

# National-Consciousness Goals and Realities in South and East Asian Education

## Abstract

*This paper discusses five ways South and East Asian countries are trying to enforce or reenforce national-identity goals through: (1) quantitative expansion of education, (2) standardization of the education system and of its programs and curricula, (3) promoting nationally unifying doctrines, beliefs, personalities, or languages, (4) expanding federal government control of education, and (5) amalgamation of ethnic minority groups.*

## Résumé

*Cet article porte sur les cinq stratégies mises en oeuvre par des pays d'Asie du sud et de l'est pour l'application ou la ré-application de leurs objectifs en matière d'identité nationale: 1) expansion quantitative de l'éducation, 2) normalisation du système éducatif, de ses programmes et cursus, 3) promotion de doctrines, de croyances, de personnalités ou de langues visant l'unité nationale, 4) contrôle plus serré de l'enseignement par le gouvernement central et 5) fusion des groupes ethniques minoritaires.*

Most discussions of educational goals have been written from a Western perspective, as is revealed by an examination of the summary discussion "Goals of Education" in *The Encyclopedia of Education* (McMurrin *et al.*, 1971, pp. 147-168). Developing countries frequently incorporated these Western goals into their educational systems, often as a hand-me-down from the colonial era, or as a form of pretence that by having Western goals their educational systems could be considered to be on a par

with that of advanced countries. The consequence was that there developed an ill-conceived relationship between the goals of developing countries' education systems and the realities of their societies. For instance, a central goal of Western educational systems is that education should be directed to the needs and interests of the individual, best served by a basic liberal education with its emphasis on the study and appreciation of ideas, which lead to intellectual, emotional, social, aesthetic, and moral development. When this goal is adopted by developing countries, it results in a plethora of humanistic graduates, bedecked with the status that education confers, but largely unemployable and of little use to their nations (Romulo, 1969, p. 250). Implementation of such an adopted "ivory tower" goal has had dire societal, educational, and economic consequences in many developing countries.

Educational goals may be divided into three major types: (1) national-consciousness goals, (2) economic development goals, and (3) individual-enrichment goals. All of these types of goals are important in an educational system, but the plans of action adopted to implement these goals determine which of the types is currently receiving the focus of attention. In developed countries (Japan and the Republic of Korea, to an extent, are the only South and East Asian countries to fall in this category), individual-vested goals tend to receive the emphasis, but in developing or underdeveloped countries (the rest of the South and East Asian countries), national-identity goals and economic-development goals are emphasized. What we propose to do is to examine the relationship between national-identity educational goals and plans of action which South and East Asian countries have implemented to fulfill these goals.

National-consciousness educational goals may be defined as those which engender a concept of nationhood; foster patriotism; instill an appreciation and understanding of a nation's ideological foundations, history, and culture; expunge or ameliorate ethnic, religious, and class loyalties; and promote national identity at the expense of regional, economic, or individual advancement.

Since World War II, establishing a national consciousness has been the foremost goal of the educational systems in almost all South and East Asian countries. Newly independent countries, such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia, have had to dedicate themselves to throwing off the mantle of colonialism, and countries such as Nepal or Thailand have had to free themselves from colonial hegemony. Others underwent radical transformation of their concept of national identity, either from losing the war (Japan) or from political forces which divided the collective *zeitgeist* (such as in China/Taiwan, North Korea/South Korea, North Vietnam/South Vietnam, and Pakistan/Bangladesh).

National-identity goals are still important in the educational systems of most South and East Asian countries, although economic problems have forced most countries to concentrate on economic-development goals. China, in the throes of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1970), provides an extreme example of a country where the educational system was totally dedicated to national-consciousness goals, even when it meant decimating a part of the system; primary and secondary level education was largely discontinued for two years and universities were closed from 1966-1970. Ideological conviction took precedence over economic achievement. Mao Tsetung's *Thought* became the only textbook, and everything had to be studied in relation to it. All that was foreign-tainted, bourgeois, apolitical, elitist, revisionist, or reactionary had to be removed from the educational system. "Curriculum had to be rethought and textbooks in every subject rewritten so that they might express more adequately and thoroughly the moral and political content and thought of Mao Tsetung" (Connel, 1980, p. 451).

The Cultural Revolution in China had largely run its course by the early 1970s, but an examination of its effects on China's educational system reveals many characteristics of a system devoted wholly to achieving national-identity goals – ideology-centred; mass (vs. elitist) participation in education; xenophobia; a central unifying person, in China's case Mao Tsetung; and disdain of economic realities or the individual's desires or interests. The Cultural Revolution tried to enforce revolutionary national consciousness in a short period of time. Most South and East Asian countries, who basically achieved their independence after World War II, have used education to achieve the same end, but have proceeded gradually to promote national identity. Some, having succeeded, are now trying to reinforce national-consciousness goals, not to enforce them.

Plans of action of an educational system which is focusing on enforcing or reinforcing national identity goals stress the following five characteristics:

***I. Quantitative expansion of education (often without regard to quality), a concept emanating from the assumption that involvement in a national education system will necessarily promote national identity.***

Specific plans of action include extensive programs for increasing primary level enrollment and mass literacy campaigns. (Secondary and tertiary level education are typically allowed to develop on their own.) Rapid quantitative expansion can be seen in the Philippines educational system where the number of primary schools increased from 22,764 in 1964 to 34,178 in 1984, and where primary education usually receives over 70% of the total educational ministry's budget (Philippines, 1986, pp. 7, 30-31).

Pakistan still sets as its "highest [educational] priority" the expansion of primary education in the formal sector and mass literacy in the nonformal sector. In just three years (1984-1986), Pakistan's primary enrollment increased almost 13%, but still it involved only around half of the eligible age group. The government targeted this involvement to increase to 75% in 1987/88. This target necessitated receiving 5,000,000 additional primary students, an increase of over 80% over 1983/84 (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 14, 17, 19). Bangladesh has developed programs of action to enroll 70% of its primary age group by 1990 and create the physical facilities to school this large increase (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 6).

Mass literacy campaigns are also a focus in achieving quantitative expansion. Nepal, where the literacy rate went up from 14% in 1971 to 24% in 1981, shows how painfully slow improvement in this area comes. By 1983, there were 580 functional literacy centres and 2,977 general literacy centres in Nepal (Nepal, 1984, p. 14). Pakistan's National Literacy Plan from 1984 to 1986 aimed to make 2.2 million persons literate at a cost of Rs 317,016,000. This aim was to be achieved by opening and operating 26,610 literacy centres (Pakistan, 1986, p. 43). India, where the literacy rate climbed from 29.45% in 1971 to 36.17% in 1981, has emphasized the attainment of minimum essential education in its Sixth Five-Year Plan. It has opened 69,825 Rural Functional Literacy Centres, which had 2,021,210 enrollees in 1983 (India, 1984, pp. 1, 9-10). These countries have seen the important role which quantitative expansion of education has played in forging national unity in developed South and East Asian countries, such as Japan, which has achieved almost 100% enrollment in compulsory education; Malaysia, 95% primary school enrollment; and China, 95.9% primary school enrollment (Japan, 1986, p. 15; Malaysia, 1986, p. 11; China, 1986, p. 29).

## ***II. Standardization of the educational system and of its programs and curricula.***

Many of the former colonial states of South and East Asia inherited a system of education which was regionally based and administered. The delicate task of attempting to reduce this regionalism and establish a standard nationwide system of education has been one of the most important educational aims in these countries. The most "notable" development of Indian education in the 1980s has been "the acceptance of a common structure of education throughout the country" and "the introduction of the 10+2+3 system" countrywide (India, 1986, pp. 2, 24). Thailand has also recently enforced a new 6+3+3 schooling system (Thailand, 1986, p. 9).

Establishing a common curriculum is another way of promoting "national integration," as Nepal's goals of education state. In 1980, Nepal

introduced a common secondary school curriculum with textbooks based on it (Nepal, 1986, pp. 1, 2). Bangladesh has recently introduced a new national curriculum for its primary schools (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 12). Malaysia did the same for its primary school system in 1983, and its textbooks are so designed to reenforce "national unity"; further, Malaysia is formulating a common Secondary School Curriculum (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 27-28). The Philippines' New Elementary School Curriculum and textbooks are designed to foster "feelings of pride, identity and loyalty to the country and nation, transcending [the student's] pride and loyalty to his family, tribe or region" (Philippines, 1986, p. 19). India has developed a curriculum for its new 10+2+3 education system in which the curriculum for the first ten years is "undifferentiated and all curricular areas are compulsory"; the "common core" of this national curricular framework is "the history of India's freedom movement, the constitutional obligations and other contents essential to nurture national identity" (India, 1986, pp. 27, 33). Such nationally common structures and programs negate the development of a regional consciousness and thus promote national identity.

### ***III. Promoting nationally unifying factors, such as a political doctrine, a religious belief, a cult personality, or a dominant language, through the educational system.***

In creating a national identity and purpose, a country often promotes a common set of values, frequently embodied in symbols or a personality and expressed in a common language, to dispel regional, class, or economic differences. A stable unified country, such as Japan, can state in its *Fundamental Law of Education* the "prohibition of partisan political education" (Japan, 1986, p. 1), just as advanced united countries in Europe and in North America can separate education from religion, advance minority interest in education, and encourage bilingualism. Developing countries often must view these as luxuries or impediments toward the common goal of national unity. Thus, a characteristic of the educational systems of many developing countries is the unabashed promotion of doctrines, personalities, and national languages which would be viewed with askance by advanced Western countries.

Education's role in political indoctrination is, of course, prevalent in Communist countries. While China's most recent statement of its educational development stresses economic development goals, its educational policy still asserts that "education must serve the nation's socialist construction and the socialist construction must rely on education" (China, 1986, p. 4). In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, "the key to education . . . is to embody the fundamental principle of socialist pedagogy," which is "to make people revolutionary, working-class and communist" (DPR Korea, 1986, p. 1). Even in a capitalist country, the

Republic of Korea, its concept of "spiritual education" is also doctrinaire, for it entails "the need for in-depth studies of the ideological base for Korean culture and the factors that militate against achieving national unity" (R. Korea, 1986, p. 20). In a politically unstable country such as Thailand, one of its educational goals is not just to promote "unfailing allegiance to the nation," but also to the "monarch" (Thailand, 1986, p. 3), who traditionally has been the most politically stabilizing force in the country.

Education's role in spreading political cultism, seen in that surrounding Mao Tsetung, is also prevalent in other countries. The major university in North Korea, Kim II Sung University, is named after its president, and a 1984 statement about its educational system asserts that its education is based on the philosophy of "the great leader President Kim II Sung" (DPR Korea, 1984, pp. 1, 5). Significantly that country's 1986 statement, which is less politically and more economically oriented, does not mention Kim II Sung, rather his son, Kim Jong II (DPR Korea, 1986, p. 12).

In South and East Asian countries where political indoctrination in education is not decisive, educational promotion of a nationally unifying religion often is. The premier objective of education in Pakistan is "to relate education to Islamic theology." A recently implemented policy of Pakistan is to use religious mosques for primary schools and literacy centres; in fact, "mosque schools are to be the hub of the attempt to expand literacy and primary education to rural areas and female education" (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 1, 3). Most countries where Islam is a majority, or even minority, religion allows a separate extensive system of Madrasah education which offers Islamic education to Muslims. Even at the tertiary level this trend is evident. For instance, in 1986 Bangladesh opened an Islamic University (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 15).

In countries without a separate system of religious education, religious education is present. In Malaysia, "Islamic religious studies will continue to be compulsory for Muslim students at the primary and secondary levels. Non-Muslim students will be taught moral educational ethics" (Malaysia, 1986, p. 3). In Thailand, the principles of Buddhism (the majority religion) are incorporated into the educational system; a goal of Thailand's educational system is to develop allegiances to the religion of the nation (Thailand, 1986, p. 3). Thus, incorporating religion in education (a policy which most Western societies now regard as deviant, although most of their educational systems sprang from religious education) is an attempt by these countries in the process of developing national identity to transfer religious affirmation to national consciousness.

Another doctrinaire approach used by South and East Asian countries trying to forge national unity is to denigrate the educational system they had

had previously, usually under colonial rule. The attack on Confucianism and the attempt to eliminate its educational influence in China in the 1970s is an example of this approach (Connel, 1980, p. 454). Bangladesh's recent report on its education states that before its independence from Pakistan, its educational system had expanded only marginally and was "elitist in character." Now its major goal is to establish "a uniform mass-oriented and universal system of education" (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 1). North Korea states that in 1945, "immediately after Korea was liberated from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists," 80% of its adult population was illiterate. By 1949, the report states, illiteracy had been completely eliminated (DPR Korea, 1984, p. 5). India's report states that only after the attainment of independence in 1947 was "systematic development of education . . . taken up" (India, 1986, p. 1).

Language can also be a unifying factor. Unlike emerging African countries, where linguistic diversity militates against national unity, most South and East Asian countries do not have language as an impediment to the development of a national consciousness. Japan, Pakistan, both Koreas, Thailand, Bangladesh, Nepal, and to an extent China and the Philippines (where both Filipino and English are taught from primary school onwards), all have dominant national languages. Of other countries, Malaysia is the one which has concentrated on gradually enforcing the use of a national language. Its three types of primary schools are classified by language medium: Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese, and Tamil. However, "all pupils follow the same course content and thereby develop a unified Malaysia outlook." In secondary schools, only Bahasa Malaysia is used, so pupils from the Chinese and Tamil media primary schools must spend a year in a Remove Class where they acquire proficiency in Bahasa Malaysia. The government of Malaysia is committed to making Bahasa Malaysia the main medium of all levels of education by the end of the 1980s by implementing its use in Chinese and Tamil primary schools (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 3, 11-12). However, in India, with its unimaginable cultural, social, religious, political, and economic diversity, there is constitutionally enshrined linguistic diversity: "Any section of the citizens, residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same." The Constitution also states that "all minorities whether based on religion of [sic] language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice." Further, India's constitution also guarantees that each state should "provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary state of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups" (India, 1986, p. 3).

In summary, the nations of South and East Asia through their educational systems are striving to promote nationally unifying doctrines,

beliefs, personalities, and languages. Of course, there are attenuating dangers in the approach. A political doctrine (such as Mao Tsetung's Cultural Revolution) can be repudiated; a cult figure can be disgraced; and emphasis on a national religion or a dominant language can breed ethnic minority discontent.

***IV. Expanding federal government control of education by (1) establishing a dominant educational administrative authority, (2) assuming a greater financial educational responsibility, and (3) enfranchising or regulating private systems of education.***

A statement in India's recent educational report is not atypical of the situation past and present in South and East Asian countries: "Earlier, education has been [sic] primarily the responsibility of the state/union territory governments," but the 1986 National Policy in Education states that the federal government has been accepting "a larger responsibility to reinforce the national and integrative character of education . . ." (India, 1986, pp. 3-4). The following South and East Asian countries have strong federal control of education:

1. The Philippines – Along with many other duties, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports is appointed to formulate general education objectives and policies; to adopt long-range educational plans; to plan, develop, and implement educational programs; to formulate rules, regulations, and objectives for the school system; to coordinate inter-school and school/community activities; and to recommend educational legislation (Philippines, 1986, p. 5).

2. China – In 1985, China abolished its Ministry of Education and set up a new "comprehensive organization to be in charge of the nation's education," its State Education Commission, believing that the previous ministry could not "arouse the enthusiasm of various government departments or provide the "unified administration and guidance" to bring about the proposed "reform in its educational system." A Vice-Premier or the State Council was put in charge of the new commission. The commission has more responsibility and decision-making power than the former Ministry of Education; it is charged with developing strategies, policies, and overall planning of China's educational system (China, 1986, pp. 17-18).

3. Bangladesh – "The Ministry of Education is concerned with policy formulation, planning, monitoring, and evaluation" of the educational system. Directorates of primary, secondary, and higher education, under the Ministry, are responsible for implementation of educational policy (Bangladesh, 1986, pp. 6-8).

4. Thailand – Its Ministry of Education manages all public schools and supervises private schools at all levels except the degree level. In 1980, the responsibility for primary education, formerly under the Local Administration Department, was shifted to the Ministry of Education (Thailand, 1986, p. 4).



5. Democratic People's Republic of Korea – "The state undertakes full responsibility for adequately providing all conditions for education – training teachers, building schools, arranging educational facilities, teaching aids and tools and social fixtures" (DPR Korea, 1986, p. 3).

6. Malaysia – "Education in Malaysia is a federal concern." Its "Ministry of Education is responsible for the implementation of the educational policy and the administration of the entire education system." Federal control is further insured because "educational planning is kept in line with the country's overall development planning through coordination with the National Development Planning Committee" (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 4-7).

7. Sri Lanka – Management of education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education. The Ministry of Education is responsible for "the effective implementation of educational policy," including curriculum development, teacher education, planning and management development, school activities, nonformal education, administration, and finance. Implementation of national policy on higher and technical education is the responsibility of the Minister of Higher Education, who is the president of Sri Lanka (Sri Lanka, 1986, pp. 3-5).

In India and Pakistan, in both of which the states/territories/provinces are autonomous in education, the federal governments exert their control through finances. In India, the Planning Commission of the federal government "determines the allocation of resources," so "it exercises substantial influence on the directions of educational development in the country" (India, 1986, p. 11). In Pakistan, the recently instituted IQRA surcharge (5% of all imports), which is specifically earmarked for the promotion of education, is indicative of the federal commitment to education. The IQRA Board is under the Prime Minister's leadership (Pakistan, 1986, p. 7). In DPR Korea, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Malaysia, the Republic of Korea, and Thailand, the cost of education is borne almost exclusively by the central government.

In the Philippines, the financing of elementary education is nearly completely undertaken by the national government; secondary and tertiary education also receive significant government expenditures (Philippines, 1986, pp. 7-10). In China, both the central and local governments control educational allocations (China, 1986, p. 24). In Japan, the responsibility for financial support of public education is also shared by the national and local governments, but the national government not only has expenditures for national educational establishments but also earmarks subsidies for local education. It further provides considerable subsidies to private schools and universities, 316 billion yen in 1986, as well as additional subsidies to allow private schools to purchase large-sized and small-sized educational equipment (Japan, 1986, pp. 53-58).

A third way through which national governments are expanding the concept of a national educational system is by enfranchising or regulating

private education. In Bangladesh, private primary and secondary schools and colleges are "gradually being brought into the fold of government management," although secondary schools still are largely private. Also the Bangladeshi national government subsidizes salaries of teachers in nongovernmental schools at the secondary and college levels and in Madrasah schools, and it also provides facilities for nongovernmental schools (Bangladesh, 1986, pp. 5-7, 14-15). In Sri Lanka, the national government took over government-assisted private schools which opted to join the state system in 1961 and took over plantation sector schools in two stages in 1977 and 1980. Now private schools account for less than 1% of the total number of schools, and these must conform to government regulations. Starting in 1981, Sri Lanka's nonfee-levying private schools began to be given financial support, including coverage of all salaries paid to teachers (Sri Lanka, 1986, pp. 7, 10, 21-22).

In Pakistan, the government nationalized/provincialized private schools in 1972, although there are still some English medium private schools which are allowed to function on the condition that they fill 20% of their places with talented students irrespective of their background. The continuation of this nationalization policy was stopped in 1979 because the project had isolated the community from the educational enterprise and put too great a financial burden on the state (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 56-57). In the Philippines, the policy of further nationalization of local *barangay* high schools was stopped in 1985 because of budgetary constraints, although the educational ministry remains committed to this policy. Further, financially-troubled private schools located in remote areas where there are no public schools are now given Filipino government subsidies (Philippines, 1986, pp. 10, 28). In Nepal, a reverse trend was seen for a while. The government allowed the establishment of private schools and colleges, especially in rural areas, to promote "healthy competition among schools for qualitative improvement." However, the college privatization policy has not succeeded because the thirty private colleges, established in 1980-81, are already having financial problems. New plans call for them to be affiliated with proposed additional universities (Nepal, 1984, pp. 17-18).

***V. Amalgamation of ethnic minority groups, usually located in remote rural areas, into the national scheme of education.***

Among the most potentially disruptive elements to the concept of nationhood are ethnic minority groups. An ethnic group may be defined as one which has a "definable sociocultural subsystem of which an individual is a member," mutually interrelated through "family structure, kinship systems, religious beliefs and practices, ethical and moral values, standards of social acceptability, and child-rearing practices" (McDavid, 1971, p. 70). A government must evolve specific plans of action to prevent ethnic threats

to the concept of national unity, and here the educational system can play the major role. From studying the progress of education for ethnic minorities in an advanced multiminority country, such as the United States, it can be seen that the process involves three distinct phases: (1) Guaranteeing ethnic minority groups equal access to equal education. In the U.S., this entailed nullifying the doctrine of separate but equal education, enforcing integration, and bussing minority students to majority schools. (2) Subsequently producing evidence that the provided involvement in the educational system has resulted in economic benefits. In the U.S., around 80% of the minorities have been brought into the economic mainstream, that is, the middle class or above it. (3) Afterwards allowing the expression through the educational system of ethnic minority culture. In the U.S., black studies or African heritage studies and bilingualism in education for Spanish ethnic groups have developed. Thus the process evolves from assimilation to economic development (both of which militate against ethnicity) to minority cultural expression (which reasserts ethnicity).

Most multiminority South and East Asian countries have expressed goals promoting equal-access education aimed at assimilating minorities, but in reality their plans of action springing from these goals have by and large been inadequate. Still in too many countries, ethnic minority groups consider their first loyalty to their region, their ethnic group, or to their social caste, not to their country.

Here, a note may be appended on the largest minority group in South and East Asian countries – females. Despite noble statements of goals by individual countries, little progress has been made in implementing enshrined educational rights for women. This lack of real progress may result from women as a group not representing a political threat to the development of national identity in the sense that a united potentially disruptive ethnic group does. As these countries move away from enforcing national identity goals and begin focusing on economic development goals, the role of women in education may become more important because of their potential contribution, as any other resource, to economic progress. The preceding statement is phrased as a possibility because even in Japan, the most advanced East Asian country, women-education at the tertiary level is largely stereotyped: Only 3.6% (1985 figures) of the enrollment of colleges of technology consists of women, and only 23.5% of universities. Around 43% of Japanese women in tertiary level education attend junior colleges whose enrollment consists of 90% women. These junior colleges have been characterized as little more than charm and homemaking schools (Japan, 1986, pp. 13-14).

Other South and East Asian countries are struggling to get women involved in more basic levels of education. In Pakistan, the participation

rate for girls at the primary level is 33%, one-half of that for boys, and it is only 21% for girls in rural areas. In Nepal, the proportion of girls of the total primary enrollment is only 28%. According to a 1981 census in India, nearly three-fourths of the women in the country are illiterates (Pakistan, 1986, p. 49; Nepal, 1984, p. 4; India, 1984, p. 12). What is lacking in South and East Asian countries are specific plans of action for involving women in education, similar to those for other minority groups, such as specific budgetary items for women's education, the establishment of bureaus or departments of Women Education under the ministry responsible for education, literacy programs targeted specifically for women, and establishment of quotas for women at educational institutes. What is not needed are sop programs such as Bangladesh's opening of one polytechnic for women, or Nepal's special project "Equal Access to Women in Education," which aims to train and appoint more women primary teachers because their presence might encourage more girls to enroll in schools (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 15; Nepal, 1984, p. 5).

Since most ethnic minorities are concentrated in rural areas, government programs for improving the rural educational system are actual programs to dispel ethnicity and foster national consciousness. For instance, the national government of Bangladesh has recently given a special allocation for the construction of primary schools for the ethnic minorities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts region (Bangladesh, 1986, p. 17). Malaysia has increased secondary educational facilities in rural areas and has provided financial assistance to maintain the poor in the school system. Since it was not profitable for private kindergartens to function in rural areas, Malaysia also began to set up government preschools in rural areas in 1984 and, after two years, about 60% of total preschool enrollment was in rural areas (Malaysia, 1986, pp. 27-28). In Pakistan, a Special Priority Development Program was launched in 1982-83 to facilitate the pace of educational development in rural areas and to remove the widening imbalance between urban and rural sectors. Rural areas in Pakistan have 70% of the population, but a literacy rate of only 17% against 47% in urban areas (Pakistan, 1986, pp. 16, 19).

Nepal has launched a special project on education for rural development and other programs "to provide educational opportunities to areas lagging behind in education" including establishing more rural trade schools and setting up campuses of technical institutes in the Eastern and Western Development Regions (Nepal, 1984, pp. 2-3, 5, 10). In 1986, Thailand implemented a Rural Kindergarten Project "to improve rural primary schooling in remote areas." It also built 480 secondary schools in rural areas from 1982 to 1987, in an attempt to equate the quality of education between small schools in rural areas and big schools in townships and metropolitan areas (Thailand, 1986, p. 14). In the Republic of Korea,

there is a recognition of the need to spread university education, which is largely concentrated in Seoul and its vicinity, to the provinces (R. Korea, 1986, p. 58). Also, in Japan, "the overconcentration of universities in a small number of the largest cities" has led the Ministry of Education to adopt a policy of restraining this urban concentration and to develop and expand tertiary institutions in localities other than the largest cities (Japan, 1986, pp. 82-83).

China is a country of multinationalities. In addition to the majority Han people, there are 55 minority nationalities, whose total population according to 1982 figures was 67.24 million or 6.7% of the total people in China. In addition to regular allocations for education in minority areas, in recent years China has earmarked 150 million yen as a special fund for the development of education in minority nationalities areas and remote areas. At the tertiary level, China has adopted two policies to improve the opportunities for minority youths to enter college: The state allows universities and colleges (1) to lower admission grades for minority students and (2) to give them priority in enrollment when they are at the same grade with Han students. Tibet is the region of China which has most resisted assimilation, perhaps because of the nature (armed intervention) of its incorporation and/or perhaps because of its religion. The central Chinese government has used qualitative expansion of education to try to bring about Tibet's national incorporation. A 1986 statement on its development of education points out that before 1951, the Tibet region had no primary, middle, or tertiary systems of education, but now it has three tertiary institutions, 56 middle schools, and 2,475 primary schools (China, 1986, pp. 87-91).

Sri Lanka illustrates problems which can arise from emphasizing economic development goals before ethnic minority national-consciousness plans of action have ingrained the concept of national identity. Two of the stated objectives of educational policy in Sri Lanka are to develop (1) an appreciation of the contribution made by the different ethnic groups to the national culture and (2) attitudes conducive to maintenance of harmonious relations among the different ethnic groups (Sri Lanka, 1986, p. 2). Plans of action to implement these goals have basically been lacking, resulting in four groups – the Singalese, the Tamils, the Muslims, and the Christians – with ethnic consciousness, not national consciousness.

The thrust of Sri Lanka's educational objectives has been toward achieving economic development, and the country had shown economic progress, at least until the Tamil insurgency, which was brought on partially by the Tamils' perception of social and economic disparities. Three recent policy orientations – the restructuring of the school system begun in 1985, the recent establishment of school clusters "to meet the educational

needs of the entire area [they] serve," and the 1977 and 1980 two-stage government usurpation of the schools in the plantation sector – show the government's overtures toward getting a unified educational system (Sri Lanka, 1986, pp. 21-22), although given the tense divisions in Sri Lanka each move could be interpreted by an ethnic group as an attempt to stifle minority voice in education.

Significantly none of the developments in the Ministry of Education's 1986 statement mention any specific education plans of action to defuse ethnic tension, and its list of problems and difficulties deals with financial matters. Indeed the opening statement of this publication – "For centuries the religion of the majority (Buddhism) nurtured a value system which embraced the concept of equality" (Sri Lanka, 1986, p. 1) – in its singularity slights the Hindi, Muslim, and Christian minorities by omitting their dedication to the same concept. All in all, one can conclude that Sri Lanka negatively illustrates the thesis of the primacy of national-consciousness goals to an educational system and the dire consequences of emphasizing economic development goals before a national consensus is established.

In summary, we have discussed five characteristics of an educational system which is focusing on enforcing or reenforcing national-identity goals: (1) quantitative expansion, (2) standardization of the system, (3) use of unifying factors, (4) expansion of central government control, and (5) amalgamation of ethnic regional minorities. Most South and East Asian countries have stated goals expressing these commitments to mass education, equal quality of education, equal access to education, and respect for ethnic minority, for all of which the central government ensures compliance. As we have shown, South and East Asian countries have developed educational plans of action to foster national unity; however, in reality the plans of action emanating from these goals are often insufficient.

Too often, those countries, which should be concentrating on national identity, rush too quickly toward meeting economic-development targets. Too often they spend too much on prestigious tertiary level education, neglecting the bases of education – the primary and secondary levels. Too often central government educational policy is geared to meeting crises, not to long-range planning. Too often ministries of education, safely encased in capital metropolises, never give a thought to education in remote regions or education for minorities, including women, until prodded by UNESCO. What these countries must realize is that unresponsiveness to national-identity yearnings can be as significant an indicator of the ill direction of a country as crumbling economic figures. What each South and

East Asian country – from the least developed (Bangladesh) to the most developed (Japan) – needs to do is to examine how well it is enforcing or reenforcing its national identity goals.

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