

CHAPTER I

The Role of Textbooks in a Modern System of Education: Towards High Quality Education for All

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Table of content

Chapter 1

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INTRODUCTION	35
A COMMENT ON THE ROLE OF TEXTBOOKS IN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY	36
APPROPRIATE AND DIVERSE USES OF TEXTBOOKS IN TEACHING	39
TEXTBOOK SUPPLY	47
<i>Textbook Selection Processes</i> <i>Supply in Low-Income Countries</i>	
TEXTBOOKS AND SOCIAL CONSENSUS	69
<i>Textbooks and the origin of public schooling</i>	
THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS	76
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	77
<i>Role of development agencies</i> <i>Summary and recommendations</i>	
Notes	82
Bibliography	84

INTRODUCTION

What is to become of textbooks in a modern¹ education system? Given what we have learned about how the young acquire and process information, is the textbook an appropriate vehicle for future education? What constitutes excellence in textbook design and textbook content? How can excellence be identified, and who is qualified to make textbook choices?

What should be the role of the state in the production of textbooks? Should textbook provision be open to international competition? Will international competition discourage local publishing? Are multi-national companies at an unfair advantage? And what about nation-building? Textbooks have traditionally served as a means to communicate national cultural values. On the other hand, some have argued that textbook content is unfairly influenced by privileged groups within societies who attempt to provide a hegemonic view of power and control. Are these critics of textbooks justified in their concerns? Textbooks have also been known to reflect what all consider to be a sinister purpose (such as textbooks in Nazi Germany), with destructive overtones not only for the nation, but also for the community of nations. What can the world do about textbooks with extremist content? And what might be the role of the United Nations in this?

This note builds on the substantial level of earlier work on the role of textbooks in Education for All/EFA (UNESCO, 2003), and will attempt to summarize the views pertaining to these questions. It will ask about the role of the textbook in educational history and will attempt to provide a roadmap of its development and importance. It will attempt to illustrate the quite divergent but appropriate uses of a textbook in modern teaching. It will summarize issues in the supply of textbooks by region. It will also describe some of the concerns that textbooks may be an instrument of the powerful and the privileged to illegitimately channel the attitudes of the young and the impressionable; and it will do the opposite: it will attempt to summarize the legitimate need for a moral consensus behind what nations choose to teach the young about history and the wider world. Lastly, it will ask about the role of international organizations, such

as the United Nations, in the monitoring of textbooks issues, and in particular those issues which pertain to the social cohesion of societies.

Textbooks and ancillary materials will remain an instrument of extraordinary power. They may, in fact, be the most effective of educational technologies yet invented, and there is no reason to imagine a modern educational system where textbooks do not play a central role. It is therefore fitting and proper to pay close attention to their role and function, their content, cost, and finance.

But textbooks will continue to have both constructive and destructive characteristics. When utilized professionally, textbooks can be the cognitive cement behind a fully literate society. When misused however, textbooks can be a source for financial corruption. They can be responsible for antiquated ideologies. Worse, they can be used as instruments to inflame sectarian passion, threaten a nation's social cohesion and, on occasion lay the intellectual foundations for civil war. Therefore, textbooks are not of educational concern only; they constitute a legitimate concern within the context of regional and international security.

It is fair to ask low—and middle-income countries to adhere to economic principles with respect to textbook and school equipment policies. They will need to develop textbook policies which are open to private and international competition and hence, more likely to be efficient and effective. They will need to respect the obligations of copyright and so protect the interests of their own growing educational publishers and potential exporters. The international community has a right and an obligation to investigate and perhaps to hold nations to account for text materials that may inflame tensions and threaten social cohesion.

The paper ends with several recommendations about the obligations of the international community with respect to the goals of Education-For-All. Perhaps the most significant is that the international community has an obligation to underwrite a minimum level of textbook access in those countries that cannot yet afford it.

A COMMENT ON THE ROLE OF TEXTBOOKS IN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

What is a textbook? What is the difference between a textbook, a schoolbook and a school textbook? According to Johnsen, a textbook is a book whose purpose is for 'instructional use' (Johnsen, 1993, p. 24). According to Purves, textbooks can include dictionaries, encyclopaedias, cookbooks, software manuals, instructions for kitchen appliances and automobiles and the like (Purves, 1993 p. 13). This may be important because instructional use is a

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The nature of what is taught
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state (Gutmann, 1987, p. 19). It
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curriculum may reflect particular
and out of fashion. In the 1930s
"progressivism" of the profession
the use of textbooks was widely
antithetical to progressive education.

In some instances a textbook
the local intelligentsia to accept
English, as distinct from British
wide spread use in schools of a
(American Textbook Publishers
24 million copies of Webster's
were running at about 1.6 million
school curriculum is splintered
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education agency (Westbury, 1993)
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Moran, 1990, p. 113; Monaghan
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centralized authorities suggests
and questions of today.

broader term than that which pertains to schools and universities. Within the context of schooling, schoolbooks include a wide variety of materials. Schoolbooks appear as early as the 1750s, but *school textbooks* do not appear until the 1830s (Johnsen, 1993, p. 24). Schoolbooks might include materials whose authors did not intend the material for use in schools. Plays by Shakespeare and essays by Voltaire are used in educational settings and hence are used for instructional purposes. They may include teaching guides, reference books, supplementary reading materials which have been approved for use in schools, although they may have uses outside of schools. *School textbooks* are different. School textbooks pertain to an instructional sequence based on an organized curriculum.

The nature of what is taught in schools is subject to consensus among the three groups—professional education community, parents and families, and the state (Gutmann, 1987, p. 19). If designed professionally, school textbooks reflect that consensus. But the consensus may change over time. In some instances, the curriculum may reflect particular professional points of view that may come in and out of fashion. In the 1930s for instance textbooks tended to reflect the “progressivism” of the professional education community², while in the 1940s the use of textbooks was widely derided as representing a stultifying pedagogy antithetical to progressive educational values (Foshay, 1990, p. 25).

In some instances a textbook may be ahead of the consensus, and may lead the local intelligentsia to accept new and important new concepts. American English, as distinct from British English, was established by the publication and wide spread use in schools of a dictionary distributed by Noah Webster in 1781 (American Textbook Publishers Institute, 1949, p. 31). Between 1800 and 1825, 24 million copies of Webster’s dictionary were sold, and by 1866 sales figures were running at about 1.6 million/year (Squire and Moran, 1990, p. 112). Where school curriculum is splintered among multiple authorities, a school textbook may informally serve as the source of a national curriculum, and textbook manufacturers may constitute an effective, albeit controversial, national education agency (Westbury, 1990, p. 2). For instance, between 1836 and 1920, over 62 million copies of the McGuffey Reader were sold. By 1920 over 50% of the pupils in the US had used the McGuffey reader. The McGuffey reader helped fashion the soul of a new, largely rural nation separated by over 20,000 independent often impoverished curricular school authorities (Squire and Moran, 1990, p. 113; Monaghan, 1991). The fact that school pupils in such widely dispersed circumstances could acquire reading materials was no small accomplishment. But the fact that it occurred without formal edits from centralized authorities suggested that it was all the more prescient for the issues and questions of today.

School textbooks distributed by public authorities free of private cost appear to have first occurred in Philadelphia in 1818. Massachusetts became the first state with free school textbooks in 1884. By 1900 a dozen states distributed free school texts and by 1949 free texts were being distributed by 36 states (American Textbook Publishers Institute, 1949, p. 10). In the 1920s, the Soviet Union had incorporated the principle of universal schooling and hence the principle of having a minimum level of reading materials to support it. Quite unlike the US, however, the supply of school textbooks was centrally located and managed. The centralized publishing house (Prosveshchenie) authored, manufactured and distributed every book in the Soviet education system. It was the ambition of political authorities to equip each soviet child with one book in each subject/year, and the museum within the publishing house proudly displays its many awards and order of commendation for textbook production in the 1920s and 1930s (Kaufman, 1994; Gorokhoff, 1959, Walker, 1978; Wiley et al., 1965; Russian Translation Program, 1948). Although established by divergent mechanisms, the standards for textbook production in North America and the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century were actually quite similar.

With the expansion of the number of independent nations following World War II and the universal acceptance of basic education for all, the lack of reading materials was quickly elevated as an international problem. As the UN agency designed as having responsibility in education, UNESCO often took an intellectual lead in helping assess the level of the book 'gap', between rich and poor areas of the world (Barker, 1956; Barker and Escarpit 1973; UNESCO, 1973; Pearce, 1988; Pellowski, 1980; anonymous, 2003; Loveridge et al., 1996; Zaher, 1980; Pearce, 1982; Pingle, 1999; Smith, 1977).

Analytic work sponsored by the World Bank in the 1970s contributed three lessons. The first was obvious, but often overlooked: that textbook availability was the single most consistent correlate of academic achievement in developing countries (Heyneman, Farrell and Sepulveda-Stuardo, 1978; Heyneman and Farrell, 1989), thus justifying public investment in education reading materials. The second was the argument that textbook supply was analogous to that of other manufactured products in that quality, efficiency and price was a function of the private as opposed to public sources (Heyneman, 1990a; 1990b), hence justifying the Bank's priority for textbook supply as a legitimate investment³. The third was the evidence that textbook investments could significantly change the academic achievement of a nation's school children (Heyneman, 1980; Heyneman, Jamison, Searle and Galda, 1981), and on occasion reach a level of effect unprecedented in the education sciences (Heyneman, Jamison and Montenegro, 1984).

APPROPRIATE AND DI

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Text materials are often (i) *narration and descriptio* and (iv) *theoretical laws*. Ea balanced and sequenced in experience of the reader and 1955a). Table one illustrates

APPROPRIATE AND DIVERSE USES OF TEXTBOOKS IN TEACHING

It is axiomatic to believe that knowledge, including the skills of knowledge acquisition, is important, and that education systematically contributes to those skills. But what is the role of knowing how to acquire knowledge in influencing behaviour? Knowledge acquisition skills may decrease one's dependence on chance trial and error, and may assist individuals in choosing from among possible courses of action. To acquire knowledge acquisition skills, one must be in communication with sources of previous information and previous skills, but how is this done?

Much is new about how people learn. Summarized by a report from the National Academy of Sciences (Bransford, Brown and Cocking, 1999) recent research would suggest several things:

- One improves memory by improving understanding. To remember something for a long time, short of frequent drill and repetition, one needs to give it meaning.
- The longer and more complex the list of things to remember, the more the need to have meaning.
- Young learners need guidance—textbooks and teachers—to link what they already know (prior knowledge) with what they are trying to learn, ensure, that they overcome misconceptions, help organize and apply what they are learning.
- To transfer lessons from one context to another, people need a connecting formula, or general principle as well as experience in making applications to new contexts⁴.

How do textbooks figure into the pedagogical challenge of improving understanding and transfer? There are three different strategies for improving memory. These include *mnemonic*, *structural*, and *semantic* methods. Mnemonic methods words are grouped by sound. Structural methods, words are grouped alphabetically. Semantic methods words are grouped by meaning (animals, science labels, sports terminology).

Text materials use all three (mnemonic, structural, and semantic) strategies. But choosing where and when to use these strategies is only the first among many strategic choices in textbook design (Kilgore, n.d.).

Text materials are often divided into four general categories. These consist of (i) *narration and description*, (ii) *prescriptions and directives*, (iii) *procedures* and (iv) *theoretical laws*. Each can be used by the textbook author. They can be balanced and sequenced in different ways depending on the age, ability and experience of the reader and the exigencies of the topic (Foster and Cronbach, 1955a). Table one illustrates these four types of verbal communication as used

in textbook materials, and gives examples from both Math and English texts.

TABLE 1. Four Types of Verbal Communication as Used in Text Materials

	Narration and description	Prescription and directive	Generalization	Theory
English texts	Works of literature	Rules of grammar	"A good paragraph is unified."	Systematic treatment of grammar and its logic; e.g., definitions of parts of speech
	Description of evolution of a particular word	Procedure for using reference books	"Contractions are rarely used in formal writing."	Comparison of poetic forms
	Biographies of writers Incidents to arouse interest	Statements of accepted usage Form for business letters		
Arithmetic texts	Incidents to arouse interest	Model solution for a type problem	Numerical combinations	Concepts distinguishing decimal, binary, and base 12 numbers
	History of number	Procedure for attacking problems	Rule for area of triangle	Definition of multiplication as multiple addition

Source: Foster, M. and Cronbach, L.J. The Proper Function of Textbook Materials. In: Cronbach, L.J., ed. *Text Materials in Modern Education: A Comprehensive Theory and Platform for Research*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1955, p. 33.

Narration and description are artistic tools. They make it possible for the reader to 'join in the scene directly' and are especially useful for historical and literary materials (Foster and Cronbach, 1955a, p. 34). But they have limits. They transmit values directly and without an obvious rationale of their ethical system. "There is a special danger" say Foster and Cronbach, "that narratives may communicate selected values without the communicator, the teacher, realizing it." (idem, p. 35).

Prescriptions and Directives lead directly to action. They are essential for vocational knowledge for immediate use and directives must rely heavily on advantages the learner's ability to do and is not designed to help in other contexts. The impact of prescriptions used for to influence specific situations, "law", "be kind to animals" which can be counter-productive. Theories of immediate use and concern.

Generalizations and theories have the distinct advantage of being may or may not advance the cause of the transfer of learning to new situations effectively motivated by learning to recommend that communication for future utility is not the learning theory (Foster and Cronbach, 1955) which provides the learning among the most effective ways. Effective learning experiences, learning, and allow students to learn in circumstances. Therefore, the most useful theoretical lessons and techniques.

How is a teacher to be effective from one that is simply an illustration of this. Essential to a "teaching program" and help students that a teacher must encounter, the feasibility of the language of discourse, the use, and level of vocabulary, to a machine in that they are must be held accountable for

English texts.

Theory
Systematic treatment of grammar and its logic; e.g., definitions of parts of speech
Comparison of poetic forms
Concepts distinguishing decimal, binary, and base 12 numbers
Definition of multiplication as multiple addition

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Prescriptions and Directives are imperative statements and may lead most directly to action. They are economical, and useful in the teaching of crafts and vocational knowledge for immediate use. Learning that focuses on prescriptions and directives must rely heavily on drill and repetition. It seldom if ever advantages the learner's ability to understand why something works the way it does and is not designed to help a learner apply what h/she has learned to new contexts. The impact of prescription and directive declines substantially when used for to influence specific social actions. "Be sure to vote", "always obey the law", "be kind to animals" while important as messages, when overused, they can be counter-productive. They may be lost in priority with messages of more immediate use and concern.

Generalizations and theoretical laws pertain to recurrent relationships. They have the distinct advantage of being useful over the long term. Generalizations may or may not advance the cause of understanding and their ability to improve the transfer of learning to new contexts are quite limited. But students rarely are effectively motivated by long-term utility, hence Foster and Cronbach recommend that communication through text materials will be more effective if future utility is not the learner's reason for taking the trouble to acquire the theory (Foster and Cronbach, 1955a, p. 46). On the other hand, an *acquired theory* which provides the learner with the why and the how something works is among the most effective ways to organize experience so that it is meaningful. Effective learning experiences connect new theories with prior experiences and learning, and allow students to apply these theoretical laws to a variety of new circumstances. Therefore, the challenge for the text designer is how to pose useful theoretical lessons without resorting to prescription and directive techniques.

How is a teacher to tell the difference between a textbook that is effective from one that is superficial? Box one (see on p. 42) provides an illustration of this. Essentially, a teacher will need to assess the textbooks "teaching program" and how accurately the textbook can "visualize" the students that a teacher must educate, the day-to-day management problems h/she will encounter, the feasibility of various class activities, and most importantly, the language of discourse given the exigencies of second languages classroom use, and level of vocabulary in the mother tongue. Textbooks are analogous to a machine in that they are engineered for quite specific purposes; hence they must be held accountable for achieving those purposes specifically.

BOX 1. How Teachers Can Identify an Effective Textbook

You ask what right a textbook editor has to tell an experienced teacher how to choose a textbook? My answer is that he has as much right as an engineer of electrical equipment has to tell you how to choose a washing machine. The engineer knows what washing machines are supposed to do, why they are made the way they are, what their capacity is, how hard or how easy they are to operate, what they can be expected to do to the clothes or the dishes that are entrusted to them. Likewise the editor of textbooks. He is supposed to know very much the same things about his product.

But what is the sense of comparing electrical engineers with editors, or washing machines with books? As a matter of fact there is more sense than most people realize. Both the washing machine and the textbook are designed to do particular jobs. In a way they are both machines, although we more often speak of a textbook as a teaching "implement" or "tool." And both of them must be judged on much the same basis—how well do they work?

If you were setting out to buy a washing machine, you would undoubtedly ask the very questions which the engineer is prepared to answer. Curiously enough, few people, even teachers, ask similar questions about a textbook. Perhaps this is because, even to teachers, a book is a book. The critics who have been reviewing books for centuries and whose reviews you have been reading for years have set something of a pattern easy to follow. Unless you are sensitive to the fact that there is a great difference between a textbook and a book for the so-called general reader, which is seldom in any sense a tool, you are all too likely to follow the standard pattern of the reviewer when you judge a textbook. You will be concerned with the table of contents, the author's style, amount of illustration, the index, and perhaps more concerned with quality of paper, cloth and binding, and size of type than the conventional reviewer. And you should be concerned with all of these things, but you still won't know how well that book does the job it sets out to do. You won't really have got at the heart of the matter.

"All right," you're saying, "So I figure out how well the thing is likely to work. Go ahead and give me your rating scale and maybe we can talk business."

But don't go quite so fast. First, about a rating scale. I'm glad you mentioned that gadget, or did you? They're mostly a snare and a delusion, in my opinion. As I hope to make you see, choosing a textbook is a highly personal and subjective business. Furthermore, every textbook should be finally rated in terms of its own aims, not on the basis of some general objective that can be applied to all textbooks. Consequently, the rating scale just can't get at the heart of the matter, either. At best it can be used only to justify your choice of the book you wanted to choose anyhow.

Essentially the problem is this: Look first for the book or books whose teaching aims are in harmony with your own. You should certainly be able to support with enthusiasm and confidence the results that the author of your textbook is trying to achieve. There is nothing more demoralizing to children than to have their teacher constantly fighting the textbook. So spend a good bit of time looking for books that are trying to get the educational results, to develop the skills, the understandings, and the appreciations that you believe should be the outcomes of the teaching you have to do.

But don't be afraid to do some compromising. Better have a book that really does well the job it claims to do, even if it doesn't entirely fit your program, than one which promises to go right down the line for you and actually succeeds in accomplishing little of what it sets out to do.

So much for general aims. Now for the really hard part: how to tell how well the book is likely to do the job it sets out to do. As I have said, a rating scale won't tell you that, nor a casual nor even careful examination of index, illustrations, number of pages, emphasis, and proportion. You've simply got to see how well the book operates as the teaching implement it's supposed to be. Short of trying it out over a considerable period with your students, there's nothing for you to do but to try it out on yourself. No, I am not fooling. I really mean that. Try the book out on yourself. Actually

"take the course" or enough
That's not as easy as
reading that few people can
The person who can do it
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talking to the children in
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author, at any time, obvious
seem artificial to the learner
pictorial graphs, charts?
would do it if you were to
you wanted to give them
materials in a textbook
pretty poor structure.

Does the author really
you give pupils a breath
importance of frequent
misunderstandings, and
his proposals for activities
other reading, for projects
practical for you and for
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Only you can identify
understanding, or more
provide for such individual
recognize the problem of

But that's enough.
they must vary from book
be asking yourself if you

"take the course" or enough of it to reach a sound conclusion as to how well it works

That's not as easy as it may sound. It calls for a kind of imagination and analysis, a type of reading that few people can do and that no one can do well who has not had years of practice at it. The person who can do it best usually makes the best editor of textbooks. Textbook editors are spending a large part of their lives doing that and nothing else. So are teachers, as a matter of fact, but too often without being fully conscious of it and not nearly often enough when they are evaluating textbooks.

To do a good job of trying the textbook out on yourself, you have to be at least two people at once—first, one of the children in your class, a typical one if there is such, and second, yourself as a teacher. Keep always in mind what the author is trying to do. The better the textbook, the easier it is to discover this.

How good is the author's teaching program? How accurately does he visualize the classroom scene? How skilfully has he analysed what children can do and like to do? You can judge of these things only by using the book for at least a section or two as the author expects the pupil to use it. You must imagine that you are one of the children in your own class. Again, how well does the author understand the practical day-by-day problems that you face? Does he suggest class activities that are workable? How is the teaching job he has done in his book related to the teaching job he expects you to do? How good is his sense of time and timing? Such things you can judge only as a teacher. But most important of all, is his program in each one of its details getting where you want to go? Is each item, each step, each page, section, or unit really driving toward the accomplishment of the purpose that you and the author have set for yourselves?

As you read the textbook, remember that what you are reading is the author's instructional talking to the children in your class. How well has he guessed their background of experience as he goes along? Is he using language—both vocabulary and manner of putting things—that your children would readily understand if you were to say the same things to them in the same way? Has he made good guesses about their reactions to what he is saying?

How good a job has he done in "personalizing" the course, that is, in making each member of your class feel that what he is saying is important for him, that it really makes a difference? Is the author, at any time, obviously writing down or over-simplifying and thus making the whole business seem artificial to the learner? What about the use of visual aids—pictures, cartoons, diagrams, maps, pictorial graphs, charts? Do they really teach? Are they and the text doing the job together as you would do it if you were talking to your class and had pictures to make clear certain of the ideas that you wanted to give them—or are these graphic materials just "added on" to impress you? Visual materials in a textbook may be like paint on a house, and good-looking paint can be applied to a pretty poor structure.

Does the author recognize the fact that in good teaching you can do only so much talking before you give pupils a breathing space—a chance to check up on themselves? Does he recognize the importance of frequent class discussions in which boys and girls exchange ideas, clear up misunderstandings, and get the many other advantages of group study and learning? And what about his proposals for activities that will take the class entirely outside the textbook, his suggestions for other reading, for projects, research, excursions, reports, dramatizations, what not? Are they really practical for you and for your pupils? If they are practical do they promote the ends that you and the author are trying to achieve?

Only you can identify the children who need special work—more practice, varied approaches to understanding, or more challenging materials—but the author can be of great help in your effort to provide for such individual differences. Are his suggestions and his material useful? Or doesn't he recognize the problem at all?

But that's enough, I am sure, to give you the idea. I haven't asked all the questions. Naturally they must vary from book to book. I only tried to show you the type of question I think you should be asking yourself if you are to do a good job of trying the book out on yourself. Questions like these,

textbook editors are constantly asking themselves as they work over manuscript materials with their authors. And on the answers to questions of this sort must rest your decision as to how well a textbook is likely to do its job.

Now there's just one more thing and then I'm done. It's pretty obvious from what I've said so far that the really best way to judge a promising textbook is to try it out with your class. Then you'll know: you won't have to guess. But when I say try it out, I mean something pretty special, not what a great many teachers are likely to think I mean. You don't really try a book out unless you use it in the way the author intended it to be used. Here I get back to my washing machine again. When you buy a new washing machine, the first thing you do before using it is to read carefully the manual of directions that comes with it. You want to know how the engineer who built it expects it to be used for best results. Furthermore, you wouldn't think of complaining to the company about the way it works if you hadn't operated it strictly in accordance with those directions.

Certainly you wouldn't try to wash dishes in a machine made for washing only clothes and then conclude that the machine was no good because it smashed all your dishes.

Yet that is almost precisely the way many a teacher has treated the textbook. She's used it as a reference book, as a source of problem material, she's skipped around from one place to another, she's even told her children not to read the explanations of the text ("I don't teach it that way"), and then she has complained that the book is not satisfactory. For what? To be sure, it's not entirely her fault. In her formal professional education she has probably had little or no training in the function and use of textbooks. Chances are good that she has been impressed with the idea that one way to demonstrate her originality, her "progressiveness," her general teaching ability, is to disregard the textbook and certainly under no circumstances to be caught "following" it. This is a natural and typical educational rebound from the damage done by the misuse of textbooks and the old textbook-recitation method.

So, for the final and really authoritative evaluation of a textbook, try it out. Use it as it is intended to be used. Then your criticisms of it, your suggestions for changes, will be invaluable. Then you will really know how well it works.

Yours sincerely,
A Textbook Editor

Source: A Report from The American Textbook Publishers Institute to its membership, its friends, and any others whose interest in the development of the educational system in the United States goes beyond a mere passing fancy. New-York City: The American Textbook Publishers Association, 1949.

Use of textbooks is often pedagogically criticized on the grounds that they reinforce the obvious and lead students to memorize extraneous bits of information. In fact, however, their proper use spans several different functions. They can be utilized as: (i) a teaching tool, (ii) a tool for artistic self-expression, (iii) a faithful elaboration of a discipline, and (iv), an appeal to the purchasers (Cronbach, 1955, p. 59). One common misunderstanding of a textbook, and a good sign that a textbook is pedagogically mundane, is the propensity to overemphasize the latter three purposes (Cronbach, 1955, p. 60). As Kilpatrick reminds us.

If we, to save a student's time, that he simply 'learns' this from him from building an ade

One compelling con keeps shifting too Cubberley says that

The disadvantages of un marked when we pass fro are new and rapidly cha the knowledge and pers school... Teachers train students, and teachers in needs (Cubberley, 1931,

In the eyes of some they attempt to cor this need not be the In this function, t modernizing influe

How can textb simultaneously? T manufactured to a (Tyson-Bernstein, attractiveness but t basis of reinforcin base social advert traditional discipli learning of the specialization, but stimulate self-expr to disciplinary trac learner. As a funct

Even when do appreciate it. In E common to desig students. Critical text-based knowle meaning from a v The pedagogy o

If we, to save a student's time, furnish him with the final orderly statement of our expert thinking so that he simply 'learns' this simply, instead of 'learns and understands' it, we shall very likely prevent him from building an adequate knowledge of the ... matter at hand (Kilpatrick, 1932, p. 92).

One compelling complaint from textbook publishers is that pedagogical theory keeps shifting too rapidly to generate the teaching tools expected of them. Cubberley says that

The disadvantages of uniformity in school textbooks (from school to school) become even more marked when we pass from elementary to junior and senior high schools. Both these types of schools are new and rapidly changing institutions, where method and particular content count for less, and the knowledge and personality of the teacher count for more, than in the case of the elementary school... Teachers trained by different methods, teachers teaching different types of classes and students, and teachers in small rural schools and in large city schools all have different textbook needs (Cubberley, 1931, p. 240).

In the eyes of some, textbooks are a conservative influence by nature because they attempt to conserve the most common denominator of public needs. But this need not be the case in those books that are designed to be a teaching tool. In this function, textbooks are often revolutionary in nature and can be a modernizing influence (Cronbach, 1955, p. 13).

How can textbooks be both a conservative and a modernizing influence simultaneously? The answer lies in their design and purpose. If they are manufactured to appeal to purchasers as they are in many of the US states (Tyson-Bernstein, 1988; Crawford, 2003; Moffett, 1988), they will be long on attractiveness but thin on pedagogical effectiveness. If they are designed on the basis of reinforcing directives and prescriptions they will be influential only as base social advertising⁵. If they are used as expressions of adherence to a traditional discipline, then they will reflect the wisdom of the expert but not the learning of the recipient. In this they can be considered symbols of specialization, but as textbooks, they are wasteful. Or textbooks can be used to stimulate self-expression. This function too is helpful, but like that of adherence to disciplinary traditions, in the end it reflects the expertise of the writer, not the learner. As a function it is useful, but insufficient.

Even when designed creatively, teachers may not be able to sufficiently appreciate it. In Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, it is common to design textbooks so that they reinforce "critical thinking" among students. Critical thinking is predicated on new concepts of "literacy" in which text-based knowledge is replaced by an emphasis on having the reader construct meaning from a variety of opinions and values from others (Wile, 2003, p. 3). The pedagogy of critical thinking requires the learner to call up a sense of

background (called *evocation*), then to confront new information (called *realization*), and lastly to pause to consider the value of the new information learned (called *reflection*) (Wile, 2003, p. 6). The problem, however, is that it is almost impossible to shift an entire profession from a long held definition of excellence to a new definition. In school systems of the former party/states, where prior definitions of pedagogy were heavily based on prescriptions, directives and strict adherence to disciplinary expertise, teachers are often resistant to helping the reader to assess the pros and cons of various points of view. Requiring teachers to manage intellectual uncertainty is a style of pedagogy that has proven to be deeply threatening (Low-Beer, 1997; 2001). If the textbooks reflect accurately the new demands of the society and the teachers are professionally uncomfortable with those demands, are the textbooks therefore inadequate? Are they poorly designed books if the teachers are not comfortable with them?

In this instance, the teaching profession may have to be upgraded. Teachers who cannot incorporate modern pedagogy may need to be replaced. But their dilemma is not significantly different from the teacher dilemma more generally. Like professionals everywhere, teachers cannot expect to be stagnant with respect to shifts in content, purpose or technology. Teachers need to be upgraded and judged on the effectiveness of their adherence to the new standards in their profession, no differently than would doctors or architects.

Modern teachers need to become comfortable with the fact that effective textbooks may utilize different strategies. Effective textbooks may introduce subject matter inductively or deductively. Or they may alternate methods. They may present material using self-expression or, when needed, they may adhere to the traditions of a discipline and even employ language well above the reader's experience to illustrate a point. But when the language used in a textbook is based not on the understanding of student experience, but on the style of the academic, then the textbook can serve to discourage and select away those who otherwise might be interested in subject. If the textbook becomes the analogy of the high jump bar in an Olympic contest, only a few will master it. While rigor has its place, and while selection to higher levels of training on the basis of academic mastery is a universal function in education, it is professionally inappropriate to use the reading material to underpin that selection. A bad textbook, moreover, encourages an undesirable interpretation. Local culture may be emphasized in the early ages, but if presented in a xenophobic manner, later attempts to instil international attitudes will be more difficult (Anzar, 2003; Bennetta, 2000; Crawford and Jones, 2001; Crawford, 2000e; Podeh, 2002; Surkes, 1997; Wickrem and Colenso, 2003; Watts-Taffe, 2003; Shorish, 1988; Mukherjee, 1988).

A pedagogically effective experience and ability. It is not readiness for the next level, choices, and it chooses topics, student responses. Learning sequences, and the mixture of rare and why effective textbooks in modern education complexity and then to exp

TEXTBOOK SUPPLY

Like all manufactured goods, Prices differ by text purpose manufacturing, and speed largely a social good, the responsibility of the state borne entirely through general income countries, aside from schoolbooks directly. The families differ in their ability to meet the community's need for education of the wealthy. While all children free of private Republic of China. More than the Union is able to maintain a nation chooses to have a philosophy; rather it is a matter of afford to cover the full cost of school textbooks is the concern, including the and Asia with interests in education of minimum standards.

The ideal ratio of text to 1:3 is acceptable (Bruno) in low-income countries, though the Education for All program economic recession, and health have depressed education discovered primary text

A pedagogically effective textbook is accessible to the full range of student experience and ability. It is natural in the teacher's hands. It is expected to build readiness for the next level, its modules fit well with teacher preferences and choices, and it chooses topics and their sequencing based on an understanding of student responses. Learning how students respond to various language levels, sequences, and the mixture of pedagogical strategies is why good textbooks are rare and why effective textbooks are always more costly. The key to the use of textbooks in modern education is to first acknowledge their engineering complexity and then to expect the best from that complexity.

TEXTBOOK SUPPLY

Like all manufactured goods, school textbooks have different qualities and costs. Prices differ by text purpose (some purposes are more expensive), quality of manufacturing, and speed and difficulty of distribution. Because education is largely a social good, the financing for school textbooks is largely a responsibility of the state. However, only in wealthy countries are the costs borne entirely through general tax revenues of the state. In middle—and low-income countries, aside from general tax revenues, families are asked to finance schoolbooks directly. The fairness of this approach is controversial since families differ in their ability to pay, and this contrasts with the fact that the community's need for education is not any less for children of the poor than for children of the wealthy. While the former Soviet Union guaranteed textbooks for all children free of private cost, this was not the traditional policy in the People's Republic of China. Moreover, none of the successor states to the former Soviet Union is able to maintain the policy of zero private cost for school textbooks. No nation chooses to have families cover school book costs on the basis of philosophy; rather it is a matter of exigency: low-income countries often cannot afford to cover the full cost of universal basic education⁶. Supply and availability of school textbooks is therefore a deeply disturbing issue of public policy for all concerned, including the development community in Europe, North America and Asia with interests in universal basic education and the equality of access to education of minimum standards.

The ideal ratio of textbooks/child is 1:1, but some have argued that a ratio of 1:3 is acceptable (Brunswic and Hajar, 1992, p. 19). The problem is that in the low-income countries, the supply of textbooks does not seem to have risen since the Education for All statement of goals a decade ago. Rises in enrolment, economic recession, civil conflict and pressing economic priorities in public health have depressed education budgets. In Angola, Kenya, Tanzania surveys discovered primary textbook to pupil ratios of 1:20 or worse in rural areas.

Moreover, within countries there was a large variation, with ratios of 1:3 in the southern highlands of Tanzania but as low as 1:700 in the northern zone near Lake Victoria (Montagnes, 2001, p. 7). Shortages in textbooks at the primary and secondary levels were mirrored by shortages at the tertiary level. Many tertiary books have to be imported and are subject to import restrictions and taxation. Shortages appear more serious in teacher training and vocational institutes than in universities (Buchan, Denning, Read, Lacasse and Diop, 1991, p. 16).

The basic question is how to raise the supply and the quality of school textbooks most efficiently. Because the content and purpose is a public good, there is no obvious objection to state intervention. Whenever the public interest is at stake there is economic justification for state intervention. But what kind of intervention is called for? Should the state manufacture its own school textbooks? No industrial democracy in Europe or North America does so⁷. If a state were to allow foreign manufacturers to help supply local school systems with textbooks, would that increase or decrease the cost (Heyneman, 1990a; 1990b)? So clear has the evidence been that Hans Zell has concluded that the sad era of government textbook publishing is over. "The verdict on government involvement in publishing," he says, "must be that by and large it hasn't worked. State-aided companies... are frequently hampered by bureaucracy or inefficiency or lack of motivation on the part of their staff" (Zell, 1992, p. 67). The policy of supplying paper and printing presses to government agencies distorts the market and today most countries entrust the writing of textbooks to sub-contractors in commercial houses with the necessary expertise and capacity. For instance, of the 89 textbook projects assisted by the World Bank since 1985 in Sub-Saharan Africa, only 16 assisted state textbook manufacturing (World Bank, 2002, p. 37).

UNESCO policies toward state manufacturing monopolies have undergone a significant shift. Up to the 1990s, UNESCO had a long-standing policy of assisting developing countries with the supply of equipment for the manufacture of textbooks. In essence the international community was subsidizing textbook manufacturing presses and paper owned and utilized by the local Ministries of Education. While the lack of supply requires public intervention, the practice of assisting a monopoly in the manufacturing process led to many problems typical of state-owned enterprises, including under-utilization, poor quality, inefficiency and corruption⁸. In Uganda in the 1970s, state monopoly was used to overcharge for books that could have been acquired more cheaply on the open market. To make matters worse, the state monopoly distributed the books inequitably, with under-privileged schools receiving fewer books. In spite of the claim by a socialist government that the purpose of the government monopoly was to equalize opportunity, the level of inequity in book distribution under the state

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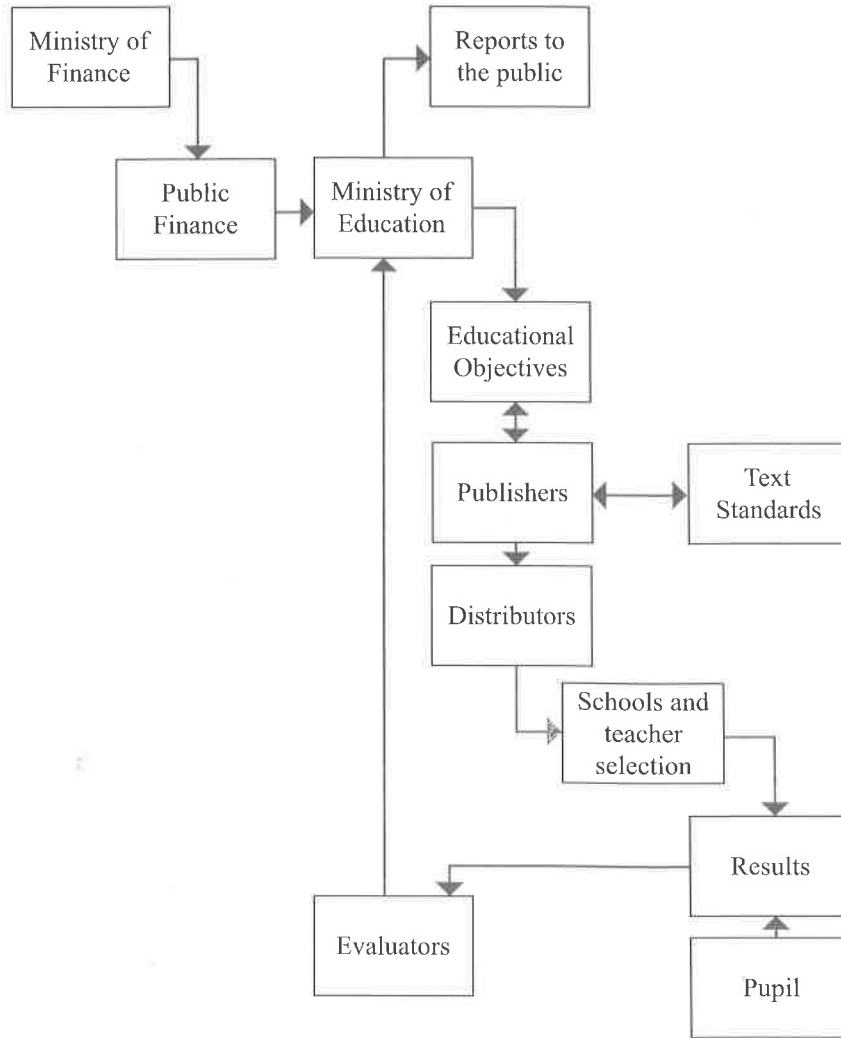
the quality of school is a public good, over the public interest. But what kind of its own school America does so? If a local school systems (Heyneman, 1990a; concluded that the sad diet on government large it hasn't worked. by bureaucracy or (Zell, 1992, p. 67). government agencies of textbooks to expertise and capacity. World Bank since 1985 manufacturing (World

monopoly was worse than it was in the era of individual school acquisition (Heyneman, 1977a; 1977b). Today, however, differences in international views over the role of government in the supply of school textbooks have been modified, and recent recommendations from UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank are mutually reinforcing (Montagnes, 2000; Sosale, 1998; World Bank, 2002). But even if costs decline because of the more efficient manufacturing process of open competition, including from outside a country, would it place the local school system at risk of being subjected to unwanted values and content (Heyneman, 2001; 2003)? What determines textbook content? Where do school textbooks generally come from? And what are the values of the school textbook producers? All overviews of school textbook supply must begin with the basic facts of textbook economics, and the answers to these questions.

While a few low-income countries still try to hold to the proposition that a ministry of education can manufacture educational materials, most adhere to a common framework with respect to the role of the state, and the role of the teacher as the ultimate source of textbook selection. This framework is illustrated in Figure one. Finance for educational supplies is largely (not necessarily entirely) provided through the ministry of finance, whose responsibility it is to insure that public expenditures are allocated in the most effective manner possible. It is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to annually report on the effectiveness in the allocation of public expenditures and to report to the public in a transparent manner. Since textbook and educational materials are a common source of education corruption, it is important that all facts about textbook procurement should be a matter of public record (Heyneman, 2004).

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FIGURE 1. The Modern Textbook Acquisition Process



The primary intellectual responsibility of a Ministry of Education is to establish educational objectives and to make them effective. This may include the following functions:

- prepare clear and detailed curriculum guidelines;

- make them available
- establish an objective
- determine the channel
- set minimum physical
- perform the same f
- instructional materia
- train teachers in the
- protect intellectual p
- sanction (World Bar

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- make them available for development of textbooks;
- establish an objective process of evaluation and authorization of textbooks;
- determine the channels for financing and distribution;
- set minimum physical standards of production;
- perform the same functions with respect to teacher's guides and other instructional materials;
- train teachers in the use and care of textbooks and instructional materials;
- protect intellectual property rights through appropriate legislation and court sanction (World Bank, 2002, p. 19).

The more modern ministries organize this in a manner which leaves considerable room for site based management (over allocation of time/subject, pedagogical style and choice of materials) and teacher textbook selection. And as Askerud reminds us, a sustainable supply of textbooks requires a well-developed local publishing industry (Askerud, 1977).

Modern Ministries can assist the development of the local publishing industry not by excluding external competition, but rather by encouraging local participation in textbook contracts both domestic and international, and by encouraging partnerships between local and international publishing houses. The preferred mechanism for assuring appropriate educational materials is to publish request for proposals (RFPs) from private providers of published materials and distributors of goods and services. Publishers then respond by using their standards of technical quality under the exigencies of time and cost constraints set by the Ministry of Education. If the bidding process in the Ministry of Education is sufficiently professional, publishers will respond with a wide variety of technical educational purposes at various price levels and manufacturing qualities.

BOX 2. Effects of Foreign Investment in Publishing and Printing

Key to providing school textbooks efficiently is to find the right balance between local and international functions. One key international function is the provision of investment to generate competitive provision. Among the spill-over effects of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI):

1. Local firms which can imitate the technology or hire local personnel with working knowledge in the **foreign-owned company**
2. The **increase in competition** in the local market that in turn increases motivation of local **companies to adopt new technologies and new practices**
3. **If technology gaps are small and the level of local human capital is high, FDI may not stimulate local competition, but may well encourage local firms to export on a competitive basis**
4. **Intermediate inputs for production are often supplied by local firms and may increase demand for their products and services either upstream or downstream**
5. Technological complementarities between multi-national and local firms may stimulate productivity in other economic sectors

Types of FDI (Foreign Direct Investment)*

Market (horizontal) seeking: replicates production facilities elsewhere in the host country

Resource (asset) seeking: FDI seeks natural resources, raw materials and low cost inputs (such as timber for paper)

Efficiency seeking: takes advantages of economies of scale in companies that gain from geographically dispersing manufacturing activities

Strategic asset seeking: acquisition of foreign corporations to promote long-term strategic objectives

Options for treating FDI :**

Autonomous policies: based on development of capabilities in domestic firms. These might include extensive industrial policies (in trade, finance, education and training), selective restrictions on FDI with strong export-orientation (example: Korea)

Strategic FDI: policies driven by FDI and exports. Effort to upgrade multi-national corporations according to strategic priorities. This involves extensive investment in skill creation, institution-building and infrastructure development in attracting and targeting investments (example: Singapore)

Passive FDI: driven by FDI but relying on market forces to upgrade structures with rising wages and growing capabilities.

Import-substituting industrial restructuring: development of export capabilities in import substituting industries. Trade policy liberalization or strong export incentives are a necessity, leading to upgrading, restructuring and expansion.

*Source: Alasheyeva, J. 2004. *Small Country, Big Business: Promoting Latvian Manufacturing Sector Growth*. Riga, Latvia: Providus, (mimeographed).

** UNCTAD (2002).

Ways in Which A Multi-national Publisher May Contribute to Local Publishing:*

1. Source for editorial training and publishing management for later use in local private firms
2. Provision of healthy competition
3. Stimulates the development of local printing industries
4. Stimulate national authorship on an open and competitive basis based on international standards
5. Development of a local retail book trade
6. provides precedent and leadership to local firms to export activities in other countries

Source: Rix, T.J. 1980. The Role of Government, Private Sector and Multi-nationals. In: *Educational Publishing in Developing Countries* edited by the National Book Trust, India. New Delhi: National Book Trust, p. 243.

It is sometimes held that publishers are not identical to all other capitalists; they hold values of public service and intellectual creativity in addition to those of

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Institute, 1949, p. 9

BOX 3. What Motivates a

What is the motivation of
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and beliefs by which they
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market profitability. Publishers of school textbooks describe their own motives by saying that a publisher of textbooks “places a higher value on confidence and respect than on quick pecuniary advantage” (American Textbook Publishers Institute, 1949, p. 9—my emphasis).

BOX 3. What Motivates a Textbook Publisher?

What is the motivation of the men and women who are the makers of textbooks? What do these people believe in? What is the cause they serve? Many of them are former schoolteachers. All of them enter upon their publishing careers believing that the books which serve as the tools of education can be a powerful means of strengthening and improving that education.

Their earliest publishing experience teaches them that business success depends upon the genuine merit of the books they produce. With continuing experience they evolve a set of attitudes and beliefs by which they may be known:

The educational publisher knows that he can expect continuing success only if he is prepared to dedicate himself to that entire he believes worthy and true in the cause of education.

He places a higher value on confidence and respect than on quick pecuniary advantage.

He casts his lot gladly with that of his fellow educators in the knowledge and conviction that whatever benefits education also benefits educational publishing.

His curiosity about young people is what they know, how they think and feel, what their interests are, how their emotions are stirred, their attitudes formed, how they learn.

He develops a passion for truth and accuracy, deprecates prejudice, and insists that understanding be based on a fair and impartial array of facts.

He becomes a persistent and tireless student of the art of teaching through the medium of the printed page. He is always seeking ideas, new methods and techniques that will solve old problems and open new doors to enlightenment.

He is a believer in principles, goals, and objectives. He tries continually to distinguish that which is pedagogically sound and true from the passing educational fad or fancy.

Above all, he is convinced that the greatness of America depends on its ever-improving educational opportunity. He believes that democracy stands or falls with the accelerating tendency to equalize that opportunity, and to extend and enrich it for each new generation.

The publisher of school books has no illusions about himself; but he wants and intends to be, come what may, a good citizen of the United States and of the world.

Source: American Textbook Publishers Institute (1949). *Textbooks in Education: A Report from the American Textbook Publishers Institute to its Membership, its friends, and any others whose interest in the development of the Educational systems in the United States goes beyond a Mere Passing Fancy*. New York: American Textbook Publishers Institute, p. 9.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) make a distinction between firms that seek *symbolic* and *financial capital*. Firms that seek financial capital look for quick turnover and obsolescence. Apple suggests that many publishers seek symbolic capital instead. In seeking symbolic capital, immediate profit is less important and higher risks may be taken with experimental content on grounds that the firm will benefit from long-term reward, and these rewards may include non-

monetary prestige and the benefits that accrue to being a well-known and well-meaning educator (Apple, 1986, p. 57).

Illustrating the personal connection to publishing as a craft is the number of publishing businesses held within families. Many of the first publishing houses in the United States were family affairs. For example, in early Philadelphia they included Mathew Carey, J.B. Lippincott, P. Blakiston and John E. Potter. In New York they included Charles Wiley, G.P. Putnam, Harper and Brothers, D. Appleton, D. Van Nostrand, Charles Scribner, and E.P. Dutton. In Boston, they included Little, Brown and Company, and James Monroe. Early American textbook publishers included U.P. James, Iverson, Blakeman, and Taylor, DC. Heath and Silver, Burdett and Company. But it is also true that these family companies had to manage new economic demands once their companies began to sell shares to the public after WW II (Madison, 1966, pp. 3-37; Coser, Kadushin and Powell, 1982; Miller, 1949).

In Britain, publishers were often owned by families, but there were accusations that they acted to control prices, distribution and resale values, domestically and in the colonies beginning as early as 1850 (Taraporevala, 1960). Even well before the Bolshevik revolution, Russian publishers were dominated by official institutions rather than families (See table 2). Of the 140 annual titles published between 1756 and 1775, 16% were published by the church, 24% by Moscow University, and 34% by the Academy of Sciences and 17% by the military (Marker, 1985, p. 77).

TABLE 2. Russian Language Titles Published by Individual Presses, 1756-1775.

Presses	Number	Percentage
Synod	456	16,3
Moscow University	685	24,5
Senate	176	6,3
Academy of Science	969	34,7
Military*	480	17,2
Other	26	0,9

*Includes infantry corps, naval corps, artillery corps, and military college press.

Source: Marker, G. 1985. *Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700-1800*. Princeton University Press, p. 77.

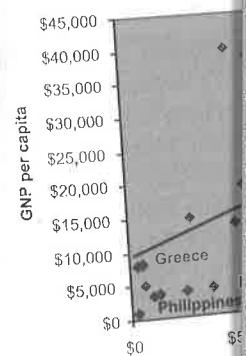
These inconsistent characterizations of publishers in the 19th and 20th centuries continue. Are they monopolists and financial profit seeking or are they an extension of the education community and motivated, in part, by altruistic objectives of symbolic capital?

In the United States in 2000, approximately 31% of books, approximately 31% of elementary and secondary and higher education. The United States, typical of other (Heyneman, 2001).

The amount of money all publishers brought out 325,000 over 3.5 million titles in print. In the quarter the number in Spain, Morocco in 2002, 5,000 in comparison to the 66,000 in 110,000 in Britain that same year.

Educational publishing is only 12% of the world's publishing. Two percent in the United States. Clearly in low- and middle-income countries depend on the current allocation as it does on economic association between the government more generally. As national educational materials (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2. As Economies Grow



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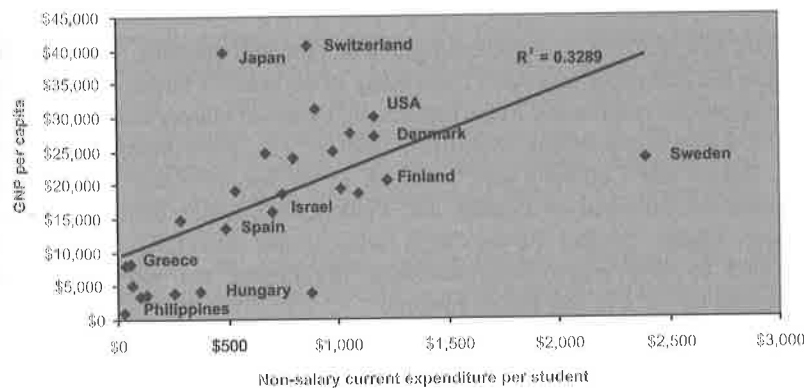
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In the United States in 2002, 26 billion dollars were spent on the purchase of books, approximately 31% of that (8 billion dollars) in education (Heyneman, 2001)⁹. This was an increase of seven percent over the previous year in elementary and secondary and an increase of about 10% over the previous year in higher education. The United States allocates approximately \$34/student for textbooks, typical of other industrialized democracies in Europe and Asia (Heyneman, 2001).

The amount of money allocated to reading materials for students is reflected in the number of book titles available to a general reading public. European publishers brought out 325,000 new book titles in 2002 and currently maintain over 3.5 million titles in print (approximately one third in Britain alone)¹⁰. Eight thousand new titles were brought out in Egypt in 2002, approximately one quarter the number in Spain or Italy. About 1,900 new titles were released in Morocco in 2002, 5,000 in Indonesia, and only 120 in Kenya. These pale by comparison to the 66,000 new titles released in Japan, 81,000 in Germany, and 110,000 in Britain that same year.

Educational publishing may be seen as a very large industry. However, with only 12 % of the world's population of pupils in OECD countries (and less than two percent in the UNITED STATES), the future market for reading materials is clearly in low—and middle-income countries. The size of these markets may not depend on the current allocation of resources to educational materials as much as it does on economic growth and population. Figure 2 illustrates the association between the growth in education expenditures and economic growth more generally. As nations develop, they spend more on education and on educational materials (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2. As Economies Grow, More is Spent on Goods and Services per Student



For instance, France allocated seven times more per student on educational materials than the People's Republic of China but with 17 times the population as France; the market for educational materials in China is over twice that of France. The size of these different markets is illustrated in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Low Spending Does Not Mean Small Markets For Educational Materials*

Country	Teaching materials per student in \$ US	Total students enrolled	Total spent in millions of US\$
China	4.71	211,132,216	993.7
France	34.67	12,137,211	420.8
Thailand	28.80	10,476,682	301.7
South Africa	23.26	12,249,798	284.9
India	0.68	181,956,795	123.1
Chile	26.13	3,347,946	87.5
Malaysia	10.738	4,622,095	49.8
Zimbabwe	3.11	3,239,195	10.1
Philippines	0.52	18,373,539	9.5
Lithuania	10.03	688,100	6.9
Iceland	74.70	67,167	5.0
Benin	3.54	835,559	3.0
Seychelles	94.98	18,960	1.8
Swaziland	1.55	273,813	0.4

*Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1998. In: Heyneman, S.P. 2001. pp. 345-359.

Partly as a result of these bullish figures on potential demand, publishers are currently the objects of takeovers from many of the world's larger multinational communications companies. Rupert Murdoch, owner of Harper Collins recently purchased Hearst publishing (Schiffirin, 2000, p. 13). Time Warner that owns Little, Brown and Company and the Book of the Month Club, is the largest conglomerate, followed by Disney, and Viacom/CBS which owns Simon and Schuster. Eighty percent of the book sales in the UNITED STATES are controlled by five major conglomerates; the largest ten publishers were responsible for 75% of the annual revenue¹¹.

Even if, as Apple believe of intent, is it possible to in population of readers, inclu heavily influenced by the w Will the mass communicati houses apply their own crite unrelated to the impulses of (Lacy, 1963, p. 43)? One i standards of sexual but ne headquarters in Europe, No supply of school textbook 1976a; 1976b; Neaville, 19

Discussions have begu reducing international bari include what to do about apparently common practi permitting textbook piracy Liu, 2004).

The question is whethe markets for middle—and France and China). Will the semi-monopolistic positio representing an increasing increased international co intellectual quality of scho heritages due to increase effective ways of influen

A larger supply is a be larger number of textboe exponentially to middle—that for reasons of exp encouragement through textbook components (gra likely assist local textboe excellent.

The concerns over justifiable. But with each The world is indeed une foreign aid that, for obvio However, there is roo

dependent on educational materials is over twice that of Table 3.

Materials*

Total spent in millions of US\$
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3.0
1.8
0.4

345-359.

and, publishers are larger multinational. Collins recently Warner that owns Pub, is the largest owns Simon and ED STATES are publishers were

Even if, as Apple believes (1986, p. 57), there is no conscious 'conspiracy' of intent, is it possible to imagine that the materials necessary for the world's population of readers, including pupils in basic education, are controlled or heavily influenced by the world's largest media corporations (Graham, 1992)? Will the mass communication industries that have begun to acquire publishing houses apply their own criteria on the material which they disseminate, criteria unrelated to the impulses of the author or the educational needs of the audience (Lacy, 1963, p. 43)? One illustration might be the film industry that applies standards of sexual but not violence content. And will multinationals with headquarters in Europe, North America and Japan increasingly dominate the supply of school textbooks to low—and middle-income countries (Altbach, 1976a; 1976b; Neville, 1976; Cosner, 1976)?

Discussions have begun in the World Trade Organization (WTO) over reducing international barriers for trade in education. Some of the discussions include what to do about the abrogation of textbook copyright rules and the apparently common practice in some low—and middle-income countries of permitting textbook piracy (Bollag, 2004; Overland, 2004; Lloyd, 2004; Lin-Liu, 2004).

The question is whether these discussions might be a point of entry into the markets for middle—and low-income countries? (See above table comparing France and China). Will there be educational reading materials equivalent of the semi-monopolistic position of Microsoft? Will Altbach's vision of textbooks representing an increasingly unequal world (1991, p. 242) be realized or will increased international competition and lower trade barriers increase the intellectual quality of school textbooks, reduce prices, and strengthen cultural heritages due to increased choice and technical talent, and wider access to effective ways of influencing cultural heritage (Heyneman, 2003)?

A larger supply is a benefit of international interest. But would this result in larger number of textbooks developed for OECD countries being exported exponentially to middle—and low-income countries? There is little danger of that for reasons of expense and relevance. More likely, and worthy of encouragement through enlightened textbook policies is the open trade in textbook components (graphics etc.) and technologies. Trade in these would likely assist local textbook publishers and manufactures becoming efficient and excellent.

The concerns over geographic and economic hegemony are certainly justifiable. But with each concern there is more than one legitimate perspective. The world is indeed unequal. Low-income countries continue to depend on foreign aid that, for obvious reasons, they cannot hope to truly control.

However, there is room to imagine that local publishers may rise quickly and

may successfully enter and thrive within an international market. Though large, book publishing is still minor by comparison to other industries. In Britain, publishing ranks 51st in terms of employment. The British public is known to be among the most literate in the world, but in 2002 they spent about the same amount on books as they spent on cheese. In addition, there is evidence to suggest that an excellent book, though widely used in multiple cultural environments, may have profoundly constructive effects (American Textbook Publishers Institute, 1949). And despite the considerable pressures for consolidation and monopoly, publishers have long been known to be entrepreneurial, with small publishers (as opposed to printers or distribution agents) "having an insuperably competitive advantage" (Lacy, 1963, p. 45). And publishing—as opposed to printing—requires little capital and continues to be highly entrepreneurial.

There is no question that the number of commercially viable languages is on the decline and the use of several international languages is on the increase. The key question is whether this represents a constraint on access to knowledge, or an opportunity to increase access to knowledge. Forty years ago, Escarpit pointed out that about three quarters of the world's reading population could be divided into eight languages including English (18%), Chinese (17%), Russian (16%), and French (3%) (Escarpit 1965, p. 87). With recent implementation of second language school instruction in China, Russia, Japan, and in many parts of Europe and Latin America, however, almost half of today's population of readers now read in English. This has extraordinary implications for the supply of school textbooks.

Although language has never been a principal technical barrier to school textbook trade, it has often appeared as such. Yet the expansion of a small number of international languages for school use will likely create unprecedented competition for market share. It will likely drive prices downward. And it will possibly raise the range of choice of quality and purpose. The question is whether the common use of international languages will threaten or somehow restrict local culture. In instances where a perspective is informed by the world-wide experience, an international language can sometimes give access to perspectives of local culture which a local language may not; and there is evidence that the use of local languages can lower the indigenisation of the curriculum by creating new conflicts over which language is chosen and under what circumstances, and thus eventually excluding instruction in other, equally important local languages (Okonkwo, 1988). Moreover in some circumstances, such as in East Africa, low expenditures/child and intra class linguistic heterogeneity prohibit effective teaching in anything other than a regional or international language (Heyneman, 1980).

Textbook Selection Process

When contracting out for agencies to establish content on the responses from public agencies involve interests—including church educational philosophies. There are significant risks

In cases where special act only in their own interest where their particular ethical public or in the general affected by the counted if

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A successful education reading; it cannot for characteristic of a mo examination by teacher learning, and one key Education is that they

Textbook Selection Processes

When contracting out for the supply of textbooks, it is normal for education agencies to establish content and manufacturing criteria, and help pass judgment on the responses from publishers. This is not a simple task. In some countries, public agencies involve teachers, parents and representatives of special interests—including churches, mosques, subject matter associations, and various educational philosophies. In other instances, the ministry may establish the criteria on its own authority with or without comment from external groups. There are significant risks of distortion either way.

In cases where special interest groups help determine the criteria, they may act only in their own interests, counting, for example, the number of illustrations where their particular ethnic group is portrayed, but not in the interest of the public or in the general interests of the pupil except insofar as they may be affected by the counted illustrations.

In other instances, there is a risk of having a particular philosophy monopolize standards. One illustration is the one-sided criteria for readers in Brazil where the main scope of teaching is comprehension instead of language structure and the requirement for having all books taught by imbedding text in context. The regulations instruct publishers as follows:

Text choice is justified by the quality of the reading experience, not to exploit (develop) a given curriculum content. Therefore the presence of pseudo-texts, created uniquely and exclusively for didactic purposes is not allowed (Ministerio da Educação, 2004, p. 51).

Thus textbooks developed specifically for the teaching of reading are not allowed on the grounds that a more natural way to teach reading is to embed the reading task within a context. A textbook which teaches reading by using grandma's recipe is allowed; a textbook which teaches reading by teaching language structure is not allowed. In spite of the considerable controversy in the professional literature surrounding this strategy (McGuinness, 1994; Oakhil and Beard, 1999; Adams, 1990; Report of the National Reading Panel, 2000), public regulations in Brazil limit a child's access to readers with a single (and controversial) perspective.

A successful education system cannot be ideological about how to teach reading; it cannot forbid technologies that may not be out of favour. One characteristic of a modern education system is the presence of open and fair examination by teachers and school administrators of a variety of ways to effect learning, and one key problem with textbook selection systems in Ministries of Education is that they are prone to establishing poor criteria as the only criteria.

Supply in Low-Income Countries.

Low-income countries have been a battleground for different policies. Effective demand is low and the proportion of textbook capital funnelled through development assistance is high (Farrell and Heyneman, 1988; Read, 1992). In general per/pupil allocations for reading materials in OECD countries can be as much as 200 times that of countries of the International Development Association (IDA), and about five times that of middle-income countries (Fuller and Heyneman, 1989, p. 14). In general terms, the quality of education can be divided into four levels. These are illustrated in Table 4. At the first level, there may only be one school textbook/classroom. The teacher is required to copy the content of the book onto a blackboard and students are required to re-copy the content into their notebooks.

TABLE 4. Stages of Development in School Quality*

Investment Ratio	Indicator	Product example	Country
1	One textbook/class. With some exceptions the teacher has the only available book. Pupils expected to copy the text from the blackboard and memorize.	Rote memorization of unsophisticated and poorly interpreted information.	Uganda Liberia Haiti
3:1	One textbook/student. Each student has success one book in each subject. Comparatively little prerequisite teacher skills beyond those required at the above stage.	Major expansion of information and the efficiency of presentation; little progress on self-generated skills of investigation.	Philippines Peoples' Republic of China
40:1	Several different textbook titles available for each student; pupils in lower grades work on locally designed exercises, teacher picks and chooses from among the best or most appropriate available materials. Requires significant intellectual independence on the part of the teachers.	Latitude of educational programs based upon individual student ability; significant increase in the mastery of cognitive skills.	Malaysia
200:1	Fifteen titles per student in supplementary reading material or 40 books total per student in addition to a wide variety of curriculum packages, reference books, maps, dictionaries, film strips, lesson tapes, documentary films and computer assisted instruction. Significant managerial skills required on the part of teachers at all level of education.	Self-generated habits of learning; ability to investigate new ideas and to recognize strong and weak supporting arguments; major improvement in cognitive creativity; wide exposure to culture as well as science.	Japan USA Sweden

*Source: Heyneman, S.P. 1990. Economic Crisis and the Quality of Education. In: *International Journal of Educational Development*. Vol. 10, no. 2/3, p. 115.

Often the teacher is incorrectly; and student combination produces interpreted facts. This situation as can exist, sub-Saharan Africa and

If a nation is able quality, it may be able is a quantum improvement have direct access to is the nations which educational quality will (Heyneman, 1980, 1990) can be said with an educational technology

On the other hand OECD countries, 2000 situation, students materials, in both elements of educational quality teacher professional providers of information quality are managed represented by increasing

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Often the teacher is poorly educated, and may copy onto the blackboard incorrectly; and students may then make mistakes in re-copying material. The combination produces little education other than rote memorization of poorly interpreted facts. This copy/copy circumstance is as primitive an educational situation as can exist, but may be found in wide percentages of schools in rural sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

If a nation is able to allocate three times the resources as the first level of quality, it may be able to provide one/textbook/student in each subject/year. This is a quantum improvement in educational quality. For the first time, students will have *direct access* to a pedagogical source of information and didactic style. It is the nations which have moved from category one to category two of educational quality which have made the highest gains in academic achievement (Heyneman, 1980, 1981, 1984), and it is in this category of improvement that it can be said with accuracy that textbooks are the world's most effective educational technology which has been invented.

On the other hand if nations are able to invest 40 times or in the case of OECD countries, 200 times the level of investment of a low-income educational situation, students may be provided with multiple choices of educational materials, in both electronic and print form. But it is in these latter two categories of educational quality that the revolution genuinely takes place in terms of teacher professionalism. Teachers in the lower ranks of educational quality are *providers of information*; teachers in the upper two rankings of educational quality are *managers of informational sources*. The learning that results is represented by increasingly self-generated learning habits.

Knowing how many books are available is a difficult task. Ministries of Education do not include the quantity or quality of educational materials available. Estimates therefore depend upon surveys designed and managed on an *ad hoc* basis. The most recent estimates of textbook availability were distributed as a part of the UNESCO Basic Education Monitoring Report in 2000 (Montagnes, 2000), and this is displayed below (Table 5).

TABLE 5. Availability of School Textbooks by Country (Prior to 1990)*

Countries	Year	Percentage of students without books	Distribution mechanism	Comment
<i>Low-income countries</i> Burkina Faso	1989	33	Purchased with subsidy	The French book is too expensive for low-income families.
Central African republic	1987	-	Purchased by the state	The national average is nine students per book, and no books are available for pupils in rural areas.
China	1986/87	-	Purchased with subsidy	Every student receives a new textbook every semester in every subject.
Guatemala**	1988	75-100	-	One in four students had books in 1974, but ten years passed with no further production. Books are virtually absent in the classroom.
Madagascar	1989	-	Purchased with subsidy	Most schools lack textbooks, and the available ones are old and in poor condition.
Mozambique	1988	-	Purchased with subsidy	Supply is good in towns and bad in remote areas. Prohibitive prices impede student access to books
Pakistan**	1988/89	50	Purchased with subsidy	Students in rural areas have limited access to textbooks.
Rwanda**	1988	87	Purchased with subsidy	One pupil in eight has a set of books in Kinyarwanda, mathematics and French.
Uganda	1988	40	Provided by the state	3,400 schools still did not have books after a World Bank project supplied books to 5,400 schools.
Zaire (former)	1988	-	Purchased with subsidy	Many schools have no textbooks
<i>Middle-income countries</i> Tunisia	1988	0	Purchased with subsidy	In Tunis all students have copies of books the teachers asked them to buy. In rural areas the situation is unknown.
Turkey	1989	-	Purchased with subsidy	The availability is good in large cities but not in rural areas.

*Source: Lockheed, M.E.; Verspoor, A.M. et al. 1991. *Improving primary education in developing countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. See also UNESCO. 2000. World Education Forum: Education for All. *Thematic Studies. Textbook and learning materials 1990-1999*, p. 6.

**Countries in which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development supported textbook projects. Data are pre-project.

As this table suggests, textbooks of China and Tunisia but not countries such as Guatemala former Soviet Union used textbook/child each year many parts of the CIS. O Union, Tajikistan was the loss of the one third USSR its traditional markets, and \$US 184 and allocated only for textbooks. This is the budget, which places Taj countries in Sub-Saharan

Soviet textbooks are the textbooks in use over World Bank, the Asian I existing manuscripts which education, hence Soviet replaced with textbooks requirements. All new to the Textbook Rental Scheme students asked to pay a committee that manages by the Education Department suggest that about 49% (World Bank, private cost)

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Comment
Book is too expensive for low-income families.
Average is nine students per textbook, books are available for only in rural areas.
Students receive a new textbook every year in every subject.
Students had books in 1974, but they have since been passed with no further investment. Books are virtually absent from the classroom.
Outdated textbooks, and the ones that are old and in poor condition.
Books are available in towns and bad in rural areas. Prohibitive prices impede access to books.
Rural areas have limited access to textbooks.
Some schools have a set of books in mathematics and French.
Some schools did not have books until a World Bank project supplied 5,400 schools.
Some schools have no textbooks.
Some schools have copies of textbooks, but parents are asked to buy them. The situation is unknown.
Access is good in large cities but poor in rural areas.

Education in developing countries
 World Education Forum:
 1999, p. 6.
 Development supported

As this table suggests, textbooks are relatively available in the People's Republic of China and Tunisia but supply remains a key problem in many low-income countries such as Guatemala, Madagascar, Pakistan, and Congo. Although the former Soviet Union used to pride itself on the availability of having one textbook/child each year in each subject, this policy has been abandoned in many parts of the CIS. Of the 15 succession states within the former Soviet Union, Tajikistan was the most impoverished. In the 1990s it suffered from the loss of the one third USSR budget subsidy, a decline in manufactured exports to its traditional markets, and a civil war. Tajikistan in 2002 had a GDP/capita of \$US 184 and allocated only 2.8% of its GDP to education, about \$140, 000/ year for textbooks. This is the equivalent of about 0.1% of the education sector budget, which places Tajikistan alongside some of the most impoverished countries in Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of textbook investment.

Soviet textbooks are still in use out of necessity, but comprise about 10% of the textbooks in use overall. The new textbooks printed with subsidies from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, OPEC and UNICEF had to utilize existing manuscripts which had already passed approval by the ministry of education, hence Soviet textbooks have been replaced, but they have not been replaced with textbooks using critical thinking or other modern pedagogical requirements. All new textbooks enter schools through a revolving fund, called the Textbook Rental Scheme (TRS). Texts are rented for a school year with students asked to pay about one third of the cost. Each school has a textbook committee that manages TRS funds. The funds are kept in a special account held by the Education Department of the local district (rayon). Thus far reports suggest that about 49% of the expected fees for the fund were actually collected (World Bank, private communication, 2/10/04).

The story of Tajikistan represents a typical case of a low-income nation that does not have the resources to educate its children up to anything approaching an international standard. The world community does not have the resources to assist Tajikistan to the extent necessary, and so compromises are made. Textbook revolving funds are anticipated from parents and the local community. In the end the expectation for this cost recovery is substantially less than the level needed to maintain the system.

One problem in Tajikistan as well as many other low-income countries is that no distinction is made for educational materials in terms of taxation. In fact, in Tajikistan there is double taxation on educational materials. They are first subject to VAT in the Russian Federation where they often originate. Then they are subject to a second VAT within Tajikistan as if the textbooks meant for children were no different from coke cola.

The question of whether to tax educational text materials is a long-standing issue, one on which UNESCO has long held a view. To a large extent the principle has been accepted that if educational materials are to be subject to tax, the tax should be less than for other goods. Table 6 presents a list of countries and the VAT on books, CD-ROMs and the standard VAT for non-educational materials.

TABLE 6. Value Added Tax (VAT) on Books

Country	Book VAT rate	CD-Rom VAT rate	Standard VAT rate
Argentina	Exempt	21%	21%
Australia	GST (VAT) 10% from 1.07.2000	GST (VAT) from 1.07.2000	GST (VAT) from 1.07.2000
Austria	10%	20%	20%
Belgium	6%		21%
Bosnia-Herzegovina	(sales tax) 10%		
Brazil	0%		
Bulgaria	20%		20%
Canada	GST (VAT) *7%		GST (VAT) **15%
Chile	18%		18%
Colombia	Exempt		14%
Czech Republic	5%		22%
Denmark	25%	25%	25%
Estonia	5%		18%
Finland	8%	22%	22%
France	5.5%	19.6%	19.6%
Fyrom (Macedonia)	5%		
Georgia	20%		20%
Germany	7%	16%	16%
Ghana	0%		15%
Greece	4%		18%
Hungary	12%; textbooks 0%		25%
Iceland	14%		24.5%
Indonesia	(sales tax) books exempt		

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Peru	(S)
Philippines	(S)
Poland	
Portugal	
Russia	
Singapore	
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Slovenia	8%
South Africa	
Spain	
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Switzerland	
Thailand	
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* Federal, refunded to publi

** Federal + Provincial

Source: International Publis

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Standard VAT rate
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24,5%

Country	Book VAT rate	CD-Rom VAT rate	Standard VAT rate
Ireland	0%		21%
Israel	17%	17%	17%
Italy	4%	20%	20%
Japan	5%	5%	5%
Kenya	0%		15%
Korea (S)	0%		10%
Latvia	18%	18%	18%
Lithuania	children, textbooks 0%		18%
Luxembourg	3%		15%
Mexico	0%	15%	15%
Netherlands	6%	17,5%	17,5%
New Zealand	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%
Norway	0%	23%	23%
Peru	(sales tax) books exempt		18%
Philippines	(sales tax) books exempt		10%
Poland	0%		22%
Portugal	5%		17%
Russia	0%		20%
Singapore	3%		3%
Slovakia	6%		25%
Slovenia	8%, from 1.07.1999		19%, from 1.07.99
South Africa	14%		14%
Spain	4%	16%	16%
Sweden	6%		25%
Switzerland	2,4%		7,6%
Thailand	0%		7%
Uganda	0%		
Ukraine	20%		20%
UK	Exempt	17,5%	17,5%
U.S.A.	(sales tax) 1% to 7%		(sales tax) 1% to 7%

* Federal, refunded to public libraries from 23 October 1996.

** Federal + Provincial

Source: International Publishers Association: <http://www.ipa-uic.org/statistics/vat.html>

Sixty percent of the 53 countries listed have lower VAT rates on books than the standard rate, and in 14 countries books are exempt from VAT altogether. It might be reasonable for the international financial community to help establish common tax guidelines for the separation of educational materials from other taxes. It may also be reasonable for the international financial community to "compensate" low-income countries for the tax losses when separating out educational materials from the local sources of VAT (see section on *Conclusions and Recommendations*).

In spite of competition from films and television, publishing has been growing over time. Publishers produced 750 titles/million population in Switzerland in 1952 and 1,893 today. Denmark produced 504/million population in 1952 and today published 2,188 (Table 7). All 23 countries on which we have data, produce more titles per capita today than in 1952.

TABLE 7. Book Production Number of Titles/ Million of Population¹

Country	1952	1962	1996	Most Recent ¹
Israel	750(50)	1,150	-	-
Switzerland	645	995	2,093	1893*
Denmark	504	893	2,339	2188****
Norway	812	857	1,553	1556*
Netherlands	673	820	-	749***
Sweden	469	724	1,518	596***
Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic)	455	628	-	1166**
Finland	427	587	2,537	837**
Portugal	461	500	797	721*
Austria ²	558	499	985	801*
Hungary	341(50)	495	-	886**
UK	375	469	1,826	1663***
Romania	158	394	-	-
Germany	290	392	870	831***
Belgium ⁴	512	376	-	649***

Country	1952
Spain	119
Yugoslavia	305
France	242
Poland	265
Japan	199
USSR (Russia) ¹	188
Canada	47
Turkey	111
Italy	206
Argentina	237
United States	74
Mexico	114
China (mainland)	5 (approx)
India	47

Source: Barker, R.E. *Books for*
London: George G. Harrap and C
mondial 2001, Éditions La L
Publishing Industry Activity rep

- 1- Commercially-distributed
 - 2- Austria: after 1992 academi
 - 3- Most recent items include
 - 4- Dutch language books
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831***
649***

Country	1952	1962	1996	Most Recent ¹
Spain	119	310	1,169	757***
Yugoslavia	305	299	-	-
France	242	270	-	441***
Poland	265	237	-	-
Japan	199	231	444	-
USSR (Russia) ¹	188	195	246	?
Canada	47	193	645	-
Turkey	111	166	-	-
Italy	206	162	614	598**
Argentina	237	155	-	315***
United States	74	117	247	-
Mexico	114	101	64	-
China (mainland)	5 (approx.)	38(58)	87	-
India	47	25	-	-

Source: Barker, R.E. *Books for All*. Paris: UNESCO; Escarpit, R. 1965. *The Book Revolution*. London: George G. Harrap and Company Ltd.; *L'État du monde, Annuaire économique géopolitique mondial 2001*, Éditions La Découverte; *Boréaldata* in www.canadianheritage.gc.ca (Book Publishing Industry Activity report in 2000-2001); <http://www.ipa-uite.org/statistics/>

- 1- Commercially-distributed books only
- 2- Austria: after 1992 academic duplicates not included
- 3- Most recent items include new titles only
- 4- Dutch language books
- * 1999
- ** 2000
- *** 2001
- **** 2002

In terms of the number of new titles and reprints available, countries differ dramatically from one another. In 2000, there were 2,500 new titles available in Croatia, but 11,758 in Denmark, 68,399 in Germany, 67,522 in Japan, and 97,543 in the United Kingdom (Table 8). In Germany there are currently 450,000 titles current in print.

TABLE 8. Number of Titles by Country 2002*

Country	Language	New Titles	Reprint titles	Total number in print
Australia	English	9755	n/a	n/a
Croatia	Croatian	2,500	4000	6000
Denmark	Dutch	11,758	2,396	50,000
Egypt	90% Arabic	8000	1,7000	120,000
European publishers	n/a	324,974	147,315	3.5 (mln)
Germany	German	68,399	21,587	450,000
Italy	Italian	34,544	21,022	378,000
Japan	Japanese	67,522	-	573,500
Korea	Korean	36,186	n/a	n/a
Latvia	Latvian	2,326	-	10000
Russian Federation	Russian	46,156***	-	130,000
Spain	Spanish	30,000	29,937	206,847
UK	English	97,543	22,936	1.1 (mln)
USA	English	65,000**	n/a	n/a

* Source: International Publishers Association

** Year 2000

*** Year 1998

In Western Europe there were 3.5 million titles in print, and in the United Kingdom alone there are 1.1 million titles currently in print. The availability of titles in print suggests that the trade in books, including the trade in copyrighted materials available for re-publication in less expensive editions is a significant education question. In general it may be concluded that more titles should be made available in developing countries, and that, for sound educational reasons, the tax on those materials should be modest or highly preferential.

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TEXTBOOKS AND SOCIAL CONSENSUS

Textbooks and the origin of public schooling.

Mechanisms to impart organized wisdom have been developed in each culture. The concept of public education, however, is a different matter. Public rationales for sending children to school were first articulated in the time of Martin Luther, about 400 years ago, and initially centred on the need to improve public morality.

I am of the opinion that the government is obligated to compel its citizenry to send their children to school. If a government can compel its citizens to bear spear and gun, to run about on the city wall and to assume other duties when it desires to carry on war, how much more can and should the government compel its citizen to keep their children at school (Luther, 1530, cited in Helmreich, 1959, p. 15).

The prince of Wutternberg in 1559 is acknowledged to be the first of a series of German political leaders to sponsor state school, but it wasn't until 1717 that Frederick William I made urban education compulsory and helped provide finance for the education of children from homes that could otherwise not afford it. It is his son, Frederick the Great, however, who deviated from having a single public religious morality as the principal rationale for public schooling. Because Prussia had recently acquired lands in which there were Catholics as well as Protestants, in his *Generallandschulreglement* in 1763, and later in the *Allgemeine Landrecht* of 1794, he established the principle of compulsory education for both urban and rural areas, the state's supervisory role with respect to private (usually church) providers, and most importantly, the principle of tolerance toward confessional activities in exchange for a common Prussian loyalty.

There are few lands in which all citizens have the same religion, and the question arises: is such unity to be forced or can one permit everyone (sic) to think according to his own views? To this the answer must be that it is impossible to establish such unity... general tolerance along guarantees the happiness of the state (Frederick the Great, 1763, cited in Helmreich, 1959, p. 29).

The philosophic foundation of public education as it is known today however, was established in the 19th century in France by Francois Guizot (1787–1874), in New England by Horace Mann (1796–1859), and in the Netherlands by Petrus Hofstede de Groot (1802–1886). In the effort to enlighten a nation divided by beliefs, languages, and ethnic loyalties, popular education was more concerned with providing common attitudes and values than with the vocational or

Total number in print
n/a
6000
50,000
120,000
3.5 (mln)
450,000
378,000
573,500
n/a
10000
130,000
206,847
1.1 (mln)
n/a

and in the United States the availability of textbooks in copyrighted titles should be a significant educational reason, not a financial one.

scientific skills. As Glenn observes, "popular education was not simply, or even primarily, to teach literacy or other skills but to develop the common attitudes and values considered essential to a society in which broader and broader circles of the population were entering public life" (Glenn, 1988, p. 45). As Brooks remarked, "education could no longer be left to private initiative or allowed to take as many different forms as there were sponsoring organizations; too much was at stake" (Brooks, 1837, cited in Glenn, 1988, p. 46).

What was 'at stake' was the forging of a nation based not on principles of tyrannical control but for the first time, based on the informed consent of the governed, across the full gamut of religions, classes, languages, ethnicities from which the modern heterogeneous state was contrived. As Struurman put it,

Through education and propagation of (common) culture among all classes, the circle of citizens could be broadened, as would the basis of the state... a homogenous Dutch nation would come into being. This is the political core of the common school policies, the school as a nation-forming institution must not be divided among sectarian schools or left in the hands of an exclusive political or church party (1983, p. 116-117).

To some extent the success of the modern Netherlands with the merging of Catholic and Protestant subpopulations can be attributed to the success of the public school and the overriding ethos of tolerance that was enforced through the state in both Catholic and Protestant educational curricula. In New England, however, the solution seemed to rest on a common school managed and provided by the state and independent from all sectarian control. As Datton explained in 1848,

The children of this country, of whatever parentage, should not wholly but to a certain extent be educated together—and be educated not as Baptists, or Methodists, or Episcopalians, or Presbyterians; not as Roman Catholics or Protestants, still less as foreigners in language or in spirit, but as Americans, as made of one blood and citizens of the same free country—educated to be a harmonious people. The common school system if wisely and liberally conducted, is well fitted in part at least to accomplish this. While it does not profess to give a complete education and allows ample opportunity for instruction and training in denominational peculiarities elsewhere, it yet brings the children of all sects together, gives them, to a limited extent a common like education, and by such education and by the commingling, acquaintance and fellowship which it involves in the early unprejudiced and impressionable periods of life, assimilates and unites them (p. 166).

What would be the social cost for not having a system of public education? As Horace Bushnell argues, not having such a system would weaken the security of the nation and endanger the liberties on which it has been founded:

This great institution, the common school, is not only a part of the state, but it is imperiously wanted as such, for the common training of so many classes and conditions of people. There needs to be

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Bowles and Gintis (1976)
textbooks legitimise the

someplace where in early childhood, they may be brought together and made acquainted with each other... without common schools, the disadvantage that accrues to the state, in the loss of so much character, and so many cross ties of mutual respect and general appreciation, the embittering so fatally of all outward distinctions, and the propagation of so many misunderstandings, ... weakens immensely the security of the state, and even its liberties (Bushnell, 1847, p. 27).

Key to understanding the social importance of textbooks is to understand that the main purpose itself of public schooling is social. Textbooks are the most accessible part of the curriculum, and as Basil Bernstein suggests, they "define what counts as valid knowledge" (Bernstein, 1975, p. 185). It is no wonder that textbook content and style constitute a fertile ground for debate. What should be taught to the young about history; about fellow citizens; about neighbours; about former or current enemies (Apple, 1984)? And even with the best of motives, is it possible to teach about foreign cultures without either being patronizing or pandering (Ploszajska, 1996; Lieven, 2000; Manzo, 2003; Silova, 1996)?

As the style of pedagogy has changed, so have the professional methods of textbook designers. In general, pedagogy has shifted from a style in which the majority of pupils were concerned with learning "standard operations tied to specific contexts—to a pedagogy emphasizing the exploration of principles. Teachers have shifted from using textbooks as the source of information and solutions to the source posing compelling problems" (Bernstein, 1975, p. 70).

Over the last few years however, a gap in understanding textbooks has developed. In the eyes of some critics, textbooks are seen as the epitome of social control. These critics tend to over-emphasize prescription and directive techniques of textbook design and under-emphasize or ignore the use of generalization and theoretical laws in textbook design. Bernstein for instance, says that

The textbook ... tacitly transmits ideology... it orders knowledge according to an explicit progression, it provides explicit criteria, it removes uncertainties and announces hierarchy (Bernstein, 1975, p. 138)

Apple tends to see the role of the textbook as illustrating how dominant cultures incorporate the interests of the less dominant. He argues that there are three ways in which the public might respond to a text, to be *dominated*, to *negotiate* or to *oppose*. If dominated, the public would accept textbook messages at face value. If negotiated, the public may dispute a particular claim but accept the overall tendency or interpretation. If they oppose, they would take on the position of the oppressed (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 14). Apple might agree with Bowles and Gintis (1976) for instance, who argue that schooling and school textbooks legitimise the values and attitudes relevant to the mode of production

and socialise those from working class background to passively take on the role of future workers, thus supporting the social stratification of capitalism. Bernstein, however, points out that if school texts and schooling socialise workers into deferential roles and occupational docility, then schooling and school books do so with enormous inefficiency given that they have been responsible for motivating generations of those who challenge the social system and lead it toward necessary improvements (Bernstein, 1975, p. 188).

To understand the role of the text in building consensus it is necessary to appreciate the fact that it is normal for the public to want to socialise. It is a principal purpose of schooling, and textbooks are an essential mechanism. The role of the textbook in fashioning history has long been a subject of investigation (Ahier, 1988; Berghah and Schissler, 1987; Crawford, 1996*a*, 1996*b*, 1997, 2000*a*, 2000*b*, 2000*c*, 2000*d*, 2003, Matsui and Crawford, 2003, Sidhava, 2001). There is no school system where the content is not a critical point of debate. One cannot reflect on these articulate social critics of textbooks and expect to find a public system of education where textbooks had been eliminated, or where debates had been settled.

The key question is how to guide the textbook publishers in what to include. Hopken argues that the main causes of textbook problems in the first half of the 20th century have passed. Tensions are no longer over the causes of warfare among nations. There are, he says, no more Clausewitz type wars between sovereign states. Ideology as a cause of war has declined. Most of us accept some form of market-oriented democracy. Today struggles tend to be over ethnic identity, and ethnic struggles over access to resources. The actors have changed too. No longer are the main actors states and conventional armies. Today they may include paramilitary groups, gangs, and warlords. The state has lost its monopoly over warfare. The distinctions between civilians and combatants have declined. The distinction between wars and organized crime has declined. Lastly, new wars cannot be combated without international intervention. Wars over commerce and identity are more difficult to settle through negotiations because identity is not negotiable (Hopken, 2003 p. 2). As Friedman (1999) points out, the parties in conflict are sometimes capable of risking everything for the sake of an "olive tree". If such extremism prevails with respect to defences and social policy, imagine what it might imply for the content of textbooks.

Lewis points out that 'a nation's sense of its history is indistinguishable from its social cohesion, but "if you don't teach people good history they'll learn bad history," (Lewis, 1987, p. 134). But what is good history, and what is bad history? He makes a distinction between "blinker nationalism and national self-awareness" (p. 132). The first narrows ones view of the world and exaggerates the role of one's home identity; the latter helps establish pride in

one's place within a world.
Hutton and Mehlinger
textbooks of history
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and (v) excess breadth
Mehlinger, 1987, p. 14
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TABLE 9. Type of Inform

Categories
Political Information
Motherland
Young Pioneers
Foreign Relations
Military
Total

one's place within a world of identities.

Hutton and Mehlinger point out that there are five common problems which textbooks of history must solve. These include (i) ideological bias, (ii) unnecessary omission², (iii) the promotion of one's own role, (iv) factual error and (v) excess breadth of coverage as opposed to depth of coverage (Hutton and Mehlinger, 1987, p. 148). How to get the balance right is no small technical matter.

It is reported that following the merger with The People's Republic of China (PRC), Hong Kong had to address the unflattering portraits of British colonial history and the crediting of Hong Kong's economic success to the PRC in the new textbooks. In the Russian Federation history texts were distorted by the emphasis on Marxism/Leninism, but when these were dropped, they were criticized by the conservative nationalists (Lisovskaya and Karpov, 1999). In many instances, new texts have eliminated some problems such as the hostility toward organized religion and the use of scientific determinism to justify socialist accomplishments, but have raised new ones (Low-Beer, 1997). In one text for instance, the former USSR is treated as the "fatherland" thus making the 14 former USSR republics nervous about Russia's intentions (Valliant, 2004).

In Latvia, old Soviet stories of American racism and capitalist hegemony were replaced with stories emphasizing Latvian folk tales and rural life, which by many standards was an important improvement, but which left out many of the important stories of the Russian-speaking citizens of Latvia (Silova, 1996). The shift in textbook emphasis from Soviet to Latvian nationalism is illustrated in Table 9. Latvian language textbooks in 1980 emphasized young pioneers, foreign relations and role models including Soviet heroes and Lenin. Editions in 1994 emphasized fairy tales, legends and local regions of the country.

TABLE 9. Type of Information Presented in Latvian Language Textbooks 1980 and 1994*

Categories	Number of appearances			
	Edition of 1980		Edition of 1994	
	Texts	Illustrations	Texts	Illustrations
Political Information				
Motherland	4	-	1	-
Young Pioneers	5	3	-	-
Foreign Relations	13	4	-	-
Military	4	2	-	-
<i>Total</i>	26	9	1	-

Categories	Number of appearances			
	Edition of 1980		Edition of 1994	
	Texts	Illustrations	Texts	Illustrations
Cultural information				
Folk-songs	3	3	9	5
Fairy-tales	6	6	13	9
Legends	-	-	6	3
<i>Total</i>	9	9	28	17
Geographic Information				
Latvian borders	1	-	1	-
Regions	-	-	8	4
Cities	-	-	4	4
Lakes and rivers	-	-	4	3
<i>Total</i>	1	-	25	11
Role models				
Lenin	5	2	-	-
Soviet heroes	2	1	-	-
Young Pioneers	5	3	-	-
Family members	-	-	4	4
<i>Total</i>	12	6	4	4
Spatial Scene				
Urban—factory	7	2	-	-
Other	8	11	5	5
Rural-agriculture	9	8	22	16
Forestry	-	-	3	1
Fishing	1	1	2	2
<i>Total urban</i>	15	13	5	5
<i>Total rural</i>	10	9	27	19

*Source: Silova, I., 1996. De-Sovietization of Latvian Textbooks Made Visible. In: *European Journal of International Studies*, vol. 7, pp. 35-45.

Worries over textbooks in Greece. In Spain, the ministry of education is concerned with the role of histories (Crawford, 1997) and whether local identities relevant may be w... antithetical to being...

In Israel, textbooks of Arabs more general we are more modern (Surkes 1997, p. 4). contain abuse terms through a holy wa... Monitoring the In... emerged from Bosn... textbooks from t... Tamil/Sinhalese ci...

It is the case that the country of origin for ethnic and racial community. One racial and/or ethnic step in to help neg... disturbance is heig...

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- violence has...
 - former enem...
 - territory and...
 - there must be...
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- promote eth... (2003).

Illustrations
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9
3
17
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4
4
3
11
-
-
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4
4
-
5
16
1
2
5
19

Worries over textbook history are commonplace in Japan, Korea, Italy, and Greece. In Spain, regional upswings in ethnic nationalism are so strong that the ministry of education is responsible for distributing seven different Spanish histories (Crawford, 2000d, p. 4). Will seven histories detract from Spain's sense of social cohesion? Key to this question is what is taught in the common interest and whether local identity is treated as antithetical to national identity. Also relevant may be whether local texts treat identity with the EU as being antithetical to being Spanish.

In Israel, textbooks are said to paint a simplistic picture of Palestinians and of Arabs more generally. One Israeli textbook says: "Arabs are extremists and we are more moderate. They murder indiscriminately and we defend ourselves" (Surkes 1997, p. 4). On the other hand, Palestinian textbooks have been found to contain abuse terminology, denials of legitimacy, exhortations of fighting Israel through a holy war, re-labelling of Israeli cities as Palestinian (Centre for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, 2001). Similarly disturbing reports have emerged from Bosnia (Heyneman, 2000), and one report lays blame on history textbooks from the 1950s as one of the precipitating causes of the Tamil/Sinhalese civil war 25 years later (Nissan, 1996).

It is the case that textbooks with inflammatory texts may destabilize not only the country of origin, but also the region more broadly. If texts serve as a conduit for ethnic and racial hegemony they threaten the security of the wider community. One may ask, what right has a nation to exacerbate tension with racial and/or ethnic hatred? To what extent might the international community step in to help negotiate or adjudicate in those instances where the threat of civil disturbance is heightened (Heyneman, 2003c)?

There are conditions under which textbooks with extremist views can be negotiated toward reasonableness. Hopken describes the lengthy and successful bi-national committees in Germany and France, which have been instrumental in negotiating the wording of texts that describe the origins of the many wars between those two great nations (Hopken, 2003). He also point argues that there are four preconditions for such success. These include the condition that

- violence has already been ended
- former enemy states must have already settled disputes over sovereignty territory and the constitutional rights of its citizens
- there must be undisputed commitment of political elites on all sides
- there must be agreement on basic values such as the need for education to promote ethnic identity within a heterogeneity of citizenship (Hopken, 2003).

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

International organizations have had a long history of interest in school textbooks (Bielański, 1966; De Freitas, 1983; Barnett, Pigford, n.d.; Kotei, 1980; Matsuura, 2002; Neumann, 1980; Priestly, 1993; Trevitt, 1980; Oluwasanmi, McLean, Zeel, 1975; Seguin, 1989; World Bank, June 2000; UNESCO, n.d.; 1981; 1985; 1991; 1995; 2000; 2003). For the most part, the essence of the concern has been that of inadequate supply and the various economic and policy changes thought necessary to increase the supply. However important as an issue, the future focus will be drawn elsewhere, with particular attention to be drawn toward textbook civics content in an unstable world.

Even if it had been identified earlier, the ineffectiveness at addressing social cohesion issues may not have prevented the tragedy in Bosnia or Rwanda. However, the cost of inaction can be high. If one discovers a school system that systematically undermines social cohesion, as in Sri Lanka in the 1950s, it is possible to predict where there will later be civil conflict and perhaps civil war.

But what is to prevent extremist curricula? Is there an international court to which an ethnic group might appeal if they feel their culture or history is disrespected? Would this court be willing to consider the rights and privileges of a majority group as important as a minority group? Is there an institution that on a regular basis can analyse the degree to which school systems are adequately performing social cohesion functions? Is there an institution able to respond to social cohesion "hot spots" and render proactive professional advice?

In brief, the answer is no. The legal mandate for most U.N. organizations was established fifty years ago when the problems and challenges were quite different. While there have been quite successful bilateral commissions, for example between the Federal Republic of Germany and France in the case of history textbooks, the experience of Japan, China, and Korea is quite different (Hopken, 2003; Hutton and Mehlinger, 1987). Without similar attention to history as created in Western Europe, curriculum in Asia continues to exacerbate problems that could have been solved decades ago.

Could an agency such as the World Bank, be used to fulfil this function?¹³ Probably not. Members of the World Bank are national governments, while many of the educational problems are sub-national in their nature (Heyneman, 2003a; 2003b). UNESCO has been working on problems of culture and education for many years. A considerable level of expertise has been built up which combines curriculum issues with the rights of minorities, gender and other social forms of discrimination, and the techniques of achieving effective pedagogy and school management. However, because national states constitute

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CONCLUSIONS

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voting members, UNESCO might have difficulty filling the need to provide effective professional action on a sub-national level or in a highly charged context where two nations may disagree on the content of one another's curriculum. What about specialized agencies such as UNICEF? Advocacy is a long-standing specialization of UNICEF. But it may have problems, too, filling expectations in this particular context. Most UNICEF operations depend on voluntary donations, and some might feel that the source of financing could influence its professional judgment.

This is a time for creativity in thinking about new agencies and new functions within current U.N. agencies. It is a time for realism. What is clear is that the world needs a professional institution capable of adjudicating problems of education and social cohesion. There needs to be a source for monitoring trends and tendencies. One possibility might be to raise the capacity of an organization such as CIVITAS in Strasbourg so that it might be able to fulfil these functions from the basis of professional standards among civics educators. There may also be ways to expand the role of regional organizations, such as the European Union in these areas. And it certainly would be useful to gather better statistics on civics education performance through OECD and the recently established UNESCO Institute of Statistics (Heyneman, 2003c). Well before there is an outbreak of civil disturbance, the world needs to know where there is discomfort and concern.

For the most part, education must remain a local responsibility, under local authorities. But at the same time, one needs to recognize that its implications are broader than the local community. While it remains true that local communities have the right to educate citizens in the way they choose, it is also true that the world community has a right to know when and where there are instances in which the direction of local education makes citizens and neighbours uncomfortable and the region potentially unstable.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The state has a critical role to play in the design of curriculum standards but has little or no role to play in the manufacture of text materials or, in many cases, their distribution. That said, public officials are often not sufficiently experienced to effectively design RFPs for textual materials, and teachers are often not sufficiently aware of the "pedagogical engineering issues" of text design to choose texts from approved lists with care. Far more attention needs to be paid to the education of public policy and pedagogical officials on textbook engineering. This role can often be filled by the private sector providers.

While it is universally true that the private sector is the natural provider of

text materials, the question remains about whether international providers may restrain participation by local publishers. The answer is not simple. Circumstances differ dramatically from one country and one region to another. The circumstances of international providers may be quite different in small markets like Francophone Africa where the source of multi-nationals is dominated by one country as opposed to Central America where the source of multi-nationals can be many countries in Europe, North as well as South America. Are multi-national publishers less objectionable if they originate in Singapore, India or Brazil, than if they originate in Germany or Britain?

Arguments in favour of raising tariffs to protect local publishing industries are often based on weak evidence. International providers responding to local RFPs are not necessarily more expensive. Like all providers they will manufacture a product under the financial constraints to which they are assigned. International providers are not necessarily a threat to local cultures. Responding to MOE specifications one firm may utilize a local resident scholar; and another firm may utilize a local scholar residing in outside the country. Is one necessarily more "local"? International providers will provide what they are asked to provide and are as capable as local publishers of utilizing local authors. Moreover, international publishers are often quite willing to participate in partnerships with local publishers, and these partnerships are often more competitive (Newton, 1999; Randle, 1999; Sulley, 1999; Konate, 1999; Loric, 1999; O'Donnell, 1999; Treffgarne, 1999).

One exception to an open policy for publishing concerns procurement in World Bank operations. Procurement guidelines are not specific to the education sector, but instead are designed for use across sectors. There have been instances in which the guidelines themselves have inhibited the participation of local publishers in the bidding process. The guidelines may require a level of operating capital for potential bidders that may be understandable in a power supply project, but may be unreasonable in education. In this instance, the procurement guidelines, designed originally to ensure fair international competitive bidding, in fact may act as a restraint on participating by local publishers and hence, as restraint on free trade. In this, one might agree with the view of James Socknat:

The Bank's procurement rules are very complicated, and maybe we in the Bank should try to move away from having international competitive bidding as the presumptive approach in textbook projects. Although Bank-wide it may still be necessary to use international competitive bidding, or other sorts of specifically supply-side or demand-side financed options. There is no virtue in utilizing scarce resources to train people to learn the extraordinarily complex procurement rules and regulations if we can attain the objectives of educating large numbers in an easier fashion, with less transaction costs. (Socknat et al., 1999, p. 206).

Is textbook content influenced by the influence of the rich and the poor? No. The fact is that textbooks have a particular character. If the character is distorted by particularistic interests, it cannot expect textbooks to be asked of textbooks by neighbours uncomfortable with the question for the powerful and more to do with divisive interests—into the question must be asked if text materials are inflated.

The question for the powerful and more to do with divisive interests—into the question must be asked if text materials are inflated. Textbooks are instruments of two separate characteristics: to pass onto its young. The second power is more concerned with the symbolic content. They represent power is the reason why they are productive. The fact is that (1993).

Role of development assistance

Textbook efficiency depends on the influence of external factors. The World Bank is the largest provider of textbook projects in over two-dozen countries. International Development Bank Commonwealth included by Belgium, Canada, and the African Technique (ACCT) in Africa. The Swedish International Development Foundation, Finnish International Development Through Foundations, such as projects in one part of

Is textbook content influenced by the rich and powerful? In short, yes. But does the influence of the rich and powerful alone make textbook content illegitimate? No. The fact is that textbooks must conform to the general ethos of a nation's character. If the character of the nation is biased or in some profound manner distorted by particularistic social interests, the textbooks will reflect them. One cannot expect textbooks to not reflect the values of the nation. The question that should be asked of textbooks is whether the content makes its own citizens or its neighbours uncomfortable.

The question for the future has less to do with the influence of the rich and powerful and more to do with the influence of the pernicious. If controlled by divisive interests—intolerant, aggressive religious factions for instance—then the question must be asked about what recourse the international community has if text materials are inflammatory?

Textbooks are instruments of extraordinary power. But their power lies in two separate characteristics. Textbooks contain the wisdom that a nation agrees to pass onto its young. Thus the first kind of power lies in the textbooks' content. The second power is more subtle and, in some ways, more interesting. This concerns the symbolic power of the textbook. Textbooks represent more than content. They represent the results of a national view of itself. This symbolic power is the reason why research on textbooks has been so interesting and productive. The fact is that textbooks are a window on a nation's soul (Johnsen, 1993).

Role of development assistance agencies

Textbook efficiency depends on textbook policy. Textbook policies are heavily influenced by external agencies supplying the necessary textbook finance. The World Bank is the largest, but by no means the only important agency involved. The world's largest education foundation (the Soros Foundation) has textbook projects in over two-dozen countries. The British Department of Finance and International Development (DFID) has textbook programs in many parts of the Commonwealth including Sierra Leone, Jamaica and South Africa. Supported by Belgium, Canada and France, l'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (ACCT) maintains book programs throughout French-speaking Africa. The Swedish International Development Assistance Agency (SIDA), the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the Canadian Organization for Development Through Education (CODE) and several small but important foundations, such as the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, all have textbook projects in one part of the world or another. In spite of the growing interest in

coordination, problems remain. First is the comparatively low portion (7.5%) of education development assistance allocated to reading materials (Montagnes, 2002, p. 16), suggesting that priorities are governed more by traditional institutional divergence than common principles. Yet even within textbook sector, differences in policy persist. Some agencies encourage free textbook distribution; others encourage purchase schemes through commercial channels; and others encourage loan or revolving fund schemes in which books are borrowed for a price. The mixture of strategies is sometimes confusing, and occasionally counterproductive.

Underpinning all donor-assisted projects are technical analyses of the current status of reading materials and the strategies to address problems of scarcity, quality and finance. These analyses have two issues of relevance. First is the question of who controls the analyses, for whoever controls the analyses sets the terms and the later agenda for negotiation. Second is the question of when policies are negotiated on the bases of the analyses, how are low-income countries advised as to their options?¹⁴

1. Countries might decide what to analyse and who should perform the technical analyses that underpin textbook and other education policies.

One option might be to place the technical studies in the hands of the countries themselves. The Asian Development Bank, for instance, makes grants for the technical assistance that underpins lending¹⁵. Development assistance agencies might grant monies for analytic work. Countries would request proposals just as they do for other forms of technical assistance. Bids would emerge from universities, private companies, and perhaps other public agencies, both local and international.

2. Education policy, including donor-assisted textbook policy might be jointly decided within the U.N. System.

A second option might be to re-assign the responsibility for textbooks and other issues to a consortium of international organizations, much like the consortium of organizations which linked together on Education For All initiative of UNESCO (Mundy, 1998; 1999). The virtue of this option would be to diversify the policy interests of specific agencies. This would place professional responsibility for education policy within the institution whose terms of reference covers the full gamut of educational activities, not just the activities related to internal and external efficiency¹⁶.

3. Technical Assistance for Education Policy

A third suggestion might be to initiate a "technical assistance facility" available

to middle—and low-income group of senior policy individuals from a particular country. Assistance and voluntary to the client accept all, part, or none of advice would be found in NGOs, located in many different basis. Costs and expenses contributions of private foundations however, contributions would come from development assistance; moreover, the education policy government to which they offer advisors at any time.

Why consider technical covenants over textbook often left "undefended". A technical advice from implementation officers, and Minister of Education, a development typical low-income government on which to draw¹⁷. By conventional legal advice, and when the provided free of charge. The as capable as the advice from has access to technical advice have to represent their interests or other important educational recommend policies, they

Summary and recommendations

For both symbolic and practical the central issues of policy education sector management wider policies are well based is fair to ask low-income principles, develop textbook competition and hence, in hand, the international community

to middle—and low-income countries at free or highly subsidized fees. This group of senior policy individuals on part time contract could act on demand from a particular country. As with an attorney, the advice would be confidential and voluntary to the client country. The client government would be free to accept all, part, or none of it. Those who would participate in donating their advice would be found in the most prestigious universities and international NGOs, located in many different countries and would serve on a “*pro bono*” basis. Costs and expenses and modest fees would initially be covered by contributions of private foundations. When a track record has been established however, contributions toward these technical advisors would be expected to come from development assistance agencies themselves. Similar to an attorney moreover, the education policy advisors would serve at the pleasure of the government to which they offer advice. The government would be free to change advisors at any time.

Why consider technical assistance in education policy? In negotiating covenants over textbook and other policy issues, developing countries are often left “undefended”. A development assistance agency may have access to technical advice from attorneys, statisticians, economists, engineers, implementation officers, and educators. On the other side of the table may be a Minister of Education, a deputy, and a diplomat from the national embassy. The typical low-income government has little depth of technical or legal experience on which to draw¹⁷. By contrast, in public court any defendant is represented by legal advice, and when the defendant cannot afford an attorney, that attorney is provided free of charge. The advice provided free of charge may or may not be as capable as the advice from the other side of the table, but at least a defendant has access to technical advice. Who do low—and middle-income countries have to represent their interests during contract negotiations involving textbook or other important education policy issues? By comparison to the agencies that recommend policies, they have little technical redress.

Summary and recommendations

For both symbolic and pedagogical reasons, textbooks will continue to be among the central issues of policy debate in education. But textbook supply and sound education sector management may only prosper in an atmosphere in which wider policies are well balanced and carefully negotiated among equal sides. It is fair to ask low-income countries to adhere to the wisdom of wider economic principles, develop textbook policies which are open to private and international competition and hence, more likely to be efficient and effective. On the other hand, the international community has a right to investigate and hold nations to

account for text materials that may inflame tensions and threaten social cohesion. Low—and middle-income nations should not be expected to negotiate important technical choices of education policy without private and experienced advice. The lack of even minimum textbook supply is an unacceptable finding ten years after the Jomtien resolutions. The goals of Education for All supported by the resources of the Millennium Challenge Account should include a minimum standard of reading materials.

- Support should be sought for an international NGO to advise on problems of textbooks and threats to social consensus.
- International support should be sought to lower the cost for countries to reduce VAT and other taxes on textbooks and educational materials generally.
- The international community should create a special fund to support the provision of textbooks in low-income countries up to an international minimum. That fund should take as its goal attaining the one book: student ratio, the second of the four levels of educational quality illustrated in Table 4.

Notes

1. A 'modern' education system effectively reaches the entire population. It frequently revises its strategies and technologies; it periodically reviews its record of accomplishment and shares that record with the public.
2. Ralph Tyler lists the characteristics of the progressive era commonly found in school textbooks: acceptance of a wide range of objectives, integration of those objectives, use of varied media for learning and expression, sequence and continuity, emphasis on the development of skills instead of the memorization of specific facts, varied categorization and organizations in the material sometimes student led, attention to local community needs and resources, and instruction based on the personal and social needs of students (Tyler cited in Foshay, 1990, p. 24).
3. From 1962 to 1980, the Bank treated textbooks as a 'recurrent' cost and not a legitimate Bank investment. (Heyneman, 2003, p. 320).
4. One excellent review of the implications on teaching of how people learn can be found in (Kilgore, n.d.).
5. One of the more extraordinary revolutions that occurred following the break-up of the Soviet Union was the immediate change in textbooks. Of the 28 nations that changed governments between 1989 and 1991, none kept the earlier Marxism/Leninism views in the previous history or civics textbooks.
6. Forecasts of the financing requirements for low-income countries often need to assume a reallocation from less productive public expenditures to basic education, and a lowering of the level of personal theft in the public sector.
7. Exceptions include those instances of small isolated linguistic groups, such as Lapp in the Nordic countries, in which a ministry of education may take responsibility for the manufacture of school textbooks on the grounds of lack of supply response. It is argued that few private companies would bid on contracts with low print runs and high design costs. These costs of course could be a part of the government request for proposals. But then they would be more

- open to public scrutiny. By hiding, be protected somewhat from public multiple of that allocated to students.
8. Why did UNESCO assist state textbooks? its educational needs through state be divided into three categories: the others (UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UN among blocks of interests (ILO organizations), and those in which development banks, UN security developing countries, UNESCO party/states among its membership policy quickly came in line with
 9. Source: Association of American industry/index.cfm
 10. International Publishers Association.html
 11. For a discussion of American Woodward, 1990; or Kerr, 1955)
 12. Following the 1996 fiscal crisis not honest about its currency re corruption in the school curriculum not support a discussion of what without an explicit definition of
 13. While not responsible to the S considered part of UN system. organizations working with the ECOSOC at the intergovernmental coordination (CEB) at the inter-se
 14. There are a number of suggestions. See: International Financial Institutions. Arruda, 1994; Danaher, 1994; 2000; Bergesen, H. and Land 2000a, 2000b; Sanford, 1996.
 15. The quality of donor-led technical chooses the analytic work to be one.
 16. The argument against this is that can set its policy agenda independently so that both institutions would
 17. The issue of having technical when the Millennium Challenge the basis of several criteria. effectiveness, within technical proposition on which there would represent developing countries not even yet been asked (Heyneman)

open to public scrutiny. By hiding the additional costs within a larger ministry budget they can be protected somewhat from public objections that the average investment/student may be a multiple of that allocated to students using the national language.

8. Why did UNESCO assist state textbook monopolies when no industrialized democracy supplies its educational needs through state monopolies? In terms of governance, UN organizations may be divided into three categories: those in which each member state has the same authority as all others (UNESCO, WHO, FAO, UN General Assembly), those in which authority is divided among blocks of interests (ILO, which recognizes businesses, government and labour organizations), and those in which authority rests on monetary or political power (international development banks, UN security council). In the case of supporting state owned monopolies in developing countries, UNESCO was only following the pattern set by the many socialist party/states among its membership. After the end of the cold war, however, UNESCO textbook policy quickly came in line with the industrial democracies.
9. Source: Association of American Publishers, December 19, 2003; <http://www.publishers.org/industry/index.cfm>
10. International Publishers Association, 2004. http://www.ipaiaie.org/statistics/annual_book_prod.html
11. For a discussion of American textbook competition, see Taraporevala, 1970; Elliott and Woodward, 1990; or Kerr, 1955).
12. Following the 1996 fiscal crisis in Thailand in which it was concluded that the government was not honest about its currency reserves, it was noticed that there was no manifest definition of corruption in the school curriculum. It was omitted perhaps on the grounds that the culture would not support a discussion of what was uncomfortable. While curriculum must reflect local culture, without an explicit definition of corruption, is it any surprise why public officials can ignore it?
13. While not responsible to the Secretary General or the General Assembly, the World Bank is considered part of UN system, as specialised agency. Specialised agencies are autonomous organizations working with the UN and each other through the co-ordinating machinery of the ECOSOC at the intergovernmental level, and through the Chief Executives Board for co-ordination (CEB) at the inter-secretariat level (see www.un.org).
14. There are a number of suggestions about how to restructure development assistance agencies. See: International Financial Institution Advisory Commission, 2000; Cavanagh, Wysham and Arruda, 1994; Danaher, 1994; Williams and Young, 1994; French, 1994; Gilbert and Vines, 2000; Bergesen, H. and Lande, L. 1999; Gibbon, 1993; Gore, 2000; Collier, 2000; Woods, 2000a, 2000b; Sanford, 1996.
15. The quality of donor-led technical assistance cannot be guaranteed. Because the borrower chooses the analytic work to be implemented is no guarantee that the choice will be the right one.
16. The argument against this is that UNESCO is not governed by the Ministries of Education and can set its policy agenda independent of fiscal constraints. The solution may be a joint authority so that both institutions would have to agree to policy proposals which had fiscal implications.
17. The issue of having technical advice available to developing countries is particularly important when the Millennium Challenge Account is up and operating. MCA funds will be allocated on the basis of several criteria, one of which is the empirical proof of effectiveness. Proving effectiveness, within technical capacity and resource constraints, can be a very complicated proposition on which there will inevitably be more than one compelling point of view. Who will represent developing countries under the conditions of statistical evidence of effectiveness has not even yet been asked (Heyneman, 2003).

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