

World Education Forum

Dakar, Senegal
26-28 April 2000

Education for All
2000 Assessment



T H E M A T I C S T U D I E S

Textbooks and Learning Materials 1990–99



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Textbooks and Learning Materials 1990–99

Co-ordinated by the Department for International Development (UK)
and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Textbooks and Learning Materials 1990–99

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Summary

The standard of textbook provision deteriorated during the 1970s and 1980s throughout Africa and much of Latin America and Asia, and in 1990 was far below the desirable ratio of one book per pupil. Supplementary reading and other learning materials were even scarcer, and quality was often poor. During the 1990s the situation improved in some countries, thanks in large measure to external funding by international agencies, governments and civil society organizations, but globally textbooks continued in short supply. Textbooks were particularly scarce in rural areas and, even where available, were not always used effectively. State dominance in textbook provision proved inefficient and uneconomic. Supply of learning materials was impeded by lack of funding, conflicting government priorities, difficulties in distribution and lack of trained personnel. The provision of textbooks in many countries still depended on cyclical infusions of external aid that concentrated on the production of a commodity without building the related infrastructures.

Three significant trends can be detected in textbook provision during the 1990s: decentralization of selection and procurement, economic liberalization with a greater role for the private sector and increased cost recovery to achieve systemic sustainability. Funding agencies sought to co-ordinate their activities and increasingly recognized the importance of developing a national publishing industry to produce textbooks that would be in steady supply and would reflect local conditions, experiences and needs. In the latter part of the decade, the focus of aid began to shift from supply-side provision of textbook producers to targeted subsidies and demand-side funding of users.

A sustainable and competitive system of providing textbooks and other learning materials requires a publishing industry that can originate, produce and deliver the materials along commercial principles of cost recovery. Inequities will result, which can be reduced through targeted subsidies and programmes of demand-side support. But textbooks are only part of the picture. Provision of the wide range of other books needed to foster and maintain a literate society is also contingent on the emergence of a viable publishing and bookselling industry. This goal will be beyond the capacity of many small and poor countries. Dependence on external assistance will continue, although it can be reduced through national policies of cost recovery and increased educational budgets. Electronic options, in the near- and mid-term, are unaffordable and impracticable for many regions of the world, where the problem of inequitable access to appropriate, low-cost reading material must still be addressed.

This survey is one of a series prepared for the EFA 2000 Assessment, under the auspices of UNESCO Basic Education Section and the United Kingdom Department for International Development, for the International Consultative Forum on Education for All. It was commissioned for them by the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publication. ■

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I. Introduction

The importance of books

The *World Declaration on Education for All*¹ does not contain the words 'textbook' or 'learning materials' and there is only passing reference to such materials in the guidelines for implementation that accompanied the Declaration. Much more attention is given to the potential of technologies newer than print – television, radio and computers. This is not surprising, any more than that a policy declaration on transportation might omit reference to oil or one on television might omit reference to electricity. Schoolbooks have long been considered an essential educational commodity but one that can be turned on or off in supply, much like chalk or desks. It is only in the past decade that the complexities of developing the sustainable provision of books and other learning materials have come to be recognized by funding agencies and, to a lesser extent, by governments. It is only in the 1990s, too, that the importance of all links in the book chain to the sustainable provision of learning materials has come to be appreciated.

The value of books, on the other hand, has long been recognized. As early as 1978, Heyneman et al. (cited in Searle, 1985, p. 1) reported that:

From the evidence we have so far, the availability of books appears to be the single most consistently positive school factor in predicting academic achievement. In fifteen of the eighteen statistics, it is positive; this is, for example, more favourable than the thirteen out of twenty-four recently reported for teacher training.

In both Nicaragua and the Philippines, for example, testing in the early 1980s found that students with textbooks scored significantly higher, by about one-third of a standard deviation, than students without those resources (Lockheed, 1993, p. 22; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985, p. 223).

In many countries of the developing world, the textbook is the major, if not the only, medium of instruction. It is the main resource for teachers, setting out the general guidelines of the syllabus in concrete form, providing a guide and foundation to the content, order and pacing of instruction, supplying exercises and assignments for students to practise what they have learned. It is both a source of essential information and the basis for examination and appraisal.

The textbook retains its primacy because, in comparison to other educational technologies, books are inexpensive, easy to

use, easily portable, and familiar. They can be used in districts where there is no reliable supply of electricity or communication. They can be of particular assistance to the tens of thousands of underqualified and undertrained teachers who have been pressed into service to meet the demands of increasing enrolments throughout the global South.

Textbooks, moreover, may be the only introduction to reading for students who come from homes without books. They may be a young person's only exposure to reading in villages so remote that there are no newspapers, magazines or even shop signs. They are essential to teaching literacy in the many parts of the world where book hunger – even book famine – is endemic, where teaching is by rote and memorization of information, not always accurate and seldom up to date. As one expert has remarked, 'on the verge of the second millennium, education transmitted through oracy rather than literacy is inadequate in educating the labour force of a country [Ethiopia] with sixty million people' (Ambatchew, 1999).

Books are, in short, essential to achieving the goal of Education for All. In large numbers of the world's primary and secondary schools, however, pupils and students have only limited access to them, despite millions of dollars that have been spent on programmes of book provision.

Other learning materials

Textbooks cannot stand alone. To be effective, they must be supported by a variety of other educational materials. Each textbook should ideally be accompanied by a teacher's guide to using it. Such guides may outline innovative ways of teaching a particular lesson, suggest class activities to reinforce the content, and provide examples of exercises and assignments. They are particularly important when a new curriculum or new teaching strategies are being introduced and at all times for inadequately trained teachers.

Supplementary materials expand upon the information in the textbook. They may range from chalk and blackboards to educational television and interactive computerized lessons. Those that are printed reinforce the lessons of literacy taught in the classroom, develop children's ability to read, expand their vocabulary, train them in retrieving and using information, encourage independent reading and may instil a lifelong love of reading and learning.

This survey defines supplementary materials as including work books, reading programmes or schemes, children's fiction (easy readers, stories, plays and anthologies), children's non-fiction, audio tapes, video tapes, multimedia learning packages, science kits, reference books such as dictionaries and atlases, magazines, comics, posters, wall charts and maps. Most atten-

¹ Adopted by the World Conference on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs (Jomtien, Thailand, 1990).

tion will be paid to the supplementary reading materials that may be located in school libraries. When printed supplementary materials are in short supply, as is often the case, it may be assumed that access to electronic materials is even scarcer.

Author's note

The conditions under which textbooks are produced, and under which they are used in the school, vary from country to country, making generalizations difficult, if not sometimes dangerous. Political, fiscal, economic, industrial and cultural policies affect the availability of textbooks and other learning materials, as do geography, climate, and infrastructure.

Information about the availability of schoolbooks is scarce and often unreliable. This survey depends on books, published and unpublished reports from various sources, regional reports and classroom studies prepared by commissioned correspondents, personal observation and communications, and confidential responses to a questionnaire about books and learning materials that was distributed globally, but principally in Africa. Wherever practicable, sources are identified.

The classroom studies were commissioned by the UNESCO/Danida Basic Learning Materials Initiative. Ten studies were made in eight countries (Egypt, Guinea, India, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Samoa, Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania). In each country, nine publicly funded schools from rural and urban areas were selected – three of the best, three average and three weak. Researchers were asked to identify the educational materials in the classrooms, including non-book materials, their use, the extent to which teachers were trained in the use of materials, the involvement of pupils in preparing teaching and learning aids, and any significant experience or innovation encountered. These studies are identified in the text as the UNESCO/Danida case-studies.

The questionnaire was prepared by the Working Group on Books and Learning Materials of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) and the UNESCO/Danida Basic Learning Materials Initiative. Specific information drawn from the responses is identified in the text as ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999.

Because of time constraints, some regions are under-represented. Special attention is paid to Africa, where the book shortage has attracted more external support and generated more documentation over the past decade than any other region.

Winsome Gordon, Diana Newton, Carol Priestley, Diana Rosenberg, Carew Treffgarne and Elizabeth Wilson were supportive and helpful in the preparation of this study. Errors or omissions are the responsibility of the author. ■

II. Book provision in 1990

EFA objectives

Both the *World Declaration on Education for All* and its accompanying Framework for Action are concerned with broad policy goals and targets, in only some of which the provision of school books and learning materials play a part. With respect to that provision, the Framework for Action sets out the following principles:

- 'Addressing the basic learning needs of all means . . . capitalizing on the use of traditional and modern information media and technologies . . . [both of which] need to be designed to ensure equitable access, sustained participation, and effective learning achievement.' (para. 10)
- National and subnational planning should cover, among other subjects, 'the basic learning needs to be met . . . the languages to be used in education . . . modalities to mobilize family and local community support; the required capital and recurrent resources . . . possible measures for cost effectiveness, targets and specific objectives, and indicators and procedures to be used to for monitor progress in reaching the targets.' (para. 17)
- Attention should be paid to 'reduction of inefficiency in the public sector and exploitative practices in the private sector; provision of improved training for public administrators and of incentives to retain qualified women and men in public service; and provision of measures to encourage wider participation in the design and implementation of basic education programmes.' (para. 19)
- 'Efficiency in basic education does not mean providing education at the lowest cost, but rather the most effective use of all resources (human, organizational, and financial) to produce the desired levels of access and of necessary learning achievement.' (para. 23)
- 'Pre- and in-service training programmes for key personnel should be initiated, or strengthened where they do exist.' [In this context, curriculum developers are mentioned, but not publishing professionalism.] (para. 24)
- 'The quality and delivery of basic education can be enhanced through the judicious use of instructional technologies . . . (educational radio and television, computers, and audio-visual instructional devices) [which over time will] become less expensive and more adaptable to a range of environments.' (para. 26)
- 'Existing regional partnerships will need to be strengthened and provided with the resources necessary for their effective functioning in helping countries meet the basic learning needs of their populations.' (para. 36)

Textbook availability

Most governments, and most educators, would like to provide every pupil with a complete set of school books in every subject, free of charge. That, at least, is the ideal target – a textbook:pupil ratio of 1:1. In fact, it is a target imported from the industrialized nations that may be unnecessarily expensive. An often-quoted experiment in the Philippines suggests that when school books are the property of the school and are not taken home, there is only a marginal difference between ratios of 1:1 and 1:2, and some experts have suggested that a ratio of 1:3 should be regarded as satisfactory (Brunswic and Hajjar, 1992, p. 19). Very few countries outside the industrialized North could afford to reach even the lowest of these targets in 1990. Instead, as a result of global recession and rising enrolments, the standard of textbook provision deteriorated during the late 1970s and the 1980s throughout Africa and in much of Latin America and Asia. It was well below the ideal as the decade came to a close (Table 1).

A survey in 1990–91 of Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela (members of the Secretaría de

Educación del Convenio Andrés Bello, SECAB) found that only 32 per cent of pupils between Grades 1 and 5 had textbooks; variations between countries ranged from 64 per cent in Chile to 20 per cent or less in Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. In Mexico, the figure rose to 75 per cent thanks to a national textbook programme; in Brazil, it was estimated at about 33 per cent (Lizarzaburu, 1995). The national averages mask serious variations, as the comments in Table 1 and the data in Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate. In general, book provision was much better in the cities and towns than in rural areas, and areas that were difficult to reach had the fewest books – sometimes none. The pattern of rural deprivation has been most clearly documented in Africa. A summary of book sector studies in eight African countries found satisfactory to good ratios in the elite schools in important urban areas, but generally low levels of textbook provision at the primary level. Angola, Kenya, Nigeria and the United Republic of Tanzania recorded primary-level textbook:pupil ratios of 2:3 or better in urban areas, but 1:20 or worse elsewhere. In Nigeria, the situation grew notably worse as one travelled northwards; in the majority of schools visited during a book sector study, the textbook:pupil ratio was 1:10 and sometimes 1:100. In the United

Table 1. Availability of textbooks in selected countries, various years before 1990

	Year	Percentage of students without books	Distribution mechanism	Comment
<i>Low-income countries</i>				
Burkina Faso	1989	33	Purchased without subsidy	The French book is too expensive for low-income families.
Central African Republic	1987	–	Provided 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 ^a	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 ^a	1988/89	50	Purchased with subsidy	Students in rural areas have limited access to textbooks.
Rwanda ^a	1988	87	Purchased with subsidy	One pupil in eight has a set of books in Kinyarwanda, mathematics and French.
Uganda ^a	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 Tunisia 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.

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

Source: M.E. Lockheed and A.M. Verspoor et al., *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 1991.

Republic of Tanzania, a primary-level mathematics book that was available at a 1:3 ratio in the Southern Highlands plummeted to 1:700 in the Lake zone. Only Sierra Leone had achieved a broad equity of supply between rural and urban areas, at a ratio of 1:3, as a result of an externally funded textbook project that paid particular attention to distribution networks. (Before the project, the ratio in Sierra Leone was close to 1:1,000.) At the secondary level, few books were available in Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania or Zambia; in Kenya, Nigeria and Sierra Leone the ratios were between 1:10 and 1:28, implying only one to four textbooks per class. Elite secondary schools, once again, were likely to have more textbooks. Most of the textbooks in the secondary schools had been repaired and maintained for fifteen to twenty years (Buchan et al., 1991, pp. 13, 15, 98 and 118).

Table 2. Textbook availability in first-level education, 1991 survey

	assumed ratio		method of financing
	urban	rural	
Angola	1:5	1:20	sold
Cape Verde	1:1	1:1	sold
Ethiopia	1:3	1:3	loaned
Guinea-Bissau	1:1	1:1	sold
Kenya	1:6	1:30	sold
Mozambique	1:2	1:3	sold
Namibia	1:1	1:1	free
United Republic of Tanzania	2:3	1:13	free
Zambia	1:6	1:30	free
Zimbabwe	n.a.	n.a.	sold

Source: E. Brunswic and H. Hajjar. *Planning Textbook Development for Primary Education in Africa: Report of an IIEP Seminar, Maputo, 19–22 November 1991*, Paris/Stockholm, International Institute for Educational Planning/Swedish International Development Authority, 1992.

Table 3. Textbook availability in primary schools

	good schools	rural	average
Angola	1:1–1:5	1:100	–
Côte d'Ivoire	2:3	1:10	–
Kenya	2:3	1:100	1.6
Mozambique	–	–	1:3
Nigeria	2:3	up to 1:100	–
Sierra Leone	–	–	2:5
United Republic of Tanzania	2:3	up to 1:700	1:13
Zambia	1:6	1:30	–

Source: Buchan et al., *African Book Sector Studies: Summary Report*, Washington, D.C., World Bank, 1991, p. 13.

Variations between subjects and grades have also been noted. In Burundi, books were available only for language arts subjects in French and Kirundi (Eisemon et al., 1993, p. 133). The SECAB survey of Grades 1 to 5 in six South American countries found that while 70 per cent of the students had textbooks in Spanish

language, only 30 per cent had textbooks in mathematics and fewer than 10 per cent had them in science and social science (Lizarzaburu, 1995).

Where books were provided free of charge, those for a particular subject or grade were often unavailable when needed because of delays in printing and distribution. Where books were sold, variations reflected parental priorities and incomes. Parents were more likely to buy books in subjects that would contribute to their child's future financial success. In provinces of China where rural schools had little in the way of state-provided learning resources and parents bought books, teachers in the poorest areas sometimes bought books for children from their own salaries (Colclough and Lewin 1993, p. 92).

At the tertiary level, textbooks in Africa and many other countries were in chronically short supply. A great majority were imported and had become prohibitively expensive, despite schemes sponsored by the British and French governments to supply special low-cost editions. Shortages were more serious in teacher training and vocational institutes than in universities (Buchan et al., 1991, p. 16).

Quality of textbooks

The translation of broad curriculum outlines to a concrete book is no simple task. The book must be written at a level of concept, content and vocabulary that is appropriate for the majority of pupils at the grade level and in a way that, ideally, will interest and motivate them. It must be consistent in approach, method and explanation. It should be of use to the less-qualified teacher but allow the good teacher to expand upon its content. Writing a good textbook requires the skills of a subject specialist, a curriculum expert, a good teacher with classroom experience and an imaginative author; the writing of such books is increasingly a team effort.

In 1990 there was ample evidence that the books used in schools in many parts of the world fell below these standards. They suffered from poor instructional design, particularly in the scope and sequence of material. A study of textbooks for Grades 1, 3, and 5 in fifteen countries (cited in Lockheed, 1993, p. 22) found that for the earlier grades the material in mathematics and reading was too difficult; in Grade 5, the mathematics books were also too difficult but the reading books would have been more suitable for students in Grades 2 and 3. Textbooks in Pakistan were characterized by poor language grading from one level to another and even between subjects at the same level; teachers said the books were overly difficult for their students. Difficult books in the early grades were seen as contributing to the high early drop-out rate in many countries.

A study of textbooks in Mozambique found that, while they followed the established curriculum, they were generally too

theoretical and lacked sufficient linkages to the everyday experiences of the target users (Sida, 1996, p. 11). Neumann (1980, p. 63) quoted a Deputy Minister of Education in the Philippines as saying that textbooks in his country should be aimed towards the schools in poor villages; nevertheless, most of the officially approved school books in the 1980s catered for the urban élite.

Textbooks also suffered from errors in fact and grammar, inappropriate illustrations and a poor choice of language or script. In many of the African countries, books were written in English, French or Portuguese, even though in any one country fewer than 20 per cent of the population was likely to be literate in any one of these metropolitan languages (Altbach, 1995, p. 289; Bgoya, 1997, p. 34). Textbooks in the republics of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were in Russian, ignoring local languages such as Azeri, Turkmen, Kazakh, Uzbek and Kyrgyz. In Pakistan (Lockheed, 1993, p. 22), children could not read fluently the Arabic-style Nasakh script favoured by the curriculum developers and textbook writers, and as a result depended on their teachers to read the books for them and summarize the lessons.

In text and illustration, the books tended to reinforce traditional views of men and women. Lockheed and Verspoor et al., (1991, pp. 149–50) cite various studies showing girls or women in passive roles. A primary-school book in Swaziland depicted a boy happily playing ball and a girl shying away from a snake. In the twenty-nine most widely used primary textbooks in Peru, three-quarters of all references to and illustrations of people were of men. Similar discrepancies characterized the representation of men and women in school books from Costa Rica, Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Yemen and Zambia. There were signs of change. In Costa Rica, after new books were produced with support from the United States Agency for International Co-operation (USAID), the proportion of women and girls in illustrations rose from 25 per cent to 31 per cent; female figures no longer were shown as less independent and more often in stereotypically male roles; males were sometimes shown as caring for children or undertaking domestic tasks.

To an increasing extent, even in former colonial countries, textbooks were being written by local experts. European books were no longer being adapted, and even transnational publishers were using local authors with local teaching experience. If the books were less perfect pedagogically than their Northern counterparts, they were less Eurocentric and thus more related to the experience of pupils (Rathgeber, 1992, p. 82).

In most countries, the physical quality of the books was well below Northern standards (Buchan et al., 1991, pp. 36–7; Lockheed, 1993, p. 24). Imported paper was expensive, binding facilities limited, and machinery old and in need of repair. As a result, books were too often poorly printed on low-grade paper, inadequately bound by the adhesive ('perfect') method,

and used only black and white illustrations of varying quality. Such books could not stand up to the rigours of rainy climates, when pupils often had to walk long distances between home and school. Everywhere, the perfect-bound books were apt to fall apart. Externally funded textbook projects often used better paper and their products could be expected to last three years or more. Some incorporated four-colour printing, a feature that might be difficult to retain after the project closed.

The number of subjects, and therefore the number of textbooks, was increasing in some countries. This trend was evident in Africa (Buchan et al., 1991, p. 6; Brunswic and Hajjar, 1992, p. 9), where it was increasing strains on budgets and teachers. In most cases, however, only core subjects were actually available, and some countries were reversing the trend. Mozambique, for example, had decided to concentrate on six core subjects for Grade 5 as opposed to the eleven subjects then taught in The United Republic of Tanzania. Ethiopia had decided to teach three subjects (natural and exact sciences, and geography) as environmental studies, with a single textbook.

Use of textbooks

Statistics of textbook provision are notoriously unreliable. Books that are reported to have been produced do not always reach the schools. They may be damaged in transit, pilfered or, more commonly, held up in district storehouses for lack of resources to carry them further. Those that reach the schools, moreover, may not be used in the classroom. This was apparently often the case in 1990.

The reasons for non-use varied. In some countries, government regulations made ill-paid teachers responsible for replacing lost and damaged books, and as a result teachers kept the books locked up. Teachers were not trained in the methods of new textbooks and therefore hesitated to use them or were reluctant to use them because their interests and experiences, and those of their students, were not reflected in the content. Some teachers felt threatened by new textbooks, and there was some evidence (cited in Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985, p. 221) that less experienced teachers, who might be expected to benefit most from a carefully prepared textbook, were less likely to use them than were their more experienced colleagues.

Teachers' guides and supplementary materials

Teachers' guides were seldom available in developing countries. Lockheed and Verspoor (et al., 1991, p. 53) cite various studies: schools in Guinea-Bissau had guides only for Grade 1; in Malawi, fewer than 15 per cent of teachers had received a guide

for a subject other than English; in rural Brazil, only 44 per cent of teachers had received teachers' guides. Where textbooks were bought by parents rather than provided by the state, teachers' guides were apt to be in particularly short supply. Moreover, many guides were unrelated to the ability of the average classroom teacher and were often designed without consideration of the teacher's reading fluency or the conditions under which the guides would be read; small type, for example, was ill-suited to be read in the poor lighting of rural communities (Buchan et al., 1991, p. 7).

Where textbooks were in short supply, supplementary materials might be expected to be even more scarce. In many countries school libraries either did not exist or had fallen into disrepair at the primary and secondary levels, except in elite public or private schools. Book stocks were outdated, and very often Eurocentric. At the tertiary level, textbooks and reference works were so scarce that students resorted to wholesale photocopying of library titles, if not to theft or mutilation. Even university libraries that had been well stocked in the past had been unable to buy many new books or journals for some years. Public libraries, a resource for school children, also deteriorated, although Mexico (Magaloni, 1993, p. 81) was remarkable in creating some 3,500 new public libraries in the period 1982–92 in a national system that served 71 million readers stretching from the capital to remote villages isolated by mountains, rivers and jungle.

In nine African countries surveyed in book sector studies, libraries and supplementary materials were seriously underfunded as governments channelled scarce resources primarily into textbooks. The majority of primary and secondary schoolchildren had no access to books or other reading materials apart from textbooks. Most books that were available were European in origin and inappropriate in content. There were not enough books about African history, geography, literature or cultures. Teachers and principals were not trained in the maintenance and use of school libraries. At secondary level, school libraries were disintegrating in terms of stock, buildings, furniture and trained staff. In some countries, governments distributed supplementary reading materials to the schools but did not develop the infrastructure to store and use them. Sierra Leone, however, did take that important basic step and, as a result, supplementary materials it had distributed to the schools five years earlier were still in place (Buchan et al., 1991, pp. 53–6; British Council, 1992, pp. 17–20).

Schools that did have supplementary materials performed better than those that did not. The Escuela Nueva programme in Colombia used a variety of instructional materials, including school libraries, to great effect. High achieving schools in Thailand benefited from community support for the purchase of supplementary text materials. Supplementary materials were also reported to have been used successfully at the Gonakelle school in Sri Lanka and in adult literacy programmes in Nepal (Lockheed and Levin, 1993, p. 9).

Methods of textbook provision

Pupils in public systems of education received textbooks in one of three ways.

1. Provided free of charge by the state. This was the method followed in many countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the socialist republics of eastern Europe and western Asia. Free provision was more common in primary schools than at the secondary level. Books might be produced cheaply and given to the pupils each year for them to keep (as in the soviet republics) or given to the schools and lent to the pupils for their use during the school year on the understanding that they would be returned.

The provision of free books was intended to ensure equity in availability (although it did not) and responded to a viewpoint expressed by one Mexican expert (quoted in Neumann, 1980, p. 54) that 'if a government says that elementary education becomes an obligation for every citizen, then the government should provide the facilities for such education.' Remarkably, in some African countries university students were given free tuition and free books but primary school students were expected to pay for books, thus reinforcing an elite at the expense of the broader population (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985, p. 187).

2. Sold through commercial channels. Parents or students bought books, usually through retail outlets. The price of books might be subsidized by the state, sometimes with external assistance. Textbooks were sold at the primary level in some countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean. In the newly industrialized countries of Asia, textbooks were generally published by privately owned companies that worked closely with the educational authorities but usually received only limited assistance or subsidy from the government. Practices could vary within a single country: in Nigeria, primary-level textbooks were free in the Northern states but sold in the Southern and Eastern states (Altbach, 1995, p. 290; Buchan et al., 1991, pp. 20–1).

Selling the book inevitably led to inequities. First, bookstores were located primarily in the urban centres, although textbooks (a short-term investment with rapid turnover) might be sold at the beginning of the school year in stationery shops and other small retail outlets elsewhere. In the primarily rural Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, for example, textbooks produced by the provincial textbook board were sold through a network of wholesale distributors and retailers that stretched from the provincial capital into the villages. Second, not all parents could afford to buy textbooks for their children. In Côte d'Ivoire, a textbook cost about one-tenth of the monthly salary of the head of an average family (Newton, 1995, p. 378). Where books were in particularly short supply, as in Angola, a black market operated with high markups. Third, textbooks might not be available when needed because of inef-

efficient ordering by the retailers or delays in shipping, which could be especially serious in a country or region with many islands, such as the Philippines or eastern Caribbean.

3. *Book rental.* Under this method, a school bought or was given class sets or part class sets of books and issued the books to the pupils in return for an annual fee. The books would be returned at the end of the year for re-use. The fee was set to recover part or all of the cost of replacing the books and to that end the rental income was placed in a revolving fund. This method allowed educational authorities to amortize the cost of books over a three- to five-year period, depending on the anticipated life of the textbook, and thus reduce the annual cost to the pupils or their parents. Such a system had been operating successfully in Lesotho for eight years, despite some problems, including delinquency in payments and inaccurate projections of needs. The government was planning, however, to supplement rental fees with an annual allocation to cover the costs of distribution and administration (Buchan et al., 1991, p. 20; British Council, 1992, pp. 14–15). Rental schemes were seen as particularly desirable at the secondary level, but could operate in primary and tertiary institutions. In a variation on such schemes, parents might be required to supplement government allocations. In Fiji, for example, because a flat grant from the Ministry of Education for each enrolled pupil was not large enough to cover full operating costs, some school committees charged parents a small sum for the purchase of textbooks, library books, and other materials (UNESCO, 1986, p. 11).

In private schools, students would normally be expected to buy textbooks, which might or might not be the same as those used in the public system.

Production of textbooks

Historically, the provision of textbooks in developing countries followed three stages. Initially, the countries imported existing books from the North, usually from the colonial or former colonial power. Next, they began using adapted versions of foreign books, modified to meet local needs and experience, and often published by transnational companies based in the former colonial power. In the third stage, books were written and produced locally, often by the state.

By 1990 most countries had achieved local production, at least of primary-school textbooks, although specialized secondary-school textbooks were more likely to be adapted and tertiary texts often were imported. Typically, each country sought to produce its own books, sometimes without taking advantage of possible adaptations that would benefit from investments already made by other publishers in developing instructional methods. International trade in textbooks, either as licensing of adaptations or as imports of finished books, generally fol-

lowed the path of North to South from the metropolitan countries of Europe and North America. To support local production, some countries imposed regulatory barriers. Zimbabwe, which secured its books entirely from the private sector, required local reprinting of foreign-originated books that sold more than 5,000 copies, and indeed began exporting textbooks to neighbouring countries (Rathgeber, 1992, pp. 87–8; Brunswic and Hajjar, 1992, p. 12).

Local production was common even in sub-Saharan Africa, where large-scale book production was still relatively new and where the shortage of books was so acute that Hans Zell, the principal chronicler of African publishing, could exclaim (Zell, 1990, p. 21) that 'The picture of Africa at the end of the 1980s is largely that of a bookless society.'

In English-speaking sub-Saharan Africa, British transnationals (notably Macmillan, Heinemann, Oxford and Longman) had established sales offices which, in the more populated countries, functioned as regional publishers. As a result of the economic recession of the 1980s, many of these transnational branches closed, leaving behind trained editors and other staff who were ready to begin their own enterprises. By 1990 several branches had passed to private local ownership or control (for example, in Kenya and Nigeria). Elsewhere, foreign publishers entered into joint ventures with locally owned publishers of textbooks, which were often parastatal organizations in which the state retained a controlling share. Namibia, unlike other English-speaking countries of Africa, still depended primarily on imports, in its case from South Africa.

The countries of French-speaking Africa still imported large quantities of textbooks from France. In 1987, French-speaking Africa, excluding the Magreb, represented 13 per cent of the export market for French books, even though prices there averaged 44 per cent more than those in other French export markets that benefited from cheaper insurance and shipping, and lower risk (Prillaman, 1992, p. 199). In 1990, ten countries of French-speaking Africa imported FF 163.7 million worth of books from France; in six of the ten, textbooks accounted for almost two-thirds of the total book imports; in the other four, where Arabic was a significant language, the textbook proportion shrank to 36 per cent (Newton, 1995, p. 376). French publishers also had stakes in locally controlled textbook publishing houses. Local print runs could be substantial: le Centre d'édition et distribution africain (CEDA), owned jointly by the government of Côte d'Ivoire and the French publisher Hatier, printed 250,000 copies of one textbook.

Regional co-operation in publishing was rare. The ministries of education of eight French-speaking countries of sub-Saharan Africa, however, began the process in 1988 by identifying core subjects, such as French, mathematics and science, in which they could develop common curricula and textbooks. By 1990 they were well under way to producing the first books in mathematics (British Council, 1992, p. 23).

In both English- and French-speaking Africa, state-owned and parastatal publishers benefited from hidden subsidies (for example, rent and staff costs that did not need to be recovered from sales, tax exemptions on supplies, subsidized state-owned or parastatal printing). Locally owned private publishers occasionally ventured into the school market, but for the most part they were marginalized by the much larger transnational, foreign, state-owned or parastatal textbook publishing operations.

The role of the state in textbook provision

In virtually every country of the world, the state is involved to some extent in the provision of learning materials – at the very least by establishing the curricula on which school books are based and, even in the freest of markets, by buying some or all of the materials used in the public system. In most of the world outside Western Europe and North America, the state played a much greater role than that in 1990. In many countries, the same Ministry of Education unit that defined the curriculum was also responsible for writing the books to support it. School books were printed in plants that were owned by governments or parastatals. Books were published by the Ministry or by parastatals under its control. Distribution also was often the responsibility of the Ministry or a parastatal. In some countries, particularly those with communist or strongly socialist governments, the entire process – from writing to use in the schools – was carried out by government ministries or agencies. In the former USSR, for example, all curricular materials were designed, controlled, manufactured and distributed free of charge, in sufficient quantities, by the state; the republics all had a uniform supply of such materials and

followed the same curricula. In other countries the private sector might be involved in one stage or more of textbook provision. However, even in some countries with large commercial publishing industries, such as India, the state might retain responsibility for publishing textbooks for the public system.

Searle (1985, p. 9) listed possible combinations of private and state engagement and showed how functional responsibilities were divided in twenty-five countries where the World Bank had financed projects that had textbook provision as a component (Table 4). Almost all the projects were in four regions: Eastern Africa, Western Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and East Asia and the Pacific. The diversity of patterns was remarkable. For the twenty-five countries examined, there were nineteen different patterns or arrangements of the four aspects of textbook provision considered. Only two patterns recurred.

State predominance was more evident in the ten African countries surveyed (Table 5) by Brunswic and Hajjar (1992). In most of the countries of French-speaking Africa, a specialized institution (commonly called l'Institut pédagogique national) was responsible for developing editorial guidelines, preparing manuscripts, and commissioning, publishing, printing and/or approving textbooks. In Senegal and Togo, the Ministry of Education had direct responsibility (Newton, 1995, p. 374).

In some countries, state involvement in the provision of learning materials, as in other parts of the economy, was a matter of ideology. In others it began as a response to perceived necessity. With independence, former colonies had no indigenous source of school books. Foreign publishers who had supplied textbooks in the past were suspect as agents of colonialism and were themselves wary of investing in or extending

Table 4. Alternatives for implementing textbook provision

Preparation	Printing	Distribution	Book financing
Unit/department of Ministry of Education (MOE) or within its jurisdiction (9)*	Unit/department within MOE jurisdiction (4)	Delivery to schools by MOE (16)	Books completely subsidized by government (14)
Managed by MOE; part or all contracted to private sector (1)	Other government printing facility (0)	Delivery to schools managed by MOE, partially or fully contracted to private sector (3)	Books produced by project fully subsidized; others for sale (3)
Private publisher, local or foreign, without MOE participation (8)	Private printers, local or foreign (17)	Delivery to schools or outlets by or through other gov't agency (3)	Books produced by project partially subsidized (4)
Private publisher, local or foreign, in collaboration with MOE (1)	Combination of public, private printers (2)	Delivery to outlets for sale to individuals (1)	Books sold by government for profit (1)
Parastatal (1)	Parastatal (1)	Parastatal (1)	Books sold by publisher for profit (1)
MOE for some books, private publishers for other books (4)			

Source: Searle, 1985.

* Numbers in parentheses indicate how many countries, out of 25, had adopted that option at the time of project appraisal.

credit to the newly independent countries. Yet there was an immediate need, not only in the former colonies but everywhere in the developing world, for cheap books to educate growing populations in curricula that had been revised to meet new national conditions and aspirations, and at the higher level to meet the demand for trained professionals and public servants. The private sector of most countries did not have the infrastructure or the capital to meet this challenge, and most families did not have the money to buy commercially produced books at full cost. Very small countries, such as the island states of the South Pacific, had no alternative to state responsibility. The task was taken on by government, if not from political belief, by default.

Table 5. Functional responsibilities in ten African countries with respect to textbooks (number of countries under each function)

	Ministry of Education or other government agency	State and private	Private sector
Writing	8	1	1
Production	6	3	1
Distribution	6	1	3
Financing*	2	4	4

* By state in 2, state with subsidy in 1, state with parent contribution in 1, family with subsidy in 2, family in 4.

Source: E. Brunswick and H. Hajjar, *Planning Textbook Development for Primary Education in Africa: Report of an IIEP Seminar, Maputo, 19–22 November 1991*, Paris/Stockholm, International Institute for Educational Planning/Swedish International Development Authority, 1992, p. 10.

State involvement was seen as a means of controlling the use of scarce resources and subsidies. It was believed to be economical because it eliminated the markups and profit of commercial printing, publishing and bookselling. The Ministry could determine quantities and schedules, and ensure they were met. Those transnational publishers who continued to do business in developing countries were not averse to working with governments, particularly if in that way they could secure a monopoly or dominant position in providing textbooks (Altbach, 1996, p. 4). The World Bank and other major bilateral donors also worked with governments as a matter of policy, and in two early large projects in the Philippines and Indonesia (and in others later) encouraged the development of a central agency to develop, produce and distribute textbooks. A study sponsored by the World Bank (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991, p. 128) concluded that:

Developing sustainable capacity for creating, testing, producing, and distributing student learning materials – as well as teacher guides and in-service training materials – requires a significant commitment of the central ministry's resources. Experience in Bangladesh, China, Ethiopia, and the Philippines suggests that textbook agencies, whether autonomous or divisions of the (national or federal) education ministry, are essential to establishing and sustaining a program

of materials development. . . . Even small countries, where publishing industries are relatively weak because the market for textbooks is small, may have to set up a clearly defined unit for developing instructional materials, carrying out the design, development, and testing necessary to achieve high quality, and managing the storage and distribution of materials.

The dominance of the state impeded the development of private-sector educational publishing, and thus perpetuated the need for state involvement in countries where it existed. It also nurtured a 'state provider' mentality (Brickhill et al., 1996, p. 11) that proved difficult to dislodge.

Problems commonly ascribed to government bureaucracies arose. Policies changed and so did ministers. One major textbook project dealt with eight ministers of education in four years, each with a new approach to policy (Read, 1992, p. 207). Civil servants were often poorly motivated to seek economies and usually inexperienced in publishing practices. In many countries they were posted in and out of positions without regard to continuity, at the sacrifice of institutional memory. There was wastage and inefficiency, and some corruption – unsurprising when civil service wages fell far below the cost of living. There was inadequate co-ordination among the various functions of writing, production and distribution. An adviser to the World Bank (Neumann, 1980) warned that when government agencies produced textbook manuscripts for publication, the procedure was fraught with political implications and conflict of interest. Some of these problems bedeviled similar experiments everywhere. In Sweden, for example (Gedin, 1991, p. 137), a huge state-owned publishing house had collapsed under the weight of a large bureaucracy and great financial losses.

Separate state-owned companies, or parastatals, were created in an effort to retain government control without some of the constraints of government personnel policies. They were given considerable managerial and financial autonomy but received funds and sometimes direction from the government. It was expected that they would be managed more in line with commercial publishing practices. Some parastatals were joint ventures between the government and one or more foreign commercial publishers. CEDA, previously mentioned, in which the Ivorian government held 51 per cent, was one such venture, as was Nouvelles éditions africaines, which, before its breakup into three national companies in 1988, was owned jointly by the governments of Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire and Togo (60 per cent), and a consortium of French firms, and became a major force in publishing with a long list of titles (Prillaman, 1992, pp. 200–1; Zell, 1990, p. 20). In English-speaking Africa, British publishers entered into joint ventures with parastatals in Ghana, the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda, experiments which Buchan (1992, p. 353) characterized as 'interesting and desirable . . . but too often the interests of overseas commercial publisher and local state enterprise were too divergent for them to stay together.'

In countries where the government dominated the writing and publishing of learning materials, there was normally only one textbook for each subject/level. This was the case in countries that required a massive effort simply to produce the single text in sufficient numbers, such as the Philippines and Indonesia, in the socialist countries of Asia and eastern Europe, in the USSR, and in many countries of Africa. In countries that permitted private-sector educational publishing, there might be a choice among competing textbooks, although in some cases the market was dominated by a single publishing house, local or foreign-owned. Zimbabwe and Nigeria were among the few African nations that permitted multiple choice in an open market in which schools chose the texts they would use from a list of government-approved titles (Rathgeber, 1992; British Council, 1992, p. 8).

Constraints in provision

Educational publishers, whether state-controlled or privately owned, faced serious constraints in 1990. The most important were in financing, production, distribution, information and human resources.

Financing. Book publishing of any kind, but especially the publishing of textbooks, is a capital-intensive business. It typically takes three years to identify authors, plan and write a textbook, edit it, pre-test it in classrooms, prepare it for printing, print and bind it, and deliver it to the schools. With luck, the process may take less time, but more often it takes longer. During this time, staff and office expenses must be paid, paper and other materials bought and printers paid. A competitive textbook market involves additional expenses for marketing and promotion. If the books are to be sold, it may take two to three years more to recoup the capital investment.

The global recession of the 1980s and the policies of structural adjustment had a devastating effect on government budgets for education, especially on non-salary items such as books. Between 1985 and 1990, real public expenditure per pupil fell at the primary level in seven of nine Latin American countries for which data were available and in thirteen of twenty in Africa; it also fell at the secondary level in Africa (World Bank, 1995, p. 69). Budgets for classroom resources (books, teaching aids, furniture and other equipment) were already low. When industrial countries were allocating 14 per cent of primary-school recurrent costs to classroom resources and 86 per cent to salaries, Asian countries were allocating 9 per cent to classroom resources and African countries only 4 per cent (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985, p. 224). Expenditures on learning materials and other non-salary recurrent expenses fell in countries suffering from recession, sometimes to close to zero. Supplementary materials were the first to be affected, then textbooks. The reduction in learning material procurement may have slowed after the middle of the decade, but only

because by then salaries accounted for almost all recurrent expenditures. The trend was felt most strongly in sub-Saharan Africa. There, expenditure on educational materials represented about 1 per cent of the recurrent primary school budget in 1983, the equivalent of about US\$0.60 per pupil. Given the unequal distribution of books, rural areas suffered disproportionately (Colclough and Lewin, 1993, p. 168).

Within this restricted market, educational publishers in the private sector faced an additional hurdle: finding credit to capitalize textbook projects. Interest rates rose under structural adjustment, in some countries to 40 per cent or more. Banks, moreover, were reluctant to lend money to entrepreneurs in a high-risk, low-profit industry, or to recognize books in the warehouse or work in progress as collateral. Paper ceases to be collateral as soon as it is printed upon.

Under the stringency of falling export revenues, devaluation, inflation, and structural adjustment, African governments increased efforts to achieve partial or full recovery of costs in textbooks. Lesotho's success has already been mentioned. Ethiopia began charging for textbooks lent for the school year, with 45 per cent of the revenue being retained for printing more books and the balance shared between the schools and the regional offices; the latter was expected to use its share for expanding school library facilities. Angola and Mozambique sold textbooks but subsidized the price substantially. Uganda experimented with a subsidized rental fee (Brunswic and Hajjar 1992, p. ii; Buchan et al., 1991, p. 20).

Partial cost recovery, of course, did no more than reduce the problem of budget shortages. It did not make a nation's educational publishing programme financially self-sustaining. In Ghana, for example, a long-established system of partial cost recovery collapsed because revenue was insufficient to maintain supply. Under new guidelines issued in 1987, textbooks were to be rented for a fee that was based on the cost of production and the expected life span of the books. (British Council, 1992, pp. 13–14).

For many countries, cost recovery was a new approach beset with problems. In Paraguay, for example, a government scheme to sell textbooks for profit through its Internal Revenue Service offices foundered and 90 per cent of the books were unsold (Searle, 1985, p. 18). More commonly, books were unknowingly sold below true cost because of inadequate bookkeeping in Ministry or parastatal offices. In 1986 a World Bank publication suggested a radically different approach – one that would be relatively easy to administer if politically difficult – for cost recovery in one sector to benefit another. The authors proposed that governments eliminate the free tuition and living allowances then commonly paid to African university students (a practice that reinforced an already existing elite) and invest the money thus saved in primary education. They calculated that if twelve African countries were to eliminate living allowances, the public resources thus freed would allow,

on average, an 18 per cent expansion in the yearly budget for primary education. Nationally, the figure ranged from just under 3 per cent in Sudan to more than 40 per cent in Togo. If fees were introduced to cover all the operating costs of higher education, an additional expansion of 22.5 per cent in primary education would be possible (World Bank, 1986, p. 21).

Production. Paper was the single most expensive item in book production costs, representing between 45 and 70 per cent of the cost of manufacture. Most of the paper suitable for books was produced in the North, and prices were set by demand from the prime user, the United States. Countries that had developed their own paper-making capacity often protected it with high tariffs, even for educational purposes, and locally produced paper was sometimes more expensive than superior stock produced overseas. (In the North, in contrast, paper represented about 30 per cent of total manufacturing costs, reflecting relatively higher costs of labour.)

Book printing is specialized work, different in its requirements from printing newspapers, magazines or other commercial products. Capacity was limited by the number of book printers in most countries and by the quality of their equipment. Costs were driven up when presses and other machinery were old and ill-maintained, occasioning frequent need for repairs and consequent down time. Paper was misappropriated, damaged in transit, or used inefficiently because of mismatches between available sheet sizes and the printer's press size. A publisher in one developing country suggested that paper wastage from mismatching could reach as high as 50 per cent (Priestley, 2000). Books were also delayed by mismatches in equipment – most commonly between new high-speed presses and outdated binding technology. The shortage of thread-binding equipment forced dependence on adhesive binding and resulted in books that fell apart. Printing and binding machinery, spare parts and materials were subject to high duties and sales taxes. Under such conditions, quality suffered, as did prices and schedules.

Local control of publishing does not require local printing. Commercial publishers in the North commonly crossed oceans in search of the most cost-effective printing. Many governments in the South, however, insisted that books be printed at home, often in state-owned or parastatal plants, regardless of efficiency or cost. In three of nine African countries surveyed in book sector studies, local printing prices were higher than could be obtained outside the country (Buchan et al., 1991, p. 35). Donated printing equipment not infrequently sat gathering dust for lack of trained operators or because there was no local service agency to repair it. Some equipment stood idle for much of the year because its capacity was far greater than needed.

Distribution. Geography impedes distribution in much of the global South. Some countries are archipelagos – there are 10,000 islands in Indonesia and 7,000 in the Philippines – or are

themselves islands, separated by ocean from their neighbours. Transport is impeded by rivers, mountains, deserts and jungles. Roads are poor and trucking often inadequate. Tens of thousands of schools are hours from the nearest road and books for them must be delivered by canoe, head portage or pack animal. State-supported distribution systems generally depended on teachers, parents or the community to carry learning materials from district depots to isolated schools. Even that system was seen to be breaking down as teachers' salaries dropped in real terms and were paid less reliably.

Where the state was responsible for distribution, books typically were gathered in a central warehouse and shipped to district depots, whence they were directed to schools. In some countries there was an additional step, books going first to regional depots, to be divided there for trans-shipment to districts and thence to schools. At each stage, there was the possibility of failure. District offices often lacked the funds to pay forwarders, sometimes because the money had not been provided, sometimes because they had never accounted properly for the previous year's advance for that purpose. Packaging and storage were often inadequate to protect the books against water, insects, mould and vermin. In one instance during the rainy season in 1984, new books were delivered to a regional store in Ghana that had no roof; within days the books were soaked and useless (Read, 1992, p. 314).

Books could be delayed by erratic shipping schedules or by the pursuit of economies. In order to ship books efficiently orders were often consolidated, in which case the total order could be held up until the last title was delivered by the printer or publisher. Sometimes distribution costs were unnecessarily high: in the scattered islands of the eastern Caribbean, for example, textbooks were sometimes delivered by freighter or even more expensive air freight, despite the presence of a regular, reliable and inexpensive domestic service that provided baking flour to the islands by boat (Clare, 1993, p. 32).

Efficient, economical distribution was further impeded by a lack of adequate information from the schools. Depot storekeepers were untrained in inventory control and maintenance. Books were damaged, lost or stolen. A combination of delays, from development through to distribution, could result in books being delivered a year, or even three years, behind schedule (Searle, 1985, p. 23).

In most countries where books were sold through retail outlets, bookstores were scarce in the urban centres and almost unknown outside the cities. Distribution depended on an informal network of suppliers.

Information. Efficient provision requires accurate and timely information on which to project enrolments, and therefore textbook needs, by school, grade and subject. Central planners need data on the number, size and type of schools; current enrolments by grade, school, sex and age; historical and

projected rates of change in enrolment; numbers of teachers; numbers of school libraries; and so on. This kind of information was difficult to accumulate in countries where communication by telephone or mail was unreliable. Data were incomplete, sometimes false, more often outdated and pitted with errors created during collation at several steps up the ladder to the central office.

Human resources. Ministry of Education staff were rarely familiar with printing and publishing practices. Curriculum developers were often expected to make major decisions with little or no idea about the implications in cost or time involved. Costs were inflated by ill-informed decisions about book length, illustrations, colours and format.

Government, parastatal and private-sector publishers all suffered from a lack of trained personnel – authors, editors, evaluators, designers, production co-ordinators, distribution and warehouse supervisors, financial and publishing managers. Some publishing institutions obtained training through partnership with overseas commercial publishers. Others sent staff to short-term training courses within Africa or for long-term training abroad, but these resources in 1990 were still relatively limited.

The role of funding agencies and donors

To fund the growing needs of education, governments looked for international help. The World Bank expanded its mandate from project-related vocational training to provide support for school buildings, textbooks, curriculum development and institutional development. The proportion of education projects with textbook components grew steadily, from about 6 per cent before 1974 to 32 per cent in 1979–83 to almost 65 per cent by 1990 (Read 1992, p. 308). In northeast Brazil, a Bank project tripled the number of students receiving textbooks; in the Philippines, a massive effort was funded to reduce the textbook:pupil ratio from 1:10 to 1:2 (Lockheed, 1993, p. 24). In three projects alone, in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Ethiopia, more than 350 million textbooks were produced. The process was not without growing pains, however, as Barbara Searle (1985, p. 25) recognized in a review of the Bank's educational projects over the previous ten years. She identified serious shortcomings:

This review makes it clear that at least some of the projects approved early in this decade recognized that textbook publishing is complex and highly technical; that it requires professional competence in many specialties; and that developing a good textbook takes time, three years at a minimum. Yet, even with this recognition, projects underestimated the difficulties. Of the nine projects surveyed, only three... left behind functioning textbook provision schemes. Beyond this, the completed projects provide evidence for shortfalls in every aspect of textbook provision: poor quality books, inadequate distribution

systems, inability to establish and maintain production schedules, inadequate procedures for handling paper procurement, teacher training activities out of phase with book publication, poor co-ordination between curriculum and manuscript development, and, above all, failure to establish institutions that can continue to provide good quality books after project completion.

Some 90 per cent of the forty-eight projects she reviewed financed the purchase or printing of textbooks, but fewer than half included teacher training, monitoring and evaluation, or dealt with policy changes. Only half the projects that provided books also financed manuscript development and book distribution, and only half of those (eleven projects) also financed teacher training. Only ten projects explicitly dealt with the institutional structure of the textbook provision system and modified it in some way. She concluded that:

the likelihood of a textbook component attaining its objectives is directly related to the extent to which the project design addresses all aspects of the textbook provision system. It is not crucial that a project finance every component. However, the analysis of the system that is undertaken during preparation and appraisal must include all aspects to make sure that the entire supporting system is in place and functioning well (Searle, 1985, p. 18).

The World Bank was the leading, but not the only international, agency supporting textbook provision. The British Overseas Development Administration had textbook programmes in Sierra Leone, Jamaica and Jordan. Its three-year project in Sierra Leone, where there was no publishing capacity when financing began in 1984, extended beyond book provision to creation of school storage and a school management system, teacher training in a new curriculum and use of textbooks, warehouse improvement and training of publishing staff (Buchan, 1992, pp. 360–1). In French-speaking Africa, l'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT), supported by France, Canada and Belgium, distributed dictionaries and reading materials to schools and in 1990 was organizing a training programme in printing, publishing, book distribution and bookstore management (Prillaman, 1992, pp. 205–6). Scandinavian governments were notable for their support of book development. The Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida) was active in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia; the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA), in Namibia and Zambia; and Danish International Development Assistance (Danida), in Burkina Faso, Nepal, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. Non-governmental organizations, often with funding from their national government's aid agency, played a small but increasing role as well. The Canadian Organization for Development through Education (CODE), for example, supplied paper and distributed supplementary materials, and several book-related organizations in Europe organized short training courses.

The smaller contributions were generally ad hoc, uncoordinated, and short-term. Individual agencies had their own agendas, political or altruistic. Several projects involved the supply of paper, a short-term solution to immediate needs that could have the longer-term effect of distorting the market. (Unless the equivalent cost of the donated paper was recognized when it was used, book prices would rise abruptly when the supply ended and paper had again to be bought on the market. Then fiscal allocations for textbooks would have to be increased or, more often, textbook provision sharply reduced.) Equipment was too often supplied without spare parts or technical support for maintenance and repair. One-time seminars and workshops were held for writers, editors, publishers, printers and booksellers, but with little or no follow-up, and funding agencies were sometimes disappointed to find that people, once trained, moved from school book publishing to better paying jobs. Funders complained that they had difficulty in identifying all the links in the publishing chain and in understanding the broad concerns that underlay what might seem a simple project. The impact of much of the effort was short-lived and local (Priestley, 1993, p. 215; Priestley, 2000).

One major exception was a loan guarantee scheme started in Kenya by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, with support from the Ford Foundation of US\$300,000. The Foundation negotiated with local banks to guarantee credit extended to local publishers in a normal way. Kenya was chosen because it had a well-developed book market, but one then dominated by transnational publishers. Eleven applications for loans were accepted under the scheme. There were problems in communication – the banks initially expected to be repaid as soon as books were published, not understanding that it takes time to recover publishing costs through sales – and some of the borrowers ran into difficulty because of financial or marketing inexperience. Nevertheless, only three publishers failed to repay their loans and had to be rescued by the guarantee. The scheme was significant in assisting the indigenization of Heine-

mann Kenya which now, as East African Educational Publishers Limited, is one of the strongest publishing houses on the continent. The project showed that small publishers who are able to gain access to commercial credit and who manage their finances carefully can succeed, even with interest rates as high as 30 to 40 per cent (Priestley, 1993, p. 216; Davies, 1997, pp. 86–9).

Major funders generally were more interested in institutional development than in supplying learning materials. They believed that direct support to pupils and teachers would be less efficient than funding central units for teacher training, curriculum development and educational planning that could increase the effectiveness of the entire system (Colclough and Lewin, 1993, p. 251). Books and instructional materials received only a small percentage of total donor aid to education (Table 6).

Major textbook projects, moreover, were directed to short-term gains to overcome immediate and urgent shortages. Typically, they lasted three to five years and gave little attention to building local publishing capacity. The size, urgency and complexity of the projects precluded local publishers from participating. That responsibility devolved on ministries and parastatals which were themselves ill-prepared and which, outside the project's funding, were at the mercy of legislative budget allocations and government policy changes. There was no long-term approach, among funders or governments, to the sustainable provision of learning materials.

There was, however, a growing interest in co-operation among donors and funding agencies. They met together, formally or informally, to discuss possible joint projects or to exchange information. Some donors preferred that these meetings be held only at the invitation of, and with full participation by, the potential recipients of aid; others were satisfied to meet as a donor group and offer a package of assistance. Some recipients saw the second approach as unfair 'ganging up' on recipients (Priestley, 1993). Donors for African Education, which had been started during the 1980s as a donors' club to promote collaboration in educational projects and programmes in Africa, and thereby avoid competition and duplication, eventually expanded its membership in response to such concerns and, to emphasize partnership over assistance, changed its name to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA). Its Working Group on Books and Learning Materials, established in 1989, included African ministries of education as well as development agencies concerned with book development and procurement (Treffgarne, 1999, p. 20). ■

Table 6. Different types of aid to primary education, 1981–86 (percentage of total)

Types of aid	All countries	Low-income countries	Lower-middle-income countries	Upper-middle-income countries
Books and instructional materials	4.8	7.5	3.9	0.8
Furniture and equipment	6.3	16.2	2.6	1.0
Technical assistance	14.0	17.6	13.1	0.9
Food/scholarships	15.3	20.7	14.3	0.7
Buildings	23.4	22.1	25.8	3.3
Budgetary assistance	29.9	5.7	34.8	90.3
Other	6.3	10.2	5.6	3.0

Source: C. Colclough and K. Lewin, *Educating All the Children: Strategies for Primary Schooling in the South*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 251.

III. Global trends

The provision of learning materials has been affected, like so many other sectors of society, by the political and economic changes of the decade since Jomtien. Worldwide, the principal trends were towards decentralization of selection and procurement, economic liberalization with a greater role for the private sector and cost recovery to achieve systemic sustainability. The first two trends marched hand in hand, although the balance between them could vary: the state might still dominate in a nominally privatized economy and commercial publishers might be active under centralized state procurement. The third trend, the drive for sustainability, was both a response to budgetary shortfalls in a period of rising demands and rising costs, and a recognition that learning materials are a recurrent expense that cannot practically be financed by continual infusions of external loans and grants.

Change was not always welcomed or rapid. As the authors of a World Bank review (1995, p. 13) observed:

In all countries entrenched ways of operating and vested interests will make change difficult. Education is intensely political: it affects the majority of citizens, involves all levels of government, almost always makes up the single largest component of public spending in developing countries and involves public subsidies that are biased in favour of the elite. Prevailing systems of education spending and management often protect the interests of teachers' unions, university students, elites, and the central government rather than those of parents, communities, and the poor.

Decentralization

The trend towards decentralization in education had two motivations. One was the democratic belief that all stakeholders should be involved in a function so important to the community – that the wishes of teachers, parents, students, parent-teacher groups and non-governmental organizations should be heard and that some of these groups might be involved in decision-making. In its ultimate expression, responsibility would lodge in the schools, which would be able to decide for themselves how to use substantial portions of their allotted resources, sometimes with the advice of ad hoc committees of teachers, parents, and/or students (Delors et al., 1996).

The second motivation in many countries was the growing recognition that the existing system didn't work, and one reason was the cost and inertia of swollen bureaucracies. In the Philippines, for example, a Congressional Commission on Education complained that the Department of Education was 'highly centralized . . . and its complex procedures in asset management have resulted in loss and waste.' It recommended that

many responsibilities, including the procurement and distribution of textbooks and other essential materials, be devolved to the country's 126 divisional offices, bypassing entirely the 14 regional offices that lay between the divisions and Manila (Philippines . . . 1991, p. 39). Brickhill and Priestley (1993) found that 'as a general principle, the further the decision-making process is from the actual user of the material, the less efficiently the funds are used.'

For one reason or the other, governments decentralized the procurement of textbooks and/or their selection if there was a choice. The Russian Federation delegated responsibility for educational funding to the country's *oblasts* (provinces) in the early 1990s and gave teachers freedom of choice in textbooks. In the economically advanced post-communist countries of Eastern Europe as well, schools or local boards were given their own budgets and allowed to choose their own textbooks. The United Republic of Tanzania announced a policy in 1991 that would lead to selection at the district level and eventually in the schools. Mexico was to have completed decentralization by the end of 1997, at which time each of the thirty-two provinces would be in control of its schools, teachers and budgets. Colombia devolved selection to the districts and schools, as did Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and some provinces of South Africa. By the end of the decade, India had almost completed devolving the publication of textbooks, teachers' guides and work books to the state governments, which were expected to produce books at a more affordable price than the private sector had been able to achieve (Pinter, 1999, p. 56; Stridsman, 1999, p. 86; Noriega, 1999, p. 127; ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Not all governments by any means followed the trend or followed it all the way. In Singapore, for example, textbooks were published commercially but the writing of them remained with the Curriculum Development Institute. In Mexico, the government devolved administrative responsibility but not choice; it was reluctant to abandon the idea of 'a single textbook, written and produced by an official body, because it has long been the means of conveying the government's desired message to the population and . . . the record of national history' (Noriega, 1999, p. 127). In Bangladesh, the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) continued to develop the curriculum, write the textbooks and produce the finished books, which it sold at a profit to the Directorate of Primary Education. NCTB opposed any change to the system and, despite proposals by a consortium of funding agencies, the government also showed little active interest in reform (Sida 1996, pp. 46–7).

Decentralization is seen to have several advantages. It encourages the involvement of parents and others in the community. It may give teachers more responsibility and status and, especially in large schools, develop their sense of collegiality. Most important, decisions can be taken in the light of local conditions and to meet local needs. They are no longer made

by bureaucrats in a central office, divorced from the realities of the underfunded, often isolated, classroom. Local decision-making is particularly important for rural communities and for minority groups whose concerns, needs, and beliefs have often been ignored in educational books published in – and with examples from – large urban centres.

The transition is not without difficulties, however. Financial decentralization raises concern about money lost through incompetence, misappropriation or corruption. Administratively, there may be confusion if the division of responsibilities is not clearly spelled out. There are often delays in the transfer of funds from the central to subordinate offices. Personnel at all the levels that are given new responsibilities, down to the school, require training in financial accounting, management of supplies, selection of books and other administrative tasks – a massive task. In a strongly hierarchical system, teachers and others are apt to be influenced in their decisions by superior officers, undermining the intent of decentralization. If procurement as well as selection of textbooks is decentralized, retail outlets may not be easily accessible or may be late in obtaining the books for school use.

Liberalization

At the same time as they were moving responsibilities downwards, national governments were withdrawing from the business of providing textbooks and other learning materials. Government departments that wrote and produced textbooks as monopolies were turned into parastatal organizations and monopoly publishing parastatals were sold, in part or all, to private owners. Commercial publishers were allowed to compete for textbook adoptions, against one another and, not infrequently, against a parastatal. State-owned printing plants were turned into parastatals and expected to run on strictly commercial lines; parastatal printers were privatized. The government often retained distribution of school books but, especially in the more liberalized economies, this function too might be given to the publishers. Liberalization was implemented in many patterns, but always in the expectation that commercially oriented enterprises would be more efficient than government and more responsive to educational needs, especially if there were competition in a multi-textbook system. Donors (Sida, 1996, p. iii) and governments had come to recognize that state monopolies rarely met the need for learning materials and that large-scale subsidies did nothing to encourage re-investment in publishing development.

In some countries, including Zimbabwe and Jamaica, learning materials had long been supplied by commercial publishers. In others that had had communist governments, commercial production and competition were new concepts to an entire generation. The transition could be abrupt. In the Philippines,

a group of commercial textbook publishers and agents, who had been supplying the 5 per cent of the student population in private schools, lobbied the Congress successfully in 1995 to achieve privatization of supply to the much larger and more scattered public system. The state was to get out of textbook writing, production and distribution entirely within three years. The time allowed was inadequate, particularly when implementation was delayed by government inaction and arguments between the public and private sectors, and numerous abuses of the new system in its first year were reported (Chua, 1999). Other countries approached the transition more cautiously and many were still in the early stages at the decade's end.

The United Republic of Tanzania was one that took a deliberate approach. In 1991 it adopted a policy of transforming the state-managed provision of textbooks into a completely commercial system with minimal government involvement and decentralized selection. A Pilot Project for Publishing (PPP) was established with external support to advise and assist publishers and ministries on an orderly transition. The change was not without its difficulties, but by 1997 commercial publishers had produced 21 titles (1.75 million books) and another 28 titles were in progress. The first manuscripts were written in the The United Republic of Tanzania Institute of Education, but in 1996 the Institute was restricted to curriculum-related activities. The Ministry of Education continued to be responsible for procurement and distribution. The duration of the transition period has not been defined and will depend on how fast the actors can cope with new responsibilities, and some commercial publishers and booksellers feel the government should move faster in devolving spending power so as to allow full competition (Bgoya et al., 1997, pp. 26–7; Stridsman, 1999, pp. 85–6; Sida, 1996; Nyambura, 1999, p. 13).

The beneficial effects of liberalization were to be seen in several countries. In Kenya, which already had a well established publishing industry with significant local ownership, schools were allowed to select the books they would use from up to six titles authorized for each subject/level by the Textbook Approvals Board. The new policies had resulted by 1997 in from three to five competing series in each of five primary-level subjects and comparable choice in subjects at the secondary level except in physics, chemistry and biology, for which books were mainly imported from the United Kingdom (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999; Chakava, 1997, p. 44).

In other countries progress was slow – outstandingly so in Ghana, where the government had entered into an agreement (heralded as a 'unique, first-of-its-kind effort in all Africa') with five local publishers to co-publish thirty selected primary-school textbooks in 1984 but did not implement it until 1990. It was only three years later that the national publishers' association met for the first time with the Minister of Education to ask for more involvement. Since then the syllabuses, once restricted, have become more publicly available and in 1998

Table 7. Models of textbook provision in sub-Saharan Africa

	Primary education		Secondary education	
	single	multiple	single	multiple
Benin	√	√		
Botswana	√		√	√
Cameroon		√		
Ethiopia	√		√	
Ghana	√		√	
Kenya		√	√	
Lesotho	√	√	√	√
Malawi	√		√	
Mali (policy for)	√		√	
Mozambique	√		√	
Nigeria		√	√	
Senegal	√	√	√	
Togo	√			
Uganda	√		√	
United Republic of Tanzania	√		√	√
Zambia	√		√	
Zimbabwe		√	√	√

Source: MOEs in respective countries, Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 38.

Ghana announced a more open textbook production after consultation with funding agencies, publishers, printers, book-sellers, writers and teachers (Crabbe, 1999, pp. 31–4; Nyambura, 1998, p. 7). In Mongolia, the transition has been hampered by attitudes. The country has experienced and skilled people working in book production, but the business aspects of publishing are not fully understood, and publishers and printers are still primarily looking for funding and not for business opportunities (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Of seventeen countries of sub-Saharan Africa surveyed in 1997 (Table 7), eight apparently continued to use the single textbook system in the publishing of primary-school materials. One, however, allowed a choice between state-published and privately published titles in some subjects, and three were in transition towards open markets and liberalized textbook publishing. Three countries offered a choice of parallel titles in every subject. Five countries gave limited opportunities for alternative titles in some subjects but not all. There was greater choice at the secondary level. Only Ethiopia and Mozambique apparently restricted schools to single textbooks; other countries had either parallel or, the majority, multiple choice (Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 38).

At the end of 1998, however, relatively entrepreneurial Cameroon moved away from multiple choice. It signed an agreement granting a newly privatized company, CEPER, S.A., the exclusive right to conceive, produce and distribute all primary and nursery school textbooks in the country. It also exempted CEPER from all taxes on machines, spare parts, paper and ink. CEPER is the successor to the state-owned

Centre d'édition et de production pour l'enseignement et recherche which had specialized in educational materials but shared the market with commercial companies, including the well-established Editions CLE (Tshimanga, 1999, pp. 1–3).

For the most part, the state kept some functions and turned others over to the private sector. In Zambia, manuscripts prepared under the Curriculum Development Institute were tendered to the private sector; the finished books were still being bought centrally in 1996 but there were plans to delegate that responsibility to school management boards (Munamwimbu, 1996, pp. 68–9). In Lebanon also, a state institution wrote the textbooks, which were then produced and distributed by private publishers (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). Several Eastern European countries have retained distribution as a governmental function, even though books may be produced in a free market. Occasionally the government has reclaimed responsibilities: Jamaica, which had previously allowed individual secondary schools to order books from their supplier of choice, is moving towards centralization of procurement in order to reduce costs.

In small countries, and in those with languages spoken by only a small population, a continuing state presence was inevitable. Commercial publishers cannot be expected to mount a sales force in countries as small as Niue, which has two schools, or Tokelau, which has three. In those Pacific island countries, central procurement remains the only feasible option. Mauritania encouraged private-sector involvement in publishing but the market was so unattractively small, as a result of population size and poverty, that the state was obliged to write, print and distribute textbooks; even an attempt to involve commercial booksellers in distribution failed (British Council, 1992, p. 11). In other small nations, state involvement was by choice. Guyana, with a population of roughly 800,000 and English as a language of instruction, might have used some textbooks produced commercially elsewhere but instead secured external support to write and produce its own primary- and secondary-level textbooks in a government centre.

Where state-owned or parastatal organizations had been forced give up monopoly positions, they frequently continued to dominate the market. As Brickhill has noted (1996, p. 21), it is difficult to break up a monopoly and establish a level playing field when books are needed immediately and not in two or three years or more. The former monopolists benefited moreover from the conservatism of procurement officers and teachers who hesitated to stray from the former official textbooks. Some parastatals, while autonomous and commercial, still received government funding or hidden benefits such as the use of state-subsidized printing plants. The new publishers did not always prosper. Following liberalization in Kazakhstan, 150 private publishers registered for business in competition with 14 state-owned publishers, but soon after only 12 had survived and only 5 or 6 were effectively functioning (Askerud, 1996, p. 100).

Funding

In a time of rising enrolments and financial austerity, no developing country was allocating more than 1 per cent of its primary education budget to textbooks, even though an increase of only 1 or 2 per cent in most countries would have ensured a textbook:pupil ratio of 1:1 (Askerud, 1997, p. 18). Public recurrent expenditures in education were swallowed by teachers' salaries. In a survey of sub-Saharan Africa (ADEA, 1999, pp. 31–2), only a handful of countries reported what proportion of recurrent educational expenditure was spent on learning materials in 1995 or 1996, but those statistics are gloomy. In primary education, only Mali, at 14.9 per cent, was shown as devoting more than one-tenth of annual recurrent educational expenditures to learning materials; from there the proportion dropped to 8.4 per cent in Comoros, 5.1 per cent in Gambia, 1.7 per cent in Seychelles and so on down to 0.2 per cent in Uganda. The reported statistics for secondary education were somewhat higher: from 28.3 per cent to Mali and 8.5 per cent in Togo down to 2.4 per cent in Gambia and 1.4 per cent in Mauritania.

Ministries of education were apt to find their legislative masters allocating only a portion of the budget that had been requested to meet stated objectives of free or subsidized textbook provision. In Indonesia, the books needed to achieve a textbook-to-student ratio of 1:1 in Grades 1 to 9 would have cost an estimated US\$380 million in 1995, when the economy was still buoyant; the amount actually spent amounted to US\$36 million budgeted by the government and about US\$43 million paid by parents – a shortfall of almost 80 per cent (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). One respondent with widespread experience observed that the shortage of textbooks is not so much a book famine as a money famine: there are many good quality textbooks available in most subjects in many countries but no funds to buy them and classrooms are generally short of everything but students. Governments admittedly must make difficult choices. Another respondent, this time from the Philippines, recalled that the chair of a congressional committee asked publishers appearing before it: 'How can we even think of books when people are hungry and dying?'

In countries that were moving from state or parastatal publishing to private-sector publishing of textbooks, there could be uncomfortable surprises. In principle private enterprise is more efficient than government and should be able to produce textbooks more cheaply. But privately owned publishers must recover from sales all their overhead costs – most significantly, wages, premises, office expenses, manuscript development, marketing and interest charges on loans – as well as the costs of production and a reasonable return to shareholders. Ministries that were engaged in publishing normally included only production costs and perhaps some wages in calculating the cost of school books, but they did not always account for those expenses in full and sometimes enjoyed the privilege of state-subsidized printing or tax-exempt paper. Parastatals did not always pay full market costs either. In asking for budgetary allo-

cations, ministries and parastatals used their own calculations to project the annual cost to the government of learning materials. Those that sold books also often simply charged only the production cost. In contrast, commercial publishers who enjoyed none of the hidden subsidies usually multiplied the cost of production (paper, printing and binding) by three or more to set a retail price that would give them a profit and allow a markup for booksellers. The markup for booksellers could be waived for central procurement by the government, but the price per copy was still likely to be more than double what the Ministry had been accustomed to allowing in its budget estimates. The fiscal allocation would then have to be doubled or more to maintain the same level of provision. If the legislature rejected that option, the number of books that could be bought by the state would be reduced by half or more. Savings could be realized only if the transition to the private sector were accompanied by the appropriate reduction in the civil service establishment, including any senior staff who were writing textbooks or managing publication.

Despite financial stringency, some countries continued to provide textbooks without charge, even if in reduced numbers. Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh, for example, all provided free textbooks to primary schools, and respondents to the ADEA/UNESCO survey from those countries reported no book shortages. In countries where an international funding agency was subsidizing textbooks for specific areas (for example, the poorest provinces) or specific groups (girls or indigenous minorities), free distribution was sometimes maintained generally because it was felt inappropriate, if not illegal, to provide textbooks to the rest of the country under less advantageous conditions. It seems likely that free provision will gradually grow less common. Bhutan is gradually withdrawing support for textbooks and stationery from the economically better-off areas because of rising costs. The Cambodian government is considering selling books for Grade 10 (basic education ends with Grade 9) and may legitimize the sale of core textbooks in lower grades to undermine the black market. Bulgaria suddenly accelerated the introduction of total cost recovery from parents after a World Bank-funded programme ended; what had previously been regarded as politically unacceptable and unaffordable suddenly became policy from economic necessity (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). In the short and medium term, however, governments continue to bear most of the burden of supplying books.

Where textbooks are produced commercially and sold on the open market, there should, of course, be full cost recovery with enough profit to encourage re-investment in further manuscript development and revision. If necessary, the government may subsidize the publishers.

Where books are not sold, there has been growing attention to at least partial cost recovery through textbook rental. Book banks of this type were established at all levels of education, from primary to tertiary.

There is some evidence that parents prize education so highly as a long-term investment in the family that household demand for education is relatively price-inelastic. That is, enrolment does not drop in proportion to increases in private costs (World Bank, 1995, p. 106). On the other hand, the elimination of school fees in Uganda led to an increase in enrolment of more than 2 million students (Watkins, 1999). In Samoa, parents grumble at paying school fees of 3 to 5 tala per term, less than the cost of one packet of cigarettes there, and schools, which have difficulty collecting that amount, hesitate to charge more (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Samoa). Unquestionably, when textbooks are added to the direct costs of education – which may also include exercise books, pencils, uniforms and transportation, even when the schooling itself is free – children from the poorest families are going to be discouraged from attending. In many countries, girls are more likely to be affected than boys, for a variety of reasons: a cultural belief that girls do not need as much schooling as boys because they will spend their lives in domestic tasks, dependence on girls to help with household chores and, the extra cost of clothing for girls.

To compensate, various demand-side support programmes have been devised to encourage attendance by girls, including free textbooks and stipends that can be paid to parents to compensate them for direct costs and for the loss of their daughters' time. Such projects have been undertaken, for example, in Bangladesh, Egypt, Guatemala, Mali, Morocco, Peru, Tunisia and Yemen. In the Pakistani state of Balochistan, funding for the purchase of textbooks has been part of a rural programme based on community support for schools. In Armenia, where schools operate book rental schemes with a four-year amortization, funds were provided for subsidies to the neediest 10 per cent of students, identified by the school community. A similar scheme has been under way in Guinea. There the book rental fee of approximately US\$1.40 per year can be waived if, in the opinion of the school management committee, a student cannot afford to pay it. Funding agencies have also targeted their subsidies to education by directing loans to the most disadvantaged areas of the recipient country. World Bank projects of this kind include support of primary-level textbook development and publishing in six provinces and autonomous regions of China and in ten states of Mexico, both involving the development and publishing of textbooks and other learning materials in indigenous languages that had previously been underserved (World Bank, 1995, p. 115; Patrinos and Ariasingam, 1997, pp. 21–3, 26–8).

In private schools, textbooks have always been bought by students or families at market rates. The number of private schools varies from country to country and probably reflects to some degree the perception of the public system and the quality of its education. They sometimes play a prominent role. In the Dominican Republic, they have served about 20 per cent of all primary students and 30 per cent of lower-secondary students. In Colombia, private secondary schools outnumbered public ones almost two to one in the eighty-seven municipali-

ties covered by a World Bank project. Private schools normally were located in urban centres and catered to the elite or at least well-to-do. In the second half of the 1990s, the World Bank and other funding agencies began financing projects to increase access to the private system. One method was to issue vouchers for tuition and incidental expenses to needy students. Another was direct funding of private schools serving poor children, as in the Dominican Republic, or serving primary-age girls, as in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan (Patrinos and Ariasingam, 1997, pp. 29–35).

Table 8. Projected increases in enrolment worldwide (in millions)

	1992	2000	Increase (%)
Primary	522	589	13
Secondary	227	269	19
Post-secondary	32	40	25

Source: J. Delors et al., *Learning: The Treasure Within: Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century*, UNESCO Publishing, 1996.

Availability of school books

Despite public statements and funders' support, and advances in some countries, it does not appear that textbooks are much more available globally ten years after the World Declaration on Education for All than they were before. Quantitative evidence is scarce, but qualitative reports suggest that, if anything, the situation in many countries has got worse. School enrolments have risen, a result of the demographic curve and national attempts to achieve universal primary education. The number of students attending school worldwide increased by some 50 million between 1990 and 1995, and some 60 million additional children were expected to enter the primary school age group during the next five years (Mid-Decade Meeting . . ., 1996a). The projected enrolment increases spread across the three educational levels (Table 8) and were expected to be sharpest in sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab States and Southern Asia. At the same time, funding for education has declined as a result of economic slowdown, the cost of servicing foreign debt, devaluation, policies of structural adjustment and competing social needs. Following the collapse of communism, education systems in Eastern Europe and Western Asia have fallen into disarray. In countries with large populations and a history of external textbook support, such as the Philippines and Bangladesh, the international banks are restricting educational loans to the most disadvantaged areas, leaving the majority of the school population to the vagaries of national legislative funding.

In a survey that covered 26 countries of Africa, all but 9 of 103 respondents considered that the book famine in their country was serious, and 87 per cent said there was a serious shortage

of textbooks (ADEA/UNESCO survey, 1999). Respondents to the same questionnaire elsewhere reported serious shortages of textbooks in some grades in Cambodia, for the new curriculum in Mongolia, and more generally in Afghanistan, Indonesia, Lebanon, Pakistan and the Philippines. There was not total unanimity, however. The respondents from Lebanon and Pakistan differed among themselves, half saying there was in fact no shortage of textbooks.

Such differences of opinion underline the difficulty of judging availability when reliable data are scarce. J. Oliveira said that:

Of the 93 countries responding to UNESCO inquiries on the topic, roughly 60 per cent of them (about 57 countries) report that they have a sufficient supply of books; however, several of this group, including Paraguay, Burkina Faso, and Colombia, in fact suffer from a major scarcity of textbooks. This finding not only illustrates that data are not reliable; it also shows that different countries have different opinions about what amount of textbook coverage is sufficient. Moreover, the numbers given above usually only refer to delivery of textbooks to warehouses, not to what is actually available in school-houses in dense urban periphery neighbourhoods or remote rural villages. According to these same figures, twelve countries report that less than 30 per cent of their schools are supplied with textbooks. In addition, there is extensive evidence that the data regarding textbook use supplied by these and by many other countries are unreliable.

Data from other sources . . . are hardly more reliable, since ultimately, they came from the same informants who supplied UNESCO with their education statistics: the Ministries of Education (Askerud, 1997, p. 34).

Askerud concluded that during the last twenty years the ratios of books per pupil had fallen in most developing countries and that for the majority of the world's pupils and students, access to basic tools of learning is so limited as to constitute a major crisis.

A pilot survey of schooling conditions in fourteen of the least developed countries of Africa and Asia, conducted by UNESCO and UNICEF (Schleichen et al., n.d.), found that half the pupils had no textbooks.

The survey paints a dismal picture of how classrooms are equipped, making it difficult to imagine how learning can take place. Rural schools generally fare worse than urban ones for learning materials. Final grades tend to be better equipped than the early ones, although conditions are far from adequate. The study found that half of the children have no textbooks. In none of the countries surveyed does every classroom have a usable chalkboard. Very few countries have a world map. No country has all classrooms equipped with a teacher chair and table. Not all children have something with which to write. Ten out of the 14 countries had virtually no supplementary readers, and most countries have no classroom library. These findings give a picture of the gap between official requirements and the actual situation. Most countries have a ministerial norm that

there should be one chalkboard, a teacher's chair and a table in each classroom, but these norms were rarely met by more than a small number of schools.

There were pockets of advance, or at least stasis. In Cambodia, for example, the situation improved as a result of external support for the production and free distribution of textbooks for Grades 1 to 9 in the four core subjects: Khmer language, mathematics, science and social studies. Books for Grades 10 to 12 were also being developed and produced in a five-year project. Textbook:pupil ratios were gradually increasing to the target of 1:1 throughout the basic grades (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). In Mozambique, too, it was possible for every primary school pupil to have his or her own books as a result of a World Bank loan and subsidies from the Netherlands and Sweden. It was uncertain, however, whether that situation would continue (Sida, 1996). In an isolated *barangay* of the central Philippines, 7 km from the nearest town, reached by an unpaved narrow road over hills, visitors to a two-room multi-grade school found an adequate supply of books for the different grades, although they were old and worn (Miguel and Barsaga, 1997, p. 124). In Egypt, the Ministry of Education gave students one textbook and one activity book each year to keep, reprinting each year to meet new demand (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Egypt).

Kazakhstan almost tripled its annual expenditure on textbooks between 1996 and 1999. As a result, 83 per cent of children in Grade 1 and 70 per cent of children in Grade 2 are reported to have been supplied with a new generation of textbooks that follow post-communist child-centred methods of education. Samplings suggest comparable provision at some other grades. In some areas rural schools are better supplied than urban ones. Textbooks are provided on payment of an annual rental fee from Grades 1 to 9, except for the Grade 1 alphabet book, which is free. The rental fees average about 3 per cent of a monthly family budget, and are waived for needy families. Students in Grade 10 and 11 must buy their books. There is a plan to sell textbooks in the future through the retail market, but needy families would still obtain them without charge (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Kazakhstan).

A survey of six sub-Saharan African countries produced what appear to be favourable relations between target and actual textbook:pupil ratios (Table 9) but the authors (Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 42) describe the data as dubious, because there were rarely any statistics or systematic recording of the situation in schools; they suggest that the most reliable number is that from Zimbabwe, where all textbooks are published commercially and the Ministry has no vested interest in estimating distribution. At mid-decade, spending on education in most sub-Saharan countries had regressed and the shortage of textbooks was said to have reached crisis proportions (Altbach, 1995, p. 179). In Zambia, the schools had been without sufficient new books for seventeen years (Munamwimbu, 1996, p. 68). In Ghana, books that had been purchased for the government for free distribution were found in the marketplace (Crabbe, 1999,

Table 9. Number of subjects and textbook-to-pupil ratios in some sub-Saharan African countries

	Primary education			Secondary education		
	No. core subjects	Textbook:pupil ratio		No. core subjects	Textbook:pupil ratio	
		Planned	Actual		Planned	Actual
Botswana	5	1:1	1:1	10	1:1–1:6	1:1–1:6
Ethiopia	4	1:2, 1:3	1:2, 1:3		1:2, 1:3	1:2, 1:3
Togo	4	1:1	1:1	5	–	1:10
United Republic of Tanzania	–	1:3	–		1:1	–
Zambia	5	1:2	1:4	5	1:1	1:2
Zimbabwe	5	–	1:7	8	–	–

Source: MOEs in respective countries; Bgoya et al., p. 43.

p. 39), but losses through theft were not unique to that country. In many, textbooks were stolen from government stores or taken from the printers. In Ethiopia, textbooks sometimes reached remote schools before urban schools – an unexpected reversal of the norm – because shipments for the urban schools had been diverted to the black market (Ambatchew, 1999).

UNESCO/Danida case-studies in three African countries also found a continuing shortage of textbooks. In Senegal, the Ministry of Education decided in 1992 to stop the free provision of books and now makes textbooks available to children at comparatively low cost; efforts are made to keep the price lower than commercially produced books. The textbook:pupil ratio in the schools surveyed ranged from 1:2 to 1:10 for the French reader and from 1:5 to 1:10 for mathematics. Textbooks in science, history and geography were only negligibly available. In general, girls had fewer books than boys (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Senegal). In the United Republic of Tanzania, book shortages were reported in all subjects in the schools surveyed. Books were given free, lent by the school or bought from shops that might be 50 km or more from the school. Schools received books at varying times, most often after the beginning of the school year. In two urban schools, a textbook:pupil ratio of 1:1 was reported in mathematics, science and English, but in another school there were no Grade 1 textbooks. In Grade 4, the ratios ranged from 1:1 to 1:20. Some schools had no books in the national languages. Books were most scarce in the rural schools (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: United Republic of Tanzania). Guinea introduced a book rental scheme in 1997, after an unsatisfactory experiment with private-sector provision. Rental schemes are administered by local five-member committees. The distribution of books is not always timely and some of the books are inappropriate for the pupils concerned. Many parents, moreover, are reluctant to rent textbooks for their children because they do not want to incur the possible cost of replacing any that are lost or damaged. Of textbooks that are available in the four core subjects, only a fraction were found to be actually in use. In one school, for example, only 39 per cent of the available textbooks in French were rented, 44 per cent in science, 41 per cent in math-

ematics and 26 per cent in civic education (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Guinea).

In Latin America, educational spending emphasized higher education and quality education for a few at the expense of primary education, and especially primary education for the urban poor and the rural population (Chapman et al., 1997, p. 151). In the early years of the decade, textbook coverage was reported to average 32 per cent in Chile, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela. About 76 per cent of pupils in Grades 1 to 3 had one primary or language/art book; about 30 per cent had a mathematics book; and less than 10 per cent had a third book. For Grades 4 and 5 the numbers dropped by 20 per cent. Columbia, Ecuador and Guatemala presented an even bleaker picture (cited in Askerud, 1997, p. 35). Even middle-income countries such as Brazil, Uruguay and Venezuela had failed to maintain a consistent supply of textbooks. By the end of the decade, however, textbook distribution had improved in some countries at least. In Chile it was universal at both primary and secondary levels as a result of World Bank assistance, successful international competitive bidding and negotiations with publishers in Spain and Mexico as well as Chile. Students had low-cost textbooks, 200 to 300 pages in length, with colour illustrations and good paper, at an average cost of US\$3.

In a country as large as India, as might be expected, conditions varied greatly, as exemplified by three UNESCO/Danida case-studies. In a survey of Grades 1 and 5 in nine primary schools in Delhi, the capital, 100 per cent of the pupils were reported as having textbooks, although books were in short supply in one of the schools in Grade 4. Books were supplied free of charge in six schools in lower economic districts, and to 70 per cent of the poorer children in a seventh school. Other children bought their books. Teachers were not provided with textbooks, however, and normally borrowed a copy from a student during classes (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: India 1). In the state of Orissa, in contrast, learning materials were inadequate in all nine of the schools surveyed. Books were supplied free to pupils from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but in quantities well below enrolment. General students bought

books on the open market, mostly from teachers who obtained them from outgoing students. Only two of the schools had science kits, and in most schools library books were locked up except during school inspections. Only one of the schools had a lavatory or urinal for children, and only one had even part-year access to safe drinking water (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: India 3). In the state of Maharashtra, the State Textbook Bureau provides textbooks, but in practice much of the demand is met by private publishers. Supplies are adequate in urban schools and in schools that are considered average to good. In schools that are considered weak, and in schools in rural areas, there are substantially fewer books. The State policy is to supply books without charge to children in the most disadvantaged groups, but books are provided only to selected classes each year and often arrive more than one month after the beginning of the school year. Illiterate parents often are sold books that are unsuitable for their children's age-group (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: India 2).

In Central Asia, the shortages ranged from significant to critical. Supply was impeded by lack of funding, bureaucratic inertia, inexperience in operating under the post-communist economy, reliance on imports for raw materials and outdated printing equipment. Totally new textbooks were required in the light of revisions of the curriculum to suit new political and social realities and the displacement of Russian as the official language of instruction. In Central and Eastern Europe the situation varied from country to country. In some, new books were scarce and Russian books from before 1990 were still in use. Estimates of the current textbook shortage in the Russian Federation itself begin at 100 million copies and go up from there.

In 1996, the working document prepared for the Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All could report that:

The majority of developing nations have responded to the challenge of the Jomtien Conference by taking various actions to: evaluate their existing education systems; design policies to improve basic education; strengthen the capacities of people and institutions to manage education; create a more supportive policy environment; broaden partnerships and diversify the resource base; and explore ways to use traditional and modern channels of information and communication to provide basic education (UNESCO, 1996b, p. 7).

But at the end of the decade, a survey by Oxfam International (Watkins, 1999) was less positive in its finding:

The limited progress towards basic education achieved during the 1990s points to a wide discrepancy between international declarations of intent and substantive planning for change. In the five years after Jomtien, over 100 'education for all' strategies were drawn up by governments, often in co-operation with donors. At the same time, the World Summit for Children, the Social Summit, and the Beijing

Conference on Women all generated their own national planning exercises. Some success has been achieved. For instance, the national plans of action drawn up after the World Summit for Children have resulted in major advances in the areas of child and maternal health. In education, by contrast, national planning has generated limited progress. All too often, it has been characterised by vague statements of intent, empty promises, and a failure to mobilize resources.

A senior official of the World Bank remarked more succinctly that it was 'particularly distressing to see how easy it is for governments to articulate a policy as an objective and not fulfil it' (Sosale, 1999, p. 159).

Quality and use

The quality of textbooks continues to vary. It remains difficult in most countries to find good authors and many books continue to be written by subject specialists or curriculum developers in the Ministry of Education or one of its agencies. Many such authors were still oblivious or indifferent to the experience and abilities of the intended users. A respondent to the ADEA/UNESCO survey described the government-produced textbooks in Pakistan as by and large pedagogically unsound, sometimes filled with mistakes and usually very unattractive, in contrast to the books published by transnationals that are used in the private schools. Another said that student performance in that country in science and social studies is generally low because of the shortage of good books.

In systems with multiple choice of textbooks, there have been complaints, probably inevitable, about the process of evaluation and approval. In Kenya, the government was accused of favouring the former state publishing house (Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 35). In Romania, officials in the educational system are free to become authors of competing textbooks, leading to concerns about conflict of interest and influence over subordinates (Papadima, 1999, pp. 134–5). In the Philippines, publishers complained about inconsistency in appraisal: according to one, some books won conditional approval, even though they did not cover all the required curriculum, while others were rejected over an illustration or exercise (Chua, 1999). During the rapid adoption of new curricula and textbooks after the change of government in South Africa, textbooks, teachers' guides and work books were sometimes evaluated separately and a teachers' guide might be approved while its companion books were rejected.

At the end of the decade, physical quality of textbooks was still poor where printing equipment was outdated and in need of repair, as in Mexico (Noriega, 1999, p. 128) and much of Central Asia, or where paper of good quality was scarce or expensive. Adhesive binding continued to give way and books fell apart. Printed appearance improved in many countries with the spread of computer-assisted composition (also called desktop

publishing or DTP) and offset lithographic presses. In replacing traditional forms of typesetting, DTP also speeded the development of new textbooks and the revision of existing ones, although in the hands of undertrained operators it also opened the way to poor typographic design and illustration.

Increasing attention was paid to gender balance, but stereotyping persisted. A science textbook in Pakistan had a page illustrating the functions of various parts of the body: the function of the head, a woman's, was to carry a water pot. A survey in Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (Brickhill et al., 1996, pp. i–iv, 9) found that women were under-represented in all the strategic points of textbook publishing and provision – that is, in writing, commissioning, and publishing manuscripts, school procurement and bookshop stocking. In all three countries the authors found evidence in textbooks of gender stereotyping, especially in the portrayal of adults. In Zimbabwe where, unlike the other two countries, textbooks were produced entirely in the private sector, they found 'a continuous thread' of 'gender stereotyping and prejudice against women in virtually any roles outside the home.' Efforts had been made in Zambia at role reversal, role balance and assertiveness of female role models, but stereotyping still appeared in illustrations through order of appearance, role representation, and size, voice and posture.

In the Amman Affirmation adopted by the Mid-Decade Meeting in June 1996, the International Consultative Forum on Education for All acknowledged that progress towards closing the gender gap in education had been excruciatingly slow. It also stressed the essential role of the mother tongue for initial instruction and in that respect, at least, some progress was being made. In Ethiopia, eleven national languages were used in instruction at the national level. In Bolivia, classrooms were allocated books in Quechua, Aymara and Guarani as well as Spanish. In Mexico, an ambitious educational project in ten of the poorest southern states included bilingual textbooks and learning materials for indigenous schools (Wassie, 1996, p. 53; Sida, 1996, p. 52; World Bank, 1995, p. 149). Textbooks in South Africa are published in eleven official languages. There a large commercial house, Juta, launched an innovative series of learners' resource books, activity books and teachers' resource books in five African languages and were developing them in four more, using stories, folk tales and incidents common to the readers' experience. In the South Pacific, the difficulties of providing learning materials in local languages for small populations was being overcome through regional co-operation, as described in Part IV.

But the colonial languages have proved tenacious. In the Sahel countries of Burkina Faso, Benin, Niger and Senegal, the state distributed free textbooks in French, bought on a large scale through international competitive bidding, and the national languages were taught only at an experimental level, with no systematic production of materials in them. Indeed, in Burkina Faso there had been a step backwards; the national language

was the sole language of instruction until 1985, when the government changed, and only since 1995 has it been gradually reintroduced (Jung, 1999, pp. 27–8). Publication in national languages can prove difficult, even controversial, if there is no agreement on orthography. In South Africa, where approval of textbooks is under provincial jurisdiction, a book in Zulu, for example, might be approved in one province and rejected in another because of its spelling.

European experiences and values also persisted. In first grade in Thailand, pupils learned that 'Ama took an apple to school', even though the only apples were expensive imports. In Nepal, 'Sushilla took a bus to the zoo' in fifth grade, although 60 per cent of children living in the mountains had never seen a wheel. In Côte d'Ivoire, primary-school texts were full of French markets and 'my time in Paris'. Such curricula alienated the majority of children from their culture and communities (Bennett, 1993, pp. 42–3).

There was still no guarantee that teachers would use the books that were available, or use them effectively. Teachers did not always have an accompanying teachers' guide. Sometimes they did not know how to teach when every student had his or her own book; sometimes they were overly protective of the books; sometimes they felt the books provided were not appropriate or relevant to the needs of their pupils (Sida, 1996, p. 17). In the increasing number of systems where parents were expected to buy textbooks, some families could not afford the expense, although some countries had programmes to assist their poorest communities. In systems with free distribution, teachers might still be personally responsible for replacing any textbooks that were lost or damaged, and therefore kept them locked up. On the other hand, even when such a policy changed, as in the Philippines, many teachers apparently did not believe that they would not be held responsible for losses or simply were not told of the new directive. Where multiple choice was a new concept after generations of single textbooks, teachers proved unexpectedly resistant to the idea of changing their habits. In Romania, both teachers and parents interpreted the new alternative textbooks as auxiliary to the old 'official' one, and some feared that alternative textbooks would create chaos in the classroom (Papadima, 1999, p. 134).

Educational materials

In most schools, the textbook and chalkboard were still the primary educational aids. Teachers relied heavily on the textbook, especially in science and mathematics, subjects in which they themselves were apt to be weak. In some jurisdictions, teachers were given lesson plans that they were expected to follow, leaving little scope for creativity or innovation. In the eight countries surveyed in the UNESCO/Danida case-studies, only schools in India and Jamaica reported the

availability of electronic aids such as television, tape recorders and computers. All other schools depended on charts, chalkboards, slates, mathematics sets, books or aids made by the teachers themselves. India began a country-wide programme in 1986 to provide schools with a list of materials, including maps, globes, science kits and flannel boards, but not all the listed materials were received. Classes visited in India under the UNESCO/Danida case-studies were typical of many in developing countries in that:

- teachers read aloud to the class from the textbook;
- teachers asked a few good students to read aloud;
- teachers asked questions related to what was read aloud, but answered the questions themselves;
- teachers wrote material on the chalkboard for children to copy;
- children copied what was written on the blackboard; and
- children did sums on their slates.

In one class, the teacher was unaware that the children could not find the correct page in their textbook.

In a sample of Jamaican schools, most materials used in the classroom were made by the teachers themselves. Most teachers were trained to use the materials and about 80 per cent of those observed used them appropriately. About three-quarters of the teachers included teaching aids in their lesson plans, and in all but a very few classes the children understood the materials. The materials were more likely to be used if they could be stored in cupboards in the classroom. Most, however, were kept in the head teacher's office (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Jamaica).

The use of educational materials was part of pre-service teacher training in all eight countries in the UNESCO case-study survey, but only in Jamaica did teachers feel satisfied that the training was adequate. In Kazakhstan, teachers were receiving intensive training in the use of a new generation of textbooks from teams with expertise in personal and social psychology, educational theory, and curriculum and textbook practices. Authors played a crucial role in the process, visiting schools and demonstrating activities (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Kazakhstan). In another country, in contrast, there was no provision for training in the use of educational materials to teach a revised curriculum, the responsibility being left to school inspectors and the Institute of Education.

In some rural schools, pupils were encouraged to collect seeds, grain stalks, match sticks and other items that could be used as teaching aids in mathematics. Children also helped to make aids such as word cards, picture cards, number plates, abacuses, clock faces, balls and pots. Girls generally were more eager to engage in these activities than boys except in Jamaica, where the reverse was true, and in the United Republic of Tanzania, where there was no obvious difference between the genders. In other schools, teaching aids were either completely absent or inadequate in quality and quantity. In some cases

they were simply decoration, usually placed above the students' eye level (UNESCO/Danida case-studies).

A village teacher in Maharashtra, India, provided an example of innovative use of low-cost teaching materials. Vaishali Pawar has conscientiously attended in-service training offered to rural teachers in her area by a non-governmental organization. Her classroom has low blackboards on which the pupils can practise handwriting or draw pictures. A few pictorial charts hang at the children's eye level. To supplement reading materials, Vaishali has drawn charts that are large replicas of pages in the Grade 1 language book. Her drawing is not the best, but the charts have child-appeal and she has found that beginners who have problems with the size of the text in their primers are encouraged to read on the big pages. To teach mathematics in her multi-grade class, she uses graded work cards. While she teaches the Grade 1 children, the Grade 2 pupils use the cards individually or in pairs to practise newly learned skills. They thus become actively involved in learning and develop independent study habits (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: India 2).

Some countries were already actively exploring the potential of computers for education early in the 1990s. By 1991, Argentina, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Grenada, India, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Thailand, and Trinidad and Tobago had attempted to use computers in at least some schools. India, Mexico and Tunisia were teaching computer literacy at the primary-school level and Argentina, Brazil, Kenya and Senegal were using computers to develop critical thinking, creativity and problem-solving. Costa Rica promised to put computers in half of all primary schools (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991, p. 53; Mid-Decade Meeting . . ., 1996).

Well-designed computer programs had been proven effective: a test in the Philippines found that in 100 hours Grade 1 pupils could learn to read and write English at a level achieved by only a fraction of children in conventional classes at the same school. However, research in North America had already concluded that computers were less cost-effective than other equally effective methods of teaching (Lockheed and Verspoor, 1991, p. 51). In any event, countries that could not afford to provide textbooks were hard pressed to find the money for computers or simpler electronic equipment such as videorecorders. And at the end of the decade many – perhaps most – of the schools in Africa and South Asia still lacked reliable electric power to run computers, much less the telephone lines to connect with the Internet. Fewer than 10 per cent of schools in Central Asia had computers. Even in Eastern Europe, where computers were somewhat more common, most were old and could not support CD-ROM or Internet applications (Pinter, 1999, p. 58). In a positive contrast, Barbados gave national priority status to installing multimedia facilities in all its schools and was considering including software among the materials available under its well-established textbook rental programme.

Supplementary reading and libraries

In general, supplementary reading materials continued to be scarcer than textbooks. As the decade came to a close, school libraries were said to have the lowest of priorities in educational spending. The majority of schools possessed no library. Where some semblance of a school library did exist, it was often no more than a few shelves of outdated and worn out material, inadequately staffed. A respondent in Bangladesh reported: 'Most of the students do not read books other than prescribed books. The curriculum and learning process in primary education do not encourage students to read or consult books other than the textbooks. There are no libraries attached to the schools or near them' (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

A study in Samoa (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Samoa) found that in nine of the ten schools examined there were few books of any kind, whether instructional or recreational readers, textbooks or teachers' guides. The books that were there tended to be library books donated from overseas (many of them outdated or inappropriate to local culture), instructional readers from New Zealand and a small number of readers produced locally in the early 1990s. It appeared that the few available books were rarely used. Books were found on staff room shelves, in locked cupboards and still in packing boxes. Many were kept in the principal's office and access to them was not easy. Teachers relied instead on the blackboard, charts they had prepared themselves and self-produced books. Children sat on woven mats and read together as the teacher pointed to each word. The rural schools had grid wire windows and on wet, windy days learning material on the walls was ruined.

In southern Africa, better-than-average libraries were usually in secondary schools and heavily reliant on parental support. In Mali, a school library might consist of only 50 to 100 books, including textbooks, in a cupboard in the principal's office; most secondary schools had libraries but lacked suitable premises and budgets for them. In South Africa, the Department of Education and Training, which was responsible for the education of black Africans, did not officially acknowledge the role of school libraries until 1983. In 1997, the Education Foundation found that only 17 per cent of schools in South Africa had libraries and they were concentrated in white and Indian and, to lesser extent coloured, schools (Radebe, 1998, pp. 43–4; Sidibé, 1998, p. 23). In countries such as Mozambique and Cambodia, schools were destroyed and with them any libraries they had. In Ethiopia, librarians were held directly responsible for any loss of books and were accordingly reluctant to lend them (Ambatchew, 1999).

School libraries and supplementary reading materials received growing attention during the decade, however. As the post-Jomtien era opened, the World Bank had at least fourteen projects involving primary or secondary school library development and at least five more at the tertiary level (Read, 1992, p. 322). Indonesia had 117,000 school libraries with a total

collection of about 106 million books, an average of 900 per school (Taryadi, 1995, p. 482). In the course of the decade small school libraries were centrally procured and distributed in Bolivia, Chile and Peru (López, 1999, p. 138). In Egypt, a survey of 14 urban and rural schools of varying standards found that students were encouraged to use the school library and learning materials, and most of the schools had a computer and several software programs (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Egypt). The Carnegie Foundation was about to seek opportunities for strengthening libraries in selected African countries (Priestley, 2000).

Cambodia, whose education system had been ravaged by civil war, was developing supplementary materials for the schools, often with support from non-governmental organizations and other international agencies. Up to 100 titles were involved, but some were simply copies of international children's books with Khmer translations pasted in by hand, and distribution tended to be concentrated in core schools in certain provinces. Reference books were almost non-existent. Two educational magazines aimed at children were fairly widely available in the schools and at bookstalls in Phnom Penh, however, and a few schools had small libraries, especially at the upper secondary level (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

A study of African school libraries (Rosenberg, 1998) reported three significant forms of initiative:

- Mali began a 'library in every school' campaign with initial support from the French Co-operation Mission. The pilot project involved 10 schools, with 20 more to follow out of the nearly some 250 public schools that offered nine years of education. For each library, the local community was required to provide appropriate premises, 20 chairs, 2 reading tables, and 2 sets of shelves, and to nominate a teacher to act as librarian. The government would then train the librarian and provide 225 books. Local communities could buy additional books, possibly by raising money in the cities. The government co-ordinated the network of libraries (Sidibé, 1998, pp. 24–7).
- The READ Trust in South Africa, founded in 1979 by a small group of volunteers, had grown to a significant trainer and supplier of materials. The Trust trained teachers in librarianship and in ways to encourage literacy and writing skills. It produced attractive, illustrated books, posters and theme packs designed to dovetail with the curriculum. It put together and distributed classroom libraries of about sixty books – colourful and exciting fiction, non-fiction related to the curriculum and a few reference books such as a dictionary and atlas – stored in a lockable wooden box that doubled as a display cabinet. The libraries could be replenished annually. Students were encouraged to use the books, first in silent reading lessons, then in any free time during school hours, and eventually to take home and share with the family. In reading and writing, children in

READ-equipped classes outperformed control school counterparts by as much as 189 per cent, and were ahead by 18 months in reading scores and two years in writing scores. An average of fifteen boxes per school cost about 20,000 rand (US\$4,700), far less than provision of a formal school library (Radebe, 1998, pp. 45–52).

- Box-book libraries were distributed in Mozambique to reinforce understanding of Portuguese, the country's official language but for most people their second one. The project was funded by the Canadian Organization for Development through Education (CODE), but reported to the Cabo Delgado provincial director of the Ministry of Education and was managed by a local non-governmental organization, Progresso. Books bought in Maputo were sent to the provincial directorate, where they were packed in boxes produced locally and sent to district education officers, who forwarded them to the schools. The initial plan was to create libraries of 150 books (15 titles, each in 10 copies), but by the end 46 titles had been bought, a total of 166,663 volumes. In the first year, all books were imported from Brazil, but locally published books were bought starting in Year 2 and by Year 5 all new purchases were locally produced. Training was incorporated after a mid-term evaluation found that many teachers were poorly prepared to teach the early stages of reading and writing. Over five years, about 110,000 pupils were served in 550 schools at a total cost of US\$303,117 – an average of US\$527 per box and US\$2.75 per pupil (Amaral, 1998, pp. 82–93).

In Thailand and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, UNICEF provided more than 400 book-box libraries each year to new graduates of teacher-training colleges and had them carry them to their schools throughout the countries (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Community resource centres – designed to serve an entire community, although often located in schools and used mostly by students and teachers – were appearing in most African countries. The Ghana Book Trust, supported by CODE, bought about US\$45,000 worth of books in the mid-1990s, all of them written and published by Ghanaians, and distributed them to community libraries throughout the country (Crabbe, 1999, p. 41). Teachers' resource centres were also established throughout Africa, each of them intended to serve a number of schools with a collection of textbooks, reference materials and classroom sets.

Jamaica was the only country in the UNESCO case-study survey to provide a substantial annual allocation for school libraries and its Library Service is a model for the Caribbean region in its philosophy, structure and systems. The Library Service's mandate includes ensuring that every school has a library. It distributes library books to schools and encourages inter-library loans from the main library to the schools. Schools are encouraged to accept gifts of books but the Library Service assesses whether

they are appropriate and up to date. In order to improve school libraries, it runs annual training sessions for principals, teacher/librarians and other staff members. Its effectiveness is constrained, however, by the fact that many schools do not have the room for a library and by the high mobility of professional librarians (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Jamaica).

Commercial publishers, civil society organizations and international agencies took an increasingly active part in the provision of supplementary reading material for children. (Civil society organization is a broad term that includes non-governmental organizations, religious organizations, youth groups, trade unions and other bodies.) In order to relieve the shortage of children's literature in Kenya, East African Educational Publishers inaugurated a Junior Readers Series in 1988 with 10 books. Ten years later there were 127 titles in the series, some acquired from publishers in other African countries, and with average sales of 3,000 copies the series was the fastest growing section of the publishing house (Chakava, 1997, pp. 42–3; 1998, pp. 4–5). CODE sponsored a Children's Book Project in the United Republic of Tanzania that assisted the publication of selected titles and bought 3,000 copies of each for distribution to rural libraries and primary schools, with the understanding that the publisher would place at least 2,000 more copies in the open market. The buy-back ensured that publishers would recover their initial investment, with profit to be made from sales through bookshops (Lema, 1997, pp. 91–5). CODE ran a similar, but less ambitious, project in Guyana. In 1997 UNESCO and the African Publishers' Network (APNET) launched a pan-African publishing initiative to produce popular books in science for young adults that would address Africa's energy crisis. Six books are being developed by teams from several countries and will appear in English, French, and Portuguese from local publishers in a series called Science for Africa/KAWI – kawi being Kiswahili for energy. The books will describe alternative energy sources, such as solar energy and biogas, in a context of African experience and folklore, and practical exercises (Wade, 1998, p. 13). In Pakistan, the government and donor agencies brought international and local professionals together to produce Urdu fiction and non-fiction books for middle school students. More than 150 titles were produced and placed in 5,000 schools of the Punjab (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

These and other projects have had to deal with the scarcity of retail book outlets in many countries, and with the reluctance of most booksellers to stock many supplementary readers, which have a less certain sale than textbooks.

Donated books became an important addition to public, school and university libraries. Book Aid International, a British non-governmental organization, sent more than half a million books each year to libraries and institutions, responding to profiles of interest submitted by the recipients. It also supported the Inter-African Book Support Scheme, in which selected books from African publishers were bought and sent to African libraries. That programme, and a similar book distribution pro-

gramme operated by CODE, were found to work best when they were demand-driven – that is, when the books were sent to meet stated needs of the recipients and not as an offloading of unsaleable volumes (Priestley, 2000).

Production of textbooks

Local production of learning materials probably increased during the 1990s, although it is difficult to determine by how much. National interest encouraged the development of local publishing in order to achieve self-reliance, nurture a cultural identity, create local employment and use local printing capacity. On the other hand, the national economy could not always support a local industry, nor could the immediate demands for large numbers of textbooks always be met by national publishers or printers who lacked capital, capacity and experience. At a time of structural adjustment, fiscal stringency, devaluation and inflation in developing countries, foreign publishers had the advantages of sufficient capital, stable currencies and low freight rates. Their branches in developing countries could attract better staff, buy paper and print with the leverage of a large customer, draw for adaptation on the textbooks published by the parent company and sister branches, and benefit from the profit on dictionaries, atlases and other reference works published by the parent organization.

For French publishers in particular, the African textbook market continued to be attractive. Its potential for growth was greater than that of industrialized countries because of demographic curves and efforts to increase net enrolments. Furthermore, the distribution of the world's French-speaking people was shifting away from Europe, towards 50 per cent living in Africa. French publishers invested in African companies, as in Côte d'Ivoire, and the large French publisher Hachette had a subsidiary, EDICEF, specifically to publish textbooks for markets outside France (Moingeon, 1999a, pp. 103–4).

British transnationals continued to be active throughout the English-speaking world, although in some places, as in Jamaica, their attempts to establish branches failed (Randle, 1999, p. 169) and in others they had sold their interests to local publishers, many of whom they had trained. Some British publishers adopted a policy of decentralization, in which autonomous branches operated as regional publishers. Macmillan Kenya, for example, had a local managing director and a fully local staff, published what was appropriate for Kenya without interference from a head office, ran its own in-house training programmes, traded with other African countries regardless of whether they had a Macmillan office of their own, and retained all profits for new projects in Kenya (Johnstone, 1999, p. 102; Muita, 1999, pp. 152–3). Macmillan had a more traditional operation in Swaziland, where it assisted in the writing of the textbooks used in the schools and enjoyed a monopoly over their publication (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). Between 1989

and 1994, British book exports to sub-Saharan Africa increased from just under £39 million to almost £57.5 million (Bgoya, 1997, p. 27). At the end of the decade, however, a British consultant reported that publishers were growing less interested in new initiatives in developing countries because the return on investment was so uncertain (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Book exports were not all from North to South. India, a publishing superstate in its region, was exporting textbooks and other books for children to Southeast Asia and Africa (Singh, 1995). Malawi met an urgent need for textbooks by inviting publishers from other members of the SADC region to tender titles for it to buy with funding from Danida (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). The LIMUSA Publishing Company of Mexico published secondary school books for use in Chile, textbooks in primary mathematics for El Salvador, in a variety of subjects for bilingual education in Guatemala, in social science for Nicaragua, and in mathematics and Spanish for Venezuela. Its international success was all the more remarkable in that it was achieved despite state domination of its own domestic textbook market (Noriega, 1999, p. 130).

Of special importance was a growing tendency towards publishing partnerships between local and non-local firms. Such agreements assumed that textbooks would be sold commercially and envisaged a long-term relationship involving sharing of costs and revenue as well as the transfer of knowledge to the local partner. For example, a Canadian publisher, Irwin, co-operated with Ian Randle Publishers of Jamaica in the development of textbooks for the Caribbean. Another Canadian firm, *Fraternité Matin*, joined with Jamana in Mali to produce two grammar books. Both partnerships were assisted by a Canadian government initiative, International Publishing Partnership, which provided administrative, informational and financial support. In Cameroon, the French publisher EDICEF worked with a local partner, Editions CLE, to develop textbooks and work books in mathematics and French after the country's externally supported monopoly publisher collapsed. The new books were cheaper than the old ones and were bought by almost 50 per cent of the students in the first year they were available; subsequently the European Union subsidized copies for students in disadvantaged areas (Newton, 1999a, p. 166; Randle, 1999, p. 171; Konate, 1999, p. 178; Davies, 1997, p. 89; Loric, 1999a, pp. 182–4).

In what is still a relatively rare example of co-operation between publishers in neighbouring countries, Fountain Publishers of Uganda was able, with local authors, to adapt textbooks in science that had originated with East African Educational Publishers in Kenya. In general, however, regional cross-border trade in educational publishing was impeded by differences in language and syllabuses, trade barriers and difficulties in communication (Tumusiime, 1999a, pp. 123–4).

International agencies played an active part in some joint ventures. UNESCO was involved in a UNDP-funded project to

produce a new English course in China. Foreign publishers were invited to tender for the project in co-operation with the People's Education Press, the largest educational publisher in China. The project involved considerable counterpart training. The books continue to be sold, at very low prices, at a rate of more than 40 million copies per year, but the foreign publisher, who was paid a flat fee, barely broke even, making it doubtful whether the venture could be repeated (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Constraints in textbook provision

The constraints that public- and private-sector publishers faced at the end of the decade were little changed from those they faced in 1990, although the increasing role of the private sector and concern about cost recovery resulted in some reconfigurations. Inconsistencies or weaknesses in government were more significant, for example, to private publishers than to a public institution that might be part of the problem. The route towards liberalization had many roadblocks.

Government. Government policy was often inconsistent – not only because of changes in leadership but because of conflicts between government departments. Publishers had to deal with several departments, few of them directly concerned with textbooks. The Ministry of Education normally had the leading role, but the Ministry of Industry might be concerned with protecting domestic printing and manufacture; the Ministry of Trade might be regulating the import and export of paper, machinery and books; the Ministry of Finance possibly regulated the availability of foreign currency, and imposed taxes and tariffs; the Ministry of Agriculture might have some say in the importation of raw materials; and the Ministry of Culture might set language policies, and regulate publishing and printing. Some countries, among them Ghana and Zambia, waived taxes on imported printing goods meant for book publishing, but in other countries local printers and publishers had to pay tax and duties on imported raw materials such as paper at the same time as competitive foreign-produced books were imported duty-free.

More fundamentally, few countries in the developing world had coherent policies for publishing development or the provision of learning materials. Askerud (1997, p. 19) found that lack of funding is often exaggerated as a cause for failure in providing basic learning materials and that other problems are more fundamental. Textbooks did not get the attention they required. Few decision-makers or managers understood publishing or even the difference between publishing and printing, and few gave proper recognition to those in the civil service, or outside it, who did have publishing expertise. As a result, the design of programmes was left to educators who had little awareness of the professional skills required to produce and distribute quality learning materials successfully, of possible institutional needs for reorganization, staffing and budgeting, of the economics of educational publishing or of the difficulties of marrying educational concerns with the concerns of commercial publishing. From ignorance of the totality and complexity of the book chain, textbooks were treated as simple commodities and planners concentrated only on manuscript development and production. Furthermore, some consultants who had been retained to advise on textbook projects had no interest in seeing local publishing industries develop and ministries were often reluctant to surrender control of textbook provision even when the need was pointed out. Others (for example, Brickhill, 1996; Brunswic and Hajjar, 1992; Montagnes, 1998) have also pointed to such problems.

In those countries that were in transition from public to private provision of learning materials, inconsistency and unprofessionalism were apt to be compounded by confusion. Few countries made five- or ten-year plans for the change. Some failed to spell out clearly the roles of the players, the timing of change or the operational details of each phase. The capacity of the private sector was not always taken into account or the need to rebuild publishing skills that had atrophied under state monopoly. If local publishers could not respond to an abrupt transition, the way was opened to foreign ones. In Zambia, for example, the failure of the state monopoly and rapid liberalization led to a renewal of British transnational domination of the market (Brickhill, 1996, p. 20; Munamwimbu, 1996, p. 67).

Table 10. Requirements v. production and distribution for books in the United Republic of Tanzania, 1993–95

	1993	1994	1995
Total requirements, primary and secondary	4,115,200	4,188,850	4,290,600
Total production, primary and secondary	3,393,000	4,161,000	2,293,000
Difference between production and requirements	(722,200)	(27,850)	(1,997,600)
Distribution, primary and secondary	3,230,000	3,608,000	2,853,000
Difference between distribution and production	(163,000)	(553,000)	560,000
Difference between distribution and requirements	(885,200)	(580,850)	(1,437,600)
	(21.5%)	(13.9%)	(33.5%)

Source: Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 45.

Educational statistics remained unreliable and usually outdated. Under such circumstances it was difficult for governments to project requirements or for publishers to determine print runs. Data available from the United Republic of Tanzania (Table 10) indicate the discrepancies in supply and demand that can occur as a result of inadequate information, in this case in a period of increasing private-sector publication and continuing centralized public procurement. Variations of this magnitude can be financially disastrous to commercial publishers. So can unexpected cuts to education budgets by national legislatures. In the Philippines, for example, publishers who had lobbied for privatization were dismayed when they discovered how small the annual funding would be in comparison with the anticipated market. Failures in communication within government further hindered efforts to improve the availability of learning materials. Policies might be communicated so imprecisely that recipients were uncertain what they were expected to do, and as a result did not implement new policies or did so incorrectly. Even clearly-worded policies did not reach the schools, or were not believed when they did arrive. In Mozambique, another kind of failure in communication appeared. That country had three separate book-box library projects between 1982 and 1996, but there was little exchange of information among them and lessons learned from one project were not transmitted to the next (Amaral, 1998, p. 84).

Few government officers appreciated the time it takes to write, edit, test and print textbooks. As a result many contracts allowed unrealistically short times from signing to delivery. The resulting textbooks were apt to suffer in quality or would have to be brought in from outside the country.

Political instability, authoritarian governments and war weakened or destroyed both educational and publishing facilities in the most unfortunate countries.

Finance. As devaluation and inflation drove up the cost of imported raw materials, the commercial school book publishers who were being encouraged by the new policies of liberalization and decentralization continued to have great difficulty in finding capital and credit. Investors found publishing unattractive because of low returns and high risk. Banks were reluctant to extend loans because sales revenue in publishing was notoriously unpredictable and few publishers had sufficient collateral or assets. Concessional credit from the World Bank and other international and regional finance institutions, available for agriculture and some other industries, was not extended to book publishing. If loans could be negotiated, interest rates throughout most of the developing world were high – commonly, from 23 to 40 per cent per year. One bank in Ghana did offer loans to publishers but none took up the opportunity because the annual interest rate was 45 per cent. If publishers were able to borrow money at lower rates abroad, they faced the further possible hazard of devaluation. Some in the United Republic of Tanzania went bankrupt after devaluation of the shilling, when the loans they had negotiated in for-

eign currency had to be repaid. On a positive note, Nigeria established an Education Trust Fund, analogous to its long-established agricultural development banks, to provide soft loans not only to institutions but to publishers, printers, artists, and others involved in producing learning materials (Crabbe, 1999, p. 32; Bgoya, 1997, p. 21; ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Payment for textbooks was nearly always slow. Publishers might wait six months or a year for their money, making it even more difficult for them to produce books for the new school year. In Nigeria, the state and federal governments owed publishers considerable amounts of money for books delivered, in some cases, in the previous decade (O'Connor, 1999, p. 120).

Governments occasionally discriminated against local publishers, in effect depreciating what capital the publishers had. In Romania, international publishers were invited to bid on textbook provision and guaranteed payment in hard currency. Local publishers, in contrast, were paid in local currency in the amount established at the time of contract, regardless of any decline in value of the currency by the time books were delivered and payment was finally made. One publisher calculated that his loss from currency instability amounted to 60 per cent in the case of a civics textbook. Joint ventures between local and foreign publishers were discouraged because the foreign partner would receive its share only in local currency. The Ministry of Education further hampered liberalization by establishing unrealistic times for printing and delivery and for teachers to assess competing books (Papadima, 1999, p. 135; Moingeon, 1999b, p. 148; ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

The capital required to bid on major projects restricted the ability of local companies to participate in major projects funded by the international banks. In Indonesia, private companies were allowed to publish books in a number of fields formerly reserved for the government-owned Balai Pustaka. In practice, only large firms were able to compete. The government issued an invitation in 1999 for bids for textbooks and teachers' guides at the junior secondary level in biology, physics and English. Publishers had to pay 1.5 million rupiahs (about US\$220) per subject to obtain the bidding documents. They had further to demonstrate their financial soundness and resources, and prove that they had been operating for at least four years with an important part of their business being the publishing and/or distribution of educational books. This was a year after the collapse of the Indonesian economy and only the biggest of publishers were able to qualify (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

In a similar instance two or three years earlier, a West African distributor found it impossible to participate in a World Bank project that involved four textbooks and teachers' guides for the following reasons. It had to find CFA 50,000 (about US\$100) to acquire the tender documents, a bank guarantee of 2.5 per cent of the value of the tender and a staff housing tax clearance equal to 1.5 per cent of the salary of each member of

the staff. If successful, it would have had to provide CFA 9.8 million (about US\$20,000), about 5 per cent of the value of the contract, in guarantees. The company would also have had to demonstrate that it had been financially healthy for some years and had assets worth at least four times the value of the contract sum. The government would advance 30 per cent of the contract price, but only subject to a bank's guarantee. The requirements in this case, coming from both the government and the Bank, effectively doubled the guarantees normally required by the World Bank (Bgoya et al., 1997, pp. 86–7).

Market size. Not every country was large enough to support a competitive publishing industry. This was evidently true of small island nations, such as those of the Pacific and Caribbean. It was equally true of many other countries. Of the thirty-seven in sub-Saharan Africa, only two or three were thought to have a domestic market large enough to support a book industry, even in primary-level textbooks (British Council, 1992, p. 21). In Central and Eastern Europe, the Soros Foundation considered a country in which 7 million people spoke the same language to be a large publishing market, but only ten of the twenty-two former communist countries in which the foundation was active met that criterion. In the other countries print runs and talent pools were smaller and the cost per copy higher (Pinter, 1999, p. 52). Even the relatively successful book industries of Kenya and Zimbabwe together could draw on a market that was only about one-twentieth of a small European country such as Norway, Denmark or the Netherlands – countries that had a single language and a much better infrastructure (Brickhill, 1996, p. 24).

Local markets were further reduced by photocopying and pirated editions. In most countries, families had limited disposable income for books, including textbooks.

Markets could be expanded by export where there was a common language, as in Latin America. Elsewhere, the barriers mentioned previously worked to restrict publishers to their own countries.

Distribution. It was no easier to reach isolated rural schools at the end of the decade than at its beginning. In the United Republic of Tanzania, for example, official figures in 1994 indicated that more than 16 million textbooks had been delivered to district storerooms over the previous five years. Had all reached the schools, that should have resulted in a textbook:pupil ratio of 1:3 or 1:4. A trial survey that year found that the true ratio was closer to 1:9, with extreme variations between schools and districts. Many books didn't reach the schools, and some that did were kept in school storerooms 'due to uncertainty over supply'. Some books produced by the state were being bought by parents in the market (Brickhill, 1996, pp. 17–18).

Liberalization simply increased the problem if the state was not undertaking responsibility for distribution. Bookstores were

scarce outside the main centres and in many countries even well-established religious or family retail bookstore chains were diversifying, with books as only a minor item. In Latin America, it was said, no publishing house had a distribution network capable of delivering books to every school in every corner of the country, and in many instances books bought by the government simply remained in government warehouses (Bedout, 1999, p. 43). Kenya sought to resolve the problem by consolidating school orders for textbooks at the district level and then ordering the books from local booksellers, thereby strengthening the retail sector of the book trade and reducing the discrepancies that occurred under central procurement (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Production. Paper remained the principal expense. Some countries, such as Mozambique, had to depend on foreign printing for lack of domestic capacity. In general, the constraints previously noted prevailed.

Human resources. The lack of professionally trained staff continued to hamper state and private publishers in most countries. Large publishing companies did a certain amount of training in-house, however, as did transnationals. In general, the greatest need was in publishing management and marketing, although more training was also needed in textbook development, editing, design and evaluation. A study undertaken by Sida towards the end of the decade (Christensen et al., 1999) drew particular attention to the shortage of well-trained staff at the middle level.

Training received new attention in the 1990s and a number of initiatives were taken. The most ambitious was the African Publishing Institute, a training wing of APNET, which was established in 1992 with the help of several funding agencies, both governmental and non-governmental organizations. The Institute held occasional workshops in its early years. In 1999 it was scheduled to run twenty-two national and regional training workshops throughout the continent, on a variety of topics, and in English, French or Portuguese depending on the country. Workshops are held in co-operation with national publishing associations, using local trainers in accord with a comprehensive syllabus in book publishing and management (Fasemore, 1998).

The Asian Cultural Center for UNESCO, supported by the Japanese Ministry of Education and the Japan Book Publishers Association, organized annual courses in various aspects of publishing and book promotion for publishing staff in Asia and Oceania, as it had since 1967. El Centro Regional para el Fomento del Libro en Latina y el Caribe (CERLALC), an international organization created under an agreement between the government of Colombia and UNESCO, offered training courses in book-related topics and published training handbooks for book professionals. UNESCO sponsored training workshops in other countries and, through the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), supported the devel-

opment and publication of a series of training modules in textbook planning and publishing in Spanish, French, English and Arabic, available in print and for a time as an interactive course on the Internet.

A sampling of other initiatives – and it is only a sampling – illustrates the interest of governments and civil society organizations in publishing training (Priestley, 2000; Montagnes, 1997).

The United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID, formerly the Overseas Development Administration) sponsored a number of programmes in the Commonwealth and the Arab States. The British Council offered training courses in China, India, Indonesia, Ukraine, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The Services français pour la coopération bilatérale et multilatérale French Ministry of Co-operation organized training in Africa and France for librarians, publishers, booksellers, authors and illustrators. The Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung (DSE) organized short- and medium-term training courses and workshops in the development of materials, including several concerned with the writing, editing and publishing of textbooks in national languages in French-speaking West Africa. Sida and the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported training in Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Zambia.

Among non-governmental organizations, the Afro-Asian Book Council organized workshops on author development in Nigeria, Pakistan, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Malaysia. Two German non-governmental organizations offered training internationally, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the Ausstellungen und Messe GmbH. The latter turned its training attention from Asia and Africa in the 1990s and ran workshops, with support from the German government, in Central and Eastern Europe. The Centre africain de formation à l'édition et à la diffusion (CAFED), with headquarters in Tunis, offered initial, advanced, and refresher training courses and internships in France for managerial and technical staff. Coopération par l'éducation et la culture (CEC), a Belgian civil society organization, ran workshops for authors and illustrators of textbooks and children's books in Niger, Tunisia and Zaire. CODE ran training programmes in children's literature, illustration and design in East Africa, and in editing and book design in Guyana. A Norwegian agency, International Movement towards Educational Change (IMTEC), organized a series of workshops on evaluation, editing, illustration and financial controls for textbook publishers of Pakistan. In the 1990s, it organized exchange visits of educational publishers of the Baltic countries and Western Europe. The International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications (INASP) organized workshops on journal production and management for editors and publishers in Southeast Asia and Africa, and commissioned a reference handbook on book marketing and promotion. PUBWATCH, a non-governmental organization based in New York, conducted professional

workshops, seminars and training schools throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, published a quarterly newsletter describing assistance programmes, and sponsored the translation and co-publication of Western guidebooks on book publishing. The Open Society Institute's Centre for Publishing Development in Budapest created a Web site with material that can be used for training in electronic publishing. The Publishing Training Centre (formerly Book House Training Centre) in London ran courses in Latin America, Central and Southeast Asia, and Central and East Europe, and developed distance learning packages in proof-reading, editing and copyright.

Formal education for publishers was also available at universities in a number of countries, although many of the courses were more academic than practical.

Donors and funding agencies

At least 150 agencies – international and regional banks, governments and civil society organizations – had an interest in book development during the 1990s. The breadth of their interest in the development and provision of learning materials is evident in the foregoing pages. Although sustainability was a long-term goal, it was clear, as costs rose and national economies languished, that dependence on external aid would continue for many years. Five trends were significant.

Funding. Six years after Jomtien, the International Consultative Forum on Education for All reported that since 1990 there had been an overall increase in governments' financial commitments and disbursements to basic education. But the decade in general was one of financial belt-tightening in most countries, and as Northern governments reduced their budgets for overseas development, the textbook/learning materials components of educational programmes inevitably were affected. Even so well-established an agency as the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO announced in 1997 that it would have reduce its activities as a result of the downturn in the Japanese economy. Some bilateral development agencies announced that they would concentrate their activities on a few countries and/or core curriculum subjects (Priestley, 2000).

Non-governmental organizations – local and non-local – had been well represented at Jomtien and were increasingly active, often in innovative ways, in supporting book provision. Many of the non-local ones operated with financial assistance from their governments. CODE, for example, received substantial funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), although the agency itself played little direct part in book provision. Civil society organizations too were affected by global recession, suffering either in government funding or in their fundraising efforts with individuals and corporations.

Of particular importance in this context were local civil society organizations associated with the book trade. Among the most important were associations of writers, printers, publishers, booksellers and librarians, who could respond to local conditions and seek common solutions to problems.

Geographic concentration. At the beginning of the decade funding still focused on Africa, the continent most in need of educational assistance. As the educational legacy of communist governments collapsed, attention – from large-scale projects financed by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to complementary initiatives by some non-governmental organizations, including the Soros Foundation and PUBWATCH – turned increasingly to countries of East and Central Europe and Central and West Asia. However, the development and provision of textbooks and learning materials, particularly in indigenous languages, continued to be supported by loans and grants in other regions of the world.

Donor co-ordination. From the 1960s to the 1980s, there was little co-ordination among donors: some supported curriculum design, others production, others distribution. During the 1990s there was increasing attention to inter-agency discussion leading to a more coherent approach and an efficient, integrated system for book provision. Towards the end of the decade there was increasing interest in sector-wide support. In this approach, led by Sida, funding agencies meet together with government agencies to work out a plan under which as many parts of the book sector as possible receive the help they need (Priestley, 2000).

The Working Group on Books and Learning Materials of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) provides a forum on book-sector issues for African ministries of education, development agencies and civil society organizations. It encourages the sharing of ideas and experiences among funding agencies, finances research into key areas of book policy; publishes the results of that research and books of practical publishing advice in its series, *Perspectives on African Book Development*; works with the UNESCO/Danida Initiative on Basic Learning Materials by encouraging collaboration among developing countries in specialized areas of national book development; helps national governments bring together the public and private sectors in book provision; and works with other ADEA working groups to promote education (Treffgarne, 1999, p. 22).

The Bellagio Publishing Network is an informal association of donors, African publishers, non-governmental organizations and individuals committed to strengthening indigenous publishing and book development in Africa. The participants meet from time to time to discuss common issues. The Network also publishes a newsletter and a book series that have become an important source of information about publishing development. The group evolved from an international conference on publishing and development organized by the Obor Foundation and held at the Rockefeller Center in Bellagio, Italy, in 1991.

One of the first indirect results of that conference was the formation in 1992 of APNET, which brings together national publishing associations from all sub-Saharan Africa, English-speaking, French-speaking, and Portuguese-speaking. It has been assisted by several government agencies and non-governmental organizations in its work in networking, training, and trade promotion.

The Asia-Pacific Cooperative Programme for Reading Promotion and Book Development (APPREB) is a UNESCO-sponsored and supported network of regional institutions and organizations which promote books and reading in Asia and the Pacific region. It was launched in December 1991 in Kuala Lumpur, at UNESCO's initiative, in an attempt to redress the publishing imbalance in the region – one in which many countries have made considerable advances in book development while others remained at an early stage.

The need for further co-ordination remains, however, and conflicts have occasionally arisen between funding agencies. At mid-decade in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan, for example, half a dozen agencies were funding separate projects in curriculum reform and textbook provision. In Cambodia in 1993, an Educational Donors Group had thirty-five members, but about fifteen more operated independently. In Guyana, two funding agencies supported textbook production with DTP technology, with the result that in one room the small nation was learning how to operate separate technologies for primary and secondary level books, one IBM-based, the other Macintosh-based. In Mozambique, the Netherlands and Swedish governments were supporting Caixa Escolar (the School Fund), under which consumer subsidies were channeled from the Ministry of Education to district offices for the purchase of textbooks by the schools. The World Bank indicated an interest in the Caixa Escolar scheme in 1993, but eventually funded a parallel system under which books were printed outside the country and distributed free of charge. The Bank's project counteracted the Caixa Escolar system and the newly liberalized Mozambican school policy (Read, 1995, p. 208; Sida, 1996, p. 38).

A more fundamental division between funders was in their approach to liberalization. One camp wanted to free production as quickly as possible. The other sought a phased development of capacity (Brickhill, 1996, p. 19). The first was intended to meet immediate needs and often led to involvement, if not dominance, of the market by transnational companies with deep pockets and long-established lists that could be adapted quickly to national needs. The other was intended to provide for an orderly transition and nurture indigenous publishing.

Demand-side financing. In the last half of the decade, agencies increasingly rejected the concept of providing printing paper and books as commodities to meet short-term needs for textbooks and learning materials. More attention was paid to developing a viable system of provision, with concern for all links in the book chain. Sida, for example, decided to change its funding for textbooks, in countries that had begun decentral-

izing procurement, from the direct support of production processes to support for the development of competence and the local (district or school level) purchase of materials (Sida, 1996, p. 23). The World Bank funded a number of educational projects involving demand-side mechanisms such as stipends and vouchers, and targeted subsidies to disadvantaged and minority groups (Patrinos and Ariasingam, 1997, pp. 18–20).

World Bank policies. The World Bank was by far the single largest external source of finance for education. Between 1963 and 1997, it was involved in 560 projects in 112 countries, and at the end of that period was still involved in 202 education projects in 88 countries. Its projects ranged from very small countries such as Sao Tome and Principe, with 100,000 people, to China. Between 1980 and 1995, its total volume of lending for education tripled, and education's share in overall Bank lending doubled. Between 1994 and 1997 it lent US\$550 million for textbooks alone, the greater part for books at the primary level. Bank funding in 1995 accounted for about one-quarter of all aid to education. Even though that massive assistance represented only about one half of 1 per cent of the total spending in developing countries on education, the Bank's policies were of extraordinary significance. The fact that regional banks marched more or less in step with the World Bank added to the latter's importance (Nwankwo, 1999, p. 139; McGregor, 1994, p. 63; Sosale, 1999, p. 1; World Bank, 1995, pp. 14–15).

The World Bank's bank policies were not without critics, in particular its insistence in opening textbooks to international competitive bidding in any contracts above a set threshold. Although the policy was questioned most often in discussions about Africa, in part because of the vigorous advocacy of APNET, that is not the only continent on which the issue has arisen. In the Philippines, international competitive bidding came into open conflict with national law, which required textbooks used in the public system to be published by companies that were totally locally owned. The Bank has a general policy of encouraging awards through bidding to the 'lowest evaluated bid', a phrase that implies concern for quality and in specific projects has shown some flexibility in implementing competitive bidding – for example, by agreeing to weight bids with price as only a minor factor – but its officers have not been consistent. Regional banks have been somewhat more flexible in requiring international competitive bidding. Despite, or because of, the criticisms, local publishers in both Nigeria and Mali have won competitions for textbooks under World Bank projects against foreign-owned firms.

In 1997, the Bank organized a seminar at which stakeholders from different part of the book chain and from different parts of the world gathered to share their experiences. The proceedings of that seminar (Sosale, 1999), frequently quoted in this survey, comprise the most significant published examination of external funding to publishing development since the proceedings of the Bellagio conference at the beginning of the decade (Altbach, 1992).

The seminar itself was part of a policy re-evaluation by the Bank. On the final day, one senior staff member wondered aloud whether the Bank should reconsider its insistence on the 'extraordinarily complex' rules of international competitive bidding for textbooks and look at appropriate national or local competitive bidding or other sorts of supply-side or demand-side financing.

A new Bank policy on textbook provision, released for discussion in draft in 1999, indicates a greater interest in articulating educational publishing with general publishing on the one hand and with educational outcomes on the other. It recognizes the importance of textbooks to a viable publishing industry and the importance of a viable publishing industry to the sustainable provision of learning materials – relationships that will be discussed further in Part V. The Bank's priorities, as set out in the document, are: (a) support to good classroom teaching and learning practice, including a coherent programme for the provision of teachers' guides and teacher training; (b) adherence to legal and other measures for the protection of copyright and other intellectual property rights; (c) articulation of agreed roles of the public and private sectors in the development, production and equitable distribution of textbooks and reading materials; (d) maintenance of transparent and competitive processes in the selection or purchase of books for educational use or for contracting publishing or printing services; and (e) commitment to longer-term financing of book development and provision.

Concerns remain among publishers, nevertheless. The new policy does not address procedural details that were raised at a meeting of West African publishers in 1998. They include high deposits for bidding, inadequate information, complex bidding documents, cumbersome procedures, low advance payments to the winning publisher and delivery periods so short that indigenous publishers cannot hope to meet them (anon., 1999). ■

IV. Regional developments

The following pages summarize detailed reports prepared by regional consultants for this study. Unfortunately, not all regional reports were received when the survey was completed.

The authors of the full reports were: for South Asia, Dr Abul Hasan (Director, Afro-Asian Book Council); for Central Asia and Caucasus and for Central and Eastern Europe, Dr Frances Pinter (Executive Director of the Center for Publishing Development) and Snejana Slantcheva, (Policy Fellow), both of the Open Society Institute, Budapest; for the Pacific Islands, Linda Crowl (Publications Fellow of the Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Fiji); and for the English-speaking Caribbean, Ian Randle (Managing Director of Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston, Jamaica). Cheryll Stringer analysed the responses to the ADEA/UNESCO questionnaire from Africa. The last five paragraphs of the report on the Pacific Islands are based on a report by Don Long (Learning Media, New Zealand).

South Asia

Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka

South Asia is a large subcontinent encompassing tiny, isolated states and the world's second most populous country, differing political systems and economic development, multilingual, bilingual and unilingual countries, and wide differences in the level of literacy, book production and educational development. With the breakdown of traditional support networks, increased mobility and urbanization, there is increasing demand for literacy. All the countries place an emphasis on primary education and in most of them textbooks are provided free of charge. Yet 38 per cent of South Asia's children do not reach Grade 5, despite high primary-level enrolments.

In Bangladesh, universal primary education is free and compulsory, and textbooks are supplied to pupils free of charge. Work books, teachers' guides, and other learning materials are, however, reported to be in short supply. Textbooks are written by staff of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board, which also contracts their production and sells them to government. Financial allocations to education rose 46 per cent between 1995/96 and 1999/2000, in part with the help of international loans, and free books were extended to adult literacy centres. Bangladesh is the only country in South Asia with a national book policy, but the committee entrusted to implement it has never met and the plan remains a blueprint. Books are produced in substantial numbers – some 9,300 textbooks and other educational materials at all levels in 1996 – but the qual-

ity is poor and most publishers concentrate on the higher secondary and tertiary levels and on cheap guides to passing examinations. Professional skills are not highly developed. Many books are published by the authors themselves. There is no copyright protection and few libraries. Voluntary organizations and civil society organizations promote readership and non-formal education.

Bhutan, the least developed country in South Asia, provides free education to Grade 10. The traditional monastic education is based largely on oral communication and does not support a reading/writing culture, and the fact that English is the official language impedes writing and publishing in the national language, Dzongkha. Bhutan is reported to have published only thirty-two books in 1998. Most of the people who can read are first-generation literates. The Ministry of Health and Education has developed textbooks up to Grade 8; for higher grades textbooks are imported from India. Supplies of textbooks, work books and teachers' guides are adequate but their printing costs are high and delivery is difficult to remote areas. The government has been providing textbooks free of charge, but in an effort to reduce costs is gradually withdrawing its support for them and stationery from schools in urban and better-off areas. To encourage post-literacy and continuing education, the government has produced readers in English and Dzongkha and, with UNICEF support, sponsors an annual National Reading Week and Book Fair.

Nepal, which also has free compulsory primary education, provides free textbooks – in general, for boys to Grade 3 and for girls to Grade 5. Parents must first buy the books, however, and then obtain reimbursement. The system penalizes poor families and some prescribed books do not qualify for reimbursement. The curriculum and textbooks are in Nepali, which presents difficulties for the 48 per cent of the population for whom it is not the first language. Textbooks for the public system are produced and distributed by state agencies. Private schools may use commercially published textbooks as reference materials. Some private publishers and social organizations, including the Nepalese Society for Children's Literature, are publishing children's books, but the country depends largely on book imports. The Copyright Act, introduced in 1965, is ineffective and outdated, and the National Book Development Board has never met.

India is second only to the United States and the United Kingdom in the production of English-language books and has a vigorous publishing industry in seventeen other languages. The education system that must be supplied with learning materials is massive – 227 universities, 9,278 colleges, 98,134 high schools, 171,216 middle schools and 590,421 primary schools. Enrolment at the primary level alone is 100 million. A process of devolution from the central government to the states is almost complete. Under it, the state governments will produce nearly all the textbooks, work books and teachers' guides for primary schools and the majority of textbooks for secondary

and senior secondary schools. The goal is to provide the books at an affordable price, which the private sector has failed to do. Private schools draw on both locally produced and imported books. Tertiary-level texts are for the most part published locally, but postgraduate and research needs are met mainly by importation.

Maldives has a total population of well under 300,000 persons, living on 199 coral islands with a land area of about 300 km². The only bookstores are in the capital, Malé, and transportation between the islands is poor. None the less, the overall literacy rate is 98.8 per cent, and 99.3 per cent for females. Book production is expensive as a result of the small market and dependence on imported materials. Textbooks are produced and subsidized by the government. There is a serious shortage of learning materials in the local languages. There are few local writers, especially in the national language, Dhivehi, and to encourage them the government holds writing competitions, including some for children's literature. Most of the libraries are concentrated in Malé but some atolls have school libraries and community reading centres.

Pakistan's textbooks have long been produced by the four provincial textbook boards, but the market has recently been opened to competition from private sources. Other categories of learning materials have been neglected. There is a shortage of school and public libraries, and an imbalance between educational and general publishing: textbooks account for some 70 per cent of the total book production. Special efforts are being made, with the UNESCO office in Pakistan, to educate the children of refugees from Afghanistan, where the education system is in disarray.

In Sri Lanka, the government is responsible for supplying free textbooks for Grades 1 to 11, but does so in collaboration with the private sector. Some thirty-five commercial publishing houses are active as well as the state's Educational Publications Department. The National Book Development Council is a permanent body attached to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and the industry enjoys an 'approved undertaking' status that secures for it special benefits. A World Bank/International Development Association book development project, just under way, includes the rewriting of some 220 textbooks, the establishment of 2,000 new school libraries and the improvement of 1,000 existing ones, and the training of authors, illustrators, book designers, librarians and other personnel.

Central Asia and the Caucasus

Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan

Like most of the former republics of the Soviet Union, the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus are in the midst of a major

transition from one social/political/economic system to another on an unprecedented scale. Although the transformation seems frustratingly slow, it is happening at breakneck speed compared to most other historical change. Economic decline, inflation, shortage or under-use of national resources and lack of finances are often accompanied by armed political disputes over territorial possession within or amongst countries. Deteriorating social conditions and poverty are widespread.

The system of education that prevailed under communism was hierarchical and facts-based, and discouraged innovative teaching, individual questioning and critical thinking. There is no longer consensus on what aspects of education, and in particular textbooks, are required. The countries are having difficulty breaking away from the old system in which, typically, a pedagogical institute within the Ministry of Education wrote the textbooks, evaluated them and approved them. Systems of open and fair competition, encouraging good new authors, have been difficult to introduce. Independent, objective evaluation has also proved difficult to establish.

Table 11. Public expenditure on education in Central Asia

	% of GNP		% of gov't expenditure	
	1989	1996	1989	1996
Armenia	6.5	2.0	13.2	10.3
Azerbaijan	6.1	3.3	27.6	21.3
Kazakhstan	3.4	6.0	18.0	–
Kyrgyzstan	8.8	5.7	24.0	23.5
Mongolia	9.0	6.4	–	19.3
Tajikistan	9.7	2.2	28.0	11.5
Turkmenistan	4.2	–	27.1	–
Uzbekistan	9.0	8.1	23.9	21.1

Source: UNESCO statistics: public expenditure on education as percentage of GNP.

The financing of textbooks in countries that are no longer able to supply them free of charge has presented a challenge for ministries and funding agencies. Previously books were produced with low grade paper and binding, which was considered adequate because they were given new to pupils each year. Funding agencies are urging the adoption of loan or rental schemes, which are more economical but require better-quality books, and there is not enough experience to know how well they will work in these countries.

The process of dismantling state-owned monopolies in textbook publishing is incomplete. In most countries the state-owned company still occupies a preferred position and benefits from the advantages of hidden subsidies. In some countries the state company has been privatized or has built up a parallel private company into which it has tipped all its resources, thereby maintaining an advantage over the smaller publishers.

Fewer than 10 per cent of schools have computers. Supplementary materials such as maps, atlases and reference works are in short supply, not only from lack of funds but because of needed change in content. For example, there is still no widely accepted history of Central Asia; the facts, not to mention interpretation, are still the subject of heated debate. The introduction of new materials is further hampered by the legacy of an ideology that stressed the existence of one truth. More traditional educators are still searching for the definitive textbook that will replace the old one that is now in disrepute.

Although the situation varies from country to country, and more so from rural to urban areas within each country, financing of education in all the republics has been reduced – a result of economic collapse together with the transition to a market-based economy (Table 11). Salaries absorb most of what is available at the expense of other recurring expenses. All schools are under-funded with resulting deterioration of facilities, lack of materials and underpaid teachers. Rural schools are suffering much more than urban schools.

The shortage of textbooks and other learning materials ranges from significant to critical. Their provision has been affected by bureaucratic inertia and inexperience in operating under the new economic conditions, the abrupt interruption of economic and cultural contacts with the former USSR, a continuing dependence upon books published and printed in the Russian Federation, state monopolies in educational publishing and printing, outdated and unreliable printing equipment, and the need to import all the paper and most of the materials required to manufacture books. Education in Armenia and Azerbaijan suffered further from the war between the two countries and, in Armenia, from a devastating earthquake in 1988. Both Armenia and Georgia are facing an energy crisis, which paralyzes Georgia for six months each year. Kazakhstan, the second largest of the former soviet republics, must deal with the problems of a vast country with an ethnically mixed population, mostly rural. Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan were left isolated and socially impoverished by the breakup of the USSR, compounded in Tajikistan by civil war.

Even in Uzbekistan, where the proportional decline in funding may not seem substantial, the public system of education, enrolling approximately 5 million students in more than 9,300 public schools, is under stress. The situation is especially critical in rural areas. Very little equipment can be found, except in the specialized schools and selective lycées/gymnasia, and almost no books, maps, atlases, or reference books. The textbook situation is particularly critical in Turkmenistan, which has stopped all co-operation with the Russian Federation in this area and, consequently, all import and sale of Russian textbooks.

State publishing and printing houses have reduced the amount and the quality of their production. Armenia, which, with Georgia, was in the first rank among former soviet republics in educational achievement, has managed to renew more than

half the textbooks planned for primary and secondary schools, but further provision has been blocked by lack of funds. Georgia has also revised more than half its school books in the last five years, but the new materials are rather scarce and some subjects are still taught with soviet manuals. Kyrgyzstan has met the present need for textbooks in almost half its schools, but lacks manuals and other training materials. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are unable to meet the textbook needs covered until recently from Moscow and continue to use some of the old soviet textbooks. In Mongolia, new textbooks are being produced only for Grade 1. In Uzbekistan schools are still using textbooks published in 1989–90. Schools there have libraries, sometimes with one or two librarians; however, few students use them and the majority of the collections are class sets of textbooks. A recent decision to remove some of the soviet books from libraries has exacerbated the situation. In Tajikistan, as a consequence of civil war, schools have been destroyed, damaged and closed; new textbooks have been prepared but have not been published.

Families are required to buy secondary-level textbooks in Georgia, but students prefer to use old books and, according to unofficial data, about 30 per cent of new school books remained unsold in 1997. Armenia and Azerbaijan distribute some books for free, but some estimates suggest that only one-third of the Azerbaijani students in Grades 1 to 4 who are entitled to receive free books actually do so and such books, marked 'free of charge' on the back cover, are readily for sale on the street. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia and Uzbekistan provide textbooks free for the year, on the understanding that they will be returned. In Tajikistan, secondary school textbooks, which were previously given free to students, are sold in bookshops and markets at high prices.

Almost all countries in the region have attempted major curriculum reforms over the past several years but there has been little actual change. Education systems, inherited from the soviet period, remain highly centralized. Many textbooks published during the soviet period are still used even when they are at odds with new curricula.

Most of the countries have replaced Russian as the language of instruction with their new official languages (Azeri, Turkmen, Kazakh, Uzbek and Kyrgyz). Nevertheless, because many teachers are more fluent in Russian, and because it has not yet been possible to publish and distribute enough instructional materials in many local languages, Russian remains a major vehicle of instruction. Many of the new textbooks that have been published are simply translated literally from the original Russian. The change in language in many cases involves a change in alphabet, further complicating production of new titles.

In general, book publication in the region has decreased significantly over the last few years. Separation from the former Soviet Union has disrupted the supply of printing materials and equipment, and increased costs. Only Mongolia and Kyrgyzs-

tan produce their own paper, and that in limited quantities. Elsewhere, printers face high paper costs and irregular delivery. Customs duties in general are high on imported raw materials and low on imported printed materials, to the detriment of local production. Those countries close to the Russian Federation still import many textbooks from there, although that source has been reduced by a serious drop within the Russian Federation of book production. Private publishers are small and short of capital. In some countries they are impeded by complex systems for ordering and distribution, restrictions on the markup they are permitted and slow payment of government accounts. The physical quality of learning materials is often low. Textbooks do not last long; illustrations are often unclear and diagrams unreadable.

The people involved in planning and managing textbook provision are basically the same today as they were before independence, and the same old way of management and work prevail. Training in writing, translating, publishing, printing and distribution is badly needed.

Funding agencies and donors are working to relieve the publishing crisis, among them the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the Soros Foundation, the Open Society Institute, USAID and the British Know How Fund. Programmes vary from pilot to extensive in nature, from textbook provision to training, from national to sub-national. In Armenia, for example, the World Bank has a three-year, \$8 million programme that involves the publication of about 120 new textbooks, in all subjects and levels, alongside a new textbook rental scheme. In Azerbaijan, the Bank's programme is addressed to refugee resettlement and concentrates on damaged areas. In Mongolia, the Asian Development Bank is funding curriculum development at the secondary level; that country has also received printing equipment from Denmark, Germany, the Republic of Korea and Japan. In Kazakhstan, the Soros Foundation is running various regional programs alongside World Bank activities, including school grants and training of authors and publishers. In Uzbekistan the Asian Development Bank is supporting a major project for curriculum and textbook development at the primary level.

Pacific Islands

Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu

Most of the thirteen countries of the Pacific Islands report that they do not have enough textbooks, work books and teachers' guides, particularly in vernacular languages. Availability varies from country to country and within countries. There are significant differences in provision of books between urban and non-urban areas, capital city islands and outer islands. Photo-

copying of books is common where the machines are available, which is not generally the case. All countries practise central procurement of textbooks and learning materials, but the cost of bidding documents effectively precludes participation by local booksellers.

Geography, population and economics all impede the provision of textbooks and learning materials, and particularly materials developed to meet local needs and produced locally. With the exception of Papua New Guinea, the countries are small, even minuscule: Nauru and Niue consist of one island each, comprising 21 km² and 259 km² respectively. Papua New Guinea has a population of nearly 4.8 million, but the populations of Niue and Tokelau are only 2,100 and 1,500. Those two small countries have negative growth rates because of high migration. The countries are geographically isolated and communication within them is onerous. Kiribati consists of thirty-three islands totalling 719 km² scattered across three time zones and two days. In Papua New Guinea, mountain ranges make air the only practical means of transport to the interior. Throughout the region, air freight is expensive.

Incomes in the area are generally low and, even where they are higher, as in Papua New Guinea, there are vast disparities. Low levels of income result in small tax bases for schools and libraries, and limited financing for publishing ventures. External aid often favours expatriate authors, editors, illustrators, typesetters, printers and publishers.

All the countries have been colonies, except Tonga which was a protectorate of Great Britain. Samoa became independent in 1962 and was followed by the other countries except Tokelau, which is a territory of New Zealand. The Cook Islands and Niue remain politically associated with New Zealand and the Marshall Islands with the United States. The long period of colonization followed by continuing relationships with large metropolitan countries have resulted in the use of foreign languages, foreign priorities in education, foreign agenda-setting backed by foreign economic power and a shortage of books in local languages.

Tokelau and Niue have enough English books but not enough books in Tokelauan or Niuean. Fiji has enough teachers' guides for English, but not always enough textbooks and work books, nor does it have enough books in vernacular languages. Locally produced books in Fiji Baat, a form of Hindi, are rare because Hindi books can be imported inexpensively from India. In Vanuatu, the official languages of instruction are English and French (a legacy of two colonial rulers) but in practice Bislama – a pidgin and the national language – is often used, although there is little material available in it.

Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Tokelau and Tonga have 1 vernacular language. The Cook Islands have 2 (Maori and Pukapukan) as does Tuvalu (Tuvaluan and Kiribati). Fiji has 4: Fijian, Hindi, Rotuman and Chinese. Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea have 64, 108 and 869

respectively. For some of these languages, the only reading material is religious in nature. Under a new curriculum in Papua New Guinea, the first three years of school must be taught in the vernacular language of the particular area. Some of these languages do not yet have an orthography. The publication of books in vernacular languages by nationals of the countries concerned has been encouraged by, among others, the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific.

Reference books are given low priority and the shortage in schools is serious. Those schools with libraries have some reference books (although they are often out of date and sometimes wrong), but not all schools have libraries. The majority of schools in the Cook Islands, Kiribati and Niue have libraries. Some schools in the other countries have libraries. The vast majority of schools in Papua New Guinea do not. The countries generally have established networks of public libraries, but access to them varies between and within countries: the three main libraries of the Cook Islands, for example, are within 200 m of one another.

Supplementary reading materials are available in the market and in some schools. Children's fiction, especially for very young children, is improving in quantity and quality, but most is in English or, in Vanuatu, French. Books in vernacular languages are less common, though ministries of education, the Institute of Education at the University of the South Pacific and religious groups such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics produce books in local languages. Costs remain high, particularly for low-income countries. Non-fiction for children is increasing in quantity and quality very slowly.

Educational audio and video tapes are scarce, and many schools in the region lack power. Multimedia learning packages and science kits are available in some schools but in general there is a great shortage, with significant differences between schools, and between urban and rural areas. Fiji, however, has placed science kits in 500 elementary schools and plans to do so in its remaining 198 schools in the next two years. Posters, wall charts and maps are donated by international and regional organizations and national governments but in insufficient numbers and, as with book provision, there are marked differences in availability between urban and rural areas and between capital and outer islands.

All aspects of the book chain need attention. A considerable number of training workshops have been held in writing and editing, but little attention has been paid to distribution.

Representatives of the thirteen countries undertook to promote book policies and councils during the Biennial Meeting of the Directors of Education and the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States held in November 1998. However, the only country with a book policy is Papua New Guinea, which faces by far the greatest challenges in book provision. Its National Policy on

Information and Communication strives to develop a national distribution system, a national clearing house for domestically published books, publicity for government books, support for all aspects of the book chain, a subsidy on air freight to publishers and printers, and strategies for co-operation. Its Book Week and Literacy Week promote writing competitions, book sales and public readings.

The difficulties of small populations and limited resources are being overcome in some countries through regional co-operation in the production of early literary resources. Fiji and New Zealand are involved in much of what is happening, often in close co-operation. New Zealand's involvement is the result, in no small measure, of its own indigenous and immigrant Polynesian populations. About one-third of children in New Zealand are Polynesian – New Zealand Maori, Samoan, Cook Islands Maori, Tongan, Niuean or Tokelauan. More Tokelauans, Niueans and Cook Islanders live in New Zealand than in Tokelau, Niue or the Cook Islands, and for every two children at school in Samoa another Samoan child lives in New Zealand. It is estimated that by about 2050 New Zealanders of Polynesian ancestry will form a majority of the population.

Teachers' guides and learning materials in the languages of these countries are still in seriously short supply within New Zealand. In 1989, however, the country began a period of curriculum reform that allows Pacific Islands children the right to use their language as an integral part of their schooling and all children the right to learn Pacific Islands languages if they wish. Bilingual education became a school-by-school decision. The Ministry of Education began publishing in Pacific Islands languages for early childhood centres and schools in 1976, and in large numbers from 1989 through contracts with a parastatal, Learning Media. At present a new title is added, on average, about every eleven days. The books, in early reading and in some other subjects at the primary level, are not traditional textbooks but what might elsewhere be called supplementary readers, scarcely different from the children's books to be found in stores. This approach lends itself particularly well to multilingual publication.

Samoa, Tokelau, Niue and the Cook Islands all currently use Pacific Islands language resources developed by the New Zealand Ministry of Education and Tonga is considering doing so. New Zealand, in turn, uses resources in its schools originally developed by the Departments of Education in Samoa, Tuvalu and Tokelau, and has purchased resource development services from the Departments of Education in Niue, the Cook Islands and Tonga. As a result, five small island states have gained access to the full-colour books normally associated with more developed countries and New Zealand has gained a level of language expertise that immigrant communities cannot always provide on their own. There are only 6,000 Tokelauans in the world, yet the New Zealand government publishes a new book for children, in full-colour, in Tokelauan about every eight weeks.

Learning Media was created in 1989 when the School Publications Branch of the New Zealand Ministry of Education was transformed into a government-owned but commercially oriented educational publishing company which bids for work from its own and other ministries of education. It also publishes works in its own right. Since 1989 it has won contracts to publish Pacific Islands language resources for the ministries or institutes of education in Tokelau, Tuvalu, Niue, Fiji and Samoa, and has recently quoted on work for the ministries of education in Vanuatu, the Marshall Islands, Tonga and Hawaii. With the Institute of Education at the University of the South Pacific, a regional institution, it has run workshops and publishes Pacific Literacy, a thirty-book series which forms the basis for the first three years in primary school literacy programmes in a growing number of church and state school systems. With UNESCO support, the partners will publish Pacific Science, a forty-two-book early science series, in 2000.

The full-colour but low-cost literacy series is printed on rugged paper with rust-resistant staples to survive tropical island conditions. By printing the same book in several languages, with only the black plates for text changed for each edition, print runs can be high and costs per copy accordingly low. A full-colour book in a local language costs no more than what some countries in the region would pay per copy for black and white, poorly illustrated books printed on non-durable grades of paper. Each book is accompanied by teachers' materials that typically include an English translation, notes on cultural elements in the story, information about the author and illustrator, an explanation of where the material fits in the curriculum, and some suggested teaching activities. Competing books from the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia have no Pacific content or authorship and their guides do not reflect the realities of classroom conditions in the Pacific.

Africa

Botswana, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, São Tomé and Príncipe, South Africa, Swaziland, Togo, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

The countries of Africa have appeared many times in the ADEA survey as examples and over the years that continent has attracted more donor interest than any other and more documentation of its textbook shortage and attempts to alleviate that shortage. Rather than repeat themes from Parts II and III, here is a snapshot of Africa as it seemed in 1999 to educators, publishers and consultants familiar with its education system. The information is based on 126 responses, from the 26 countries listed above, to the ADEA/UNESCO survey. Not all the respondents answered all the questions. The opinions do not always coincide with trends identified in Part III (ADEA, 1999).

Some 103 of those responding to a question about book shortage in their country considered it serious. The 9 who did not regard it as serious overall said it was serious in rural areas or for pre-primary and tertiary-level books that had to be imported; 36 said the book shortage was a result of poverty. The same number blamed inadequate government funding and planning in the light of increased school enrolments a weak local publishing industry was described as responsible by 30 while 20 blamed government policies – monopoly publishing of textbooks, lack of co-ordination with funding agencies, and taxes on printing materials. Others cited high levels of illiteracy, lack of a book-buying culture, high costs of production, inadequate book distribution systems and the scarcity of bookshops, especially in rural areas. Some suggested that teaching styles perpetuated the book famine by focusing on a single textbook and examinations.

Table 12. Proportion of respondents who said there was a serious shortage in textbooks and learning materials (N = 103)

Textbooks	87%
Work books	89%
Teachers' guides	78%
Reading programmes or schemes	90%
Children's fiction (e.g. easy readers, stories, plays, anthologies)	89%
Children's non-fiction	93%
Audio tapes	98%
Video tapes	97%
Multimedia learning packages, science kits	97%
Reference books (e.g. dictionaries, atlases)	93%
Magazine, comics	91%
Posters, wall charts, maps	98%

Source: ADEA/UNESCO survey, 1999.

More than 90 per cent of respondents identified serious shortages in textbooks and learning materials of one kind or another (Table 12). The overwhelming majority believed that decentralization was a positive move, although a number seemed to be talking about the theoretical benefits rather than from experience. The advantages mentioned were largely related to school empowerment in the selection of books and the encouragement of bookselling if books were bought locally. Most respondents favoured a centralized approval process, but thought there should be a wide selection of approved titles from which schools could select. Many were concerned about the means of distribution, which some regarded as so inadequate as to outweigh the benefits of local selection; 85 considered the distribution system in their country as very weak or non-existent. Others were worried that school officials would be unprepared to select books and that corruption would simply move from the central to the local level.

Only about three-quarters of the respondents answered a question about training, but of those who did more than 95 per cent felt that all aspects of the book chain had been neglected and needed attention. The training of teachers in the use of textbooks was given a high priority. Most respondents agreed that the printing industry in their countries was better developed than book publishing, but that more training was needed.

Almost all the respondents rejected free provision of textbooks. The major reasons were: (1) there is no such thing as a 'free' book because someone has to pay; (2) the provision of free books has no place in a free-market environment; (3) free textbooks undermine the bookselling component of the book chain; and (4) free books are not properly valued or cared for. Most people, however, recognized that poor families would not be able to afford to pay the full cost of books. The following remedies were suggested: subsidies to reduce the price; tax benefits, removal of duties and other national strategies to reduce the cost of publishing; book loan or rental schemes; targeted supply of free books to those most in need; community participation in the establishment of community libraries; and community education in the value and care of books.

A question about the use of local languages drew 106 responses; 8 people questioned the need for reading material in local languages, which in some countries are regarded as inferior and of little practical use for educational and economic advancement. There was also concern that the favouring of one language over others would be seen as a political statement. About 20% of respondents said that there would be no demand for books in local languages unless the languages were officially recognized in the education system. Several recommended mother-tongue education in the lower grades, however, and several more insisted that it should be possible to take examinations in local languages in secondary school.

Respondents suggested that demand for reading materials in local languages could be generated through literacy and reading campaigns, local language supplements in newspapers, local language programmes on radio, story-writing competitions in local languages and promotion of local language materials in village and community libraries. A large number of respondents said it would be necessary to train authors and teachers in writing and teaching the local language, and a few pointed out that for some languages it was first necessary to standardize the orthography. Several suggested that community members and members of literacy classes be encouraged to write folk tales or stories. Many respondents suggested translating existing books. Several suggested that subsidies or other incentives should be offered to publishers willing to take the risks of publishing small editions in local languages and others suggested electronic publishing as an economic means of dealing with short runs.

Respondents thought that reading programmes and campaigns – possibly involving television and radio, book fairs, competi-

tions and prizes – would do most to foster a more favourable reading culture for children in particular and adults in general. Many stressed the importance of making reading part of the school curriculum, training teachers in the value of reading at school and using project-based learning as means of instilling the reading habit in children. A large number called for the development of school libraries and mobile libraries as a foundation upon which reading and literacy campaigns might be built. Several mentioned the need for more attractive, affordable books for children, published locally and using local languages.

Responses to other parts of the questionnaire are incorporated in other parts of this survey.

The English-speaking Caribbean

Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago

During the decade of the 1990s there was a significant improvement in the provision of learning materials in most of the twelve English-speaking countries in the Caribbean region surveyed. As the decade comes to a close, no country could be described as experiencing a book famine. Nevertheless there remain significant barriers to the adequate provision of learning materials.

Most countries report no serious shortage of textbooks or work books. A study made in 1991 of the countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago found 'a proliferation of high quality texts written by Caribbean educators and published by international and regional publishers'. The author found 'little need to duplicate the many fine manuscripts already published in every subject area and in use in the region.' (The study is summarized as Appendix E in Clare, 1993.) Indeed, in many countries of the region people feel that there is too great a choice, and that parents and students are being asked to spend unnecessarily on a variety of textbooks. Ministries of education throughout the region are introducing prescribed lists of books at the primary and lower secondary levels.

There is concern about unequal access within countries. Individual governments have implemented a variety of schemes aimed at improving access and reducing cost. The Jamaican Primary Textbook Project, which has been operating since 1984, provides some 350,000 students per year with more than 2.5 million textbooks and workbooks in science, mathematics, language arts, social studies and family life. The Jamaican Secondary School Textbook Project (originally funded by the British government in 1985) rents the core textbooks to students for US\$25 per year. The Barbados Rental Scheme, which is among the oldest in the region, provides every secondary

schoolchild with his or her full textbook needs for an annual fee of US\$37. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines will introduce a rental scheme at the secondary level in the 1999/2000 academic year. Dominica and the Bahamas provide free textbooks. The government of Trinidad and Tobago is targeting needy students under a World Bank-funded project that will provide free textbooks in mathematics, English and science to 35 per cent of the country's school population starting in 2000.

Distribution remains a problem. Clare observed that the system of distribution of textbooks common to all countries of the Caribbean was one of the most expensive conceivable. Little has changed since 1991 and even the government rental schemes retain elements of that inefficient system. Under the Jamaica Secondary Textbooks Rental Scheme, for example, each secondary school not only selected the textbooks to be used in each subject but placed the order directly with its supplier of choice. The Ministry of Education, in theory, oversaw the process but largely confined itself to ensuring that the school had funds to pay for the order. Both ordering and shipping were inefficient, and deliveries were often late. In 1999, the Ministry limited choice by issuing a list of approved texts, created a centralized pool of rental funds under its control and encouraged importers to consolidate textbook provision. In 2000, the government may go one step further and centralize purchasing and distribution.

With few exceptions textbook procurement has involved the private sector. Jamaica has followed this principle since the 1970s. Barbados has consistently bought schoolbooks through private sector booksellers. Trinidad and Tobago, despite regular shifts in policy, has generally supported both local printing and distribution. In Guyana, however, the Ministry of Education remains the largest publisher of educational materials through the National Centre for Educational Resource Development.

Most countries offer some choice, but in June 1999 the government of Trinidad and Tobago changed policy abruptly in the name of economy and opted for a single textbook in each subject/level. It had previously accepted a recommendation of its own textbook evaluation committee that school principals be allowed to choose from two approved titles in mathematics and science, and from six in language arts. The sudden change left local publishers with tens of thousands of books produced for the previous policy and may reinforce the dominance of metropolitan publishers in the country's textbook trade.

The Jamaican Ministry of Education, in contrast, is unique regionally in its support of local publishers. The Ministry has responded positively, by adoption and purchase, to the increasing number of locally published books designed for its curricula. At the primary level, for example, of the four subject areas in which the Ministry provides books only the mathematics texts are published outside Jamaica. All the language arts, science and social studies texts are locally published. The approved textbook list for secondary schools also includes a

significant number of locally published texts in English language, social studies, mathematics and science.

All countries of the region reported serious significant shortages in other categories of learning materials. With limited resources, governments have had to place a priority on satisfying the needs of the core curriculum. Government budgets for libraries are being reduced or a greater proportion of them is being absorbed by administrative expenses, at the same time as prices of books rise. As a result, fewer books are bought. Money, however, is not the only concern. Smaller countries, such as the British Virgin Islands and Belize, which have no indigenous publishing, have difficulty in gaining access to regionally produced reading material.

Some attempts have been made to provide more supplementary reading materials in schools. In 1996 Trinidad and Tobago began establishing classroom libraries in all its 486 primary schools under a basic education project funded by the International Development Bank (IDB). The books were intended to support a new curriculum integrating reading and language. In Jamaica, 120 secondary schools received library books between 1996 and 1998 under a US\$1.2 million project funded by IDB, while primary schools will also receive books – some 250,000 of them – in the year 2000 under a British-funded project.

Such schemes are not without problems. In Trinidad and Tobago, teachers and librarians were given a chance to inspect and select books for their schools through a series of regional exhibitions; nevertheless, many lacked information about the range of available materials. There was also a shortage of culturally relevant material from other countries in the region and beyond. Jamaica has had difficulty in getting basic information from publishers and other sources about regionally produced materials that might be relevant for its primary school library project. As a result the first list compiled for tendering included no locally produced books or books that were culturally relevant to the country.

Barbados, with one of the highest literacy rates in the region, has opted for non-print technology. Its Edutec 2000 project, which has been declared a national priority, is focused on providing multimedia facilities in all the nation's schools. Barbados has also created an educational software review centre and is considering including software among the materials available under its well-established textbooks rental programme.

In Guyana, where the government is unable to provide for the country's reading needs, a local non-governmental organization has undertaken the task. CODE, has established 271 community libraries in the last five years and distributed some 240,000 books to schools, libraries and other educational institutions.

As a result of conferences in Saint Lucia and Jamaica, a regional association of publishers is forming, encompassing all the

language areas of the Caribbean – English, French, Spanish and Dutch. Its immediate concerns are expected to include problems of distribution, training and public/private sector co-operation.

None of the countries in the region has a national book policy. In mid-1999 the National Book Development Council of Jamaica, with funding from UNESCO, convened a regional consultation on national book policies. Delegates representing all the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) member countries participated. Their reports provided a mixed picture of the state of the book in the countries of the region, ranging from virtual inertia to vitality. Positive trends included the general absence of taxes or duties on imported books, moves by several countries to enact modern copyright legislation and increasing government intervention to provide textbooks to disadvantaged sections of the population. The book chain is best developed in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados, but no country can be said to have a publishing industry and even in Jamaica there now is only one textbook publisher of substance. The book industry in the rest of the Caribbean region remains in a state of chronic underdevelopment which is unlikely to be changed by occasional book provision schemes. The region remains the one geographical area in the English-speaking world where there is little or no initiative in book development.

Central and Eastern Europe

Albania, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)

The political change in Central and Eastern Europe has brought widespread initiatives for economic and social reform. For almost a decade, the post-communist countries of this region have been attempting to lay the foundations of their future democracies and to introduce market economies – a painful transition accompanied at times by economic stagnation, high inflation, unemployment, social disillusion and, in southeastern Europe, armed disputes.

The production, dissemination, and use of instructional materials, like the education systems, have been affected by the transition. Fragile economies, insufficient budget allocation, and lack of legislative measures contributed to the deterioration of the publishing industry during the first half of the 1990s. In every country there is more than one educational publisher, although often one (usually the state or former state company) is distinguished by the Ministry of Education as the leading company. In such cases, it is difficult for newly formed companies to obtain a share in the market because of tradition. In

some countries the Ministry of Education helps the former monopolist through subsidies or large purchases. In Hungary and some other countries, the private publishers found it in their interest to maintain the public status of the state textbook company out of fear that, privatized and free from public obligations, it would be even more dangerous a competitor.

Planned educational reforms still have to be implemented. In every country new curricula are either under development or under implementation. The major presumption, inherited from the socialist system of education, is that the textbook is the most important item in the education system and, when you have a textbook, all other materials are significantly less necessary. Work books and teachers' guides are also recognized, but interactive materials are rare.

Textbook shortages vary, as do the availability and range of learning materials. Although market-oriented changes have been introduced in some countries, examples remain of state control of prices, textbook subsidies and deep-rooted expectations that the government will provide free or cheap textbooks. Curriculum development and textbook provision have been assisted by international civil society organizations and by agencies such as the World Bank and European Union.

The Visegrad countries. In the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, the transition towards a democratic order and market economy is progressing and, although the financial situation is still difficult, textbooks suffer more in quality than in quantity. The total number of textbook titles published in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland rose slightly between 1994 and 1997. In the largest market, Poland, the publication of instructional materials has been turned into a profitable, competitive activity. Comprehensive educational reforms aim to replace the old fact-based, textbook-oriented learning with alternative methods and curricula. New textbooks are being developed primarily with the help of international funding agencies and experts.

The Baltic countries. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania undertook economic, political and social reforms after their separation from the former USSR and all have achieved political stability and progress in commercial infrastructure. Their economies are improving but are still fragile, and the shortage of disposable income affects the production and dissemination of educational materials. School book publishing is impeded by the small size of the national markets, which are further reduced by the presence of minority language groups. Latvia is beginning to pay attention to ethnic minority education and, above all, the integration of Russian language schools. Lithuania is supporting the decentralization of education. There are some textbook and work book shortages in Estonia, and all countries feel serious shortages of teachers' guides and supplementary materials, including reference books. In all three countries, the annual number of textbook titles published had increased substantially by 1997 over output even two years earlier.

Other Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS, non-Central Asia and Caucasus) countries. As in other states of the former USSR, the collapse of the old regime in Ukraine, Belarus, the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation was followed by the collapse of political, economic and cultural structures, and by disruption of commerce and distribution against a background of hyperinflation. The large size of Ukraine and the division between its Ukrainian and Russian-speaking areas exacerbated the difficulties of transition. The government controls the selection and issue of every textbook but lacks the funds to meet all requirements. Old textbooks need to be replaced and, in general, instructional materials are in serious demand.

Economic reform and privatization in Belarus are proceeding more slowly than in the Russian Federation or the Baltic states. The country is closely tied to the Russian market and heavily dependent on it. The publishing sector remains state-owned. The Ministry of Education has the ultimate control over textbook provision and state-owned publishers retain their monopoly. Russian textbooks from before 1990 are still in use.

In the Republic Moldova national educational standards and curricula are being revised. There is a critical shortage of textbooks and teachers' guides, and supplementary materials are non-existent. An experimental textbook rental scheme was severely undermined by the Russian economic crash of August 1998.

In the Russian Federation, estimates of the shortage of textbooks in primary and secondary schools range from 100 to 300 million books, depending on whether one counts physical numbers of books in the schools or considers quality and appropriateness. History books from the 1980s are still in use and falling apart. In the early 1990s educational funding was devolved to the eighty-nine *oblasts* (provinces) and the Ministry of Education was expected to recommend two or three suitable textbooks for each subject/level. Competition might have been expected to blossom, but the market remains dominated by the massive state publishing house Prosvetscheniye, which benefits from hidden subsidies despite efforts to commercialize it. Another large textbook publishing company is said to have links with the mafia. Despite all obstacles, the quality of books in general is being improved through competition and consumer demand. In 1998 competitions for textbooks were launched and forty new titles approved, with the result that by 1999 the federally approved list had two and often three titles for each subject/level. Teachers' guides and supplementary materials remained in short supply, however.

The Balkans. Textbook shortages in the countries of Albania, Bulgaria and Romania are a direct result of slow political, economic and social reforms. Only recently, with the arrival of democratic governments have changes begun. The governments are committed to privatization, but progress is impeded by low wages, inflation and declining purchasing power. Finan-

cial support for textbooks from international agencies, such as the World Bank and the Soros Foundation, has been decisive during the past several years. Even so, budgets are not always sufficient to meet needs for textbooks and work books, most of which are being replaced by new editions. Supplementary materials are still in scarce supply.

Bulgaria has developed new textbooks for most grades and to finance them has begun selling them to families. In Romania, competition in textbooks has been introduced with World Bank funding. In Albania, much of the countryside is remote and difficult to reach, and 87 per cent of the schools are in villages. Textbook production and provision is controlled by the Ministry of Education using monopoly state-owned publishing and distribution enterprises. There is a shortage of textbooks, and teachers of all grades require guides to the revised curriculum.

The republics of former Yugoslavia. Wars have destroyed schools as well as the national economies and infrastructures and have fragmented what was once one national market. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, international funding for education has initially been directed towards repairing damaged schools. The already small book market is divided in three by language and differing publishing policies. As a result production costs are high and print runs low. There is no system at cantonal level for inventory control and distribution of textbooks to schools.

Croatia's education system has remained completely centralized and underfunded. Curricular reform has been hampered by disputes between Croatians and the Serb minority.

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has undertaken educational reform and tested new methods, but lacks finances to support the desired change. Development of new learning materials is impeded by an underdeveloped publishing industry and gradually increasing costs. Moreover, the constitution guarantees the Albanian, Turkish and Serb minorities instruction in their mother tongues at the elementary and secondary levels. Textbooks of equal quality are required in all subjects at the same price in the three minority languages as well as Macedonian. Many print runs are small as a result, but costs are amortized across the four editions to achieve a common sales price. Supplementary materials are basically non-existent.

In the aftermath of Kosovo, the educational infrastructure of Yugoslavia must be reconstructed. The school systems are strictly controlled by a totalitarian state, using old teaching methods. Textbooks are sold. No curricular reform was in place before the war and there is little evidence that publishing of any kind will receive immediate attention.

Textbook selection, ownership, distribution, and funding. Most countries permit choice and competition in the production of educational materials, Belarus and Ukraine being notable exceptions. Ministries of education in all countries decide what

textbooks are approved for use in schools. Alternative textbooks may be used without Ministry approval, as in Lithuania, or only with approval of the Ministry, as in Bulgaria. In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Ministry intends to allow schools an element of choice in the textbooks they use for most if not all subjects. In the Russian Federation, teachers are free in principle to choose among Ministry-approved and any other published textbooks, but information about what is available is scarce, sample copies are hard to come by and teachers continue to rely on the old books and methods with which they are familiar. In the Russian Federation, Hungary and Estonia, textbooks that are not recommended by the Ministry tend to be more expensive for parents to buy. The highly centralized Yugoslav system of education did not allow choice of textbooks before the war with Kosovo. In Albania, there is practically no choice.

Privatization in the publishing industry has been initiated in many countries. Most of the former state publishing houses in Estonia are privatized, including the former textbook publishing monopoly Koolibri. In Latvia, privatization is also complete and Zvaigne, the former state textbook monopoly, is having to compete with a small number of private houses. Most of the publishing industry of Romania has been privatized but the textbook market is still dominated by a single state-owned educational publishing house. The biggest publishing houses in Bosnia and Herzegovina are still state-owned, however. In Macedonia, the state publisher Prosvetno Delo still has the textbook monopoly but discussions concerning its privatization have been completed. In Ukraine, private publishers are

beginning to get a share of the educational market but are constrained by high prices for paper and printing because of dependence on Russian suppliers. The Albanian government has approved the privatization of state enterprises.

Systems of textbook distribution differ, but all have problems, pre-eminently delays in payment to publishers. In several countries, state systems have been replaced by the private sector. In Estonia and Poland, publishing companies work with private wholesalers. In Poland, textbooks are chosen by teachers and bought by parents, usually in bookshops. In Estonia, the former state distribution and retail book selling monopoly has been replaced by private wholesalers and booksellers. In Romania, publishers are responsible for distributing the books to the schools and are paid only on delivery. The state distribution organization still exists in Latvia but no longer has a monopoly and many of its bookstores have been privatized or closed.

Elsewhere, the state continues to be involved in distributing books to the schools. In Lithuania, the state distribution organization has been privatized but textbook distribution has been taken over by the Ministry of Culture and Education and remains state-controlled. In Belarus and the Russian Federation, textbooks are distributed to schools by governmental firms. In Albania, textbooks are delivered in bulk by the state printing house to local state warehouses in the thirty-seven administrative districts and from there are redistributed by school-appointed representatives, usually teachers. In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the state publisher has

Table 13. Textbook publisher ownership, distribution, and funding in Central and Eastern Europe

	Ownership of publishing companies	Distribution	Method of payment
Albania	state	book trade	subsidized
Belarus	state		loan
Bosnia and Herzegovina	mixed		subsidized
Bulgaria	mixed		mixed
Croatia	mixed		mixed
Czech Republic	private	mixed	mixed
Estonia	private		mixed
Hungary	mixed	book trade	sold at market prices
Latvia	private	book trade	mixed
Lithuania	private	mixed	mixed
Poland	mixed	mixed	sold at market prices
Republic of Moldova	mixed	mixed	mixed
Romania	private	mixed	mixed
Russian Federation	mixed	mixed	loan
Slovakia	private	schools	loan
Slovenia	mixed	mixed	mixed
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	private		subsidized, loan
Ukraine	mixed	schools	subsidized
Yugoslavia	state		mixed

Source: 1997 publishing survey data, Centre for Publishing Development, OSI-Budapest, 1998.

recently been supplying textbooks directly to the schools instead of through retail bookshops. In Croatia, distribution channels have been badly neglected and in Ukraine, the distribution system has disintegrated.

Some countries have successfully introduced market rules and free competition in the creation of educational materials (Table 13). Elsewhere, the debate over the state's role is heated. Many governments struggle to balance stretched budgets and a continuing commitment to provide textbooks free of charge. In some countries, parents buy books on a black market simply because the state has failed to deliver what is needed. In Slovenia, parents pay for all books; in Romania and Belarus, educational authorities pay for textbooks and parents pay for supplementary materials that have not been approved by the Ministry of Education. In Bulgaria, the state provides free schoolbooks in the first years of education but parents complain about the high prices of textbooks for subsequent grades. In Albania, pupils pay a nominal charge for the use of schoolbooks, which are returned for re-use. Some countries subsidize textbook prices generally, and most subsidize textbooks for handicapped children, minority groups and vocational schools.

The publishing environment. Every country has a publishers' association, most of them founded since 1989. Those in Estonia and Latvia have been particularly active.

In many countries, the printing industry lacks modern equipment that can provide short print runs economically. With the exception of the Russian Federation most countries need to import paper. Printing prices in the Republic of Moldova,

which had been a major printing centre in the Soviet Union, are low in comparison with those in neighbouring countries and there is substantial demand for its services from Romania, Bulgaria and the Russian Federation. Many countries must find financing for short-run textbooks to meet minority needs.

There is an urgent need for training in writing, publishing and distribution of textbooks, and for training of teachers in their use. The Open Society Institute and the local Soros Foundations for Open Society have been running numerous regional and general programmes addressing educational reforms, textbook publication and translation of materials. The British Know How Fund has also organized training workshops in Albania and Romania. In the early 1990s the Soros Foundation supported some 400 writing projects in the Russian Federation, most of them supplementary materials that have found their way to the country's more progressive schools.

The World Bank is supporting the publication and distribution of selected primary and secondary school core textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Romania, it supported an education reform project that introduced new textbooks and competition. It is negotiating with Albania an education reform loan that would include competitive textbooks. It has also provided support for textbooks in the Russian Federation, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and the Republic of Moldova. A Bank project in the Russian Federation involved direct loans to *oblasts* to provide working capital for publishers to produce federally approved textbooks, but it faltered, just as agreement was to be signed, after the ruble was devalued in August 1998. ■

V. What we have learned

It is dangerous to generalize about the experiences of regions and nations as diverse as those represented in this survey. Countries differ in their size, topography, population, wealth, industrial development, form of government, political viewpoint, literacy and commitment to education. Even within regions the variations are considerable; globally they are enormous.

The strategies for developing, publishing and distributing textbooks and other learning materials must be devised to meet local conditions and needs. They should be based on what is appropriate and practical locally, not on an imported model. None the less, some thirty lessons may be drawn from the achievements and the failures of the decade since Jomtien.

Textbooks: a recurrent expense

Textbooks are a resource that must be renewed regularly. As such, they differ from long-lived capital investments that may be funded by long-term loans.

Textbooks have short lives. Depending on the quality of their binding and paper, if they are well used and well cared for they may last three years, or even five. Where children carry them home each day over hilly paths, in seasons of heavy rain, to homes without shelves, they may not last that long. In north-western Pakistan, the simple saddle-stitched textbooks are not expected to last longer than one year and those for the early grades, whose owners have not yet been trained in book care, often must be replaced part-way through the year. Textbooks must also survive domestic hazard. Younger siblings are always a threat and an extremely unlucky student may find his illiterate father has torn a page from a textbook to roll his tobacco in or his mother has taken a page for wrapping the sugar she is selling (Ambatchew, 1999). In time, moreover, and regardless of their physical condition, textbooks grow obsolete as the curriculum changes and so must be replaced.

As a result, textbooks have never fit comfortably into the large-scale projects and procurement procedures of the World Bank and other funding agencies – institutions that were designed initially to help fund long-lasting capital projects such as dams, bridges and roads. Textbooks and other learning material are, moreover, intellectual property, the rights in which are protected by national legislation and international agreement. Open competitive bidding that is based principally on cost can be used in procuring the paper and printing for textbooks, but fails when it is applied to textbooks that are individually unique and cannot truly be compared as simple commodities. While the World

Bank has never stipulated that it looks for the cheapest price, procurement has been affected by a shortage of qualified staff and a less than perfect implementation of general guidelines for procurement, including a trial set of guidelines for procurement of textbooks issued in 1994 (Sigurdsson, 1999, pp. 144–5).

State-run systems

State-dominated systems for the provision of textbooks have generally proved inefficient and ineffective.

In countries where state institutions wrote, produced and distributed a single textbook for each subject/level, the systems generally have been found to be inefficient and ineffective (e.g. Askerud, 1997, p. 57; Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 21). Sida found that in the programmes it supported, 'by and large government publishing has not functioned well. State-aided companies are frequently hampered by inefficient bureaucracy, unawareness of real costs, or lack of motivation on the part of the staff' (Sida, 1996, p. 15). Other observers have noted that hidden subsidies masked true costs. Civil servants – often well versed in educational theory but unskilled in printing and publishing techniques – made decisions that might be pedagogically appropriate but unnecessarily costly. Books were produced in uneconomical page sizes and in wasteful designs. Distribution systems failed because of inadequate funding for transportation from regional warehouses to the schools. Everywhere, books were frequently late in reaching the schools, if they arrived at all; too often they remained in regional and district storerooms, ill protected from water, mould, insects and vermin.

Textbook provision suffered from the common maladies of a civil service. Functions were sometimes scattered among different departments or units, with little co-ordination. Personnel were poorly motivated to meet schedules or save money. Staff development and promotion followed civil service procedures, often oblivious to publishing professionalism: staff were transferred to publishing units on the basis of seniority or availability rather than knowledge or merit. Rules and procedures for procurement were cumbersome. Funding was principally by an annual legislative grant, making forward planning difficult if not impossible. The contents of textbooks often reflected the values and policies of the government that controlled the purse strings and appointments.

Private sector

Involving the private sector introduces a motivation for efficiency and sustainability.

Entrepreneurs who are risking their own money, or their shareholders', are more likely to be concerned about achieving

economies and making use of professional skills than civil servants who have no personal stake in textbook provision beyond their own survival in office. Of course there are many civil servants who are just as dedicated and professional as any private-sector manager, but even they are likely to be overcome by the inertia of large bureaucracies and the indifference or unwillingness of their superiors to make changes.

Publishing, in contrast to bureaucracy, benefits from a personal style that marries innovation and professionalism. It is also unusually complex in the number of 'product lines' – each book constituting a separate product – that must be managed simultaneously in development or revision, production, and distribution.

Because the private sector sells textbooks, either to the government or on the open market, it has funds to re-invest in the next year's sales and a powerful motivation – the need for financial turnover – to make that re-investment. Books that are available this year, therefore, are likely to be available next year if the sales potential this year is realized.

The difference between public and private sector publishing was illustrated dramatically in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa, where several countries agreed on common syllabuses in mathematics and, with help from French aid organizations, co-operatively developed textbooks for common use. Two approaches to publication were followed. In the primary-level series, the inter-governmental co-ordinating committee that developed the books acted as publisher and retained the copyright. It offered film for platemaking to countries that signed an exclusive five-year agreement with it. The countries then had to secure their own funding, by grants or loans, and arrange production of the books. The series was adopted by only three countries. In Benin, the government took three years to find funding. The state printer was given the contract for books at the first two levels but could not fulfil it for technical reasons and subcontracted it to a foreign printer at a high cost. Benin subsequently chose books for the next two levels from a French publisher. In Mali, the contracted printer delivered the books a year late. Because the financing did not cover distribution, only part of the stock was supplied to schools, mainly in the capital and its neighbourhood. The Democratic Republic of the Congo also needed three years to find funding, then chose a European printer and faced similar problems in delivery and distribution. None of the three countries had funds to reprint books in following years.

In contrast, the committee that developed the secondary-level textbooks assigned the copyright to a single publisher, the Hachette subsidiary EDICEF, which undertook to produce and market the series in collaboration with les Nouvelle éditions ivoiriennes of Côte d'Ivoire. The secondary series was adopted in twelve countries and sold in the open market, helped by a French subsidy to lower the sale price. About 1.5 million copies were bought, either in bookshops or within the

framework of a bid, at the equivalent of US\$5 per copy, about half the price of a comparable Ghanaian book, also the recipient of development aid. The books continue to be available throughout the countries because they are in the copyright of a publisher with an interest in their commercial longevity (Loric, 1999b, pp. 109–12).

Sustainability

School books provide the foundation for a sustainable publishing industry that can meet continuing local needs while reflecting local conditions and experiences.

The importance of school books extends far beyond the classroom. A large and relatively stable continuing demand for them, year after year, can provide the financial underpinning for a more general publishing industry. With the capital generated from educational books, publishers can engage in works of fiction and poetry, and in works of non-fiction – books that examine the country's history, society, economy, ecology, and culture – that will help to develop a sense of national identity and self-awareness. Most important in this context, they can develop books in all these genres written specially for children and young adults, and sell them in the marketplace to a book-hungry population. In short, publishers who have financial resources from school books can provide the books that will maintain literacy once schooling ends.

Textbooks are particularly important to publishing in countries that do not have a well-developed reading culture. In industrialized countries, textbooks and learning materials represent between 25 and 50 per cent of all publishing income. In developing countries where textbooks are sold, they can represent up to 95 per cent of the local publishing market (Askerud, 1997, p. 30). In sub-Saharan Africa overall, they account for 75 per cent of publishing revenue (Makotsi, 1998, p. 1).

When the state dominates the provision of learning materials, the general publishing industry languishes. This was clear in many countries of Africa and Asia, where the imposition of a state monopoly devastated publishing. As one publisher (Ofei, 1997, p. 15) explained it, 'a book industry without access to the textbook market is a dying industry, because the textbook market is the side of the bread that is buttered for the publisher and bookseller.'

A public monopoly may appear attractive because it cuts out the retailer and concentrates production, leading to apparently lower costs for the consumer, whether that is the government or the family. The true cost to the country is great, however. Commercial publishing lacks a financial base on which to build. Bookshops do not develop because they have no books to sell. The quality of textbooks deteriorates from lack of competition. Book industries stagnate or die. 'It is not surprising,' Brickhill

and Priestley (1993) observed, 'that book development . . . is weakest where monopolies are strongest.' In contrast, when textbook provision is opened to commercial competition, even partially, industries grow. Children's book production, for example, increased notably in Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda during the 1990s, in number of titles and in copies per title printed (Faye, 1998, p. 5).

The ownership – local or foreign – of commercial publishing houses that produce textbooks is not an issue so long as their publishing activity is truly locally based and locally oriented. Locally produced books are likely to be cheaper than imported books from Europe or North America, and far more likely to be appropriate in content, illustration and emphasis. In contrast, the foreign imported children's books – the most common form of children's literature in the bookshops of many African countries – have been described by Chinua Achebe as 'poisons wrapped in between beautiful covers' (Chakava, 1997, p. 42). The president of the United Republic of Tanzania has said that it is 'incumbent upon African publishers to protect African value systems and ways of life' (Mkapa, 1997).

Governmental impediments

Government policies for book provision are often impeded by other government policies and practices.

The complex of ministries that impinge on books and other learning materials was described in Part III. Not infrequently the policies of other departments impede the policies of educational authorities. Most notable are high tariffs imposed by the Ministry of Trade or Finance on imported paper, other raw materials, printing equipment and replacement parts. Such tariffs are particularly onerous in countries that have acceded to the Florence Agreement on the free movement of books and charge no duty on imported finished books but levy high tariffs on the materials for publishing books at home. Tariffs may be used to shield inefficient domestic paper mills as well as to raise revenue. An ADEA/APNET study on the intra-African trade in books has illustrated the contradictions in taxation and legislative practices that can work against the development of the book chain in countries committed to Education for All.

High interest rates set by the central bank also inhibit book development by commercial publishers, who may be further penalized by government subsidies to parastatal publishing and printing houses with whom they and their printers compete. The Ministry of Culture or Education may require textbooks to be produced in two, three or even eleven local languages, a policy that is pedagogically sound but adds greatly to the investment involved in book development. The absence of intellectual property legislation, or governmental indifference to its infringements, encourage piracy of books and fragment markets that may already be marginal.

When there is no co-ordination among ministries in policy or regulation, the cost of providing school books generally rises. In times of fiscal austerity, that usually means that fewer books will be produced or bought, and the textbook:pupil ratio grows unacceptably high.

The book chain

Books cannot be considered independently but only as part of a process involving many players and policy issues.

A school book is part of a continuum that begins with the student's needs, as defined by a curriculum institute, and ends with the student's use, inside or outside the classroom. In between there are many stages: curriculum development and authorization, identification and commissioning of authors, drafting and revising of a manuscript, preparation of illustrations, evaluation by the publisher in field tests, evaluation by the Ministry of Education, possible revision and further evaluation leading to authorization for use of the book in schools, production (typesetting, printing and binding) and, finally, shipping to a government warehouse and from there to individual schools or, alternatively, shipping to wholesale and retail outlets that will sell the book to families. This is not an exhaustive list of processes or players. The World Bank or another funder may be involved, with its own procedures and guidelines which may be different from the government's. Development agencies and civil society organizations may supply paper or expertise. Teachers will need training in the use of a new textbook and teachers' guides must be prepared – following all the same steps – simultaneously for them. Any weak links in this book chain will, as we have seen, affect the availability of books in the classroom.

The policy issues that must be examined have been set in detail by several authors (e.g. Buchan et al., 1991, pp. 66–7; Askerud, 1997, pp. 23–4; Bgoya et al., 1997, pp. 104–5). They include:

- selection of subjects requiring textbooks (core subjects or all subjects);
- use of national and local languages in instruction and textbooks;
- timing of reforms and revisions;
- rewards for authors;
- target textbook:pupil ratios (if books are provided by the state);
- technical specifications for paper, printing and binding;
- procedures for evaluation and authorization of textbooks by the Ministry of Education that are – and are seen to be – objective, thorough, comprehensive, fair, timely, concerned with social content and in the public interest;
- affordable and sustainable financing;
- open competitive bidding for printing and/or publishing;
- practical and economical distribution;

- professional development for publishing personnel and educators;
- identification and provision of supplementary reading and other learning materials, including their development, publication, distribution and financing;
- support for public and school libraries, and the training of teacher librarians; and
- positive industrial policies affecting publishing.

Failures in planning and co-ordination will affect the provision of textbooks and learning materials adversely. External support will be meaningful only if it is rooted in detailed strategic plans, rather than based simply on general policy statements (Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 101).

Short-term policies

Funder and national policies fail when they are directed to short-term provision of learning materials without concern for the totality of the process.

Large-scale loans in the past have unquestionably reduced the pupil-to-textbook ratio in many countries from extreme scarcity to a more effective level. But book provision, as Bgoya (1997, p. 27) has pointed out, is not the same as book development. Textbooks have too often been viewed as commodities to be delivered in the short run to meet immediate needs. As a World Bank team leader once remarked with passion: 'All I care about is getting books into the children's hands!' If the government receiving a loan for textbook provision is still unable to fund its needs when those books must be replaced, a second loan must be negotiated. The World Bank acknowledged, in its draft policy released in 1998, that 'many book provision efforts over the last 25 years, some with Bank support, may have achieved their immediate objectives but have been unable to maintain the service over the longer term to sustain the educational impact that textbooks help to achieve'. This has also been true of loans by the Asian Development Bank.

Newton (Sosale, 1999, p. 158) has pointed out that is not only funders that have been responsible for short-term solutions. Ministers of Education have generally been avid for the votes that come with the promise of free books in the coming year.

An insistence on international competitive bidding for all contracts above a certain threshold, while understandable from the viewpoint of the funders, has exacerbated the effects of short-term provision by channelling most of the loans for textbooks out of the recipient country. Reports to APNET indicate that in book procurement programmes supported by World Bank lending, the ratio of books from local publishers to those from foreign-based publishers is 1 to 50.

A book purchase made on the basis of a one-off cost import is not a good bargain when we consider: the opportunity cost of jobs lost to the economy, since the book was not produced locally; the cost of discouraged innovative trading, which would have resulted from higher turnover and increased profitability; the cost of capacity not built; and the cost of lost spillover benefits, which in turn would have invigorated the textbook industry. As a result, these books are not cheap (Nwankwo, 1999, p. 141).

As the same author has pointed out (Nwankwo, 1996, p. 26), loans are negotiated between the Bank and a national government. It is the borrower who selects consultants and implements procurement. Very few governments fully understand the critical role indigenous publishers can play in national culture and, more specifically, in textbook provision, nor have they paid serious attention to the conditions that would encourage an indigenous publishing industry. Publishers have a responsibility to raise awareness of these issues if they want change.

An experienced textbook publisher, now a consultant, recommended to the Canadian International Development Agency that any project related to educational books be preceded by an in-depth analysis of the book sector; be designed to cover a minimum of ten, and preferably fifteen, years; be co-ordinated with other agencies; view textbook provision within an overall framework of developing local capacities in publishing, production and distribution; give priority to financial sustainability and substantial private sector involvement; and use experts in curriculum development, publishing, production and distribution in the project's planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (Clare, 1993, pp. 86–8). The Soros Foundation's principles for support of the book sector show the same holistic approach: using the commercial potential of a book wherever possible to keep subsidies to a minimum and to provide an incentive for efficiency; leaving as much initiative as possible to the publishers; avoiding monopolies; and making support part of an educational process that aims at reducing dependence on external help through carefully focused training and business planning (Pinter, 1999, pp. 46–7). These are desiderata that any funding agency should consider.

The state's role

Recent policy trends – decentralization, liberalization and multiple choice in textbooks – require a clear redefinition of the role of the state in a number of areas.

The state has the initiative and ultimate responsibility for the timely and adequate provision of textbooks in any publicly funded education system. It decides what textbooks will be used, how they will be published and how they will be paid for. These responsibilities remain even when some functions are performed by the private sector. The International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (Delors et al., 1996, pp. 160–2) defined the state's role as follows:

Education is a collective asset that cannot be left only to market forces. Thus, whatever the organization or degree of centralization or diversification of a system, the state must assume certain responsibilities to its citizens, . . .

That role . . . must not, however, be exercised as a strict monopoly. It is more a matter of channelling energies, promoting initiatives and providing the conditions in which new synergies can emerge. It is also a matter of insisting on equity and quality in education. . . . more specifically, the state should play a redistributive role, to the benefit of minorities and the underprivileged especially. Guaranteed educational quality moreover implies the establishment of general standards and various monitoring devices.

Ingemar Gustafsson, then head of Sida's education division, defined a further public responsibility, to ensure that textbooks reflect the culture of the student-users' own country. This in turn requires each country to have some control over and capacity to produce its own school books (Brunswic and Hajjar, 1992, p. 37).

At a minimum, the state must be expected to prepare clear and detailed curriculum guidelines; make them available for the development of textbooks; establish an objective process of evaluation and authorization of textbooks; decide the channels to be used in funding and distributing textbooks to the schools; set minimum physical standards of production; perform the same functions with respect to other learning materials, including teachers' guides and supplementary reading; train teachers in the use and care of textbooks and learning materials; and protect intellectual property rights through appropriate legislation. The state may also be expected to support libraries and promote literacy through community-based campaigns.

Beyond this, the state may play a role in any of the permutations outlined by Searle (Table 4, p. 11) and described in the preceding pages. Experience suggests that no option is perfect and that what is best for one country may be unsuitable for another. The most critical choices in financing and distribution are discussed briefly below.

Controlling costs

It is possible to control the cost of providing textbooks and other learning materials – but it takes professional expertise and careful planning.

Too often, inexperienced managers and editors ignore ways to save money in textbook printing that are standard practice among trained professionals. The size of a book's page can have surprising implications for its cost, especially when paper represents a high proportion of total production expenditures. The most economical page size is determined by the size of the

sheet of paper used in printing, which in turn is related to the size of the printing press being used. Any mismatch between press and sheet, or between sheet size and page size, results in waste. Production costs can also be reduced by restricting the number and size of illustrations, the use of colours other than black, and the total number of pages. More generally, governments can reduce costs to state and families by limiting the number and size of textbooks required.

Public-private collaboration

The state and private enterprise can work closely together to provide textbooks efficiently under a regulated monopoly.

Privatization has been successful in providing a long-term supply of textbooks in Côte d'Ivoire, where the government opted for a system of purchase by families at both primary and secondary levels, and concentrated production in a very few hands. In 1991 the country's two textbook publishers, le Centre d'édition et distribution africain (CEDA) and les Nouvelles éditions ivoiriennes (NEI), both parastatal partnerships between the government and French publishers, were technically bankrupt following an economic crisis and social disorder. In order to obtain new capital they were transformed into private companies. In both, the government retained 20 per cent of the shares and further shares were set aside for individual Ivoirians to ensure majority local control. The balance of NEI shares was held by three French companies and the balance of CEDA shares by one French and one Canadian company. The new companies were granted exclusive rights, shared equally between them, to publish primary school textbooks, teachers' guides and work books, all written in the Ministry of Education. The two companies are also active at the secondary level, where the state issues a list of approved textbooks. The state regulates the retail prices of textbooks and in the first two years of the agreement negotiated substantial decreases; prices were frozen even after the devaluation of the CFA franc increased the cost of imported materials substantially. The price of textbooks to disadvantaged areas is subsidized. Through its shareholding and regulation, including quality control, the state acts as 'school protector' while remaining committed to economic liberalism.

The results of the Ivorian policy are substantial. Textbook prices are said to be the lowest in all French-speaking Africa, except where prices are artificially lowered by external subsidies. The two national publishers sell more than 4 million primary school books each year for a school population of about 1.5 million students, and there is an additional market in second-hand books. It is estimated that 75 to 95 per cent of students, depending on their level and where they live, own French and mathematics textbooks, although fewer own books in other disciplines. The system has encouraged the

development of the only major printing industry in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa and of a distribution network of wholesalers, bookstores and other sales outlets. The companies have returned profits. The World Bank is supporting free distribution of the textbooks in 116 marginalized zones (Palmeri, 1996; Loric, 1999c; Couassi-Ble, 1999; Moingeon, 1999a; ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Developing the book chain

It takes time to develop a competitive book sector that can sustain the production and distribution of good quality school books and learning materials.

The Ivorian policy is based on a single textbook for each subject/level. The quality of a textbook determines how well the needs of the users are met and a good quality textbook in a single-textbook system is probably better than several competing textbooks of poor quality. Many educators and publishers argue, however, that a multi-textbook system is preferable because competition encourages publishers to innovate and improve their textbooks and teachers' guides. Gaston de Bedout, a Colombian commercial publisher, presents another reason for moving away from a single compulsory textbook in each subject, whether published by the government or bought by the government from a friendly publisher. In the final analysis, (Bedout, 1999, p. 41) 'education through a *texto unico* will result in a mass of people desolately uniform, indoctrinated by the official history, philosophy, science, grammar, chemistry, biology, and even the official calligraphy.'

A competitive publishing industry cannot develop overnight, however. Personnel must be trained in manuscript development, editing, design, illustration, field testing, production control, marketing, warehousing and distribution. Authors must be identified and they too must be trained to meet the special demands of writing textbooks and teachers' guides. Training tended during the 1990s to focus on the more obvious needs of writing, editing, design and illustration. Less attention was paid to preparing publishers for the underpinning skills of operational and financial management, marketing, and evaluation – an imbalance that is gradually being redressed.

Training takes time and practice. So does the development of learning materials. Typically, a textbook takes three years from inception to the classroom – roughly, one year or more to commission authors and for them to write a first draft; one year for field testing, revision and evaluation by the Ministry of Education for authorization; one year to produce final books and, especially where distribution is difficult, get them to the schools. The process can be accelerated, but only if the commercial sector is sufficiently established to meet the challenge.

It can be impeded by difficulties in securing capital or credit and, too often during liberalization, by bureaucratic foot-dragging.

Uganda's experience illustrates the time an industry takes to develop. Up to 1993, the National Curriculum Development Centre had a monopoly on textbook production and the few books it produced were assigned to two transnational publishers. Other textbooks bought under a World Bank project were all imported. In 1993 the centre's monopoly was removed and selection was devolved to the schools, choosing from a centrally approved list. By the end of the decade, ten publishers were sharing the market. The change came about as a result of a general government policy of economic liberalization, lobbying by a newly formed book publishers' association and pressure from the principal funder of a primary-level textbook provision scheme, the United States Agency for International Aid (USAID). About US\$20 million was spent under the project between 1993 and 1997, and publishers responded with vigour. Sales representatives combed the countryside, visiting schools and addressing teachers' meetings – no easy job in a country with more than 8,000 government-aided primary schools, many of them in remote areas with poor roads. Local publishers built sales and skills. Some mutually beneficial joint ventures developed with foreign partners. The quality of textbooks improved. Publishers from abroad set up offices employing local people. Bookshops expanded – from five in Kampala in 1990 to twenty-five – and others up-country. Publishers met teachers directly to offer guidance in the use of their books. The textbook:pupil ratio, which in some schools was as low as 1:20, was raised. The momentum is expected to increase as further international funding becomes available.

The Ugandan book chain is developing, but its local base – even after more than half a decade of such activity – is still narrow. The number of local publishers is small, and the sales of textbooks have not yet been matched in other kinds of books. More than 90 per cent of the primary-level textbooks are still published by British-based transnationals who have local partners that are basically only marketing agents. Most of the printing is done abroad, because local printers lack the capacity and – in a chicken-and-egg situation – cannot afford to build capacity without the lucrative textbook jobs. The government still procures textbooks centrally, consolidating orders from the various schools, and delivers them to the schools free of charge. As a result, bookstores reap no benefits, nor does the infrastructure for general publishing. Local publishers find it difficult to obtain credit because banks are reluctant to lend money to businesses with only one customer, even if it is a government ministry. After six years of rapid development, the book sector is still heavily dependent on external inputs. Without any attempt at cost recovery, the provision of primary-level textbooks remains dependent on external funding (Tumusiime, 1998a, pp. 101–2; 1998b, pp. 12–13; 1999b, p. 3; Salahi, 1998, pp. 12–15; Katama, 1997, pp. 4–5).

The Ugandan experience is not atypical. Publishing is not an industry that can be jump-started. Capital is a particularly high barrier to local publishing development and there have been several suggestions (e.g. Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 99; Davies, 1997, p. 73) that governments guarantee loans to publishers, as in the Dag Hammarskjöld scheme, or extend cheap credit to publishers as many do to farmers for the purchase of seeds and machinery, or obtain concessional credit for publishers through the World Bank and regional development banks. Government-guaranteed loans have proved their value in the development of the Canadian publishing industry for more than twenty years.

Countries may also impose regulations to encourage local development. Some countries, such as the Philippines, have protective legislation requiring local ownership of educational publishers. Zimbabwe, which has a long history of liberalization in textbooks, passed an 'import substitution' regulation in 1983 which stipulated that any textbook required in a quantity of more than 1,000 copies must be locally published. In effect, foreign publishers who wanted to tap the Zimbabwean market had to license their books to a local publisher; as a result, import expenditures were reduced and the local industry was given a powerful boost. Mozambique, recognizing that textbook shortages were too severe to be met by local development, adopted a similar policy in 1998, under which it may authorize licensing, adaptation and co-editions of books published elsewhere, but no more than 2,000 copies of any foreign book may be imported. To meet greater demand, books must arrive under the imprint of a Mozambican publisher and/or only with special permission from the Ministry of Education (Nyambura, 1998, pp. 7–8). Ghana encourages joint ventures between local and foreign publishers but insists that Ghanaian authors and illustrators comprise 70 per cent of any writing team and that Ghanaian printers do 60 per cent of the printing. Still, without competition at the international level, quality can suffer. A self-sustaining but complacent local industry may fossilize, as happened in Algeria (Moingeon, 1999, p. 147).

Level playing fields

In a transition from state monopoly to competition, due attention must be paid to preparing a commercial environment and a level playing field.

A transition from state monopoly to private competitive provision of textbooks cannot occur without a welcoming political climate and a clear, well-designed and open policy – preferably one that has been developed in consultation with the book industry. A favourable environment for commercial publishing requires (Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 24): decentralization of funds (or at least purchasing authority) to enable schools to select the textbooks and other resources they want to use

and buy; capacity-building of new publishers to increase choice of textbooks and competition in quality and price; an objective and open system for approving textbooks for purchase; training in assessment, selection and purchasing of textbooks for school administrators and teachers; adequate information systems for procurement of textbooks; and effective commercial distribution systems. The same authors argue that a multi-textbook system can be completely successful only if book purchasing is done at the lowest level and if all the books that are approved have an equal opportunity to be purchased.

When one publisher dominates the market, the second condition cannot be met. This has happened when the state continues to produce textbooks through a commercialized parastatal that may enjoy special benefits, such as subsidies or access to subsidized government printing, in competition with small private publishers who have difficulty in obtaining credit and raw materials. This situation has occurred in many countries of Eastern and Central Europe and in some countries of Africa.

Even when the state withdraws from publishing, the field will not necessarily be level. If local commercial publishers are unprepared to deliver textbooks in sufficient quantity and quality, transnational publishers will be quick to fill demand, as in Uganda. Countries that use a metropolitan language for instruction are especially open to transnational domination. 'Ultimately, it will be simply a matter of who is able to develop, publish, and place the manuscripts on the market more quickly' (Brickhill et al., 1996, p. 20).

Co-operation and co-publication

Co-operation and co-publishing can speed the transition to sustainable, competitive provision of learning materials and reduce the risks attendant on the process.

For nascent publishing industries, the fastest route to sustainability may be through co-operation. It may be through adaptation of a textbook produced in a neighbouring country, such as the science series developed on a Kenyan model that gave Fountain Publishers of Uganda rapid access to a newly-liberalized market. Or it may be a joint venture between a local publishing house and a well-established house in an industrialized country, involving the transfer of know-how as well as capital, as happened in Jamaica, Mali, Cameroon and Namibia. An impressive example of co-operation between local and non-local companies is the partnership of Heinemann Educational Publishers of the United Kingdom and New Namibia Books. When it began in 1990, the local partner consisted only of its owner, who had recently returned from England with no resources. By 1997, the collaboration had produced two core textbook courses, in primary

and junior secondary school science, for a country that had been almost totally dependent on South African imports. New Namibia Books had eight qualified employees and an extensive list of other books that it had developed with profits from textbooks (Sulley, 1999, pp. 193–5).

Intergovernmental co-operation is also possible. In examples described above, several countries of French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa established common curricula and developed common textbooks in order to achieve economies of scale. The potential of intergovernmental co-operation was also recognized by a group of English-speaking and Portuguese-speaking policy- and decision-makers, educational planners, curriculum developers and textbook development managers from ten African countries at a seminar in 1991. They suggested co-operation was particularly appropriate for countries and island communities whose populations were too small to make the local production of school books economical or sustainable. Subregional clusters of such countries could form common examination councils and develop standardized curricula, opening possibilities for regional negotiations with publishers for bulk supply and bulk prices (Brunswic and Hajjar, 1992, p. 22). Regional adoptions to achieve economies of scale in procurement were subsequently recommended for the countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (Clare, 1993, Appendix E, ii). Few programmes along these lines have been implemented, however. A common textbook implies a common language of instruction, normally a metropolitan language as in the francophone example, in contrast to a trend towards use of local languages. Brunswic and Hajjar have observed, moreover, that in their experience co-operation is more difficult to develop between governmental institutions than between commercial publishers.

In principle, co-operation between publishers in neighbouring countries should be practicable. Curricula differ across borders, but in many instances are similar enough for transnational companies to adapt the textbook used in one country for adoption in another. Local publishers should be able to do the same. Co-operative ventures are impeded, however, by lack of information, poor communications, ineffective marketing, national bias, customs and tariff barriers, foreign exchange restrictions and cumbersome bureaucracies. In higher-level subjects such as science and mathematics, imported books will probably continue to play an important role. In primary-level subjects, especially those without a major socio-cultural component, co-publication and adaptations should be expected to increase. Within Africa, the value of trade in books of all kinds between countries doubled between 1992 and 1996, and the Zimbabwe International Book Fair annually reports increasing international business. At this year's fair, just over one-third of exhibitors and visitors responding to a questionnaire said they had come to negotiate, confirm or revisit co-publishing agreements (anon., 1998, p. 5; Ling, 1999).

Information systems

The efficient provision of books and learning materials, like all other parts of educational planning, requires effective information systems.

The lack of reliable and up-to-date information needed for efficient textbook provision has been noted in Parts II and III. The potential for change has been demonstrated in Jordan, where an Educational Management Information System (EMIS) was installed beginning in 1990.

Until then, Jordanian statistics had been gathered centrally on an outdated mainframe computer, in flat files not easily amenable to statistical applications, in a form principally dictated by the Educational Statistics Yearbook. The Ministry of Education and twenty-three regional directorates collected their own information and held it in their own locations, usually in manual records. To complicate matters further, the identification number of each school changed every year. The system could report gross enrolment and student flow rates, but the aggregated data could not be disaggregated for analysis or for comparison, for example, between districts or schools or between schools and an absolute standard. For the new system, personal computers were bought, relational database programs installed, staff trained at the central and regional levels, and EMIS operations gradually transferred to the regional offices. At the end of five years, data entry time had been reduced from about six months to two weeks and the accuracy of data was substantially improved. The Jordanian experience demonstrates that, with proper initial technical assistance and guidance, and even modest means, a developing country can improve its educational information-gathering dramatically (Ahlawat and Billeh, 1997, pp. 274–87).

Curriculum revision

The economical provision of textbooks and learning materials requires a balance in curriculum development between the pedagogical desirability of revision and the financial desirability of stability.

Innovation in curricula is necessary to introduce new learning and new methodology. But abrupt or frequent changes can throw the textbook provision system into disarray and discourage publishers from investing in textbook development.

The provincial textbook boards in Pakistan, for example, used to complain about the almost annual small revisions that issued from the federal curriculum developers in Islamabad, forcing minor but expensive changes in the textbooks published provincially. In the Philippines, a Secretary of Education decided to re-instate science as a subject in the first two primary grades just two years after his predecessor had removed

it from the curriculum; science was therefore officially on the curriculum, but there were no textbooks to teach it and relatively few teachers trained to teach it without such help. These are minor examples compared to the changes that occurred in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Central and West Asia, where, as reported in Part IV, textbooks still lag behind the new curricula after almost a decade.

Commercial textbook publishers in particular seek stability in curricula. In order to keep the price of textbooks as low as possible, they are anxious to amortize the substantial costs of development (writing, editing, design, illustration, typesetting, and field testing) over three to five years of sales. If the curriculum changes significantly during that period, they cannot recoup their investment. If they have printed books in anticipation of sales under the old curriculum, they will have a warehouse full of unsaleable books. For these reasons, when the Philippines moved from state to commercial production of textbooks in 1995, the publishers requested – and were granted – a guarantee that no substantial changes would be made in the curriculum for five years.

The impact of abrupt change on commercial publishing may be seen in South Africa, where the government of Nelson Mandela made two major changes in educational structure and policy. The first was to unite the fragmented apartheid system of eighteen education departments into one national department that sets policy and nine provincial departments that are responsible for operations. The second was to promulgate a new curriculum that is outcomes-based, a radical shift from the authoritarian system that existed under apartheid. The new curriculum was to be introduced at the rate of two grades per year. The schedule was stretched out subsequently, but publishers initially set out to develop, write, design and produce textbooks for Grades 1 and 7 in just 18 months – and to do so in most, if not all, of the eleven official languages. That they achieved as much as they did was remarkable, although most were forced to cut back to three to five languages besides English and Afrikaans. When the date for implementation in Grade 7 was deferred, publishers were faced with development costs but no sales. There were problems with the selection and authorization of textbooks, in part because of inadequate training of evaluators and in part because of bureaucratic rigidity, and decisions were inconsistent between and within provinces. Books were often delivered after the beginning of the school year. Budgets for buying books were far less than expected. The government had promised a free and equal education for all children up to Grade 9, with a book on every child's desk; in fact, however, the money for textbook acquisition dropped more than 80 per cent between 1996 and 1998 as the bulk of the educational budget was consumed by increased teachers' salaries, and a promised increase in 1999 fell far below what was required. The consequences to what had been a well-established and confident publishing industry have been devastating. Companies faced with high overhead costs for the development of new textbooks and severely reduced markets have started retrenching.

An estimated 44 per cent of the educational publishing industry has been lost in the last eighteen months – a demonstration of the fragility of an industry that depends upon a single customer (Horwitz-Gray, 1999, pp. 106–8).

Remedying inequities

The state can act to moderate inequities, which can occur whether books and learning materials are provided free of charge or under a system of cost recovery.

State purchase of textbooks for free distribution through the schools is desirable to ensure equity in education, but few of the countries surveyed have been able to meet a target textbook:pupil ratio of 1:1 or 1:2 throughout their jurisdiction or to sustain that level even with external assistance. To maintain free distribution, the state must commit funds annually to production or purchase, distribution, warehousing and supervision. Few have been willing to do so in the requisite amounts and budgetary shortfalls usually affect the districts already most disadvantaged. Both Jamaica and Mexico did achieve the target during the early 1990s, but at the cost of inferior books in Jamaica and ballooning cumulative expenditures in Mexico (Clare, 1993, p. 39). Furthermore, free distribution discourages private booksellers who are the key to continuing literacy and engenders a belief that books should never be paid for. 'Even politicians begin to consider books free commodities' (Muita, 1999, p. 154).

Unless a state has the both the tax base and the political will to allocate sufficient amounts of public money for the provision of learning materials, it will continue to be dependent on external support or have to attempt some form of cost recovery. Both may be necessary.

The state can relieve itself of all or part of the financial burden of textbook provision by expecting families to pay for the textbooks their children use, just as they may be expected to pay for uniforms or work books. This approach penalizes the disadvantaged. Poor families may not be able to afford to buy textbooks and families living in remote areas may have no access to them for lack of retail outlets stocking them. Families may have to choose which children to educate, usually at the expense of girls. They may also discriminate between subjects, buying textbooks only in those subjects that seem most likely to lead directly to future employment. This system does encourage private bookselling and instils the book-buying habit. Governments can subsidize the cost of production to reduce the cost to families, as happened in Côte d'Ivoire after the radical devaluation of the CFA franc.

Book rental schemes, in which books owned by the state or school are lent to students for the school year on payment of a fee, reduce the cost to families because the cost of the books

can be amortized over three or more years. It is possible, moreover, to allocate funds to the schools so they can buy textbooks and learning materials through local booksellers, thus supporting the retail part of the book chain. The system is a compromise between state purchase and family purchase with benefits of both, but requires durable books, safe storage between school years and educational staff trained to handle money, manage stock and supervise loans. It works only if the fees go into a revolving fund, the fund is used only to replace worn-out or obsolete materials, the books last as long as expected, teachers and children are trained in book care and repair, few copies are lost or stolen, book prices and enrolments do not rise abruptly, revisions to the curriculum are not too frequent and families can pay the rental fee. The system is usually cost-effective, given that the cost of a book that will last for three to five years is probably no more than 50 per cent greater than the cost of the same book produced with poorer paper and binding that will last only one year (Buchan et al., 1991, p. 10).

However, book rental was found to be a less than perfect solution in a study of representative primary-level public schools, urban and rural, in Guinea. Only 32 per cent of the books available in the schools were actually rented to pupils. Most of the pupils came from poor families, or families that were illiterate in French. The parents already had to spend money for exercise books, pencils and other school expenses, all at the beginning of the school year. Some parents were reluctant to spend a substantial amount of money for books that might be lost or damaged by their children (Diallo, 1999, p. 18). Problems have also arisen with late payment of fees and accountability in financial management, as reported, *inter alia*, in a forthcoming ADEA publication, *Financing Textbooks and Training Materials in Africa*. One consultant with considerable international experience suggests that revolving funds work best in small discrete communities where the disbursement and accounting pathways are relatively short, as at the school or local level or in small island nations (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). Once again, the government can reduce the cost to families, this time by annual grants to the revolving fund.

Reaching the users

Externally funded initiatives can relieve inequities most effectively through demand-side financing and targeted subsidies.

Many projects in support of textbook provision have subsidized the supplier – usually the government – in ways that have either reinforced a state monopoly or distorted the market. Subsidies for production, whether in cash or in materials such as paper, tend to mask the real costs of production. Unless special care is taken, they result in prices that cannot be maintained if external assistance ends. They can help to solve short-term problems if applied with care, but may have no positive

long-term results. In general, subsidies should be applied only to the one-time costs that are incurred before printing begins. Subsidization of state monopolies has usually in the past reinforced the monopoly without building sustainability. Subsidization of individual (possibly state-owned or parastatal) publishers in a competitive market has given the recipients a competitive advantage and discouraged the entry of other publishers. Subsidizing the supplier may, moreover, prove ineffective if the subsidy is inadequate. Read (cited in Askerud, 1997, p. 72) reports that in one country where books were sold, supply-side subsidies succeeded in reducing the cost of the textbooks by half, but sales did not increase; the books had simply been made cheaper for the elite who could afford them already.

Increasingly, funders are turning to demand-side subsidies as a more effective way to assist in the provision of textbooks. The subsidization becomes more effective the further down the education ladder it reaches. Direct subsidies to parents or pupils help to keep the cost to them of textbooks low and open opportunities for competition among publishers without creating market distortions. If it is impractical to provide subsidies to families, the money may be given to individual schools; and if that is impossible, selection can be placed in the hands of the schools even if the responsibility for finances and procurement is at a higher level.

Under a scheme supported by the International Development Association, for example, stipends are paid to young women in Bangladesh who are preparing for the secondary school certificate. Education among women in Bangladesh is among the lowest in the world and access to the examination had been restricted to those who could afford examination fees, stationery and private tutoring. The stipend includes a book allowance and also covers tuition, school fees, uniforms, shoes, umbrellas, transportation and other costs. Stipends are paid twice a year into bank accounts in the names of the students, who thus also learn to manage money. Parents must agree that their daughters will attend school for at least 75 per cent of the school year, a condition that recognizes that about 90 per cent of rural girls work as household helpers. The students must obtain at least second-class marks and remain unmarried until they earn the secondary school certificate (Patrinos and Arisingam, 1997, pp. 21–4). A similar scheme is under way in Guatemala.

Alternatively, supply-side subsidies are being targeted directly to disadvantaged populations. The development of local-language textbooks for minority groups in China and Mexico was mentioned in Part III. In both the Philippines and Bangladesh, ADB is funding textbook provision only in the poorest provinces, leaving it to the national government to fund free provision elsewhere in the country. Namibia introduced a policy of positive discrimination in 1998 under which it provides textbooks, posters, maps, wall charts and encyclopedias to disadvantaged schools (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Special concerns

Continuing attention must be paid to issues of gender equity, minority-group needs and local language.

Advances have been made in respect to gender equity and sensitivity to minority groups, but much remains to be done. Some ministries of education have established social content guidelines for the authors, publishers and evaluators of textbooks. Even when efforts are made, however, stereotypes slip past. In Zambia (Brickhill et al., 1996, p. iii), textbook writers included many examples of role reversal and balance, and female assertiveness. But in one book a man and a woman are still seen introducing themselves by saying 'I am a man' and 'I am a woman', the man with his hands hanging freely at the side, the woman with hands cupped in a posture of general deference.

The provision of textbooks in local languages is a matter of pedagogical as well as social concern, for programmes that teach people in their own language have been proved to be more effective in both Latin America and Africa than those using the language of a former colonial power (Jung, 1999, p. 25). Where local languages are extensively used, as Hausa is in Nigeria, the economics of local language publication are manageable. For small language groups, the problems are more formidable because the print runs are so much smaller. There may be additional difficulties in securing typefaces for special scripts, or in agreement on orthography, or in finding writers and editors with the requisite knowledge of subject and language. There is, however, considerable scope for South-South co-operation, building on experience in the Pacific and elsewhere, and in the late 1990s there has been renewed interest in Africa in publishing in cross-border languages.

Teacher training

Teachers require training in the effective use of textbooks and learning materials. New textbooks and learning materials in particular are unlikely to be used unless teachers are adequately prepared for their introduction.

In the concern over the inadequate provision of textbooks and learning materials, too little attention has been paid to the use of those materials and the continuing training of teachers in their use. Generally, pre-service training should be reinforced by in-service training through various channels and by school inspectors. Some countries have tried to establish resource centres to help teachers improve the learning environment in their classrooms; others have established teacher clusters to provide peer support and in-service training. Not all such initiatives have been maintained, however. When teachers fail to use books well, they deprive themselves and their pupils of a fundamental tool for promoting reading.

In particular, pre-service training in many countries fails to give due emphasis to the preparation and use of teaching and learning aids. This failure may result from lack of hours in the programme, or the inadequacy of teacher trainers in this area, or both. Creative teachers, properly trained and motivated, can overcome a lack of professionally produced materials by making their own teaching and learning aids, often with the help of the pupils or even community members. (Parents do not have to be literate to participate, as long as the meaningfulness of the work is clearly explained.) Nevertheless, few teachers in the eight countries in the UNESCO/Danida case-study survey made any effort to make teaching and learning aids, even though they seemed aware of their importance. Jamaica was the only country in which a majority of teachers made their own aids and involved children in the activity.

Locally made aids are most likely to be appropriate for the needs and experience of the children concerned. Their value does not, however, remove government's responsibility for providing both educational materials of good quality and in-service training in the preparation and use of teaching and learning aids. Training programmes in future must also prepare teachers to use many forms of educational technology and techniques, both traditional and non-traditional, including electronic media, music, dance, drama, folk theatre, newspapers and games. Teachers will also have to become increasingly aware of intellectual property rights, in particular with respect to material found on the Internet.

In Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Central and Eastern Europe, teachers have proved reluctant to use new textbooks, especially those embodying new methods. Those accustomed to a single 'official' textbook tend to stick with it even when other books are approved and available. Human nature is essentially conservative, but is more so than normally when people are underqualified and insecure.

Where competition among textbook publishers is active and the publishers experienced, the publishers undertake the training of teachers in the use of the materials they have for sale. That is part of their marketing. Where the state is the provider and in-service training is inadequate (as it frequently is), this important stage in the introduction of new materials is too often ignored, as is constructive supervision of teachers by principals and school inspectors.

In the Republic of Korea, reluctance to use new textbooks surfaced when a new curriculum in the national language was introduced that changed the emphasis in teaching from repetition and detailed reading of set passages to speaking, listening, and writing. The single textbook in Korean that had been used at each level was replaced by a set of three and the number of pages doubled. The change was made after wide consultation, research and pilot testing, but the teachers resisted it, complaining that they now had more content to cover without an increase in the time available. Over several years, they grad-

ually changed their opinion and recognized the value of the new books. That change coincided with a change in teaching methods towards individualized instruction. The experience demonstrated that it is easier to change textbooks than teachers' preferences and habit (Lee, 1997, pp. 99–105). In contrast, teachers in Kazakhstan were given intensive training in the methods incorporated in a new generation of textbooks and are reported to have welcomed the new materials with enthusiasm (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Kazakhstan).

Training in evaluation

With decentralization in selection and competition in provision, educators at several levels must be trained to evaluate textbooks and other learning materials.

The parallel trends towards multiple choice in textbooks and decentralization place parallel responsibilities on the state.

The first is to ensure that all the books bought with public money, or recommended by the schools for purchase by families, meet minimum standards. There must be a process of evaluation and authorization that is not only objective and thorough, but can be demonstrated to have these qualities. This in turn requires a governing board with some members from outside the Ministry of Education, a set of uniform standards, a corps of trained evaluators including teachers from different parts of the country, open invitations to submit manuscripts, procedures that guarantee anonymity in submissions and confidentiality for the names and reports of the evaluators, and full and rapid reporting to publishers.

While the machinery may be put in place, uniformity in evaluation has proved more elusive. The South African criteria for selection have been described by one publisher (Horwitz-Gray, 1999, p. 107) as often seeming arbitrary and sometimes bizarre. In the Philippines (Chua, 1999), publishers complained that approvals were not only inconsistent but that evaluators tended to reject textbooks that exceeded the minimum learning competencies. The director of the government body that supervises evaluation admitted that evaluators were sometimes appointed through friendship rather than merit and that there had not been enough time to train them.

The second responsibility of the state is to ensure that teachers and principals who have been empowered to select books can make well-informed choices. At a minimum, each school must have a full list of the textbooks and other learning materials that have been authorized for use. If possible, the list should be annotated as a guide to teachers, especially those in remote areas that may receive few visits from publishers' representatives. The notes might point, for example, to textbooks specially designed for rural schools or for the needs of minority groups. Teachers and principals (who may have the final say in

any selection) must be provided with suggested criteria for choosing among textbooks and the skills of selection should become a regular part of in-service training and the training of new teachers.

Experience suggests that this is the point at which devolution of selection breaks down, especially when the transition from monopoly to choice is abrupt. Teachers who are accustomed to a single textbook throughout their career, and who may be poorly qualified in many of the subjects they teach, are ill prepared for this new responsibility. Where educational structures have traditionally been hierarchical, teachers and principals tend to be influenced in their selection by their superiors. There is no evidence that any country undergoing liberalization has adequately met the challenge.

Training for decentralization

The provision of learning materials cannot be decentralized effectively without considerable advance preparation.

Under state provision, the preparation and publishing of textbooks cannot be abruptly devolved from the central administration to regional or provincial offices without taking into account local capacities. In Ethiopia, under a new policy of decentralization, regional educational bureau were given the mandate for developing new primary-level textbooks. Few regions had the trained staff to produce camera-ready copy or the printing capacity to produce the books. As a result, all regions except the national capital returned the production of English-language textbooks to the Institute of Curriculum Development and Research, which in turn had a British adviser do most of the writing. In other subjects, in general, one textbook was written centrally and translated into the ten other languages of instruction. This in effect neutralized the expected benefits of local preparation and production. The books were all printed in Addis Ababa (Ambatchew, 1999).

Distribution

Distribution will be a continuing problem in many countries, whether it is carried out by the state or the private sector.

The physical difficulties of distribution of textbooks to the schools will not disappear. It will always be arduous and expensive to reach remote areas. In urban areas where access is easy and the market is large and concentrated, distribution is estimated to account for 25 to 30 per cent of the cost of a textbook; in remote areas, distribution may cost twice as much as the textbook itself (Askerud, 1997, p. 72). In many countries where the state is responsible for distribution, public funds

have proved inadequate to the task. The last part of the journey, from district or regional warehouses, has usually been left to the initiative of individuals – inspectors, principals, teachers and parents – using whatever means of transportation are available. The discrepancies in the textbook:pupil ratio between urban and rural schools throughout much of the world testify to the failures of the system. Occasionally, the army has carried books to remote areas by helicopter.

Distribution by the state has been hampered as well by human failings that should be amenable to improvement. Books have been damaged because they were inadequately wrapped or stored in insecure locations. Systems for estimating needs, accounting for inventory and recording shipments have been poorly designed or maintained. Consolidation of orders for economy has resulted in delays when one title of several was late in delivery. Books have been shipped from central warehouses months after the school year began because there was not enough staff or money to do better. Large-scale textbook projects have not always allowed adequately for the recurrent costs of distribution. Some of these problems can be reduced by decentralizing book procurement.

Distribution through the private sector faces many of these hurdles and is further hindered by the lack of retail outlets in rural areas. Supplementary materials will be stocked only selectively, because few shopowners have the capital to hold large inventories of slow-selling goods. If there is sufficient profit to be made, however, retail outlets will spread – not necessarily bookshops, more likely shops that sell stationery and other dry goods that would, for a few months of the year, stock textbooks promising a rapid turnover and relatively stable market. The ubiquity of certain soft drinks proves that profitable goods will find even the most remote markets.

Corruption

Abuses will prove difficult to eliminate under any system of provision.

The editors of a recent World Bank publication on curbing corruption observe that ‘corruption is a pervasive phenomenon that can be found in countries of widely varying ideology, economic conditions and social development.’ They continue:

Although some societies may be more vulnerable than others and may suffer more devastating effects, no country in the world today is immune from corruption’s corrosive influence. Yet for all its seeming prevalence, there is no clear evidence that corruption has become more widespread today. It has been around, in one form or another, from the earliest days of social organization. What *has* changed is that information about corrupt practices has become more available as governments have been increasingly unable to conceal evidence of wrongdoing; the level of public tolerance for corruption has

declined; and the spread of democracy seems to afford less fertile ground in which corruption can flourish. (Stapenhurst and Kpundeh, 1999, pp. 1–2)

They go on to say that malfeasance, in general, is most likely to occur where the public and private sectors meet, as they do in public procurement, contracting and licensing – activities that relate directly to textbooks and other materials used in government-supported schools. Those who award contracts or procure goods may demand bribes, kickbacks, percentages or other ‘gifts’ from those seeking government business and sales. At a more petty level, underpaid and greedy civil servants demand their own bribes and in turn must often pay their superiors for the privilege of holding public office.

This should come as no surprise, but the potential for corruption in providing learning materials may astonish even a nation accustomed to abuses of power. After the private sector took over the provision of learning materials to the public schools of the Philippines in 1998, the newspapers carried sensational stories of bribery and misuse of funds, involving all levels of government from minor clerks to congressmen and, in one instance, the office of the president (Chua, 1999). Increased funding for learning materials has simply increased the amount of bribery, according to the reports. Funds were diverted from textbooks to supplementary materials that carry a higher mark-up and a higher rate of bribery, despite declining textbook:pupil ratios. A new undersecretary of education has instituted various internal controls and stringent bidding procedures that he predicts will double the number of books for the country’s public schools, but he admits that no system is entirely foolproof and some abuses will occur.

Abuse of another kind occurs when a cartel of suppliers forces the government to negotiate with it for want of any other source of goods. This happened in Bangladesh, where the textbooks for government schools were produced by more than 400 small printers. The government adopted an open bidding procedure to meet funders’ requirements, but ultimately acceded to the cartel because no single member of it could produce all the country’s needs alone. Printers who have large and largely under-used web presses do not bid for textbooks for fear of industrial action by the small printers that would close them down.

The president of Transparency International (Pope, 1999, pp. 109–15) suggests four types of strategy to reduce corruption. The first is to work within the underlying structure of government programmes and focus on improving government integrity, enforcing the existing law, designing effective penalties for bribers and bribe-takers, and developing international support mechanisms. The second is to reform the procedural basis of government to increase transparency and discourage corruption. The third is to address government programmes that may give rise to corruption because they are poorly designed or unnecessary – for example, by standardizing spec-

ifications, limiting discretion of civil servants and establishing new public-interest criteria for bidding. The fourth is to encourage self-regulation within the private sector and changes in public attitudes concerning accountability and transparency.

Stakeholders

The involvement of local stakeholders increases innovation and accountability.

The International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (Delors et al., 1996, pp. 158–9) argued that one of the main aims of educational reform should be to involve stakeholders in decision-making. Decentralization, it said, would encourage innovation and participation by all. It would also allow further consideration to be given to the cultural and linguistic aspirations of minority groups and it could enhance the relevance of education through carefully worked out appropriate programs.

It has been suggested that funds generally are used more efficiently the closer decision-making is to the actual user of the material. O'Connor (1999, pp. 116–17) argues that corruption is inevitable when there is only one customer for textbooks, as in centralized procurement by the state: 'The most effective influence on the purchase decision of a sole customer is not quality of product or value for money but the size of a more or less overt "commission" to persons of influence . . . All textbooks publishers, both indigenous and international, in countries where centralized textbook approval and purchasing systems operate are compelled to adopt these practices . . . they cannot do otherwise; it is a matter of marketplace survival, not business ethics.' She agrees that the most positive effects of donor-provided textbooks seem to occur when the process of selection is at the lowest possible rung of the education system.

Parents' associations can act as watchdogs to ensure that money allocated to schools is spent appropriately and in response to the community's needs. They and other civil organizations are well suited to monitor, detect and reverse the activities of public officials in their midst because they are close to and familiar with local issues (Langseth et al., 1999, p. 143). In Bolivia, for example, community participation and decentralization are considered essential parts of the national educational reform, not only to encourage respect for cultural diversity and multilingual education, but also to help curb corruption by providing a channel for social censure (Sanchez de Lozada, 1999, p. 73). The school community has been involved in demand-side financing of textbook provision in Armenia and Guinea, helping to decide which families or students are neediest and should receive financial assistance. A similar strategy has been proposed in Cambodia (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

Decentralization is far from a perfect answer, of course. Brickhill and Priestley recognize that, especially in rural areas, books and reading are not part of the social and cultural life, which may limit the effectiveness of local surveillance of book acquisitions. Pope warns that efforts to reduce corruption by decentralizing can backfire badly unless a strong and honest team is appointed to oversee and audit public procurement. Even the strongest advocates of stakeholder participation acknowledge that civil society is a player in corruption, although it is also the major victim. But Kisubi, a former senior adviser to the Ministry of Public Works in Uganda, argues (1999, pp. 117–19) that where genuine anti-corruption attempts have failed, one ingredient has invariably been missing, and that is the involvement of civil society. Any attempt to develop an anti-corruption strategy that neglects fully to involve civil society, he says, is neglecting one of the most potentially useful tools available.

Learning materials

Like textbooks, other learning materials require care and planning in selection, taking into account local needs and capacities.

Everything that has been learned from experience with textbooks applies also to the other kinds of learning materials. Indeed, even more vigilance may be necessary because of the wide range of supplementary materials and the much more limited resources available to buy them.

The benefits of careful planning in the purchase of books for school libraries has been demonstrated in Bolivia (López, 1999, pp. 136–8). The country has 32 languages, of which 3 are major. In 1995, it began building classroom and school libraries for 11,000 urban and rural schools and for 1,800 resource centres where teachers could be trained and exchange information. Each classroom library under the scheme contains 45 titles, one-third of them produced locally. Each school library contains 10 reference books and each resource centre, 150 titles. In all, nearly 6.5 million books were acquired through competitive bidding. Procurement followed several stages. A year before bidding was announced, the Ministry of Education made contact with more than 100 publishing houses in the Spanish-speaking world. In response to the call for bids, 120 publishing houses from 16 countries submitted proposals. About 5,000 sample books were received and reviewed by 50 readers, all classroom teachers. After six months, 798 books were selected for further review, this time by schoolchildren, parents and teachers at book fairs in three regions. The number of selected titles was winnowed to 730, at which point their 51 publishers were asked to submit prices. Ultimately, 370 titles from 48 publishers were bought in quantities of 1,800 to 22,000 copies. About one-tenth of the titles were translations from Spanish into one of the main indigenous languages. To ensure that a reasonable number of Bolivian authors would be included, the

Ministry organized a national literary contest, paid for first-time rights to the 123 winning manuscripts and edited them for publication. The value of Bolivia's multi-stage strategy can be seen by comparing its results to similar projects in Chile, where only 16 publishers participated, and in Peru, where 24 did.

School libraries are expensive to build and maintain. They require basic storage facilities, pre-service and in-service training of teacher-librarians, and efficient systems of distribution, management, inspection and supervision. Book box libraries have proved more cost-effective in some projects.

National agencies have been started in some countries to direct and assist the development of school libraries by providing training, books and advice. These school library services began in Africa with independence but, despite initial enthusiasm for the concept, they have failed to maintain their early promise (Rosenberg, 1998, pp. 13–16). The activities of those that were established in Ghana, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Nigeria declined; in some other countries, a service was planned but never came into being. Finances have been blamed for the failure, but indifference was also a factor. In oil-rich Nigeria of the 1980s, for example, money went to tertiary-level libraries but not to school libraries. School library services that were located in the National Library rather than the Ministry of Education proved less effective because they did not have the strong support of educational administrators. Others failed because they did not gain the support of teachers, who did not recognize the value of libraries and who were focused on formal instruction based on the textbook.

Non-traditional media are still scarce in most countries, and seem likely to remain so. Computers and other instruments that are common in the industrialized countries are beyond the budgets and the infrastructure of much of the world. The use of new educational technologies normally depends on reliable, high-quality telecommunications connections, which are seldom found in developing countries. Even where they are available, the countries may lack the necessary pedagogical and technical support to implement programmes successfully (World Bank, 1995, p. 85). Many respondents to the ADEA/UNESCO survey dismissed non-print media as irrelevant while textbooks and other basic learning materials remain scarce.

A literate community

It is essential to look beyond the classroom to the development of a literate community that will support continuing education.

The lessons taught in school will dissipate if there nothing to support them outside the classroom. Continuing literacy requires a literate community, which in turn will enable people to continue learning. The availability of books and other printed

material leads to social and political awareness and to continuous self-learning in practical matters such as health, nutrition, agricultural practices and small business operations. In countries in which the book trade has been destroyed by war or economic collapse, in many countries of Africa, and in remote regions everywhere, the need is great. Henry Chakava, a distinguished Kenyan publisher, has said (1997, p. 59) that 'There is talk in the North about a "bookless" society, meaning a post-book society, while for us in Africa "bookless" societies are indeed pre-book societies.' It is difficult with donor funding to increase access to written materials in everyday life, but funding agencies and civil society organizations are making the effort.

The Swedish International Development Co-operation Authority (Sida) has had a broad programme for support of a literate environment, ranging from the supply of Braille presses to workshops for writers of literacy materials and the development and production of supplementary readers, science kits and radio programmes. It has supported the various links in the book chain, from the collection and publication of oral literature, through writing and publishing, to promotional events such as book weeks and book fairs. It has helped to fund libraries and reading rooms in Botswana, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua and the United Republic of Tanzania, language projects in Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Panama, and authors and authors' organizations such as PEN International. It has bought and distributed children's books, and has supported libraries, reading campaigns and the training of librarians and teachers in Gaza and the West Bank. It has also supported adult literacy and post-literacy classes, often with accompanying assistance to village reading rooms, rural newspapers, and other materials for new-literates (Sida, 1996, p. 22).

The Children's Book Project in the United Republic of Tanzania directly addressed the absence of books for children in a country where even textbooks in rural schools were scarce. To encourage the development of local writing and publishing, in 1991 it launched the buy-back scheme mentioned in Part III, guaranteeing to purchase 3,000 copies of selected new children's titles if the publisher would put at least another 2,000 copies on the open market. The 3,000 copies were distributed to rural libraries and primary schools, and their purchase was just enough to ensure the publisher a return on the initial investment; the additional copies sold would be profitable. The project was conceived by CODE and supported by Sida, Danida, the Netherlands Embassy, the British Council, the Canada Fund and the Aga Khan Foundation. The project included training courses for writers, publishers, editors and illustrators. Ninety titles were produced by twenty-seven publishers and several were reprinted. The infusion of 270,000 books into rural areas created a demand for more. There were problems in the implementation, but a review team in 1995 recommended further support and the participating donors considered it one of the most successful publishing initiatives in Africa (Lema, 1997, pp. 91–4).

In India the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation is building networks of village libraries and stocking them with books and newspapers in the local language (Ranjan, 1998, p. 1–5). The libraries are run by village committees that are responsible for providing suitable premises for the library, identifying a librarian, and general financial management. They are expected to become financially self-sustaining through low membership fees, municipal grants, and donations. The foundation supplies initial financing, furniture, training for the librarian and a collection of about 400 books, chosen with community assistance. Efforts are made to integrate the collection with other local rural development projects. Books are lent among libraries to obtain diversity at minimum cost.

The libraries are intended to lend books for reading at home. There is not enough accommodation in most villages for reading rooms and there is concern that women might hesitate to use a reading room that becomes a place where men congregate.

In Egypt, Mme Suzan Mubarak, the wife of the president, initiated a national project called 'Reading for All' in 1990, to encourage reading among schoolchildren during their summer vacation. Children win awards for reading in various subjects, competitions are held among schools, simplified low-cost books are published in a 'Family Library' and remote villages are served by mobile libraries (UNESCO/Danida case-studies: Egypt).

Efforts to develop a reading culture may be doomed to failure if there is no consensus on the desirability of such a culture, particularly among policy-makers and decision-makers, an expert in East Asia has pointed out (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999). Askerud (1997, pp. 22–3) argues that book development projects should look beyond instructional materials and consider ways to generate a general need for and appreciation of books and printed materials, to encourage people and governments to spend money on books as a priority matter and, not least, to prevent a relapse into functional illiteracy.

Co-ordination in assistance

Co-ordination and co-operation in funder/donor initiatives should be continued.

Sida is unusual in having supported basic education programmes in developing countries since the early 1970s and textbook provision for most of that time. It is also unusual in the variety of programmes it supports and their geographic span across three continents. Several of its projects are co-financed: in Bangladesh and Bolivia with the World Bank; in Bolivia and Cambodia with UNICEF; and in Zambia with the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In a review of its support to educational materials programmes, Sida stressed the impor-

ance in multi-agency projects of a policy framework for educational materials and in particular for textbooks:

It is essential that there is a foundation for the reconciliation of different agencies' praxis, for example regarding local and international tendering, and for institution building for educational materials production and distribution in the countries concerned. Multi-agency projects can increase the effectiveness of the support by ensuring that all the essential components in the textbook chain, from curriculum development to utilisation in the classroom, are supported (Sida 1996, p. 19).

Other examples of co-operation, either bilateral or through organizations like the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), have been described in Part III.

Civil society organizations complement the work of large international funders. In the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia a small World Bank loan of \$5 million for education had an even smaller textbook component that would pay for the printing of a few new textbooks. The Soros Foundation undertook to carry out all the pre-press work, which included helping to set up an independent evaluation board, develop criteria for evaluation, and train authors, publishers, designers, evaluators and teachers in the new ways of providing and using new textbooks. In Georgia the foundation helped lay the basis for another World Bank project with a textbook component. While the loan was at an early stage of negotiation, the foundation undertook to fund an open competition conducted by the Ministry of Education for new textbooks and the development of nine new textbooks. In addition it provided training for authors, publishers, booksellers, designers and evaluators, and carried out a small pilot project to test the premises of rental schemes and their suitability in the Georgian context. By the time the World Bank project was to be up and running, much of the preparation needed to implement it would have been done.

National book policies

Governments can support publishing development through adoption of a national book policy.

In a major study of the economics of publishing educational materials in sub-Saharan Africa, an international team found that the major obstacle to sustainable textbook publishing was the absence of clear policies, strategies and master plans.

It is not possible to make systematic efforts towards achieving desired results if there are no logical programs *created by local participants* and to which they themselves are committed. At present, where plans do exist, the strategies are designed and the plans often written by outsiders, usually by or on behalf of donors. Plans are often accepted by governments as conditions for financial assistance. At its worst, this

state of affairs has caused a variety of competing projects, all concentrated on publishing, but from various angles and according to targets dictated by donors (Bgoya et al., 1997, p. 97).

It is probably no coincidence that in Africa publishing is developing most rapidly in Namibia, South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana. The book industries of those countries operate in tandem with important government policies, and their national publishers' associations and book development councils work closely with their Ministries of Education and Culture (Chakava, 1997, p. 57).

We have seen the large number of players and interests involved in the move beyond the simple provision of one or more commodities – textbooks and other learning materials – to the encouragement of a literate society supported by a vital book chain. To co-ordinate the many-faceted activities of the public and private sectors, establish government priorities and secure the recognition of publishing as a strategic industry, many experts recommend that governments develop a national book policy. Such a policy is

a legal instrument adopted by the national government, and binding upon all parties concerned, that recognizes the strategic importance of the publishing industry and provides a comprehensive framework – with stated objectives and specific political, economic, fiscal and legal measures – to govern all activities in the book sector and to guide the actions of all players involved. . . . [It] should seek to create, over a reasonable time period, the conditions necessary for the emergence or establishment of a viable national publishing industry (Newton, 1999b, pp. 13–14).

In countries with a market economy, the objectives of a national book policy include: encouraging literary creation; establishing legal protection for authors' rights; providing fiscal, credit and administrative incentives for the publishing industry (possibly including flexible credit through state banks and temporarily reduced rates of tax on revenue from domestic publications); facilitating nationwide distribution and free international circulation of books; establishing nationwide library networks; introducing new methods for the teaching of reading; and training personnel in the various skills of the book sector. Relatively few countries have formulated and publicized so comprehensive a policy. One consultant with considerable international experience has observed that the creation and imposition of a ready-made book policy is not necessarily the ideal way to create positive change. A better strategy, he recommends, is simply for government to create an environment conducive to commercial publishing and to work with the private sector towards gradual reform in the provision and procurement of learning materials (ADEA/UNESCO survey 1999).

The first step in framing a national book policy should be a detailed and comprehensive survey of the national book sector. Since 1989, some thirty such studies have been made, but not

all are equally detailed and the information in them is seldom easily accessible (Askerud, 1997, p. 103). A useful summary of nine book sector studies in Africa (Buchan et al., 1991) was prepared as background documentation for the conference on textbook provision and library development held in Manchester in 1991 under the auspices of the Donors to African Education group and hosted by the British Council and the United Kingdom Overseas Development Administration. The fact that the study is already eight years out of date draws attention to the need for the regular revision of such information.

Some countries have delegated the implementation of their national book policy to a national book development council that typically comprises representatives of ministries, publishers, authors, illustrators, book distributors and booksellers, librarians and educational institutions. These councils have been formed in at least fifteen countries in Asia, six in Latin America and five in Africa. Their effectiveness depends in part on whether they have executive or advisory status, and in part on the status and abilities of the leadership. Opinions about the usefulness of national book development councils is mixed. In the Philippines, the national book development council and the Department of Education, Culture and Sports quickly entered into an antagonistic relationship that impeded the transition from public to private publishing of textbooks. Newton (1999b, p. 17) has suggested that the book sector is generally overcrowded by institutions and that the creation of new bodies, along with their additional bureaucracy, may be undesirable. Chakava (1997, p. 54) has gone further, arguing that programmes such as national book development councils worked best in centrally controlled governments, especially in Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and South America, and are unsuited to a world concerned with commercialization, privatization and sustainability.

Future needs

The need for support is unlikely to disappear completely as long as countries strive for the equitable distribution of textbooks and learning materials.

A sustainable book industry will never develop in a vacuum. It must not only have the government's support and encouragement but also a favourable economic climate. The countries of Southeast Asia that surprised the world with their economic growth in the 1980s and early 1990s had invested heavily in education and training. Minowa has argued that countries that have received external aid and succeeded in developing their publishing industry have done so not because of the aid but because of internal socio-economic factors that encouraged development and because of the efforts of their own publishers. Conversely, any country that lacks the necessary socio-economic strengths will not achieve sustainability in publishing in spite of external assistance.

The smaller, poorer countries of the world are far from achieving Minowa's 'take-off' point – a resultant of several factors including economic development, technological capacity, marketing infrastructure, reading environment, population and per capita national income (Minowa, 1991, pp. 140–1; 1992, p. 61). One of the two local commercial publishers in Guinea has listed the constraints his fledgling book industry must overcome:

there have been very few institutional measures to facilitate publishing, nor has there been much concern shown towards encouraging writers, providing banking concessions or tax relief for imports, price regulation or a national book policy . . .

The book market is limited because of factors such as the high level of illiteracy (67 per cent), the reading public's weak purchasing power, and the lack of both a reading culture and places to read.

Publishers are faced with problems such as access to capital, the lack of adequately trained technical staff, high manufacturing costs, and the limited capacity of local printers. There are only fifteen or so printers in the country, modestly equipped for the most part, and among whom only three print books (Sow, 1998, p. 11).

In eight years, the two local publishers have managed to produce fewer than fifty titles in French and two in national languages. They are unable to meet the conditions of international tender for textbooks, which continue to be won by French firms.

For the foreseeable future, countries like Guinea will require external production of textbooks and most likely some form of assistance, from external sources and/or from national governments, in the provision and distribution of learning materials. The amounts necessary may be reduced as programmes of liberalization and cost recovery mature.

Political will

Ultimately, the adequate provision of textbooks and learning materials is a matter of political priorities and political will.

An equitable and adequate distribution of textbooks and other learning materials is not an impossible goal. Colclough and Lewin (1993, p. 9) estimated that Universal Primary Education (UPE) could be achieved with an additional investment in external aid of around US\$30 billion between 1990 and 2005. Most of that money would be needed for recurrent expenses and about half would be needed for Africa. The increase would amount to a 50 per cent rise in aid to education, but would no more than compensate for the fall in aid since the 1970s. They recommended further that governments devote the equiva-

lent of US\$5 per pupil for learning resources – an amount they thought was realistic for a majority of developing countries and enough to have a considerable impact. More recently, Watkins (1999) estimated that UPE could be achieved within a decade in all developing regions at a cost of \$7 to \$8 billion annually over existing expenditures. That increment, he pointed out, is the equivalent of about four days' worth of global military spending, seven days' worth of currency speculation in international markets, less than half what parents in the United States spend on toys for their children each year, and less than half what Europeans spend each year on computer games or mineral water.

The importance of political priorities was underscored by Richard Jolly, Special Adviser to the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, at the conclusion of the Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All in 1996:

I recall my excitement in Costa Rica a few years ago when I visited a primary school with President Arias, to see in practice the pledge he had made to provide computers to half of all primary schools. He had made two conditions: that each school would have a suitable classroom, so the computers could be protected against theft; and that the class room should be open in the evening as well as during school time, so adults could use the computers. I marvelled at this practical example of bringing the frontiers of education to primary students and adults throughout Costa Rica within four years. But how can you afford it I asked? His reply – if you don't spend money on a military, you have enough in hand to afford good education for all. This is the challenge for every country – and a practical example of how saving money on the military bills can produce much of the finance required (Mid-Decade Meeting . . ., 1996, p. 33).

The International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (Delors et al., 1996, p. 165) recommended that as a rule of thumb not less than 6 per cent of GNP should be devoted to education. It felt that all need not come from government – that it is not only justifiable but desirable to raise money from private sources in order to ease the pressure on national budgets. Private funding could come from a variety of sources, including fees, although the ability of families and students to pay would vary from country to country. But, the Commission emphasized, recourse to private funding could not release states from their financial responsibilities, especially towards the most severely disadvantaged ethnic minorities or the inhabitants of remote regions. The Organization of African Unity Conference of African Ministers of Education (COMEDAF) received a report from its Finance Advisory Committee this year recommending that member states allocate a minimum of 25 per cent of their budgets and 6 per cent of GDP to education, that a minimum of 50 per cent of education budgets should be allocated to primary education and that the proportion of education budgets allocated to learning materials should be increased to 14 per cent. ■

VI. Looking to the future

A sombre scenario

It is difficult to believe that the shortage of textbooks and other learning materials in many parts of the world will disappear in the second decade after the Jomtien declaration, or that – without major efforts of national and international will – the rate of improvement will be any greater than in the first decade.

On the positive side, one may predict that:

- The trends towards decentralization and liberalization will continue to reduce the inefficiencies of centralized government operations.
- Competition and local choice will produce better textbooks, pedagogically innovative and more appropriate for the pupils and students who will use them.
- Commercial forces should tend to level out the peak-and-valley provision of textbooks and teachers' guides that has been a feature of many state-based systems – that is, the replacement of books in core subjects in one or two grades per year, followed by minimal attention to those grades while the needs of other grades are addressed, followed by the wholesale need for replacement in the original grades. Textbooks produced by the private sector for sale should be steadily available as long as they are in demand.
- Partial (occasionally full) cost recovery will relieve the burden on government and reduce dependence on external assistance.
- Targeted subsidies and demand-side funding will ensure that assistance is directed towards the needy and is not spent on those who can afford to pay for learning materials.
- The rate of increase in the primary school-age population worldwide will decrease in the first decade of the twenty-first century, relieving the strain on some national economies. The decline has already started in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and will occur in the next decade in East Asia and Latin America (World Bank, 1995, p. 36).

Against these hopeful signs from the first post-Jomtien decade must be weighed the following:

- Government support for education will continue to be restricted by national poverty, fiscal austerity, conflicting priorities, inefficient collection of taxes, poor management and, in many countries, war.
- The disarray in the education systems of the post-communist countries that have been undergoing abrupt transition may be expected to sort itself out, but the economies of many of the countries will remain weak.
- The policies of cost recovery will penalize the most disadvantaged sectors of society. Targeted subsidies may reduce

the impact on some of those affected, but not necessarily all. In the Philippines, for example, education projects funded by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank are directed only at the poorest provinces of the country, containing little more than one-third of the country's poor. The government must find the money for the rest. A concentration on rural poverty does nothing to assist the urban poor who populate the slums of Manila.

- The peak-and-valley provision of textbooks and teachers' guides will continue in countries that depend on occasional infusions of large amounts of external aid.
- Supplementary reading and other learning materials, and school libraries, will continue to have a lower priority than textbooks and work books in straitened fiscal budgeting. The textbook will remain the sole resource in education, for teacher and student alike.
- The population of primary-school-age children will continue to increase in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, albeit more slowly than during the 1990s. These regions include the countries where the book shortage is greatest and poverty most severe (World Bank, 1995, p. 36).
- Population trends mask the absolute increases in net enrolment – and the consequent need for learning materials – required to achieve the target of UPE by 2015. Watkins (1999) calculated that, projecting from 1990–95 rates of increase in enrolment for each country in sub-Saharan Africa, only ten countries were 'on track' to achieve UPE by the target date. To get on track, other countries would have to increase enrolments rapidly. By 2005, Ethiopia would have to enrol an additional 5.3 million students, tripling its current net enrolment ratio; the United Republic of Tanzania would have to enrol an additional 1.7 million; Mozambique, another 1.2 million, doubling its net enrolment rate; the Sudan, an additional 1 million; Rwanda, an additional 500,000; Zambia, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Mali, just under 500,000. These are all numbers *over and above existing trends*. In many countries, achieving UPE means repeating the rapid advances of the post-independence 1960s.

What can be done?

Respondents to the ADEA/UNESCO survey were asked to suggest future actions by government, the private sector and funding agencies that would improve access to books in developing countries. Nearly every respondent had at least one suggestion, and some had several. Only about 10 per cent, worldwide, favoured free provision of textbooks. Relatively few suggested that governments should be directly involved in book provision, and most of those referred specifically to procurement and distribution rather than publishing. These are the major recommendations that have come from Africa and, in fewer numbers, from South and East Asia, the Pacific, the Middle East and Latin America.

What governments should do

- Liberalize the publishing/bookselling/printing market if it is government-controlled. Encourage publishers to invest in education. Show less fear of what might go wrong and see what can go right when commercial forces are allowed to play their part in an unhindered three-way relationship between publishers, booksellers and teachers.
- Where the market is liberalized, allow the private sector to operate freely. Provide incentives to publishers. Specifically, remove duties and taxes on imported paper, other printing materials, printing/publishing equipment and imported books.
- Accelerate the process of decentralization.
- Act more as a facilitator than as a player.
- Revise curricula regularly, but not too frequently. Every five years was suggested.
- Ensure that education is adequately funded and that funds are available within the system for the purchase of books – if necessary, with external assistance. Alternatively, provide subsidies to keep book prices down.
- Encourage partnerships between local and foreign partners.
- Develop a policy environment that places a high priority on the production and supply of books and encourages the writing, translation, reading and use of books. Organize book fairs and other book-related activities. A few respondents recommended encouraging the production of books in local languages.
- Establish and maintain school and public libraries.
- Enforce copyright legislation.
- Maintain roads and transportation, and other elements of general infrastructure.
- 'Spend money on books and libraries instead of bombs!'

What the private sector should do

- Get more involved in textbook provision, through investment, greater professionalism and expansion of existing operations.
- Work alongside governments in developing practicable national book policies.
- Produce more, better-quality, relevant books.
- Improve distribution systems.
- Encourage authors.
- Educate teachers in the selection of appropriate materials.
- Run workshops for teachers on ways to make the best use of the textbooks they have selected – an 'after-sales' service.
- Work together in national professional associations to lobby governments and share experiences.
- Improve sales and marketing skills and effectiveness.
- Seek support for worthy publishing ventures from foundations, corporations and other non-publishing parts of the private sector.

What funding agencies should do

- Take steps to share information, avoid duplication of effort and work for common objectives in individual countries.

- Develop common policies with governments to ensure that their programmes and projects form part of an overall long-term book development strategy.
- Monitor projects effectively to ensure that funds channelled through governments are spent properly and that the benefits reach the intended recipients.
- Recognize the skills required in publishing and consult more with professional publishers. Consult with publishing experts at an early stage in any new project design.
- Support capacity-building initiatives, working within established structures and supporting existing organizations, in order to ensure sustainability in the provision of textbooks and learning materials.
- Support small indigenous publishers through purchase or subsidies so that books can reach intended readers who cannot afford to buy them.
- Add flexibility to funding schemes and reduce strict conditions.
- Support training in publishing and other book trade skills, particularly in new technology.
- Support or sponsor professional organizations within the book industry.
- Purchase more books for educational institutions, including books for school libraries; support the development of rural libraries and national library systems.
- Provide grants for the writing of high quality textbooks and commission works in certain areas.
- Support micro-credit programmes in communities to finance the making of puppets, cloth books, models, work cards, recorded children's music, and other teaching and learning aids.
- Support intensive training programmes for teacher-trainers in educational technology and techniques.
- Assist governments to develop sustainable mechanisms to ensure and monitor the quality of learning environments, including adequate and appropriate reading materials and teaching and learning aids.
- Support educational initiatives that incorporate local culture, including reading materials, musical instruments, traditional storytelling and folk theatre.

A more optimistic scenario

None of these recommendations is unrealistic. They have been made by men and women – civil servants, publishers, consultants – with practical experience in the development and provision of learning materials. They require action by all partners in the book chain, from curriculum developers to classroom teachers. But mostly they require governments to recognize, with actions as well as talk, that the basic tools of education are not a drain on the national budget but a powerful investment in the economy and the future of the nation. When the political will is present, the shortage of learning materials will disappear. ■

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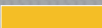
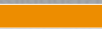












Education for All 2000 Assessment



Despite improvement in some countries, textbooks and other learning materials continued to be in short supply in most of the world during the 1990s. This study traces trends in their provision globally and regionally with special attention to decentralization of selection and procurement, economic liberalization, cost recovery to achieve systemic sustainability, co-ordination among funding agencies and the importance of viable national publishing industries.

Textbooks and Learning Materials 1990–99 is one of the thematic studies published by UNESCO for the International Consultative Forum on Education for All as part of the Education for All 2000 Assessment. This worldwide evaluation was undertaken towards the end of the decade following the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien, Thailand, 1990) as preparation for the World Education Forum on education for all held in Dakar (Senegal) in April 2000.

The complete list of titles in the series is given below.

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-  Education in Crisis: The Impact and Lessons of the East Asian Financial Shock 1997–99
-  Education in Situations of Emergency and Crisis: Challenges for the New Century
-  Funding Agency Contributions to Education for All
-  Girls' Education
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-  Literacy and Adult Education
-  Reason for Hope: The Support of NGOs to Education for All
-  School Health and Nutrition
-  Textbooks and Learning Materials 1990–99

Each thematic study aims to provide theoretical vision and practical guidance to education planners and decision-makers at national and international levels. In order to provide a global review, they draw upon and synthesize submissions from partner institutions and agencies in each of the EFA regions. They attempt to describe 'best practices' as well as successful and unsuccessful experiments in policy implementation.