H. (2000) "Impact of Globalization: A Study of Quality Assurance Systems of Higher Education in Hong Kong and Singapore", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.44, No.2, pp.148-174.

Mok, K.H. (2007a) "Questing for Internationalization of Universities in Asia: Critical Reflections", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3-4): 433-454.

Mok, K.H. (2007b) "The Quest for 'World-Class' Status: University Responses and Strategies in Asia", *The Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, 6(1), 1-20.

Mok, J.K.H. and Chan, D. (eds.) (2002) *Globalization and Education: The Quest for Quality Education in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

OECD, (2002) "The Growth of Cross-border Education", in OECD (ed.) *Education Policy Analysis*. Paris: OECD.

OECD, (2004) *Internationalization and Trade of Higher Education – Challenges and Opportunities*. Paris: OECD.

OECD (2007). *Education at a Glance 2007*. Paris: OECD.

Pyle, J.L. and Forrant, R. (2002) *Globalization, Universities and Issues of Sustainable Human Development*. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar.

Raghavan, C. (1990) *Recolonisation: GATT, the Uruguay Round and the Third World*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Ratinoff, L. (1995) "Global Insecurity and Education: The Culture of Globalization", *Prospects*, Vol.25, No.2, pp.147-174.

Said, E. W. (1985) *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.

Said, E. W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Slaughter, S. and Leslie, L.L. (1997) *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Spivak, G. I. (1990) *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues* (Edited by S. Harasym). London: Routledge.

Spring, J. (1998) *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy*. Mahwahn N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Taylor, S., Rizvi, F., Lingard, B. and Henry, M. (1997) *Educational Policy and the*

Politics of Change. London: Routledge.

UNESCO (2005). *Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education*. Paris: UNESCO.

Vincent-Lancrin, S. (2005) *Building Capacity through Crossborder Tertiary Education*. London: the Observatory on Borderless Education.

Welch, A. (1998) "The Cult of Efficiency in Education: Comparative Reflections on the Reality and the Rhetoric", *Comparative Education*, Vol.34, No.2, pp.157-175.

Wallerstein, I. (1974) *The Modern World-System, Vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. New York/London: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1979) *The Capitalist World-Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1980) *The Modern World-System, Vol. II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

Wallerstein, I. (1989) *The Modern World-System, Vol. III: The Second Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840's*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Willis, P. (1999) "Labor Power, Culture, and the Cultural Commodity", in M. Castells, et.al. *Critical Education in the New Information Age*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp.139-169.

Ziguras, C. (2003). "The impact of the GATS on transnational tertiary education: Comparing experiences of New Zealand, Australia, Singapore and Malaysia", *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 30(3): 89-109.

Post-Colonial Reflections on Education Development in Macau

Peter Shan Wen Jing & Sylvia Ieong Sao Leng
University of Macau

It is now the tenth year since Macao emerged from the colonial into the post-colonial era. Fundamental changes have taken place in educational development since the transfer. Under the colonial laissez-faire "non-commitment" policy of the Portuguese administration of Macao, education was centered on and served Portuguese interests, while Chinese residents were marginalized; under the guidance of the "Macao people governing Macao" policy, education has gradually gone public and been systematized, and serves the wide interests of the population. This paper focuses on the historical background of Macao education, its tradition, its current state and unique characteristics, culminating in the conclusion that, in a changing post-colonial era, the right direction for Macao education is to optimize quality while carrying on its tradition for steady and sustainable development. The paper maintains that post-colonial reflections may help us carry out thoroughgoing reforms, tackle problems at the roots and minimize the negative effects of changing situations.

澳門教育發展的後殖民反思
單文經、楊秀玲（澳門大學教育學院）

澳門由殖民時代進入後殖民時代，業已進入第十個年頭。澳葡殖民政府時代以葡人為中心、華人為邊緣，近似放任自流的教育發展，進入了後殖民時代，產生了質變：在澳人治澳的政策引導下，澳門教育的發展逐步走向公共化與制度化。本文在逐一敘述澳門教育發展的背景、傳統、現況、特色，歸結到：在一個以變化為本質的後殖民時代，澳門的教育一定要在延續既有的傳統與特色中，求取穩妥的發展，於是，教育的優質化乃成為其必然的走向。惟後殖民的反思或許可以協助我們正本清源、防微杜漸，盡量排除變局所帶來的負面效應。

Introduction
Generally speaking, "post-colonial", parallel to "colonial" or "semi-colonial", is different from "de-colonized" or "non-colonial", but again

somewhat similar to "re-colonized". The "colonial" or "semi-colonial" state generally refers to some Western powers, mainly European powers, occupying other countries by force and turning them into their colonies or semi-colonies in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The dawning of the 20th century, however, gave rise to a series of national liberation movements and these former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America declared themselves independent one after another and military occupation was strongly condemned. Some developed countries switched to strategies of economic aggression and cultural assimilation to exert control and influence over some developing countries. As a result, those countries eager to free themselves from their colonial fetters by means of de-colonization returned not to a non-colonial state, but to a "post-colonial state". Though they are not "colonial" in name, they are "re-colonized" in essence (Dirlik, 1994; Huang, 2003).

Nevertheless, we would like to look at the term from a different point of view. Many terms, such as "post-colonial", prefixed with "post-", represent firstly a chronological sequence, and second, a change of ideological trends. The former compels us to see and understand the real world as it is; the latter, which is more important, impels us to reflect on the meaning permeating the abstract world, by revealing, reviewing and criticizing it in the "post-" discourse. This paper, taking the Macao Special Administrative Region (Macao SAR) of the PRC as an example, attempts to delineate the educational development of Macao from the colonial to the post-colonial eras[1], make a few reflections by way of post-colonial revelation, review and criticism, and pinpoint its noteworthy characteristics and the direction of future development. While reflecting on these matters, we will pay more attention to the following two points:

First, amidst the multitude of discourses, such as de-centering, de-subjectivity, multi-rebellious, antagonistic, resistant, and postcolonial discourse of modern conditions, there exists a core discourse apparatus, i.e., the center-periphery divide. During the colonial era of Macao, for example, the Portuguese community, or Macao-born Portuguese or the ethnic group well-versed in Portuguese, the only official language at the time, were the "centre", while the Chinese or other ethnic groups who did not speak Portuguese were marginalized in the periphery (Adamson & Li, 2004: 36; Huang, 2003). However, as soon as the Macao SAR Government was established, entering in the "post-colonial era", we had better not confine ourselves in overturning the existing "center-periphery" relationship. We should do our best to thoroughly do away with the relationship, and abide by the principle of equality and justice so as to prevent "re-colonization" and to realize a "non-colonial state" gradually.

Second, in our discussion of social and cultural matters including

education, even if we focus on post-colonial era by adopting discourse apparatus characterized by "change", such as "elimination", "transformation", "overturn", "reform", and "deconstruction", we still have to pay attention to the dialectical logic of "change" and "continuity". This is because there may be change in continuity and continuity in change. Specifically, the issue of education seems endless, with many a change, but there is always something continuous and unchangeable in education for us to refer to. In other words, we must accept the thesis that "changes are eternal" on the one hand and that "experience continues" on the other.

Macao in General: Post-Colonial Reflection (1)
In order to understand the unique features characteristic of education in the Macao SAR, we provide first a brief introduction to Macao. We believe that only by placing education in its historical and socio-economic contexts can we know what happened in the past and how it has evolved into its present state, and then from here we can project its future with some degree of confidence and determination. For this purpose, we shall begin with a general description of the geographical, historical, socio-economic and cultural features of Macao.

The territory that is generally referred to as Macao consists of three parts: a peninsula connected with Zhuhai by a strip of land at the mouth of the Pearl River, and two outlying islands, Taipa, where the University of Macau is located, and Coloane. Large-scale reclamation in recent years has joined the two islands together to become the Cotai City overlooking the Macao Peninsula and Zhuhai. The total area of Macao is only 29.2 square kilometers, with a population of 538,100, a density of 18,428 per square kilometer (Statistics and Census Bureau, 2008). 96% of the population of Macao are Chinese; 2% Portuguese; 1% Filipinos; 1% other nationals. There are two official languages, Chinese and Portuguese.

Like its close neighbors, Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as the more distant islands in the South Seas and India, Macao was also prey to European sea powers and colonialists in the 15th and 16th centuries. First they used Macao as shelter or some sort of a haven and dropped anchor here for supplies or repairs. Gradually Macao became a trading centre for the Portuguese to do business with China and other Asian countries. To be more specific, the Portuguese arrived in the coastal areas of South China in 1513 and set foot in Macao, which was then no more than a fishing village. In 1557, the Guangdong officials of the Ming Dynasty Government asked the Portuguese to drive out all the pirates active around the Pearl River Delta region as a condition for "lending or letting Macao" to the Portuguese. This incident of exchange proved to be the prologue to the end of the closed-door policy pursued

by feudal imperial China.

In 1887, the Qing Dynasty Government was forced to sign the Treaty of Peking, allowing the Portuguese to exercise administration in Macao, as they did in other Portuguese colonies or overseas territories. In 1910, though the first republic was established in Portugal, Macao still maintained its status as a colony. New China was founded in 1949. Though no demands were made for China to resume the exercise of sovereignty over Macao, China's attitude that the Portuguese government was not allowed anything declarative of its exercise of sovereignty was clear and firm. For example, in 1955, the Chinese government put a stop to the 400th anniversary celebrations because they felt that such activities were declarative of Portuguese sovereignty over Macao. In 1974, the two countries reached agreement that Macao was redefined as a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration. And in 1987 the Chinese and Portuguese governments signed the Joint Declaration, affirming that the Government of the People's Republic of China would resume the exercise of sovereignty over Macao with effect from 20 December 1999. (Bray & Koo, 2004; Huang, 1993; Marques, 1972)

From 1557 onwards, the Portuguese "rented" Macao as an entrepôt for trade with China, thus finding a very satisfactory base in Asia for their Empire to engage in ambitious expansionist plans as a sea power. Subsequently the Portuguese regarded Macao as one of their overseas territories, and granted it the status of a Portuguese city in 1586. This situation remained unchanged when the Qing Dynasty was established in 1664. Such a status led the Portuguese Government of Macao to focus its administration and governance on three ethnic communities only: Portuguese nationals residing in Macao, Macao-born Portuguese and Eurasian "Macanese", whereas they treated the local Chinese residents as foreigners living in its overseas territory, Macao. In 1749, they went so far as to issue a law, stipulating that only 184 Chinese residents were allowed to live in a guarded castle. And owing to this policy and convention, prior to China's resumption of sovereignty over Macao in 1999, generally referred to as "the Hand-over", top priority had always been given to the interests of the Portuguese communities, politically, economically, socially, culturally and educationally while the Chinese communities were ignored and marginalized. Therefore all these long years the Portuguese Administration of Macao paid little attention to schools and their facilities serving the Chinese communities and the Chinese residents had to take care of their education by various means. It was because of this laissez-faire or "non-commitment" policy of the Portuguese Government of Macao that modern education system began to develop in Macao in as late as 1970s and 1980s (Bray & Koo, 2004; Choi, 1991; Cremer, 1991; Shipp, 1997).

Recent years have witnessed rapid economic growths in Macao. According to the figures released in 2008 by the Statistics and Census Bureau of the Macao SAR in Principal Statistical Indicators of Macao for the 3rd Quarter 2008, the average GDP per capita is already US$36,520, with manpower participation rate at 69.2% and unemployment rate at 3.1%. However, the Report on the Comprehensive Quality of Life of Macao Residents published by the Research Centre for Sustainable Development Strategies of the Macao SAR (2006) reveals that nearly 20% of Macao families interviewed each have an income below MOP 5,000, which is regarded as "poor". More than 20% residents interviewed think that their families are worse off than they were three years ago, though nearly 30% say that there has been some improvement. About 15-30% of the residents interviewed feel that their living standard is far from desired, being unable to "own their homes", to "have a room of one's own", to "own a private car", " to save a minimum of MOP$ 1,000 per month", or to "enjoy at least a week's vacation outside Macao every year". It is obvious that though Macao has enjoyed overall rapid economic growth, there is still the fear that the quality of life may deteriorate for a substantial number of Macao residents. What is worth noting is that, though nearly half of the interviewees are happy with the situation of tertiary, secondary and primary education in Macao, about 15% of the residents interviewed have voiced dissatisfaction.

Viewed from a post-colonial perspective, it is worth pointing out that, since the liberalization in 2002 of the gaming concession, the industry thriving as Macao's flagship has had certain negative influence on the Macao society, including education, side by side with the economic benefits.[2] To begin with, it poses tremendous demand for human resources and unavoidably exerting increasing pressures on education, with a lot of negative effects. From what we see for now, there are at least two serious problems giving rise to great worries. First, the rapidly expanding industry needs personnel to fill its top and mid-level management posts, thus attracting a number of experienced and high-caliber professionals in education. Second, the casinos re-cruit a large number of dealers, the minimum age requirement being only 18, thus attracting many a young student that gives up their opportunity for education and leaves school too early to resist the various temptations. Moreover, a dealer has an attractive income, which badly affects those youngsters still studying at school, resulting in more and more students becoming weary of studying and neglecting studies. These are daunting challenges to both tertiary education and non-tertiary education. Though we are aware that this phenomenon cannot be changed by subjective factors, people in education in Macao should join hands and work together. And with our concerted efforts,

we should work out ways to tackle the problems at the roots and to prevent them from getting worse. This is a task that we in education are obliged to perform.

The Educational Tradition of Macao: Post-Colonial Reflection (2)
Since as early as the dawning of the 16th century, a unique educational tradition has been shaped by over 400 years of educational activities and milestones in Macao. A brief review of the historical development of Macao education will help us have a general understanding of this heritage, including joined efforts to set up schools, the autonomy in running schools, the use of multi-languages as media of instruction, etc.

In pre-19th century Macao, there were four major educational events that are worth recording and narrating: 1) the creation by the Jesuits in 1594 of the first Western-style University in the Far East, the St. Paul's College; 2) the dispatch in 1839 by Robert Morrison School of Chinese students, including Rong Hong, to study in the United States, which was the first batch of Chinese students studying in the US in recent Chinese history; 3) the establishment in 1847 of the first Official Portuguese School in China; and 4) the creation in 1899 by Mr. Chen Zibao of a progressive school, Mengxue College (Lau, 2007; Shan, 2009).

In the first half of the 20th century, the education of Macao gradually emerged from the old into the new system. However, what remained distinctive and different from the other parts of China is the fact that, with the exception of a couple of official Portuguese schools run by the Portuguese Administration of Macao, all the other schools, including church schools, Catholic or Christian; Yixue (charity schools) for the children of the poor; other primary and secondary schools; and vocational schools, were established and operated by unofficial organizations. They were ignored by the Portuguese Government of Macao and had little support from the Portuguese government. It was because of this laissez-faire or "non-commitment" policy of the Portuguese Government of Macao that these schools were mostly set up and run autonomously either by unofficial organizations or individuals without any official intervention. As a result, these schools depended on themselves administratively and financially, each having its own mode of curriculum and instruction and thus contributing to a tradition of educational diversity in Macao (Lau, 2007; Shan, 2009).

This tradition continued into the later half of the 20th century, when a unique educational scenario consisting of the Chinese school system, the Portuguese school system, the Sino-Portuguese school system and the English school system coexisting in Macao, came into being. Under different school systems, the language of instruction is also different. Under the Chinese system, which is the mainstream system, they use Chinese as the medium, with Chinese as the written language and

Cantonese as the medium of instruction. Under the Portuguese system, they use Portuguese as both the written language and spoken medium. The Sino-Portuguese, also called Luso-Chinese schools, taught both Chinese and Portuguese languages while the English-medium schools adopted English as the written language and medium of instruction. As a result, a multi-lingual scenario, the so-called Sanwen-Siyu (three languages and four tongues), has also come into being, constituting another unique feature of Macao schools[3] (Lau, 2007; Shan, 2009).

This educational heritage as characterized by joint efforts in establishing and running schools, autonomy of schools and multi-lingual teaching was summarized by Alexandre Rosa in 1991, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: No. of Secondary and Primary Schools in Macao and No. of Students 1988/1989 (By School Type and School System)

School System	School Type											
	Private				Official				Total # and %			
	# of Sch.	%	# of Students	%	# of Sch.	%	# of Students	%	# of Sch.	%	# of Students	%
Chinese	62	76.5	58,700	86.0	...	...	...	...	62	76.5	58,700	86.0
Portuguese	3	3.7	951	1.4	6	7.4	2,549	3.7	9	11.1	3,500	5.1
English	4	5.0	4,151	6.1	...	...	...	...	4	5.0	4,151	6.1
Luso-Chinese	...	...	...	...	6	7.4	1,925	2.8	6	7.4	1,925	2.8
Total	69	85.2	63,802	93.5	12	14.8	4,474	6.5	81	100.0	68,276	100.0

Source: A. Rosa (1991), revised

From Table 1 we can see that, according to the statistics of school year 1988/1989, all the Chinese-medium schools were private schools under the Portuguese administration of Macao, and Portuguese and Luso-Chinese schools were mostly official[4] with only a few being private. And the phenomenon that private schools far outnumber public schools in Macao and the coexistence of three languages as the medium of instruction has continued into the present. Even after the establishment of the Macao SAR, PRC, namely, in the post-colonial era, it has remained mostly unchanged, thus becoming part of the unique educational tradition of Macao.

If we pursue further the post-colonial interpretations, replacing "mono-" with "multi-", "monopolizing" with "sharing", and "gover-nance & central control" with "autonomy", and so on, should be an acceptable direction for educational development in he post-colonial era. Hundreds of years of historical evolution have shaped an educational tradition characterized by joint efforts in establishing

and running schools, autonomy of schools and multi-lingual teaching, which happens to fit seamlessly well into post-colonial trends of ideologies. In particular, when we study Taiwan and the mainland, where people in education have been swinging and choosing between "mono-" and "multi-", between "monopoly" and "sharing", and between "governing" and "autonomy", we can't help heaving a deep sigh: what a choice we are making!

Current State of Macao Education: Post-Colonial Reflection (3)
Here we try to present the current state of Macao education, using statistics in pre-school (infant), primary and secondary education.[5]

1. Basic Information about the Educational Development of Macao
In this section, we provide figures regarding the average number of students per class, teacher-student ratio, average weekly teaching hours per teacher within the non-tertiary education system, as well as gross enrollment rate, promotion rate, repetition rate, leaving school rate, consolidation rate, drop out rate and completion rate, etc. to describe the educational development of Macao.

"The Non-Tertiary Education System of Macao" (Law No. 9/2006) stipulates that infant/pre-school/kindergarten education consists of three years (K1, K2 and K3); primary education six years and secondary education six years, which consists of two stages: junior secondary (three years) and senior secondary (three years). (See Figure 1 below)

As mentioned above, owing to historical factors, schools in Macao are diversified and pluralistic. First, in terms of institutions running the schools, there are public (official, government) schools, private schools within the free education system and private schools outside the free education system. Second, in terms of teaching languages, there are Chinese-medium schools, English-medium schools, Chinese-English schools, Chinese-Portuguese schools and Portuguese schools. Third, in terms of educational levels/stages, some only provide kindergarten education, some only primary education, some only secondary educa-tion, while many others provide kindergarten and primary education, or primary and secondary education or comprehensive education from kindergarten through primary up to the completion of senior secondary education. There are still others that offer special education in addition to regular education.

According to the figures released by DSEJ on 26 November 2007, there are a total of 72 schools (excluding recurrent education) and 80,823 students in school year 2007/2008, including 10 public schools with total of 3,384 students, and 62 private schools with a total of 77,439 students. Of the 62 private schools, 52 schools with 65,445 students are within the free education system while the other ten private schools

with 11,994 students are outside the free education system. (See Table 2)

Figure 1: Macao Non-Tertiary Education System
(Composition by Types)

	Formal Education[2]			Continuing Education		
Age[1]	Education level		Grade	Recurrent Education	Vocational Training	

Source: DSEJ (Education and Youth Affairs Bureau, MSAR). (2008a).
(Website: http://www.dsej.gov.mo)

Table 2: Number of Schools and Students in Macao Schools (Public and Private) 2007/2008

School Type	Pre-School (Infant)	Primary	Secondary	Pre-School (Infant) & Primary	Primary & Secondary	Secondary & Primary & Pre-school	Special Education	Total	No. of Students
Public Schools	2	1	2	4			1	10	3,384
Private Schools									77,439
Within Free-Education System	1	2	2	16	5	22	4	52	65,445
Outside Free-Education System	3		1		2	4		10	11,994
Portuguese School	1					1			(494)
Total	6	3	5	20	7	26	5	72	80,823

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

Again, by analyzing the figures provided in Tables 1-6, we find that there were only very mild changes in Macao education before and after the establishment of the Macao SAR Government. Mark Bray (2004:264) in his *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative Perspectives on Continuity and Change* pointed out, "The various chapters in this book show that schools and universities in Hong Kong and Macao have had great continuity over the decades despite the expansion and other changes in the education systems", which still remains perfectly true even today. However, there are three trends of development that are especially worth our attention: 1) there has been a steady increase and then decline in the student population of Macao schools, rising from 91,763 in school year 1996/1997 to a record high of 99,990 in school year 2001/2002, and then gradually falling to 80,827 in school year 2007/2008, a record low in 12 years. 2) Correspondingly, there has been a steady increase and then decline in the number of school units, rising rapidly from 123 in school year 1996/1997 to 135 in school year 2003/2004 and then dropping to 123 again in school year 2007/2008, again a record low in 12 years. 3) In terms of teaching languages, we find that the number of Chinese-medium school units has dropped from a record high of 116 in 2003/2004 to 103 in 2007/2008; there were 8 Portuguese-medium school units in academic year 1996/1997,

increasing to 10 and then dropping to 5 and remaining 5 for ten consecutive years from 1997/1998 to 2006/2007 and another one being added in 2007/2008. Most noteworthy is the fact that the number of English-medium school units stayed at 8 for 6 consecutive years from 1996/1997 to 2001/2002, but increased to 10 in 2002/2003 and has remained at 13 or 14 since then.

Table 3: Number of Macao School Units (including day and night units) 1996/1997 to 2007/2008

	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
Number of Schools	85	90	91	113	113	90
Number of School Units	123	124	127	128	128	129
Day School Units	114	114	118	116	116	116
Evening School Units	9	10	9	11	11	13

	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Number of Schools	89	94	89	86	86	83
Number of School Units	130	135	129	127	125	123
Day School Units	117	122	118	116	114	111
Evening School Units	13	13	11	11	11	12

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

Table 4: Number of Macao School Units (by medium of instruction) 1996/1997 to 2007/2008

	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
Number of Schools Units	123	124	127	128	128	129
Chinese as medium of instruction	106	110	113	114	114	115
Portugese as medium of instruction	8	5	5	5	5	5
English as medium of instruction	9	9	9	9	9	9

Table 4: Number of Macao School Units (by medium of instruction) 1996/1997 to 2007/2008 (ctd)

	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Number of Schools Units	130	135	129	127	125	123
Chinese as medium of instruction	115	116	111	109	106	103
Portugese as medium of instruction	5	5	5	5	5	6
English as medium of instruction	10	14	13	13	14	14

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

Table 5: Number of Macao School Units (by school type: private and public) 1996/1997 to 2007/2008

	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
Schools Units	123	124	127	128	128	129
Public School Units						
Sino-Portugese School Units (Chinese as medium of instruction)	17	17	18	20	20	20
Sino-Portugese School Units (Portugese as medium of instruction)	5	3	2	3	3	3
Private School Units	111	104	107	105	105	106
Private School Units Within Free Education System						
Private School Units Outside Free Education System						

	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Schools Units	130	135	129	127	125	123
Public School Units		21	20	19	19	19
Sino-Portugese School Units (Chinese as medium of instruction)	18					
Sino-Portugese School Units (Portugese as medium of instruction)	3					
Private School Units	109	114	109	118	116	114
Private School Units Within Free Education System		93	90	89	87	85
Private School Units Outside Free Education System		21	19	19	19	19

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

Table 6: No. of Students in Macao Schools 1996/1997 to 2007/2008

	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
Public/Official Schools						
Sino-Portugese Schools (Using Chinese as Medium of Instruction)	4,159	4,460	5,078	6,098	6,201	6,175
Sino-Portugese Schools (Using Portugese as Medium of Instruction)	1,810	1,466	2,288	115	102	124
Private School						
Private Schools (Using Chinese or English as Medium of Instruction)	84,983	87,632	88,851	91,683	92,364	92,816
Private Schools (Using Portuguese as Medium of Instruction)	816	718	1,611	1,068	909	875
Private Schools within Free Education System						
Private Schools Outside Free Education System						
Total Number of Students	91,768	94,276	95,768	98,964	99,576	99,990

	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Public/Official Schools		5,397	5,039	4,739	4,437	3,384
Sino-Portugese Schools (Using Chinese as Medium of Instruction)	6,227					
Sino-Portugese Schools (Using Portugese as Medium of Instruction)	155					
Private School						
Private Schools (Using Chinese or English as Medium of Instruction)	92,003					
Private Schools (Using Portuguese as Medium of Instruction)	798					
Private Schools within Free Education System		75,694	76,827	74,378	71,202	65,445
Private Schools Outside Free Education System		17,164	13,169	13,137	12,537	11,994
Total Number of Students	99,183	98,255	95,485	92,254	88,176	80,823

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

*2. Education Development Indicators of Maca*o

Following are basic statistics indicating the development of school education in Macao, including the average class size, teacher-student ratio, average weekly teaching hours per teacher, and percentages of teachers having received or receiving professional training, as well as gross enrollment rate, promotion rate, repetition rate, leaving school

rate, consolidation rate, drop out rate and completion rate.

Table 7: Basic Statistics Indicating Development of School Education in Macao in Recent Years

Indicator	Stage/ Levels	Academic Year 1999/2000	2002/ 2003	2005/ 2006	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008
Average Class Size	Pre-School	37.9	33.2	29.7	27.0	25.9
	Primary	45.2	39.5	35.6	34.2	32.8
	Secondary	43.1	43.2	41.6	39.6	37.5
	Junior S	45.3	44.9	42.3	39.8	38.1
	Senior S	39.2	40.8	40.8	39.5	36.8
Teacher-Student Ratio	Pre-School	1 : 30.2	1 : 27.1	1 : 22.9	1 : 19.2	1 : 18.2
	Primary	1 : 30.8	1 : 26.5	1 : 22.6	1 : 20.9	1 : 19.0
	Secondary	1 : 23.2	1 : 23.8	1 : 21.2	1 : 20.3	1 : 19.2
Average Weekly Teaching Hours Per Teacher	Pre-School	27.6	28.1	28.5	27.4	26.5
	Primary	22.9	22.6	22.6	21.9	20.3
	Secondary	20.3	20.3	19.8	19.8	19.4
Percentage of Teachers Trained Professionally	Pre-School	96.3%	98.3%	98.2%	96.9%	96.8%
	Primary	87.5%	90.9%	90.2%	90.0%	86.2%
	Secondary	62.7%	66.1%	68.9%	71.1%	70.2%

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

Table 7, with all the figures provided, including the average class size at all non-tertiary school levels, teacher-student ratio, average weekly teaching hours per teacher, and percentages of teachers with teacher professional training, indicates that there has been gradual improvement in the educational environment of Macao schools, with obvious improvement in the number of students in class and teacher-student ratio. However, if we compare these figures with those released by the OECD in 2005/2006 (OECD, 2007) and other relevant data of some countries, we have the following findings:

First, in 2005/2006, the average class size is 29.7, 35.6, and 41.6 for a kindergarten, primary and secondary class respectively, but there is still a big gap between the Macao average class size and that of the OECD countries, where the average class size is 21.5 and 24.1 for a primary and junior secondary class respectively. Though the Government has vigorously increased educational investment and schools have cooperated in reducing class size in recent years, there is still much room for improvement.

Second, in 2005/2006 the teacher-student ratio in Macao is 22.9,

22.6, and 21.2 for kindergarten, primary and secondary education respectively. Though it is similar to, or even better than, that of East Asian or Asia-Pacific regions, where the teacher-student ratio is 25, 20 and 18 for kindergarten, primary and secondary education respectively, it is far behind the OECD countries, where the teacher-student ratio is 15.3, 16.7, and 13.4 respectively.

Third, in 2005/2006 the average teacher workload in Macao is 28.5, 22.6, and 19.8 teaching hours for kindergarten, primary and secondary education respectively, far than that of the OECD countries, where the average workload is 21.2, 18.6, and 17.9 teaching hours for kindergarten, primary and secondary education respectively, though the institutional working hours are 44.6, 44.4, and 45.6 respectively, from which we may also take reference.[6]

Fourth, in 2005/2006 the percentages of kindergarten and primary school teachers professionally trained are 98.2% and 90.2% respectively, comparable to Hong Kong's 92% and 91% and Brunei's 64% and 84% (UNESCO, 2007). Though no figures are available for comparison for secondary school teachers, the low percentage (68.9%) is rather low and perhaps we need to pay attention to the professional training of secondary school teachers.

Table 8: Student Indicators (Primary & Secondary) in Macao in Recent Years

Indicator	Stages/Levels	1999/2000	2002/2003	2006/2007
Gross Enrollment Rate	Pre-School	93.0%	93.0%	91.3%
	Primary	100.7%	104.7%	101.0%
	Secondary	78.9%	88.3%	94.1%
	Junior S	95.8%	109.2%	109.4%
	Senior S	57.7%	67.6%	80.9%
Net Enrollment Rate	Pre-School	85.3%	85.9%	86.0%
	Primary	83.8%	88.2%	87.4%
	Secondary	65.4%	72.0%	73.2%
	Junior S	59.8%	66.0%	68.8%
	Senior S	35.8%	41.5%	47.4%
Promotion Rate	Pre-School	95.4%	96.9%	95.6%
	Primary	90.2%	92.3%	91.4%
	Secondary	79.9%	81.6%	80.7%
	Junior S	77.0%	78.2%	76.1%
	Senior S	86.0%	87.1%	86.0%
Repetition Rate	Pre-School	2.0%	1.5%	0.8%
	Primary	7.3%	5.9%	5.6%
	Secondary	12.9%	12.5%	11.7%
	Junior S	15.6%	15.7%	15.6%
	Senior S	7.6%	7.4%	7.3%

Table 8: Student Indicators (Primary & Secondary) in Macao in Recent Years (ctd)

Indicator	Stages/Levels	1999/2000	2002/2003	2006/2007
Leaving School Rate	Pre-School	93.0%	93.0%	91.3%
	Primary	100.7%	104.7%	101.0%
	Secondary	78.9%	88.3%	94.1%
	Junior S	95.8%	109.2%	109.4%
	Senior S	57.7%	67.6%	80.9%
Consolidation Rate (Including Repeaters)	Pre-School	96.3%	97.2%	97.7%
	Primary	91.9%	93.3%	95.6%
	Secondary	62.0%	68.4%	71.3%
	Junior S	88.3%	89.6%	89.2%
	Senior S	69.5%	77.6%	81.5%
Consolidation Rate (Excluding Repeaters)	Pre-School	89.6%	92.7%	95.2%
	Primary	67.2%	71.3%	78.1%
	Secondary	30.6%	34.4%	39.5%
	Junior S	58.5%	58.6%	61.5%
	Senior S	55.1%	59.6%	67.4%
Completion Rate	Pre-School	92.0%	94.2%	93.6%
	Primary	78.5%	83.2%	84.0%
	Secondary	58.8%	65.0%	66.6%
	Junior S	68.5%	69.8%	68.8%
	Senior S	65.9%	73.7%	76.1%
Drop-out Rate	Compulsory Education	1.0%	0.7%	0.55%

Note: This table is prepared with reference to figures released by DSEJ, Macao SAR Government.

Table 8 shows statistics indicating enrollment rate, promotion rate, repetition rate, leaving school rate, consolidation rate, completion rate and drop out rate in academic years 1999/2000, 2002/2003, and 2006/2007.

In general, enrollment rate is divided into gross enrollment rate and net enrollment rate, the former resulting from the number of enrolled students divided by the corresponding school-age population and multiplied by 100, while the latter being the number school-age students divided by corresponding population and multiplied by 100. However it is necessary to point out that when calculating gross enrollment rate, as the numerator covers all the students at the same level including students of different age group, the result may exceed 100%. Table 8 shows that the net enrollment rate in secondary schools of Macao is about 70%, a little better than that of East Asian or Asia-Pacific regions, where it is about 60%, but still far behind that of the OECD countries, where it is as high as 90% (OECD, 2007). What is worrying is that the net enrollment rate in senior secondary schools in

Macao is as low as less than 50%.

Repeaters are those who have failed in completing the year's school work and have to repeat it while school leaving rate refers to students studying in one school during one school year but being not enrolled in the school in the following school year, excluding those who have graduated from the senior secondary school. Table 8 shows that repetition rate has remained between 11.7% and 12.9% while secondary school leaving rate between 5.9% and 7.5%, as compared with repetition rate of 4% in Hong Kong, 9% in Brunei, 2% in the Philippines, 1% in Viet Nam, 8% in France, and 5% in the Netherlands. The repetition rate in Macao secondary schools is comparatively higher, and we should pay attention to it.

Consolidation rate/survival rate refers to the number of students remaining in the last year of the stage/level as against the number of students starting in the first year. Table 8 shows that the consolidation rate of secondary school students in Macao is less than 40%, excluding repeaters. School drop-outs refers to students having left school without completing compulsory education, excluding those who continue to study outside Macao, have passed away or emigrated. Table 8 shows the drop out rate in recent years has dropped from 1.0% to 0.55%, which shows some improvement. Completion rate is calculated by the number of students completing the last year of study smoothly in a given year against the number of those of institutional graduation age. Figures show that the completion rate of Macao secondary education is between 58.8% and 66.6%, much lower than 82%, the average completion rate of OECD countries (OECD, 2007).

Post-colonial reflections alert us to the following two issues:

First, in recent years there has been a gradual drop in the number of Chinese-medium and Portuguese-medium school units while a steady increase in the number of English-medium school units has been noticed. In addition, an increasing number of schools have intensified English language teaching and learning, with innovative efforts and activities to enliven classroom teaching and to improve quality. This demonstrates that in the post-colonial era people see the importance of globalization and internationalization and thus pay great attention to the improvement of English proficiency and competitiveness.

Second, thanks to the robust economic growth of Macao in recent years, the Macao SAR Government, together with schools and educational organizations, have spared no effort to improve education environment, including average class size, teacher-student ratio, teacher workload and teacher professional training, and have made impressive progress in various aspects, though Macao is still lagging behind neighboring regions or the OECD countries in certain areas. All in all, Macao education has been moving ahead on its right track,

benefiting from the strengths of continuity through change and change through continuity. Furthermore, it demonstrates that even in the post-colonial era, there could be no complete cut-off with the past through radical revolutionary changes, and only under conditions of continuity and evolutionary changes will progress and growth happen.

Prospects of Macao Education: Post-Colonial Reflection (4)

Thomas (1983:270), writing before the Sino-British and Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration,[7] suggested that, "there is within both colonies the constant realization that the direction of life and schooling could be sharply diverted at any moment, should the People's Republic of China choose to take over the colonies." However, the six tables given above show that there were very mild changes before and after the establishment of the Macao SAR Government. Nevertheless, as far as educational development is concerned, there have indeed been some changes while continuity is maintained, as pointed out by M. Bray (2004). In order to locate and discuss the major changes in post-colonial era, this section of the paper will focus on "education going public", "education going systematic".

1. Macao Education Going Public: "Leapfrogging" the Advanced

Again, owing to a number of special historical factors, the Administration of Macao, specifically the Portuguese Government of Macau before the PRC resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Macao before 1999, had been very slow in committing itself to public education serving the Chinese community. Indeed, education going public and serving the Chinese population has been a matter of only the last couple of decades. In particular, since Macao's return to China, especially in the last couple of years, the free education policy pursued by the Macao SAR Government as reflected by the promotion of the "Public School Network" has enabled the free & compulsory education in Macao to catch up fast, leapfrogging even the advanced.

Then, why was the Portuguese Government of Macau so slow and so late in involving itself in education? First, this was because of the center-periphery set-piece as discussed at the beginning of this paper. Politically, the Portuguese Government of Macau was, after all, a colonial government and the Portuguese nationals and Macao-born Portuguese were naturally its major concern, whereas the Chinese were regarded as "foreign". The small-circle mentality gave it a mental centre-periphery divide: placing the Portuguese nationals and Macao-born Portuguese at the centre while reducing the Chinese to the periphery (Adamson & Li, 2004). And this centre-periphery divide was clearly seen in all the loci of school education and along the historical trajectory of its development. This situation continued until

1987, when the Joint Sino-Portuguese Declaration was signed. In 1988 the Portuguese Administration of Macau began to work on education reform and promulgated the Macao Education System via Law No. 11/91/M on 29 August 1991. And thanks to the education legislation that applies to both the Chinese and Portuguese communities, the gap caused by the centre-periphery divide began to narrow.

Second, economically, the take-off did not come until well after late 1970s. Huang Qichen (1999) described the economic development of Macao before 1975 as "slow", and that after 1975 as "rapid" or even "soaring". Huang gave six reasons for the rapid economic development of Macao: social stability brought about by improved Sino-Portuguese relations, opportunities created by the Mainland's reform and open policy, preferential treatment for export of manufacturing products, sufficient cheap labor, improved urban infrastructure and advantages of geographical position. Indeed, the four economic pillars – export & manufacturing, tourism & gaming, real estate & construction, and finance and insurance – gradually improved the financial situation and enabled the Government to invest more in education.

Indeed it is the socio-politico-economic stability and development over the past couple of decades that has helped the public education of Macao "leapfrog the advanced" from a backward state, which has been evidenced by at least two moves made by the Portuguese Government of Macau. First, from late 1970s, gradually it began to provide supervision and financial support to private schools; second, when the University of East Asia was established in Macao in 1981, the Government also gradually involved itself in financing and supervising the university. The two moves, with the former concerning primary and secondary schooling and the latter tertiary education, indicated that the Portuguese Government of Macau began to involve itself in education matters most closely related to the life of the general public (Shan & Cheng, 2006).

More specifically, in the first case above, the Portuguese Government of Macau adopted four measures. First, it provided financial support to private schools, with increased funding for operation and improvement of school facilities. Second, it issued scholarships to reduce burdens on parents and ensure equality of education opportunity. Third, it provided subsidies to teachers to improve their living conditions and to stabilize the teaching force. And fourth, it helped provide opportunities for teacher education and training to raise professional standards and enhance teaching quality. These measures evinced the Government's policy to increase investment in education and gradually implement public and free education (Shan & Cheng, 2006). For example, beginning from school year 1995/1996, 7-year free education was implemented for K3 (preparatory year for primary

schooling) and primary education. Free education was extended to include the 3-year junior secondary education in school year 1997/1998, thus realizing 10-year free education in Macao. Up to school year 2005/2006, free education subsidy was further extended to Year 1 and Year 2 of Infant Education (pre-school education), thus a 12-year free education was implemented. In school year 2006/2007, the SAR Government continued to increase the education investment; the complementary service fee (the miscellaneous fee) was included in the gratis scope. Till school year 2007/2008,[8] the Macao SAR Government extended free education to Senior Secondary education, thus extending free education from10 years to 15 years. At present, about 80% of private schools in Macao have been integrated into the "Public School Network", with 85% of the student population of Macao enjoying free education (DSEJ, 2008b).

The Macao SAR Government has been constantly increasing the subsidy amount for free education. In school year 2007/2008, the free education subsidy for each class of Pre-primary (Infant) Education and Primary Education is increased to MOP$400,000; MOP$600,000 for Junior Secondary Education; and MOP$700,000 for Senior Secondary Education. Apart from this, to reduce the class size, the SAR Government is to start calculating the subsidy amount in the form of "charter class" from K3, the preparatory year for Primary Education in school year 2000/2001, i.e., the class with 35 to 45 students could acquire charter class subsidy. To further create conditions for small class teaching, the SAR Government also adjusted the upper and lower limit of number of students in Year 1 of Pre-school/Infant Education to 35 and 25 respectively in school year 2007/2008; later it will be extended to the next grade year by year (DSEJ, 2008b).

To perfect the granting system of free education subsidy, to adequately ensure parents and students' autonomous right to choose schools, in particular, to guarantee that the children from middle and lower stratums of society can enjoy the opportunity of education, the SAR Government has been granting tuition subsidy to students who are studying in schools which are not in the free education school system. The subsidy scope and amount are broadened and increased with the development of free education: starting from the second semester of school year 1998/1999, tuition subsidy was implemented in Preparatory Year of Primary Education, Primary Education and Junior Secondary Education; in 2006/2007, it was extended to Senior Secondary Education; in 2007/2008 the subsidy amount has been adjusted to MOP$7,000 per school year for each student of Infant Education and Primary Education, the subsidy amount for each student of Secondary Education is MOP$9,000 per school year (DSEJ, 2008b).

And in the second case, by late 1970s, there had already been a

lot of discussions among the various circles of the Macao community about establishing a university to train personnel in the humanities and in science and technology for Macao. In 1978 three personages from Hong Kong submitted an application to the Portuguese Government of Macau, proposing to establish a university in Macao. The Government accepted the proposal in 1979 and leased a piece of land of 100,000 sq. meters on hilltop in Taipa. Therefore, in 1981, a private university named the University of East Asia was founded. However, this university, with "East Asia" as its main focus just as its name suggested, attracted few local students. This situation continued for some years and local students of Macao still accounted for well below half of the student body in 1987. It became obvious that such a university did not meet the needs of a regional university initially expected of it and its existence was criticized and questioned by various circles of the Macao community. In 1987, in response to the public opinion of the Macao community, the Portuguese Government of Macao reviewed the various agreements signed with the University of East Asia and began, through its representatives in the University, to oversee the policy making and operations of the University. After a series of meetings and negotiations, the University Council reached agreement with the Government to revise its Organizational Statute and allowed government representatives to sit on the University Council. Then the Government acquired the University of East Asia through the Macau Foundation, which had been established for the purpose of promoting cultural activities. And in 1989 the University was renamed the University of Macau (Shan & Cheng, 2006). While the privatization of higher education is a world trend with tertiary institutions going private one after another, the University in Macau, on the contrary, is going public through government acquisition. Isn't this a unique example of leapfrogging?

2. Systematization of Education: Catching Up Fast with the Advanced
As discussed above, the Portuguese Government of Macau took gradual steps to involve itself in infant, primary, secondary and tertiary education in Macao. In addition to public education, it also had on its agenda an item on the systematization of education.

For a very long time, there have been heated debates on whether or not Macao should have a uniform or unified education system to be observed by all schools. Opinions can be summarized in two propositions: one is pluralistic and the other monistic. Shan and Cheng (2006) discussed the advantages and disadvantages, the gains and losses of the two approaches in a separate paper, which will not be repeated here. However, we would like to emphasize once more that before the promulgation of the "Macao Education System", (Law No.

11/91/M) there had never been a system applicable to both Chinese and Portuguese communities. We agree with A. Pinto quoted by Rosa (1991:37). At a reception in honour of a group of inspectors of the Portuguese Government of Macau, A. Pinto pointed out a fact in his report on *Macao education: an exploration into the education system*, that "What we see before us in the latter part of the 1980s is neither a centralized nor a decentralized education system. It is in fact a pluralist system." We also agree to what is stated in the report entitled *Education in Macao: scenario, policies and measures* issued in February 1989 by the DSEJ of the Portuguese Government of Macao:

> The present educational scenario of Macao has resulted from a historical process, with the fundamental feature that the Government of Macau is hardly involved in the formation of educational policies. This special situation has been created by the special form of Portugal exercising power over Macao for a very long period of time. … There is no one single school system in Macao; instead, there are many different school systems. Different schools have different systems and curricula, each going its own way and resulting in different standards and teaching quality. (Cited in Lei and Zheng, 1991:96)

We also share the views expressed by Lei Qiang and Zheng Tianxiang (1991:96):

> As a matter of fact a school system genuinely characteristic of Macao is yet to be established. The school systems existing in Macao are no more than a mixed state, with none of them being really characteristic of Macao. We believe that we should have a fundamentally unified school system, and in the process of unifying school systems, we should discard the shortcomings while retaining the strengths. We should gradually develop a school system with Macao characteristics. And under this system, we should establish generally accepted criteria and standards, with which we can assess and evaluate the teaching quality of schools so as to boost the overall quality of education in Macao. …… As Macao is a small region with a limited number of schools, it is not difficult to develop a generally unified school system. And under this system, schools can have more autonomy in matters regarding the choice of textbooks, admission and promotion criteria, the collection of fees, etc. In fact most advanced countries of the world do have generally unified school systems. The non-commitment policy in education has many negative effects.

Our observations of the educational developments over the past 15 years have shown that the Government has generally followed the principle of "establishing a generally unified school system under which schools enjoy more autonomy in matters regarding the choice of textbooks, admission and promotion criteria, the collection of fees, etc." And with concerted effort, there has gradually developed "a school system with Macao characteristics" (Lei & Zheng, 1991).

Vong and Shan (2006) pointed out that with the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration in 1989, Macao ushered in the transitional period for its return to China. Viewed from the perspective of education, this was also a "period for the construction of education system in Macao". Previously, though there had been educational policies and legislation, these laws mainly applied to government schools or official "private" schools (schools for Portuguese children financed by the Government). Only when Law No. 11/91/M was promulgated did Macao have the first education system that applies to all Macao residents. In the years prior to the handover, it was by means of "universal compulsory education", "adult education" and "recurrent education" that the Government tried to ensure that all Macao residents had access to education and to gradually construct the education system in Macao.

For instance, the DSEJ was restructured in 1992 and "Regulations Governing Private Educational Institutions" was formulated in 1993, both of which defined the scope of governance that fell within the respective jurisdiction of the Government and private schools and their mutual relations. They also confirmed the joint commitment of the Government and private schools to public education in Macao. The "Regulations" formulated in 1993 also included Decree Law 63/93/M concerning the accounting statements of non-profit private educational institutions and Decree Law 72/93/M concerning parents/guardians and their association. Indeed, at a time when each private school was "going its own way", these decree-laws on education did provide some norms governing education as well as guidance on its accountability. This was also a big stride towards the systematization of education in Macao.

In 1995, the administrative authorities of Macao formulated (by Decree Law No. 29/95/M) the universal 7-year free/compulsory education scheme. In June the same year Decree Law No. 32/95/M was promulgated establishing the organizational framework of adult education in various forms such as recurrent education, continuing education and community education. In 1996, the Personnel Ordinance, Decree Law No.15/96/M, governing the teaching staff in service in private educational institutions, was promulgated. And in the same year Decree Law No. 33/96/M governing special education and Decree

Law No. 54/96/M governing technical and vocational education were approved. In 1997, in view of the communicable diseases that might affect school operations, Decree Law No.1/97/M was promulgated regulating suspensions and school attendance. In 1998, norms were set for arts education and vocational and technical education. And in 1999, relevant laws relating to compulsory education were published. By now education legislation in Macao become more comprehensive covering general educational aims and objective, various domains of education, and rules and regulations concerning such details as the everyday school operation and management, with further clarification of relevant competence and accountability.

After Macao's return to the motherland, the first Policy Address of the Macao SAR Government entitled *Consolidating the Foundation for Firm and Steady Development* attempted to carry on the work previously accomplished in education. It stated, "We shall continue to promote the education system that has been built up and improve it by training teachers and other staff, and reviewing and evaluating curriculums and syllabuses." (Policy Address, Macao SAR Government 2000, authors' translation) Subsequent policy addresses, in similar vein, give emphasis to making gradual improvement to the existing education system. For example, under the headings *Teacher Education* (MSAR, 2001), *IT (Information and Technology) Education, Small Class Teaching and Curriculum Standards & Pedagogy* (MSAR, 2002), and *Parent-Child Education & Home-School Cooperation* (MSAR, 2002, 2003), specific strategies were set to improve education. In addition, policy-makers point to the strengthening of patriotism, civic awareness, moral education and the humanities as the directions that we should strive for (MSAR, 2001, 2004). Viewed in the time sequencing of the policy addresses, the "consolidation period" for the Macao Education System came to a close by the end of 2003, and the "readjustment period" for the Macao Education System already began in 2004.

The most obvious signal for this changeover was given by the DSEJ in June 2003, when it brought out *Proposal for the Revision of the Macao Education System* and in March 2004, when it published the *Education System of the Macao SAR (Draft Law)* for consultation. After more than two years' consultations, discussions and revisions, *Fundamental Law of Non-tertiary Education System* was approved by the Legislative Assembly in December 2006, and promulgated as Law of 9/2006 by Executive Officer Mr. Edmond Ho. Sou & Guo (2006) pointed out that the new law to be promulgated "starts from the basic premise of reforming education and optimizing the quality of education in Macao".[9] They reiterated that, to reconstruct the education system of Macao, we must break away with the old tradition of restricting "formal education" to school education only and develop a macro-

education concept of incorporating school education with family education and social education. We should pay attention to lifelong education and include "continuing education" in the education system as an essential and integral part. They also stressed that the purpose of making readjustments to the education system was to make it better and better, as an important means of ensuring the implementation of quality education. There are two important adjustments made by the new law. First, the preparatory year for primary school has been changed to K3, thus positioning it more properly in accordance with educational principles for pre-school education. Second, the senior secondary school system, which has been a bone of contention for many years in Macao, has been established, consisting of three years, thus making complete an education system that combines local colors with international features. To implement the stipulations related to the academic structure of the "Fundamental Law of Non-tertiary Education System", through Dispatch No. 230/2007 approved by the Chief Executive, the implementation program for the learning periods of formal education is defined. Starting from school year 2007/2008, the preparatory year for primary education is cancelled, the schooling period for infant education/pre-school is changed from two years to three years; the new academic structure will be implemented from junior 1 of secondary education in school year 2008/2009, schooling period for junior secondary and senior secondary education are both 3 years (DSEJ, 2008b).

To promote the modernization of non-tertiary education system of Macao, to lay a foundation for quality education in terms of legislation, the SAR Government promulgated a series of decree-laws in recent years; the contents involve the implementation program for the learning period of formal education, Education Development Fund System, adjustment of "tuition subsidy amount" and "direct teacher subsidy", amendment of free education subsidy system, etc. In addition, the formulation, amendment and consultation of "Private School Teaching Staff System Framework", "Organization and Operation of the Education Committee" and "General Rules for Schools" were preferentially followed up (MSAR, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008). Of late, in the policy address on social and cultural matters that was released on 26 November 2008, it was clearly stated that the Government will go all out to establish the system for non-tertiary curriculum reform and teaching materials, complete the curriculum frameworks at all non-tertiary education levels/stages, formulate Basic Attainment Requirements for primary and junior secondary education, and assist schools for the improvement of classroom teaching and learning. It also states that the Macao SAR Government "will continue to make progress by following the correct direction of development", further

implementing all decrees and laws concerning education, actively engaging in consultation and revisions, and vigorously adjust finance mechanisms (DSEJ, 2008b; MSAR, 2009).

With all the policies that have been formulated and measures taken, we find Macao catching up fast and ready for the systematization of its education system.

Conclusion: Continuous Efforts to Optimize the Quality of Education
In this paper, we have presented and discussed the background and tradition of Macao education and the current state of development, and have summarized its unique features, using figures and statistics released by the government and other sources. Finally we would like to go over the main points briefly and reflect upon them from a post-colonial perspective, with the conclusion that continuous efforts should be made to optimize the quality of education in Macao.

Firstly, we reiterate that the term "post-colonial" both signifies a chronological sequence, and, more importantly, it impels critical reflection. While revealing, reviewing and criticizing the education of Macao of the post-colonial era, we have taken special note of the "centre and periphery" and "change and continuity" discourses, maintaining that they are most appropriate apparatus and ready instrument for analysis. The former reminds us not to be carried away by a desire to overturn the "Portuguese-centered with Chinese on the periphery" divide, but uphold the principle of social justice: "All Macao people are equal, regardless of race or nationality". The latter alerts us to the dialectical logic of "continuity through change and change through continuity", with the unchangeable pursuit of improving the quality of life of Macao people by optimizing the quality of Macao education.

Secondly, focusing on "change and continuity", we have placed Macao education in its historical context, delineating its background of development and studying its tradition. The paper pinpoints the major factors, such as the stagnant economy and the "Portuguese-centered with Chinese on the periphery" divide under the Portuguese administration of the colonial era, for the slow modernization of Macao education. However, the paper also points out that, the "continuity through change and change through continuity" matrix has enabled Macao to develop an educational tradition characterized by three features: joint efforts in establishing schools, autonomy in running schools and multi-lingual instruction.

Thirdly, the paper gives a description of the current state of Macao education by using a number of statistics, pointing out that, though impressive progress has been witnessed in educational investment in recent years, thanks to vigorous economic growth and cooperation between the government and schools, there is still much room for

improvement as it still lags behind the OECD countries in some areas. And the steady increase in the number of English-medium school units due to globalization and internationalization makes it imperative for us to pay careful attention to this trend.[10]

Fourthly, this paper points out that, since the 1980s, the government began to increase investment in education, with the move towards universal and free education at the primary and secondary levels. Since the establishment of the Macao SAR, the Government doubled the efforts and now over four fifths of Macao schools provide free education, and about 85% kindergarten children and primary and secondary school students enjoy 15-year free education, and all those studying in schools outside the free education system receive tuition subsidies in the same way as that of "education coupons". In recent years many schools have had their school premises expanded, rebuilt or renovated with financial support from the Government, thus giving us the confidence to conclude that Macao is catching up with or even "leapfrogging" the advanced in public education.

Finally, we maintain that the promulgation in 1991 of "Macao Education System" put an end to the long-standing system problem of Macao education. And 15 years later, the Macao SAR Government issued the "Outline of Non-Tertiary Education System" in 2006, thus laying a good foundation for the development of Macao education. Furthermore, the formulation of a series of education laws and decrees in recent years, such as "System of Education Development Fund", "System of Free Education Subsidies", "Private School Teaching Staff System", "Organization and Operation of the Education Commission", "Basic Attainment Requirements" and "General Regulations Governing Schools", as well as the amendments and consultations, also make us feel confident to conclude that Macao is catching up fast with neighboring regions.

To sum up, before the establishment of the Macao SAR, PRC, the Portuguese Government of Macau gave top priority to the interests of Portuguese residents in political, economic, social, cultural and educational matters while Chinese residents were ignored and had to take care of their education, resulting in private education becoming the mainstream education. Though private education still remains to be the mainstream education in Macao even today after the handover, in the post-colonial era, thanks to the relentless efforts of the Macao SAR Government and guided by the principle of "Macao people governing Macao", fundamental changes have taken place: Macao education is going public and systematized. So the direction for Macao education is to develop steadily and continuously by optimizing the quality of education.

Before we close the paper, we would like to emphasize that

genuine post-colonial reflections do not aim to break away with the past, nor to deconstruct the present, nor to negate the future; they aim to expose, examine and to criticize what is not true, what is not good and what is not beautiful, of the past, the present and future. Perhaps in a post-colonial era that is characterized by change, such reflections can help us carry out thoroughgoing reforms, tackle problems at the roots and minimize the negative effects of changing situations and become better prepared to attain quality education in Macao. And quality education is imbued with three unique features: 1) it takes care of both social ideals and individual growth, aiming to help Macao people develop morally, intellectually, physically, socially and aesthetically; 2) it strives for excellence in both means and ends, both concept and policy, both content and method, both process and product, and both quantity and quality, providing the best and continuously enriched education; and 3) it is effective, efficient and accountable, upholding equality and justice, combining tradition with innovation, international vision with local needs, science & technology with the humanities, and sustainable as pursued by both the government and residents.

And quality education depends for success on the persevering and concerted efforts of all concerned – the government, the various groups of the community, and all the schools.

References
Adamson, B., & Lee, Siu Pang. (2004). Primary and secondary schooling. In Mark Bray, & Ramsey Koo (Eds.), *Education and society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative perspectives on continuity and change* (2nd ed.) (pp. 35-60). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, the University of Hong Kong.

Bray, Mark. (2004). Continuity and change in education. In Mark Bray, & Ramsey Koo (Eds.), *Education and society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative perspectives on continuity and change* (2nd ed.) (pp. 251-269). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, the University of Hong Kong.

Bray, Mark., & Koo, Ramsey. (2004). Introduction. In Mark Bray, & Ramsey Koo (Eds.), *Education and society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative perspectives on continuity and change* (2nd ed.) (pp. 3-11). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, the University of Hong Kong.

Chan, Bin Cheung. (2006). *My observation of the gaming industry in Macau*. Public lecture presented in the seminar of "Gaming industry and social responsibility" co-organized by Macau Association of Research of Gaming industry and Society of Macau Societal Development, UNESCO Center, Macau, SAR, July 22, 2006. [in Chinese]

Choi, Chi Cheung. (1991). Settlement of Chinese families in Macau. In R.D. Cremer, (Ed.), *Macau: City of commerce and culture* (2nd ed.)(pp.61-80). Hong Kong: API Press.

Cremer, R.D. (1991). *Macau: City of commerce and culture* (2nd ed.). Hong Kong: API Press.

Dirlik, Arif. (1994).The postcolonial aura: Third world criticism in the age of glo-

bal capitalism. *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (Winter): 328-56.

DSEJ (Education and Youth Affairs Bureau, MSAR). (2008a). *General survey of education in figures: 07/08 education in figures, 06/07 gist of education*. Macau: DSEJ.

DSEJ (Education and Youth Affairs Bureau, MSAR). (2008b). *Annual report of Education and Youth Affairs Bureau*. Macau: DSEJ.

Huang, Juei Chi. (Eds.), *New "Post-ology": Post-modern/Post-Structual/Post-Colonial*. Taipei County: Left Bank Culture. [in Chinese]

Huang, Qichen. (1999). *A history of Macao*. Guangzhou: Guangdong Education Press. [in Chinese]

Jia, Fu Ming. (1983). *Philosophy of education*. Taipei: San Min. [in Chinese]

Law, Sin Peng. (2007). *The history of Macao education*. Macao: Lau Sin Peng. [in Chinese]

Lei, Qiang., & Zheng, Tianxiang. (1991). Education in Macao in the transitional period and prospects. In Hangqiang Huang (Ed.). *Conference proceedings on edu-cation reform* (pp. 96-99). Macao: Centre of Macau Studies, University of East Asia. [in Chinese]

Marques, A.H. de Oliveira. (1972). *History of Portugal, Vol.II: From empire to corporate state*. New York: Columbia University Press.

MSAR. (2000). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2000*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2000/Default.asp

MSAR. (2001). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2001*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2001/Default.asp

MSAR. (2002). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2002*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2002/Default.asp

MSAR. (2003). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2003*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2003/Default.asp

MSAR. (2004). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2004*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2004/Default.asp

MSAR. (2005). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2005*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2005/Default.asp

MSAR. (2006). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2006*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2006/Default.asp

MSAR. (2007). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2007*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2005/Default.asp

MSAR. (2008). *Policy address of MSAR, PRC 2008*. Macau: MSAR. Retrieved December 10, 2008 from http://www.imprensa.macau.gov.mo/edicoes/en/raem/lag2008/Default.asp

OECD. (2007). *Education at a glance*. Retrieved December 20, 2008 from www.oecd.org/document/30/0,3343,en_2649_39263238_39251550_1_1_1_1,00.html#toc

Pinto, A. (1987). *A Educação em Macau:Uma abordagagem Sistémica da realidade*

educative. Macau: DAEC.

Research Centre for Sustainable Development Strategies, MSAR. (2006). *Report on the survey of quality of life of Macao residents*. Macao: Author. [in Chinese]

Rosa, A. (1991). *A Educação em Macau no periodo em Transição: Situação e Perspectivas*. In Hangqiang Huang (Ed.), *Conference proceedings on education reform* (pp. 96-99). Macao: Centre of Macau Studies, University of East Asia.

Shan, Wen Jing. (2009, in press). Education development in Macau. In Hao Yufan, Wu Chi-liang (Eds.), *The analytic report of economic and social development*. (Macau Blue Book 2008). Beijing: China Social Science Publisher. [in Chinese]

Shan, Wen Jing., & Cheng, Cho Kee. (2006). *A historical analysis of the social background of the non-tertiary education in Macau*. Paper presented in the "Conference of social change and curriculum reform" organized by National Taiwan Normal University Department of Education, Taiwan Association of Sociology of Education, and China Education Society, November 17-18, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan. [in Chinese]

Shipp, S. (1997). *Macau, China: A political history of the Portuguese colony's transition to Chinese rule*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.

Statistics and Census Bureau, MSAR. (2008). *Principal statistical indicators of Macao for the 3rd quarter 2008*. Retrieved December 20, 2008 from htt:p://www.dsec.gov.mo/default.aspx?lang=en-US

Su, Shu Fai. (2008). *Challenge, opportunity and operation of gaming industry*. Public lecture presented in the seminar in memory of the 10th anniversary of the Alumni Association of University of Macau, organized by the Alumni Association of University of Macau, Macau, SAR, December, 13, 2008. [in Chinese]

Thomas, R. Murray. (1983). The two colonies: A prologue. In R. Murray Thomas & T. Neville Postlethwaite (Eds.), *Schooling in East Asia: Forces of change* (pp.265-271). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

UNESCO. (2008). *World education trends in perspective: Analysis of the world education indicators 2005 edition*. Retrieved December 15, 2008 from http://www.uis.unesco.org/ev.php?ID=6192_201&ID2=DO_TOPIC

Vong, Sou Kuan., & Shan, Wen Jing. (2006). *An analysis of the policy and regulations for non-tertiary education in Macau*. Paper presented in the "Conference of social change and curriculum reform" organized by National Taiwan Normal University Department of Education, Taiwan Association of Sociology of Education, and China Education Society, November 17-18, 2006, Taipei, Taiwan. [in Chinese]

Endnotes

[1] The Macao SAR divides education into two sectors: tertiary education and non-tertiary education, with the latter being further divided into formal education and continuing education. Formal education consists of pre-school/kindergarten education, primary education and secondary education (including junior secondary and senior secondary education and vocational education). In addition, special education is provided at secondary, primary and kindergarten levels, which is further divided into inclusive education and general special education. Continuing education refers to the various programs and training courses outside the regular education system, including the certificate recurrent education at the primary and secondary levels for over-aged students, non-

certificate community education and other forms of education such as home schooling and vocational training (For details, see Figure 1.) To focus on the main issue, this paper only touches on formal education and excludes continuing education while kindergarten education is discussed together with primary and secondary education in Macao and tertiary education is slightly touched upon only when necessary.

[2] By the end of 2006 Macao had overtaken Las Vegas in revenues as the world's No. 1 gambling city, with an average annual increase of 17% in GDP and was elected as "a city with the greatest economic potential". In particular, it is worth rethinking that the efforts to copy the "Las Vegas model" and make Macao a centre of gaming, leisure and convention & exhibition have not been successful after six years of practice, and the Macao style "hard gaming" depending mainly on gambling tables in its colonial days has not given way to the Las Vegas style "soft gaming" depending on revenues of slot machines, revealing that economic growth boosted by blind liberalization and opening up without appropriate consideration to history and tradition could not withstand even the first wave of the financial tsunami. The government should join hands with the operators of the gaming industry and make quiet and continuous efforts to bring the urban infrastructure up to date, which will help other industries diversify and develop. Otherwise people can't help feeling worried about the future (Chan, 2006; Sou, 2008).

[3] The "Sanwen-Siyu multi-lingual" school tradition of Macao that we are discussing here is different from the "Liangwen-Sanyu multi-lingual" instruction of Hong Kong, which generally refers to the use of Chinese (both Cantonese and Putonghua) or English as the medium of instruction and both languages are in wide use in Hong Kong schools. It is not the case in Macao, where the use of Portuguese is restricted to one private Portuguese school that has close connections with the Ministry of Education of Portugal. The few official Luso-Chinese schools only offer, symbolically, one or two Portuguese lessons per week. Nevertheless, the multi-lingual Chinese (Cantonese & Putonghua), English and Portuguese scenario is a unique feature of Macao schools in the use of teaching languages.

[4] After the school year 1997/1998, all the official schools were renamed public schools.

[5] This paper uses statistics released by the Education & Youth Affairs Bureau of the Macao SAR (DSEJ) at its website from the school year 1996/1997 to school year 2007/2008.

[6] These figures are taken from OECD release 2007. The teacher's weekly workload is calculated by the net yearly teaching hours divided by the number of teaching weeks and the institutional weekly working hours result from the yearly working hours divided by the number of teaching weeks in the year.

[7] The Sino-British Joint Declaration and the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration were signed in 1984 and 1987 respectively.

[8] These subsidies are provided to schools to cover costs for air-conditioning, lab facilities, computers/multimedia equipment, special classrooms, supplementary materials, additional teaching activities, etc. Furthermore, in school year 2009/2010, a brand new package of books and stationery subsidies (MOP$ 1,500) will be provided to all Macao resident students.

[9] Sou C.F. is Director of the DSEJ, MSAR Government and Guo X.M. is consultant and senior officer. And, the law was promulgated by the Legislative Assembly on 13 December 2006.

[10] As mentioned previously in our paper, we have to pay attention to this trend and see to it that it will not lead to a sort of "English-centered, with the other languages on the periphery". In fact the marginalization of the Portuguese language in Macao has also been a cause for concern.

Comparative Education Research in the Asian Region: Implications for the Field as a Whole

Mark BRAY
International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO

To mark the 20th anniversary of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, this article, written by Mark Bray when he was Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, is reprinted from the first issue of the Comparative Education Bulletin, *published in 1998.*

Sherman Swing (1997) observes that the origins of the field of comparative education were dominated by European scholars, who were subsequently joined by North Americans. For these two groups of people, Sherman Swing points out, Europe and North America provided a unified geographical frame of reference, with just enough diversity in individual countries to make comparative studies possible. However, she notes, during the past 30 years a generation of comparativists has rejected Eurocentrism and focused instead on less developed countries, particularly in regions formerly colonised by Europeans.

The present paper complements Sherman Swing's analysis by focusing on one of these regions. Examining the field of comparative education in Asia, the paper charts the growth and increasing vigour which have led to a shift in the centre of gravity of comparative studies. In the process, the paper echoes and elaborates on the observations not only of Sherman Swing but also of Masemann (1997). Masemann's discussion of recent trends in the field observes that "there was a marked growth of activity in comparative education in several countries in Asia". Particular note is made of the Comparative Education Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong, which was established in 1994, and of the Comparative Education Society of Asia which held its first conference in 1996. The present author played an instrumental role in the formation and development of both these organisations, and this paper elaborates on some of the remarks made by Masemann.

Previous Commentaries on Comparative Education in Asia

Several scholars have written thoughtful accounts of the shape and scale of comparative education research in Asia. These accounts demand recognition here, not only for their many insightful observations but also because they act as benchmarks for charting further developments. Particularly valuable for their regional focus are the contributions by Kobayashi (1990) and by Shu & Zhou (1990).

Kobayashi's work was part of a chapter in a global survey of the field edited by Halls (1990). The chapter was entitled "Asia and the Pacific", in which the first part, by Kobayashi, focused on China, India,

Japan and [South] Korea and the second part, by Bums (1990), focused on Australia and New Zealand. An initial comment, therefore, is that while these two contributions made many worthwhile observations, they, focused only on six countries rather than on the whole of the Asia-Pacific region.

Kobayashi began (p.200) by noting that in some senses the roots of comparative education in Asia are deep. In this respect, comparative education in Asia should not necessarily be seen as a younger field than that in Europe and North America. In ancient East Asia, for example, the education system of the Chinese empire was viewed as a model by neighbouring nations, including Japan. As early as 607 AD, Prince Shotoku of the Japanese court sent a diplomatic and academic mission to China, and this resulted in the establishment of Japan's first national system of education which was modelled on that of the Chinese. However, Kobayashi continued (p.201), only in the late 19th and early 20th centuries did comparative education gain more direct impetus as national governments sought to construct modem systems of education. Japanese authorities looked particularly to Western countries, but also set a model for others. Kobayashi observed (p.201) that:

> In Thailand, the real modernization efforts began in the reign of King Chulalongkorn, who sent his brother to Europe in 1889 and also a group of officials to Japan during the 1890s and the 1900s, to study educational systems there. It is interesting to note that behind this apparent shift of interest from Europe to Japan lay a comparative judgment of the Thais on which systems would be more suited to their own needs.

More recent still, Kobayashi observed, has been the formation of scholarly comparative education societies in the four countries that he reviewed. These were:

- The Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES), which was established in 1964;
- The Korea Comparative Education Society (KCES), which was established in 1968;
- The China Comparative Education Society (CCES), which was established in 1979; and
- The Comparative Education Society of India (CESI), which was established in 1979.

The JCES and the KCES were among the five societies which contributed to the formation of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) in 1970. The JCES hosted the IVth World

Congress of Comparative Education Societies in 1980, partly in collaboration with the KCES which organised an official pre-Congress meeting.

Turning from the four countries to focus especially on Japan, Kobayashi documented the universities and periodicals which have placed particular emphasis on comparative education. Kobayashi reported on his surveys on the nature of the field up to the 1980s, and observed that much work came under the category of study of foreign education systems rather than truly comparative studies. The dominant focus was on the industrialised countries of Europe and North America, though some emphasis was also placed on Asia; and methodological analyses were relatively rare. Yamada (1995) has provided an update on this matter, indicating that the earlier patterns are still dominant.

The article by Shu & Zhou (1990) contained some observations which paralleled those in the work by Kobayashi, but also additional insights. The authors began by quoting Kelly's remarks (1987, p.477) about the 1980s being "a time of pessimism in comparative education", with "a growing disillusionment with schools as a vehicle for change", and contrasted that with the note of optimism struck by top education policy-makers of Asian countries who confidently underscored the importance of education as "a vital force of development" (UNESCO 1985, p.5).

Shu & Zhou then highlighted the social and cultural diversity of the region which, they suggested (p.68), constituted a great advantage for comparative studies. However, the authors suggested that:

> Although many Asian nations have in recent years attached increasing importance to educational research as the cutting edge of educational development, such research has lagged behind educational changes. As of 1989, only a few Asian countries have a national society of comparative education and have joined the World Council of Comparative Education Societies. In international conferences of comparative education, Asian scholars continue to be under-represented.

Shu & Zhou substantiated these remarks with analysis particularly of the attendance at, and papers presented in, the World Congress of Comparative Education Societies held in Montreal in 1989. However, they also stressed that comparative education research is not only the domain of academics. In that vein, they highlighted the fact that Asia was the first continent to be endowed with a UNESCO regional office (in Bangkok), and also the first to develop a regional plan and model for educational development (known as the 1960 Karachi Plan). They added that Asia was the first region to benefit from a UNESCO project that was subsequently initiated in other regions, namely the Asian Pro-

gramme of Educational Innovation for Development APEID).

Developments in the 1990s

Against this backdrop, it is useful to chart some developments in Asian comparative education during the 1990s. UNESCO's regional office in Bangkok has found it difficult to retain the vigour with which it was characterised in the early years, though the mid-1990s did bring some resurgence of activity. However, important developments have been visible in the academic world. Moreover, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which was not mentioned by either Kobayashi or Shu & Zhou, has become increasingly active in the education sector. The ADB produced an important sector policy paper in 1988, which was updated in 1991 (Asian Development Bank 1991) and which now being completely revised. The ADB has also produced many other studies of education both in individual countries and in groups of countries (e.g., Asian Development Bank 1997; Brooks & Myo Thant 1996).

Concerning developments in the academic world, it is relevant to elaborate on the first of the two organisational initiatives mentioned at the beginning of this paper, i.e., the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK) which was established in 1990, and the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) which was established at the University of Hong Kong in 1994. CERC built on existing strengths within the university and within Hong Kong society, which is commonly characterised as a meeting ground of east and west, and gave comparative education a specific organisational structure in the institution. Within a short time CERC had established a substantial reputation both locally and internationally (Bray 1996, 1998). Perhaps not surprisingly, the bulk of CERC members' work focused on East Asia; but substantial work was also conducted on other parts of the world, on global issues, and on methodology in comparative education. CERC also established an active computer bulletin board called ComparEd, which by June 1997 had over 400 subscribers in Asia, Europe, North America and Australasia.

The Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA) grew from various discussions, including by a group of colleagues at the VIIIth World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, held in Prague in 1992. Further planning meetings were held in Fukuoka, Japan in 1994, and during the CERC inaugural symposium in Hong Kong in 1995. CESA has over 600 members, held its first conference in Tokyo in December 1996, and seems set for further growth and development. The CESA Board of Directors decided that conferences would be held biennially rather than annually, and that the next conference would be held in Beijing in October 1998.

The formation of CESA is particularly significant as a regional

body. Strong national and quasi-national societies already exist in such countries as China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan, but no such societies exist in such countries as Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam. Moreover, in India, the organisational infrastructure for comparative education has deteriorated. During the 1980s the Comparative Education Society of India failed to maintain its initial promise, and by the 1990s it was dormant. CESA therefore acts as a mechanism through which scholars and practitioners in countries which otherwise would have no national infrastructure can meet in a regional setting and can also benefit from the vigour of leaders in countries which do have active societies.

Several other factors in the 1990s have also made major contributions to the field of comparative education. First is the further opening to the outside world of the People's Republic of China. On the one hand this has meant that outsiders have been able to obtain from primary sources information of a type previously denied; and on the other hand, perhaps even more significantly, large numbers of Chinese scholars have moved out and back, gaining extensive knowledge of other countries and systems of education. Particularly impressive is the growth of expertise in English language in many Chinese universities, which equips these scholars for travel and interaction with much broader international frameworks than was previously the case.

Paralleling these changes have been shifts in Indochina, i.e., Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. These countries were previously in the Soviet sphere of influence, and were generally closed to comparativists and other scholars in the rest of the world. The fact that they have opened their doors, and that many people in these countries have learned English, has greatly increased the interflow with the English-speaking international community. Also of great significance, and related, has been the collapse of the Soviet Union. For comparativists this has had several effects which to some extent parallel those in China and Indochina. Again, many people in the former Soviet countries are learning English, which both gives them access to the English-speaking world and gives the English-speaking world access to them. Second, the fact that the former Soviet republics are now sovereign states has brought them into much sharper focus. Thus delegates from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, for example, are much more likely to be found in the meetings of UNESCO, the ADB and other international organisations. The countries also now feature much more prominently in journals and international handbooks.

To illustrate the implications of these changes, it is worth calling attention to a book by Tilak (1994). The book was entitled *Education for Development in Asia*, but did not even mention the parts of Asia which had been in the Soviet Union. Other parts of the region were men-

tioned but neglected. The author excused the paucity of commentary on North Korea, Macau, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia and Maldives, on the grounds that data on these places were not available (p.26). This statement would have seemed questionable even the early 1990s when presumably the book was written; but it would be quite untenable in the later 1990s, since detailed data on education in all these places, with the possible exception of North Korea, have become readily available in the international arena.

Implications for the Field as a Whole
The patterns and developments charted above are arguably of considerable significance not only for Asia itself but also for the whole field of comparative education. Four main areas are identified here, namely the volume of comparative research, the languages of reporting, geographic foci of comparative studies, and the topics studied.

The Volume of Comparative Research
In so far as the home of comparative education research is primarily in universities, it is necessary to begin with that sector. As a region of great diversity, Asia naturally has divergent models of higher education. South Korea has very high tertiary enrolment rates, while China has much lower enrolment rates. Universities in the Philippines in general emphasize teaching more than research, but universities in Hong Kong have in the 1990s placed very strong emphasis on research. In general, higher education in Asia has expanded significantly during the last decade, and will continue to expand. In many parts of the region, moreover, increasing emphasis is being placed on research output as a criterion for evaluation of institutions and individuals. This means an increase in the volume of research of all types, including comparative education.

Moreover, several of the comparative education societies in Asia are much larger than their counterparts in Europe and North America. For instance, the Japan Comparative Education Society (ICES) and the Chinese Comparative Education Society-Taipei (CCES-T) each have over 600 members, and the Korea Comparative Education Society (KCES) has over 300 members. In comparison, the British Comparative & International Education Society (BCIES) and the Comparative & International Education Society of Canada (CIESC) each have fewer than 200 members. The scale of the CCES-T is particularly impressive, and on a per capita basis (for an island with just 20 million people), is probably the largest in the world.

Several international organisations are also major producers of comparative education research. This includes the UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Education in Asia & the Pacific, which during the

1980s and early 1990s had declined in visibility but which is making renewed efforts to play an active role. It also includes the Asian Development Bank, which has emerged as a major figure in the education sector. Thus considerable work is being conducted outside universities as well as within them.

The Languages of Reporting
The field of comparative education is, but its nature, strongly aware of linguistic divides.' Like other domains of enquiry, the principal vehicle for international reporting of comparative education is English. The English language dominates the professional work of the UNESCO regional office, and English is also the official working language of the Asian Development Bank.

Within the Soviet sphere of influence, the principal medium for reporting was of course Russian. The collapse of the Soviet Union has led to a reduction of emphasis on Russian, and has also led to an increase in literature in English on such countries as Kazakhstan, Mongolia and Uzbekistan. At the same time, the growth of comparative education research in Chinese-speaking communities has brought a rise in Chinese as a vehicle for reporting of comparative education. This is has already been very evident in Hong Kong and in Taiwan, and is likely to become increasingly evident in the People's Republic of China. Increasingly important journals include the *Comparative Education Review* published in Chinese by Beijing Normal University [and not to be confused with the English-language journal of the same name published in Chicago], and the journal *Foreign Studies of Education* published by East China Normal University in Shanghai. Also, several textbooks of comparative education have been written in Chinese during the 1990s (e.g., Su et al. 1990; Zhao & Gu 1994).

Geographic Foci of Comparative Studies
Sherman Swing, as noted at the beginning of this paper, has commented on changing patterns within the field of comparative education in the types of societies investigated. In so far as Asian comparativists are focusing on Asian societies, they contribute to a balancing in the centre of gravity, which was previously dominated by Europe and North America. The Asian societies are diverse in cultures (Buddhist, Christian, Islamic, Confucian), in economic wealth (Japan may be contrasted with Bangladesh), in size (China may be contrasted with Maldives), and in political ideology (North Korea may be contrasted with Singapore). This presents a rich tapestry of variables for comparative study, and can provide examples and insights to enhance overall conceptual understanding in the field.

At the same time, in so far as Asian comparativists are also focus-

ing on Europe and North America, they bring to analysis of those countries a very different set of lenses from those used by North Americans and Europeans themselves. Japanese scholars, for example, come from a highly centralised education system which is largely mono cultural and which places strong emphasis on formal approaches to learning. The types of questions that Japanese scholars ask about education systems are rather different from those of scholars which take decentralisation, pluralism and discovery learning as a set of norms.

The Topics Studied
Given the range of cultures and societies in Asia, it is natural that the topics studied by Asian comparativists should also vary. Particular contributions, however, include understanding of the nature of learning in Confucian societies, and of the role of education in economic growth (particularly in the so-called "East Asian Miracle" states). For those concerned with cross-regional comparisons, Asia can provide examples of the relationship between colonialism and education, for comparison with Africa, Latin America and the South Pacific. It can also provide examples of relationships between education and national development. A further, perhaps under-researched area, would examine the links between Islam and education in Asian countries (such as Brunei Darussalam and Pakistan), African countries (such as Egypt and Senegal), and Middle-Eastern countries (such as Iran and Yemen).

Conclusions
The picture of comparative education in Asia has changed dramatically during the last decade, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the opening up of such countries as China and Vietnam. The decade has also witnessed important institutional developments, including the emergence of the Asian Development Bank as a major actor in the field, the establishment of the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong, and the formation of Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong and the Comparative Education Society of Asia.

One should not expect all the advances to be firm. In this respect, lessons must be learned from the fact that the Comparative Education Society of India was unable to sustain the early momentum displayed after its formation in 1979. However, the number of new initiatives is so great and so vigorous that they are certain collectively to have a lasting impact on the field. To those of us living and working in this part of the world, it is a period of great excitement; and we invite colleagues from other parts of the world not only to observe but also to collaborate in extending the frontiers in our evolving field.

References:

Asian Development Bank, The (1991). *Education and Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

Asian Development Bank, The (1997). *Educational Research in Asia*. Manila: Asian Development Bank and Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Bray, Mark (1996). *Comparative Education Research in Hong Kong: Development and Potential*, paper presented at the IXth World Congress of Comparative Education, University of Sydney, 1-6 July.

Bray, Mark (1998). *Comparative Education Research Centre: Fourth Annual Report*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.

Brooks, Douglas & Myo Thant (1996). *Health and Education Issues in Asian Transition Economies*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

Burns, Robin (1990). 'Australia and New Zealand', in Halls, W.D. (ed.), *Comparative Education: Contemporary Issues and Trends*. London: Jessica Kingsley / Paris: UNESCO.

Chen Shu-Ching (1992). *Comparative Education Studies in the People's Republic of China*, Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Chen Shu-Ching (1994). 'Research Trends in Mainland Chinese Comparative Education', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 233-252.

Halls, W.D. (ed.) (1990). *Comparative Education: Contemporary Issues and Trends*. London: Jessica Kingsley / Paris: UNESCO.

Jing Shi-bo & Zhou Nanzhao (1985). 'Comparative Education in China', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 29, No.2, pp. 240-250.

Kelly, Gail P. (1987). 'Comparative Education and the Problem of Change: An Agenda for the 1980s', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 31. No. 4, pp. 477-489.

Kobayashi. Tetsuya (1990). 'China, India, Japan and Korea', in Halls, W.D. (ed.), *Comparative Education: Contemporary Issues and Trends*. London: Jessica Kingsley / Paris: UNESCO.

Lee, Byung-jin (1996). *State of Comparative Education in Korea*, paper presented at the IXth World Congress of Comparative Education, Sydney, Australia.

Masemann, Vandra (1997). *Recent Directions in Comparative Education*, paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative & International Education Society, Mexico City.

Sherman Swing, Elizabeth (1997). *From Eurocentrism to Post-colonialism: A Bibliographic Perspective*, paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative & International Education Society, Mexico City.

Shu Hangli & Zhou Nanzhao (1990). 'Comparative Education in Asia and its Prospects', *Prospects*, Vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 65-78.

ShukJa, Sureshchandra (1983). 'Comparative Education: An Indian Perspective', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 27, No.3, pp. 246-258.

Singh, R.P. (1990). 'Comparative Education: A Neglected Discipline in India', *Prospects*, Vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 79-84.

Su Zheng, Ying Kechao & Li Chunsheng (1990). *Comparative Teacher Education*. Beijing: Normal University Press. [in Chinese]

Tilak, Jandhyala B.G. (1994). *Education for Development in Asia*. New Delhi: Sage.

UNESCO, Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific (1985). *Final Report of the Fifth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Respon-*

sible for Economic Planning in Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok: UNESCO.

Yamada, Tatsuo (1995). *Trends of Comparative Studies in Japan,* paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative & International Education Society, Boston, USA.

Zhao Zhongjian & Go Jianming (eds.) (1994). *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*. Beijing: People's Education Press. [in Chinese]

Educational Innovations for Development in the Asia-Pacific Region

Rupert MACLEAN
UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre

This paper considers the purposes of UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) in the context of some widespread dissatisfaction with the quality and effectiveness of what currently occurs in education systems in the Asia-Pacific region, where education and schooling are seen as being essential contributors to economic development and key sources of influence in helping overcome development related problems.

Perhaps more than ever before, in the Asia-Pacific region, education and schooling are seen as being essential contributors to economic development and key sources of influence in helping overcome development related problems. However, while there is a strong belief amongst countries about the value of education, there is, at the same time, some widespread dissatisfaction with the quality and effectiveness of what currently occurs in education systems. Thus, countries continue to seek assistance in finding creative solutions to prevailing education problems, partly through learning from each other through the sharing of experience.

In keeping with the various developments related changes that have occurred (and still occur) within the Asia-Pacific region, countries continue to place great emphasis on the importance of *educational innovation for development*. As a result, the purposes of UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) remain just as fresh, important and relevant today as they were when the programme was founded in 1993, in response to the expressed wishes of countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

APEID aims to help Member States strengthen their capabilities and self-reliance, at the national, subnational and grassroots levels, for the creation and use of educational innovations to solve educational problems for the realization of national development goals. The pro-

grammes developed to achieve this purpose are based upon the sharing of experience between countries to help achieve educational innovation for the economic, social and cultural development of countries in the region.

In order to achieve this purpose, APEID has four key objectives:

1. To promote an awareness of the need for innovation and the possibilities for change;
2. To stimulate an understanding of the process and practices of innovation, and to identify and stimulate innovative activities and co-operative action amongst Member States, with a view to encouraging the systematic experimentation and adoption of educational innovations in response to the problems associated with development;
3. To assist the Member States in strengthening on-going national programmes which are developing innovative indigenous techniques for dealing with one or more aspects of development-orientated education in terms of personnel, techniques and management capacity; and,
4. To encourage the inter-country transfer of experience and technical co-operation, particularly through exchange activities, advisory services and dissemination of information.

Many of ACEID's activities are developed and implemented through utilizing a network of 199 cooperating Associated Centres (ACs) located in 29 member countries throughout the large and diverse Asia and Pacific region, which is home to 63 per cent of the world's population. Although the idea of sharing knowledge and experience through networks has now become commonplace, this was a new and highly innovative idea when APEID established its regional networks of Associated Centres in 1973.

Programme areas currently include: environmental education; teacher education; science and technology education; enterprise education; technical and vocational education; higher education; distance education; special education; educational technology; educational research for improved policy and practice; the restructuring of secondary education; and, preventative education (population, drugs, HIV/AIDS etc.). In each of these areas the emphasis is upon innovation and research to help further develop schooling and education in the countries concerned.

During almost quarter century of its operation, APEID has succeeded in helping to develop high-level commitment to educational change, in providing a model of institutional collaboration, and in generating significant innovative processes within countries. There are vis-

ible indicators that national authorities are committed to educational innovations for development, and numerous APEID publications also report on national innovations arising as a result of APEID's initial support, in terms of technical backstopping.

Funds for the programme activities and personnel working in ACEID continue to be mainly provided by the Regular Programme of UNESCO adopted by each session of the UNESCO General Conference. Considerable support has also been provided by participating Member States; through contributing services in kind, regarding the organization of programme activities and by providing the help of specialists. Support has been extended in the form of voluntary contributions in cash and through funds-n-trust, most recently by Japan, China and the Republic of Korea.

APEID's programme areas are determined in consultation with UNESCO Member States. This consultation occurs in two main ways: first, through the General Conference of Member States at UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, every two years (1991, 1993, 1995 etc.); and, more specifically for those in the Asia-Pacific region through the regular consultation meetings that occur with Member States in the region, such as at meetings between UNESCO and the Ministers for Education and those responsible for economic planning in Asia-Pacific countries.

It is clear from such meetings that countries are keen to enhance the role of education as a dynamic force for change and improvement as they confront the threshold of the 21st century. As always, APEID remains dedicated to being responsive to the wishes of Member States as they seek to obtain reliable technical assistance and backstopping in order to help promote effective educational innovation for development.

Despite the continuing success of APEID activities, these are increasingly difficult times in which to operate, due to funding cutbacks and staffing shortages.

At a time of reduced funding, we must critically assess our modes of operation to ensure that maximum benefits are obtained from resources and that the most effective services are being provided to our Member Countries. Thus, APEID itself needs to find new, more creative ways to achieve its mandate to assist Member Countries further develop their education and schooling systems.

In the future, change and development will continue to define both the trends and the tasks facing APEID. This means that preparing for a future that is being shaped by change is an essential element of the strategy for educational development. Many new aspects are very much now in all the settings – classrooms or work places – where education and training take place. The implications for re orienting the Asia-Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) include the following:

1. APEID should be visionary in orientation;
2. APEID should sensitively reflect the development context and the imperative or regional co-operation in order to keep its work relevant; and
3. APEID's work places and methods of work should be flexible in order to respond to change.

It is only through such a reorientation of activities that APEID can look forward to the reinforcement of its leit motif. To achieve this APEID cannot be complacent about what it has been doing, but must search for appropriate solutions to the problems arising in a rapidly changing region, and seek guidance from what has worked in the past.

APEID continues to subscribe to the view that if education is to contribute to national development and to the personal enrichment of individuals, it must be both creative and innovative. Through creativity, novel ideas are transformed into useful programmes that help overcome obstacles to development.

Notes on Contributors

Mark Bray is Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) in Paris, a position he holds while on leave from the Faculty of Education at the University of Hong Kong, where he is Chair Professor in Comparative Education. Prior to taking that post in March 2006, he held various posts at the University of Hong Kong, including Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC). He was Assistant Secretary General of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) from 1994 to 2000, and then became Secretary General (2000-05). He was WCCES President from 2004 to 2007. He is also a past President of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (1998-2000), and has served on the Boards of Directors of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) and the Comparative Education Society of Asia (CESA). E-mail: mark.bray@iiep.unesco.org

David K.K. Chan is Associate Professor and Program Leader of East & Southeast Asian Studies, Department of Asian and International Studies, City University of Hong Kong. Concurrently, he is the Convenor of the Comparative Education Policy Research Unit at City University of Hong Kong, as well as the President of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong, and the Chairman of the Hong Kong Educational Research Association. His most recent publications include: Chan, D. and Lo, W. (2008) "University Restructuring in East Asia: Trends, Challenges and Prospects", *Policy Futures in Education*, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp.641-651 (in press); Chan, D. and Ng, P.T. (2008) "Similar Agendas, Diverse Strategies: The Quest for a Regional Hub of Higher Education in Hong Kong and Singapore", *Higher Education Policy*, pp.487-503; Chan, D.K.K. and Tan, Jason. (2008) "Privatization and the Rise of Direct Subsidy Scheme Schools and Independent Schools in Hong Kong and Singapore", *International Journal of Educational Management*, Vol. 22, No. 6, pp. 464-487; Ng, P.T. and Chan, D.K.K. (2008) "A Comparative Study of Singapore's School Excellence Model with Hong Kong's School-Based Management", *International Journal of Educational Management*, Vol. 22, No. 6, pp. 488-505; Chan, K.K.D. (2007) "Global Agenda, Local Response: The Changing Education Governance in Hong Kong", *Globalization, Education and Societies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (March), pp.109-124; Chan, D. and Lo, W. (2007) "Running Universities as Enterprises: University Governance Changes in Hong Kong", *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 305-322; Chan, K.K.D. (2007) "The Impact of Globalization on the Educational Developments in China: Policy and Challenges", in Cheng, J.Y.S. (ed.) *Challenges and Policy Programmes*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press. E-mail: chan.david@cityu.edu.hk

Sylvia Ieong Sao Leng is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Macau. Her research interests include English education, translation studies and curriculum and instruction. She has written *A Trilingual Picture Dictionary and Classic Chinese Poetry Glowing with the Dynamic of Modernism*, and several academic papers. She has been involved in and edited the translations of several books, such as *Macao China*, *One Country Two Systems*, P. Palmer's *The Courage to Teach*, and Tumur Dawamat's *Footprints of My Life*. E-mail: slieong@umac.mo

Rupert Maclean has been foundation Director of the UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for Education in Bonn, Germany, since May 2001. Prior to this he was Director, Section for Secondary Education at UNESCO Headquarters Paris; Director of the UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok; Chief of the Asia-Pacific Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID) at UNESCO Bangkok; and, the UNESCO Chief Technical Advisor for a United Nations project to strengthen and upgrade teacher education throughout Myanmar (Burma). E-mail: r.maclean@unevoc.unesco.org

Peter Shan Wen Jing graduated from Taiwan Normal University with a Doctor of Education. He is Professor in and Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Macau. His research interests include moral education, curriculum and instruction, comparative education, and history of education. He has written several books, including *Moral Education*, *A Study of American Education*, *Hong Kong Education*, *History of LukangTownship: Education, Curriculum & Instruction*, *Introduction to Education*, *Principles of Instruction*, and Selected Essays on Humanities and Social Science in Macao: Education (co-edited with Lam, F.I.), and over three hundred papers. E-mail: wjshan@umac.mo

Crain Soudien is Professor in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town, and President of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies. He was educated at the University of Cape Town, South Africa and holds a PhD from the State University of New York at Buffalo. He has published over eighty articles, reviews, and book chapters in the areas of race, culture, educational policy, comparative education, educational change, public history and popular culture. E-mail: crain.soudien@uct.ac.za