Curriculum development and constraints of reality: issues, approaches and insights from an African case study with particular reference to language materials development.

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CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRAINTS OF REALITY:
ISSUES APPROACHES AND INSIGHTS FROM AN AFRICAN CASE STUDY
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO LANGUAGE MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

A Dissertation Presented
by
GUDRUN LILLI-ANNE FORSBERG

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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February 1988
Education
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRAINTS OF REALITY:
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Approved as to style and content by:

Bob Miltz, Chairperson of Committee

William Fanslow, Member

Ralph Faulkingham, Member

George Urch, Dean
School of Education
To my parents Rickard and Sally Forsberg
for their love, support and confidence in me.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT
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February 1988
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Curriculum development is a complicated and complex process in any country. In developing countries the task is often exacerbated by lack of human and financial resources and necessary institutional infrastructures. This means that existing curriculum development models have to be adapted to fit local circumstances. This study investigates and analyzes the practical realities of curriculum development work in Somalia, particularly as it refers to Somali language materials development for primary schools.

In the first part of the study I provide the background and the framework of analysis for curriculum development in Somalia. I present an overview of the curriculum development literature adapted to the situation in African countries by describing the educational context, the curriculum components, the conditions and problems of curriculum development for African primary schools. I also describe and compare two "field-adapted" curriculum development models.
In the second part of the study I examine curriculum development in the Somali Language department at the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) in Somalia. In the case study I first describe the daily realities of curriculum development work, the context, the activities and the nature of the challenges. I then discuss and analyze various factors that influenced the work in the Somali Language department—foreign adviser influence, lack of trained personnel, language and equality issues and the institutional context. Finally, I compare and contrast the curriculum development models suggested by the field-adapted literature with the practical realities at CDC. In the concluding chapter I consider needs and future directions for curriculum development in impoverished countries.

The study is of interest to curriculum planners and practitioners and to scholars and researchers of curriculum development in developing countries, and to donor agencies funding educational projects in such settings.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

History of Curriculum Development in Africa

Every society, for as far back as we can go in history, has had a system, an educational policy, for educating its youth. The purpose of traditional African education was preparation for adulthood in the society, with functionality as the main guiding principle (Fafunwa, 1982; Moumouni, 1968). Education was regarded as an integrated whole. Physical development was combined with character-building and manual activity with intellectual training. Children learned by doing and the entire community considered itself responsible for their education. Hence, aim, content and methods were closely interwoven, and the purpose of functionality guaranteed the relevance of the curriculum.

Islamic religion influenced a number of African countries before the arrival of Christian missionaries and colonialism. Islamic education focused on spreading knowledge of the Koran, the Hadith (traditions of the Prophet) and the Shari'a (canon law of Islam). At what is regarded as the primary level, children learned chapters of the Koran by rote and to read and write the Arabic letters. The teaching style of the Koranic schools, was characterized by repetition and mechanical rote-learning, a style that was to set the pattern for learning in Africa for many years to come.

In the early stages of colonialization, Christian (and Islamic) missions dominated the educational scene. They recognized the importance
of education as a means to achieve the goals of their religious assignments. Thus the objective of mission education was conversion to Christianity. Therefore, they had to teach literacy so pupils could read the Bible. This led to pioneering instruction in vernacular language and translations of the Bible in that language (Watson, 1982a). They also stressed moral values, industry and general education, at the same time neglecting indigenous cultural aspects.

While most missionaries regarded education philanthropically, colonial governments viewed education as a means for the production of junior civil servants, clerks and assistants that could meet certain manpower needs within the colonial system. This called for education that stressed correct language, numeracy and general knowledge, in a school system that very much resembled their European counterparts. While French colonial education insisted on centralized control and stressed a policy of assimilation and association to ensure continued metropolitan influence in Africa, the British government encouraged decentralization. As a result of the reports of Phelps Stokes Commissions, summarized in the famous 1925 Memorandum of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, principles were laid down that suggested greater emphasis on vernacular education, manual occupations in the curriculum, education for women and teachers trained with African life, needs and society in mind (Watson, 1982a). Efforts to design curricula that were integrated with the local environment were made, for example, by Brynt Mumford in 1928 in Tanzania and J.D. Clarke in Nigeria, and similar adaptations were also made in other countries in Africa (Wandira, 1971). However, these efforts did not have any lasting impact on African
education since there was little indigenous support for this kind of policy. The issue of "adaptation of education" to the African rural development situation discussed during the colonial era, was to be raised again in the early days of independence.

What the colonial territories came to inherit from their masters was a formal school system, with a curriculum that was divorced from the everyday life outside the school. Another consequence was the high valuation of schooling as academic instruction to the detriment of manual work. A further feature of the colonial legacy was the establishment of the link between qualifications and employment, and, due to the private rates of return, the link between schooling and upward social mobility.

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a social revolution in the developing countries. European imperialism was weakened. Soldiers returned from Europe with an increased awareness of what they wanted for their countries. The idea that schooling was the key to political, social and economic development led to the recognition of the potential power of education.

The early 1960s brought about independence for many African countries. 1960 was also the year that the United Nations launched the First Development Decade and through that came the recognition of education as a productive investment for the development of human resources. Planning education, in the sense of organizing the structure and content of educational systems to fit with economic and political goals, had been an issue during colonial times, mainly due to the need to develop the colonial economies (Foster, 1982). In postcolonial societies there was a need to localize the administrations and economies and a desire to
integrate educational expansion into economic development which further stressed the need of systematic planning.

In 1961, delegates of 39 African states and five European colonial powers met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to discuss education in Africa. This was the first time in Africa that education of Africans was discussed mainly by Africans. The conference was also important because it provided guidelines and set up priorities, such as the emphasis given to secondary education, as well as setting the quantitative target of Universal Primary Education for all African children by 1980.

The Addis Ababa Conference signalled a rapid expansion of primary, secondary and tertiary education in all African countries. The expansion of formal education was built on the assumption that education was essential for social and economic development (Adams and Bjork, 1969; Beeby, 1966; Simmons, 1980). There were mainly five factors that contributed to the remarkable results achieved:

1. Independence with its need for educated and trained manpower at all levels as well as the need to satisfy the aspirations of the people who wanted education for their children as an avenue to progress and social advancement.

2. The sense of international solidarity and the framework of international co-operation that made available external resources for the purpose of educational development in Africa.

3. Acceptance of education as a productive investment and as a major factor of economic, social and technical development.

4. Educational planning gained full acceptance in Africa and educational planning units were set up within education ministries.

5. The realization that education is a fundamental right of all people, and that the guarantee for such a right is compulsory, free, primary education and equal access to higher education (African Curriculum Organization [ACO] 1981; Adams and Bjork, 1969; UNESCO, 1968).
The missionary and colonial period had emphasized primary education. Now the need for manpower led to curricula that emphasized higher level education. Manpower needs were also associated with the need for mathematics and science graduates, hence curricula with strong mathematics and science bias.

The Conference on Education and Scientific and Technical Training in Relation to Development in Africa, held in Nairobi, Kenya in 1968, provided an opportunity to review the results achieved in the field of educational development in African countries (UNESCO, 1968). The Conference noted that despite the financial commitments made to educational development since the Addis Ababa Conference, and despite the great advances made, the majority of African countries still fell short of the targets expected, and for many of them free and universal primary education by 1980 was an unlikely prospect.

The review and discussion of the situation by the Conference revealed many and varied causes. First of all, in the 1960s very little research or analysis existed that could help educational planners with guidelines for strategies for delivering education (Foster, 1982). At the time of the Addis Ababa Conference, the school-age population growth and the demand for education had been underestimated. Another cause was to be found in the high rate of wastage. For example, for the whole continent, out of all pupils that enrolled in the first year, only 32% completed their sixth year (UNESCO, 1968). Some of the factors behind the high wastage rate were social and economic, but others could be found within the educational system itself. One was lack of facilities and schools in combination with shortage of teachers. Another factor was inadequately
trained teachers, particularly at the primary level. A third was the unsuitability of the education provided, based as it was on former colonial patterns.

Although the Addis Ababa Conference recommended, "... that African educational authorities should revise and reform the content of education in the areas of curricula, textbooks and methods, so as to take account of the African environment ..." (ACO, 1981, p. 5), very little had been done to implement this recommendation. Beeby gives an explanation why this recommendation was never implemented:

... some of our more refined arguments on the goals of education must have seemed a trifle unreal to African Ministers of Education in 1961, when they found themselves responsible for 100,000,000 people unable to read and write ... Since many of the parents were themselves illiterate, the pressure was for more education rather than better education (Beeby, 1966, pp. 7 and 9).

The inadequate contents of curricula plus the educational strategy of aiming mainly at quantitative expansion had created a situation where many African countries ended up with irrelevant education, while at the same time there was a critical demand for a skilled labor force for their development needs. Added to these problems were also problems related to equality of opportunity for all children to access to school. It turned out that access to school did not in fact mean the same educational opportunities for boys and girls, for pupils from urban and rural areas or for pupils from different ethnic groups. The qualitative and quantitative problems of educational development in Africa, raised at the Nairobi Conference, led countries to re-examine the organization and content of their educational systems.
One of the steps to be taken to ensure further progress in educational development was to recommend that increased importance should be given to primary education although the priority to secondary education should be maintained. Another way of achieving better results would be through increased emphasis on quality. The first important step to improve quality was to upgrade teachers professionally. Equally important would be the reorientation and reform of the content of education. The reform of the content should aim at replacing instruction and theoretical education with learning and preparation for life and future responsibilities, based on social and cultural realities.

Since most African countries have agricultural economies, this meant ruralizing the content of primary education, providing a content with an agricultural bias. At the secondary level, more attention should be given to science teaching and science courses to prepare the students to fit with an increasingly scientific world.

The end of the 1960s marked the end of a decade that had started with aspirations and high expectations but led to a feeling of disillusion. Education had not proved to be a straight road to economic development and national prosperity. But educational problems were not only the problems of developing countries, developed countries had their share too. In 1970 UNESCO organized an International Education Year which resulted in appraisal and studies of the objectives and procedures of education at an international level.

In 1971, the Director General of UNESCO appointed a seven-man International Commission on the Development of Education, under the chairmanship of Mr. Edgar Faure. The Commission's report, Learning to Be
(1972), put forward the concept of lifelong education which views education as "learning" in a lifelong process, and taking many forms, only one of which is formal education.

In many developing countries the notion of lifelong learning was inherent in their social structures. Everybody had to go on learning in order to survive. The extended family, for example, enabled individuals to learn from each other. In Moslem countries learners of different ages studied the Koran and its applications to their lives. Sons and daughters learned from their parents in an informal apprenticeship system (Hawes, 1975). It was only with the arrival of colonial systems of education that the distinction between learning and everyday life was made.

The Commission's report was discussed by governments and educators all over the world. The Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States in Lagos, 1976, studied the social, economic and cultural development needs in the context of lifelong education and called for curriculum reform that should emphasize actual experience, the environment, and incorporate productive work (UNESCO, 1976). In many schools in Africa productive work was introduced and the link between school and the life of the community was stressed. Conferences and discussions on the issues of "Learning to Be" led to a rethinking of educational organization, and school curricula began to change as a result of the new perspectives.

Education in the 1960s was characterized internationally by curriculum development. Based on the theories of Taba (1962), Tyler (1969), Bloom (1956) and their successors, many curriculum projects were
initiated in science, mathematics, social studies, etc. The impact of these curriculum experiments in Western Europe and the United States was the establishment of curriculum development centers in many African countries in the late 60s and early 70s. The centers were often funded by UNESCO or the World Bank, were often copies of European models, and were frequently manned by expatriates (Watson, 1982b). International initiatives led to the funding of curriculum programs such as the African Mathematics Program and the African Primary Science Program. In spite of this, many programs were borrowed and adapted from Great Britain and the United States. Publishers, often acting independently, also affected curricula, particularly in languages. Thus early curriculum development in Africa became very European or North American in its approach.

Somewhat later, national goals as indicated in national statements, development plans or curriculum conferences were used to try to clarify curriculum policy in many African countries. Nyerere's pamphlet, *Education for Self-Reliance* (1967), is a well-known statement of a national educational philosophy. However, in some countries national consensus on curriculum policy is still not attained, or is even outdated through changed political or economic circumstances. A general underlying problem might be the absence of structures to act as a syndrome between national planning and school realities.

New curriculum programs have continued to evolve during the 1970s and early 1980s, syllabuses are being revised and textbooks rewritten, as an outcome of more attention being paid to educational quality. Yet, the critical issues today are still relevance, efficiency and qualitative improvement of education. While new panaceas are announced--ruralized
curriculum, basic education, lifelong learning--curriculum planners have to struggle to reconcile curriculum objectives to curriculum users, lack of resources to planned changes, and the complexities of curriculum change to existing political and socio-economic realities.

The Problem

There is no lack of research, literature and reports on theory, models and designs for curriculum development--mostly from the Western world. Information has been accumulated, methods have been modified over periods, thanks to people like Taba (1962), Bruner (1966), Bloom (1956) and Tyler (1969), so that we now have a vast body of knowledge and experience to draw upon. This accumulated "wisdom" has been exported to Africa and other developing countries along with the "mystique" of a specialized vocabulary, plus the belief that curriculum development has to be left to experts (Hawes, 1979).

The African education and curriculum context is very different from that where the ideas originated from. Developing countries are often characterized by fragile political structures and weak administrative hierarchies set in an apparently constantly depressed economy. With regard to education, the low level of planning and management capabilities is further a very severe constraint. Due to a sense of urgency, curriculum change is often attempted with inadequate resources, untrained personnel, little preparation or provisions and under time pressure. Foreign aid money can also enter the curriculum development scene and
influence change. All this has serious consequences for curriculum development and change.

Through government initiatives in and international projects for curriculum change, there has been an awakening and recognition of the need to adapt and reflect on the educational context. However, if we examine the literature, documents and project reports of curriculum development in Africa, we find that they tend to focus on the procedures of writing objectives, content, methodology and evaluation. Though it is true that we are also aware of external constraints such as unreliable data, overcrowded classrooms, lack of materials and qualified teachers, inefficient supply and distribution mechanisms, too little attention is paid to their interactive effects on curriculum change.

From September 1984 to December 1986, I worked as a curriculum adviser to the Somali Language department at the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) in Somalia. In 1984, the Ministry of Education initiated a new primary school curriculum reform. My main tasks at CDC were to assist the Somali department in drawing up a new language arts curriculum for grades 1-8; to develop instructional materials; to train national counterparts in curriculum writing; to set up workshops for teachers in the use of the new curricular materials; and to evaluate the materials as they were tried out in schools.

During my work at CDC I recognized not only the influence of the educational context of the country on curriculum development, but also the impact of the curriculum development context itself, the institutional context. At CDC there were external and internal factors that directly influenced the content of the curriculum and the procedures of
developing and implementing curriculum. This was something the literature and my training had not prepared me for.

Some conceptual curriculum development literature adapted to field reality of developing countries exists, however, this literature still tends to exhort top-down, ideal methods which are not applicable in the world of the practitioner. The curriculum developer in Africa, or other developing countries, often has to deal with unexpected circumstances and constraints. The field adapted literature might indicate problem areas, but the guidelines for curriculum development that are suggested do not tell the practitioner how to cope with the nature of these unexpected circumstances or how to improvise.

There is therefore a need to look closer at the curriculum development context, to identify the influences and factors that decide curriculum development outcomes. What are the realities, problems, needs and conditions of such contexts and how do they affect the curriculum development process? What improvised or adapted approaches are being used to deal with constraints and needs in actual field settings? There is a need to build on grassroots experience to understand the negotiations and dynamics surrounding curriculum development in everyday life so as to enrich approaches and guidelines to be used in structures of limited resources.
Purpose

This study describes and analyzes curriculum development in Somalia, particularly as it refers to the Somali Language department at CDC. The purpose is to illustrate curriculum development reality in impoverished settings and how that reality contrasts with curriculum development models in literature adapted to field conditions.

The initial task is to examine the current literature on curriculum development adapted to field reality in developing countries to put the Somali case study into context and to investigate what guidelines are suggested for curriculum development in such countries. This will provide the framework for analysis of the curriculum development reality at CDC.

Second, the study investigates the background, context, achievements and problems of educational development in Somalia. The special language situation in Somalia is also described and analyzed. Both aspects are important in order to understand the country's educational context and the curriculum development situation in Somalia.

The description and analysis of curriculum development in the Somali Language department describes in detail the practical realities of curriculum development under constraining circumstances--"tell it how it is"--and analyze the reasons--"why it is." It presents the daily reality in CDC and identifies some of the factors that influenced curriculum development work in the Somali Language department. It also contrasts the curriculum development procedures at CDC against the curriculum development model suggested by the literature, and analyzes the reasons
for the differences in approaches. The study concludes with an analysis of the adequacy of present field-adapted literature, suggestions of needs and directions for future curriculum development research, considerations that should be made by curriculum planners and practitioners and recommendations for donor agencies.

**Design and Methodology**

The procedures for the research included a critical literature review and a case study of the Somali Language department at the Curriculum Development Center in Somalia:

**Literature Review**

Two areas of literature were reviewed for the study. The literature review included field-adapted curriculum development research, and Somali language and educational development research. The review of the curriculum development research presents the state of the art of literature on curriculum development adapted to African field reality. It also provides the framework for an analysis of to what extent field-adapted theoretical literature matches the reality of curriculum development in impoverished settings. The review of literature on educational development and Somali language issues analyzes the general context of education in Somalia and identifies particular problems and issues pertaining to curriculum development in that country.
Case Study

The field study was conducted over a thirty-one month period from September 1984 through December 1986. The field study was conducted at the Somali Language department at CDC, Somalia. CDC is a department under the Ministry of Education, and is responsible for reviewing, planning, implementing and evaluating the curricula of the nation's primary and secondary schools. In 1984, a decision was made to establish a new curricular strategy to arrest the decline in educational standards. The new strategy would focus on making education more relevant to the Somali environment and providing basic life skills.

Since so little empirical research has been done in the field of curriculum development in Africa and since there is a lack of knowledge of relevant variables or categories operating in these circumstances, I chose an exploratory, qualitative, ethnographic approach. The lack of knowledge of the field made it necessary to look at the situation holistically, at the functioning day-to-day reality of the setting over a period of time, in order to gain firsthand knowledge and understanding of the context in which curriculum development occur.

The focus on a representation of what was happening stressed the need for "getting close to the data." Methodologically this means, according to John Lofland,

1) getting close to the people being studied through attention to the minutia of daily life, through physical proximity over a period of time, and through development of closeness in the social sense of intimacy and confidentiality; 2) being truthful and factual about what is observed; 3) emphasizing a significant amount of pure description of action, people, activities, etc.; and 4) including as data direct quotations from participants as they speak and/or from whatever they might write. "The commitment to get close, to be factual, descriptive, and quotive, constitutes a significant commitment to represent the participants in their own terms" (1971, p.4).
For over two years I worked and participated in the daily life and activities at CDC, at the same time I was a foreigner with a different experience and different perspectives which made me an "outsider."

Hence, the research methodology I chose to get close to the data was participant observation, a strategy that invokes a combination of observing, informal interviewing and program document analysis.

I collected data through personal eye-witness observations and recorded in a field diary behaviors and events as they occurred. I kept a personal journal where I noted personal feelings, impressions, insights and behavior which I also used as a data source. In addition I collected data through informal conversational interviews as part of normal interaction and on-going work. I also relied heavily on conversations with two close Somali friends and colleagues who provided perceptions and understanding of what was happening. The reason I used open-ended interviews was that interviews in response to events or situations provided information in the participants' own natural language and within their own value and belief systems. My hope was "to avoid predetermining subjects' responses and, hence, their 'views' of reality" (Merriam & Simpson, 1984, p. 93). The observations and interviews were supplemented with internal CDC records of activities, samples of curriculum products, government documents and reports by international agencies.

After information had been collected from the various sources I first converted the field data into preliminary categories and then prioritized and labeled the content of the categories. The categories of analysis that emerged from the data analysis, indicated three areas of investigation for the case study: a contextual description of the daily life at 16
CDC, factors that influenced curriculum development work in the Somali Language department, and a descriptive-analytical comparison between a theoretical curriculum development model and CDC field reality. The study concludes with suggestions for revision of field-adapted curriculum development literature and research, considerations that should be made by curriculum institutions working under constraining circumstances and recommendations for funding agencies.

Definitions

Participant observation is defined as research that combines direct participation and observation, information gained from informal natural interviews, document analysis and introspection.

Curriculum is defined as those aspects of life, knowledge, attitudes and values selected from the total culture of a society for assimilation and adaptation to future generations within the structure of educational systems. The selection from the culture is based on three factors: 1) what is regarded as educationally worthwhile; 2) what is regarded as relevant; and 3) what is regarded as teachable (D'Hainaut & Lawton, 1981).

Curriculum development is defined as the procedures of writing instructional objectives, content, learning materials, teaching strategies and evaluation, as well as the processes, the structure, the interactions and the dynamics that surround curriculum construction.

As used here, the curriculum development context is the curriculum development institution, its leadership, traditions, activities, human
and financial resources as well as the external factors that directly influence curriculum processes and outcomes.

Clarifications and Limitations

Connelly and Elbaz (1980) classify the substance of curriculum into four main topics: 1) curriculum making, or curriculum development; 2) curriculum managing, frequently focusing on administrative and implementation problems; 3) the study of the curriculum, essentially meaning the rules and methods for curriculum research; and 4) the nature of the curriculum, which deals with views of subject matter, content, disciplines, children, etc. This study will focus mainly on curriculum development, but since it is based on a case study dealing with curriculum development of the Somali language, it will also to some extent treat views of subject matter.

Studies of curriculum development can adopt different points of views. They can be written from the aspects of foundation fields, subject matter disciplines or personal experience. This study will use personal experience as guidance for the insights and analysis of the research.

The research situation in Somalia is characterized by a paucity of written materials. Since the country so recently got a written language, there is also a lack of standard works in Somali. Therefore, references to written materials originating in Somalia will be limited.

Statistical data in Somalia are uneven and difficult to obtain. The statistical data contained in this study will be based on those local
sources regarded as the most reliable, but in many cases the figures are mere estimates.

The method of using participant observation and the commitment to closeness to the data leans heavily on personal interpretation and thereby the notion of subjectivity. Subjectivity based on careful systematic observation is not necessarily a negative force since "understanding in its broadest sense requires getting close enough to the situation to gain insights into mental stages" (Patton, 1975, p. 25). However, I take full responsibility for the interpretations of the CDC case study. The reality I describe is my perceived reality.

Organization

Following this introductory chapter, the study is divided into two main parts. Part One, the literature review, includes Chapters II, III and IV. The literature review provides the background and the framework for an analysis of the adequacy of field-adapted literature to curriculum development realities and examines the educational context of Somalia. Part Two, the case study, includes Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII. The case study provides a description of the work situation at CDC in Somalia, an analysis of the factors that influenced curriculum development in the Somali Language department and a comparison between the ideal curriculum models and CDC field reality. The final chapter identifies needs and offers directions for future curriculum development efforts.
CHAPTER II
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

To write about curriculum development in Africa is rather presumptuous considering the diversity of the continent in terms of political organization, economic resources, government structure, culture and social organization. Yet, despite this diversity, there are some common characteristics. The majority of the countries have been colonized by European powers, have struggled to break away from the educational legacies they inherited and have tried to replace them with indigenous, relevant systems. Most of the countries now see education as furthering national unity, political participation and socio-economic development. It is also striking how similar the problems seem to be, particularly in the countries south of the Sahara--unrealistic planning, unqualified teachers, uninspiring teaching methods and curricula which rarely reach out to schools in ways intended by their authors.

Apart from such generalizations, any discussion of curriculum development encounters the problem of definitions. In order to talk about curriculum development it is necessary to know what a "curriculum" is. Curriculum is one of the elusive concepts in education. Every educator uses the term, often in the Alice-in-the-Wonderland sense of, "when I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean." Taba talks about curriculum as "the amorphous product of generations of tinkering" (1962, p. 8). If we look for precise definitions we won't be less baffled. Siegel (1974) found twenty-seven different definitions of
curriculum in the literature on the subject. The concept can stretch from meaning the content of a particular subject to the total program of an educational institution (Kelly, 1977). One useful definition of curriculum, according to D'Hainaut & Lawton, is "selection from the culture of a society" (1981, p. 31). When we consider the variety of people who will define and implement that "selection," we realize that a curriculum can differ even between villages in the same country. In spite of the various interpretations "selection from the culture" can be subjected to, it has been chosen as a definition for this study.¹

The process of curriculum development is no less complicated. Decisions are made by politicians, planners, curriculum developers and teachers as to aims and objectives, content, materials, methodology and evaluation. What starts as a very orderly national plan might dissolve into disorder at the implementation stage when work reality intrudes upon the intention.

Thus, we begin with a concept that is difficult to define--curriculum--and a complicated process--curriculum development, both of which are intimately connected with the machinery of implementation. Furthermore, curriculum development does not take place in a vacuum. It is happening in a certain cultural and societal context which constrains an already complex process.

This chapter examines curriculum development in primary schools, mainly in English-speaking countries south of the Sahara. Most of the sources found on the topic are theoretical, deal with education in a

¹ For a full definition of the concept for this study, see section "Definitions and Clarifications" in Chapter I.
general sense or deal with a particular aspect of curriculum development only. There is further a scarcity of sources dealing with African field reality. Therefore, this examination and analysis use Hugh Hawes' book *Curriculum and Reality in African Primary Schools* (1979) as the central source. Hugh Hawes has worked in Uganda from 1954 to 1967, as a teacher, teacher trainer, inspector, Deputy Director of the National Institute of Education, Makerere, and as Secretary of the Uganda Education Commission. He has taught courses concerning curriculum development in developing countries in the London Institute of Education and has been involved in large scale projects in curriculum development in both east and west Africa. The choice to focus on his book was simple. There are not many recent sources dealing with primary school curricula and curriculum development in Africa. Furthermore, his book deals with basic issues in curriculum development based on his working experience and survey of ten English-speaking African countries, so it has a fairly broad base and is grounded on field reality. The book describes, analyzes and gives examples of the challenges that face planners and curriculum developers.

The discussion in this chapter focuses on five key elements of curriculum development: context, curriculum components, strategies, content and implementation. This chapter provides the background and establishes the basic issues and concerns for examining the case study of curriculum development in Somalia. Unless otherwise stated, the content is based on Hawes' book.

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2 Robert Dottrens wrote *The Primary School Curriculum* in 1962, a book that deals with the situation in developing countries. However, the book was written at a time when many countries just had achieved independence, therefore not much experience had been gained in the field of curriculum development.
Context of Curriculum

Schools are part of an education system determined by a certain political, economic and social structure. Schools are also part of a society which in turn is influenced by an international economic and political framework. The school is composed of students and teachers, both of whom determine the possibilities and limitations of what goes on inside it. Furthermore, schools are set in a certain time and place, and the curriculum is shaped by material and administrative constraints.

This section describes the different aspects of the interaction between curriculum and context, and the influences, diversities and conflicts that make their impact on curriculum development.

Political and Economical Context

What matters for a curriculum planner is what is desirable for the country, i.e. the values of society (D'Hainaut, 1981). These values are usually expressed in political terms. According to Hawes (1979), the two most important political decisions are to decide who will have access to different levels of education and what the purpose of education should be. For example, socialist Tanzania will not develop the same curriculum as capitalist Kenya since their philosophies are different. This will affect content, language of instruction, attitudes towards competition and examination, attitudes fostered in the classroom and interaction between the school and the community.

The political decision to provide free universal primary education now taken by many African countries has implications for the curriculum
planner. The resulting expansion puts a heavy burden on already strained human and financial resources. Presently many developing countries allocate a portion of their national budget that is as high as that of developed countries. Currently Benin spends 36%, and Mali 33% of their budgets on education, but 90% of this expenditure goes to teachers' salaries (Heyneman, 1984: Hurst, 1981a). Consequently there is not much left for books, chalk, furniture and other necessary equipment. Still, social demand makes many governments take decisions they really cannot afford. The result is that many educational plans cannot be fully implemented. A contributing factor is the political instability and uncertainty in many African countries which does not foster a climate where political leaders can look beyond short-term goals (McCaig, 1981; Thompson, 1981).

External Aid to Education

All the East African countries have suffered from continued and unrelenting visitations of "experts," usually sponsored by 4 or 5 lettered international agencies. They usually draw fantastically high salaries and travel on the first-class air fare, international hotel net-work. They do up to 6 weeks visiting, during which they collect most of their evidence by plaguing with pointed or pointless questions overworked politicians and officials. Then, in the fullness of time, they write beautiful reports, the educational ones resonant with all that is best in educational thought from Plato to Dewey. As pious platitudes in peerless prose they are magnificent; as expressions of mankind's highest aspirations they are impeccable. The reports reach a desk in the Ministry of Education as the ultimate answer to all the problems which have been hounding its officials for years. The reports may be read, but they generally join their predecessors on the dust-covered shelves or in the waste paper basket. The official concerned turns with a sigh to more urgent matters, silently agreeing that the proposal in the reports would be feasible only if he had 100 more staff and an extra 10 million

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3 This section is mainly based on Hyden (1983). Hawes does not treat external aid as part of the curriculum context.
dollars. For most of the answers are already known; all that is needed is money and men (Cameron, 1970, pp. 90-91).

Political decisions are also influenced by international aid agencies. Although it may be true that many reports end up on dusty shelves, proposals and funding for educational projects are usually favorably reviewed by the recipient countries.

Developing countries have become increasingly dependent on foreign aid. At independence, foreign aid was seen as complementary to national efforts. Foreign loans and grants are still prerequisites to sustain any significant public investment in Africa, mainly due to the depressed world economy, the countries' position in the international economic order and weak institutional and management infrastructures. Therefore, a great deal of reform activities in education has been funded and undertaken by various international agencies. Curriculum planning is an area where external aid has been particularly influential and critical.

In order to understand the effect of external aid on educational policy it is necessary to look at some of the characteristics of the international aid community. Firstly, aid today is big business. Although less than 1% of the developed countries' Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the capital transfer in the form of aid from the developed countries exceeds that of private foreign investment capital in many African countries.

Secondly, in spite of its modest share of GDP, aid still constitutes a considerable post in the budget of many donor countries. The effect has been a link between foreign aid and foreign policy in that the focus of aid reflects and supports the donor country's general foreign policy. The superpowers are the best example of that phenomenon. The Reagan
administration, for example, gives preference in aid to those countries that are strategically important to the United States. Sweden as a neutral state, on the other hand, does not use aid for any military strategic purposes but instead it favors countries that officially commit themselves to values that are highly regarded in the Swedish society, e.g. democracy, equality and justice.\textsuperscript{4}

Thirdly, since foreign aid is an integral part of foreign policy, it has to justify its existence to its political and financial constituency in order to receive further support (Hurst, 1981a; Hyden, 1983). High expectations must be raised among the constituencies and quick results achieved. In extreme cases, donor expectations can create almost surrealistic results. For example, Hurst (1981a) reports of a bilateral agency which has a reputation of favoring projects which photograph well because of their publicity value to domestic taxpayers.

Fourthly, foreign aid is rarely criticized since there are strong vested interests both in the donor and recipient countries that favor its continuance. Since aid is seen as an instrument of foreign policy, it is assumed to reflect national consensus in the donor countries and therefore seldom disputed. To recipient countries the benefits of aid are too important to invite any serious criticism.

Finally, international agencies are in theory supposed to respond to official requests from the developing countries. In practice, donors play an active role in identifying and designing suitable projects.

\textsuperscript{4} H.M. Phillips, in his book \textit{Educational cooperation between developed and developing countries} (1976), claims that there is little evidence that educational assistance has been used directly as an instrument of foreign policy. There are, however, indirect effects.
Hurst (1981a) notes that the amount of available aid money often exceeds attractive projects to invest it in. This sometimes leads to competition between agencies for projects with the "sexiest" profile. This would not necessarily be a bad thing. However, it can also result in overlapping, agencies redoing each others' work or simply overloading. One UNESCO official in the Pacific Small Island States reports of a study made some years ago by the central planning office. The study found that 65% of the upper third of the entire civil service would have had to stop what they were doing and be reassigned to aid projects just to meet the demand in the education sector alone (Center for International Education, 1986).

The influence of external professionals on the design of projects is determined by the relative autonomy agencies have vis-a-vis recipient countries. Experts are listened to because they have status and credibility. They are links which can provide capital, fellowships and equipment. Besides, they know the agency's rules and criteria for funding. Having experts draw up requests and plans of operations often results in imposed alien models with little regard for local economic and managerial capacities in the recipient country. Moreover, these experts often leave the country before the execution phase and are therefore not available for consultations when problems arise (Beeby, 1966; Havelock & Huberman, 1977).

When external advisers identify problems and prescribe solutions, certain assumptions are often uncritically transferred. For example, in the 1960s, North American educators brought to developing countries the idea of diversified secondary schools. At that time in the United States, the concept of secondary schools as being terminal did not exist.
Therefore, a wide subject choice, including occupational subjects, was considered normal and appropriate. In developing countries, however, many countries in the early 1960s had a secondary school enrollment of only 2%. In spite of that, a diversified curriculum was supported by North Americans adding from 30-50% more in unit costs (Heyneman, 1986).

Most educational research for development originates in Euro-American countries. Certain technologies or concepts like educational TV, non-formal education or basic education become fashionable. These ideas are quickly picked up by aid organizations. "Ability to establish a new 'fad' is proof of success in the world of foreign aid" (Hyden, 1983, p. 178). Thus, national educational plans in many developing countries have to be adapted wholly or partly to whatever the educational whim is, in order to secure external assistance. This does not mean that everything that is wrong with education in developing countries should be blamed on foreign aid. However, many aspects of it—the faddishness, external dominance, imposition of foreign models—create unfavorable conditions for long-term consistent curriculum planning. Or as an African educational planner expressed it:

When outside aid has to supply 74% of the finance required, planning becomes meaningless and is reduced to a matter of preparing dossiers for potential external funding and of participating in a series of negotiations where the money obtained bears no relationship to what is lost in terms of independence and coherent national policy (Damiba, 1977, pp. 27-28).

In education, a substantial proportion of aid has gone to subject based programs instead of focusing on an overall view of curriculum development—objectives, strategies, content—which is essential for national curriculum planning. Very little training has been offered national personnel in curriculum planning, implementation and evaluation
(Hawes, 1979). Finally, there is usually not much interest in follow up and results (Pitt, 1976). Once a project expires there is normally an evaluation, but no further follow up is built into the program.

In summary, most developing countries today are dependent on foreign aid in some form, to be able to carry out reforms in educational systems. The dependency on aid brings about certain negative consequences. Aid is often offered in piecemeal fashion through various agencies without any prior correlation of national objectives and resources, which hampers long-term consistent educational planning, and sometimes results in duplication of efforts. The life of a project often ends when the money allocated to it is spent, since the project is not part of a long-term effort, and little consideration has been given to its continuation without external funding. Foreign experts and technical advisers often have an undue influence on choice of projects, the choice sometimes being determined by what educational concepts or technologies are fashionable at the time. External aid also contributes to transfer of ideas, assumptions, models and technologies that may or may not suit the local context. Finally, foreign aid can be used as an instrument of foreign policy, which among other things, makes aid subject to donor expectations and approval. Projects are designed or chosen more to please the donor constituency than meet the needs of the recipient country.

**Social Context**

A typical primary school in Africa is a small local school where children are expected to receive knowledge from books. It is surrounded by the community in whose life the children actively take part—fetching
wood and water, looking after siblings, selling at the market, participating in ceremonies and playing.

According to Hawes (1979), two generalizations can be made about the social contexts of primary schools. The first is the inequality of educational opportunities between these contexts, which he claims is greater than between the primary schools themselves. A child growing up in a deep rural community, preoccupied with survival, will be perceptually and cognitively disadvantaged compared to a child that is raised in a materially and culturally rich environment. The second generalization concerns the separation between the school and the community it serves. This relationship, Hawes notes, is often based on mutual consent, despite curriculum developers' attempts to integrate the two and claims from headmasters and teachers that integration and cooperation exist. The teacher appreciates the status, order and security of what goes on in the classroom—facts, figures, writing, tests—and the parents accept and sometimes value the idea that it is separate from village life. As long as primary education is seen as an avenue to secondary and higher education, changes in curriculum towards greater integration between school and community will be fruitless. With the introduction of universal primary education in more and more countries, however, the reality of primary education as terminal education might lead to a change of this attitude.

Children in school. One of the neglected areas in curriculum planning is enrollment patterns in schools, although their effects on material development and choice are quite evident. A combination of some or all of the following considerations would effect curriculum planning:
- early or later age of entry
- mixed or homogeneous age groups
- high or low - drop-outs
- repeating
- transfers in from other schools
- homogeneous or mixed language or ethnic groups
- sex equality or sex imbalance
- high or low numbers in class
- high, low, regular or irregular attendance at school (Hawes, 1979, p. 14)

In many lower primary school classrooms in Africa, for example, we find not only children of the "right" age but also "over-age" children and very young ones. Lesotho has an entry age of 6-7 years. Of the almost 24,000 boys enrolled in 1975, 5,732 were under 6 years, while 9,018 ranged from 8-20 years and over (Mohapeloa, 1982).

The class sizes will vary from very big in urban areas to very small in deep rural areas. Almost without exception there will be fewer girls than boys in the classes. Less than half of the girls in Africa are enrolled and even less get a complete primary education (UNESCO, 1983).

Attendance will be sporadic particularly in rural areas where children are needed for seasonal work or moving with the herds. Children drop out in high numbers. It is estimated that one out of two children in developing countries does not complete primary education (UNICEF, 1984a). Repeating is very common, particularly among children of certain social classes, as a means to gain entrance to secondary school. In Kenya, for example, experience has shown that in order to get a secondary school place, classes must be repeated and the final examination taken two or three times (King, 1977).

Available statistics do not reflect actual conditions in schools. On forms sent to planning divisions, entry age will be filled out as six or seven, irrespective of actual age. There is a wide gap between registra-
tion and actual student attendance. Attendance figures are also sometimes doctored. When automatic promotion rules exist to curb repeating, the repeating figures will be inaccurate because children will use different names. In addition, enrollment figures tend to average out differences, for example in class sizes, thereby hiding the fact that some teachers have to handle extremely large classes.

The varied enrollment patterns, in addition to differences in background, language, perceptual and cognitive development, are seldom taken into consideration when curricula are planned. Instead most curricula in Africa are designed for an ideal situation where children enter at the age of six, are relatively homogeneous, represent an equal sex balance, attend regularly, and seldom repeat or drop out. The reality of the situation, Hawes points out, emphasizes two needs: first of all a need for greater awareness and concern for the diverse learning groups and their level of understanding; secondly, certain flexibility in plans, design and application of learning materials.

The teachers. Beeby in his book The Quality of Education in Developing Countries (1966), selects the teacher as the key to changes in the classroom. The quality of education depends largely on the quality of the teacher.

In the past, the teacher in Africa was a person with status. He or she was the only educated person in the society. With increasing literacy the teachers lost their superiority and prestige they had held in an illiterate community (Castle, 1966; Dottrens, 1962). After independence, many saw the teaching profession as a stepping stone to more attractive jobs in the government and in business. "People joined
the profession to get out of it" (Cameron, 1970, p. 77). Today teaching is among the least attractive professions for many reasons. The pay is meager, the job has low social status, teachers' working conditions are usually very poor, particularly in rural areas. They are under-valued, seldom encouraged and there is little possibility for professional growth or advancement (Hawes, 1972; Hurst, 1981b; UNICEF, 1984a). The young people who join the profession do so not because they want to teach but often because they have failed to become selected for further education. Their choice is a second-best choice until a better rewarded opportunity comes along (Thompson, 1981). Therefore, the teachers are not the elite of their generation. The teaching profession has become, in Hurst's harsh words, "a dumping ground for under-achievers" (1981b, p. 190).

Due to rapid primary education expansion there are now many untrained and inadequately trained teachers in the school systems. Teachers who have themselves only finished the first level of education teach in primary schools (UNICEF, 1984a). It is not uncommon to find most of the unqualified or untrained teachers at grade 1-2 level where important foundations are laid and where the highest teaching skills are needed (Castle, 1966). There are also great variations between teachers' training and qualifications in different regions of a country and in rural and urban areas.

As a result of low social status, low pay and inadequate professional competence, the teachers' morale is generally low. They lack confidence and are poorly motivated to change familiar teaching practices or to put in extra time or work suggested by curriculum makers (Hurst, 1981b; Thompson, 1981).
In contrast to Beeby, Hawes (1979) suggests that teacher education and paper qualifications might have less impact on the quality of teaching than personal maturity and interest in children. A certified teacher who is drunk and disillusioned or who spends most of his/her time driving a taxi or pursuing further qualifications is no asset to children, while a person with less paper qualifications but greater personal maturity and responsibility is. Hawes also stresses the importance of providing teachers with opportunity for professional growth and survival. Curriculum development is a meaningless exercise unless teachers are physically present in schools and interested enough at least to consider change. Although there are many examples of heroic efforts, there are also many schools where these two minimum conditions cannot be met.

Not only are teachers parts of the social context of curriculum development, but also supervisors, inspectors, administrators and managers. They are in different ways also involved with curriculum selection and implementation. Ideally they would be equally interested in and concerned with the quality of education in primary schools. However, as Hawes notes, they are preoccupied with other administrative matters, irrelevancies or conflicts. They might also lack understanding or be disinterested or corrupt. Inspectorates and supervision might be seriously understaffed. Whatever the situation is, it is very important to understand the potential role they can play. They can discourage and dampen the spirit of an innovative teacher, on the other hand they can provide the field support that is absolutely necessary for any successful curriculum change.
Material Context

Schools are situated in varied environments. These different environments provide advantages and disadvantages. Hawes identifies the rural environment as particularly disadvantageous for children. It is less rich in human resources and things which are useful for formal education, such as straight lines, angles and congruent objects. Furthermore, syllabuses, content, materials, examinations are usually developed by middle-class urban curriculum developers who sometimes lack knowledge of or sensitivity to less prosperous environments. There is also the problem of including concepts that might be unfamiliar to rural children. For example, in an early draft in a primary school syllabus in Kenya, four areas of interest were identified: the post office, the railway station, the game park and the coast. Although most rural areas don’t have any of these resources, topics and concepts have to be introduced that might be unknown to most rural children. Mathematics, science and language programs have to suggest the use of waste materials such as bottle tops, cartons, and tins knowing that they might be unavailable or have cash value. The programs have to do that because a national curriculum cannot be adapted to fit every isolated rural school. On the other hand, curricula must be developed with poor schools in mind to a much greater extent than it is presently done.

School buildings and furniture, books and equipment are other components of the material context of education. Few developing countries can afford to undertake any major primary school building programs. The result is a large number of schools in deplorable conditions in many African countries, but also a wide variation between countries and within
countries. Areas like Botswana and Lagos State in Nigeria will have adequate classrooms, desks and chairs, while countries like Cameroon, rural Sierra Leone and Ethiopia will have children seated on the floor trying to write in exercise books on their knees.

Teaching and learning equipment vary to a similar extent. Factors that explain the variety are, according to Hawes: financial provisions made to schools by central and local authorities, type and efficiency of supply and distribution mechanism, differences in attitudes and capabilities of communities to help schools and children, initiative and morale of teachers and the richness or poverty of the school environment. Consequently, there will be schools that have books, natural or self-made objects for use in science and mathematics, displays, gardens and livestock. There will also be schools that have no books, no paper, no maps, no charts, just a bare room and chalk. This is the case in very poor countries or in countries with drastically increased enrollments. These countries spend almost their total educational budget on teachers' salaries and have therefore no money left for equipment.

The ability to maintain and store equipment is also a very important part of the material context. Often there are no cupboards in the classrooms for storage of books and equipment, and the students' books are paper covered and not well bound and have therefore short lives.

Administrative Context

Schools are also part of an administrative system. This system is usually (over-) centralized, typically hierarchical, subject to elaborate rules and regulations and containing large numbers of people and
functions. Minor decisions concerning individual schools often have to be referred to authorities located in the capital, thereby delaying the process considerably. In addition, administration systems are difficult to change and can be barriers to change. According to UNICEF, "some of the strongest opposition to alternative approaches and innovations is to be found in the educational administration itself" (UNICEF, 1984a, p. 26).

**Historical Context**

Educational tradition or "educational conservatism" is a main influence on any new curriculum. In African countries these traditions can be diverse and conflicting. Understanding their effect on learning in schools, curriculum plans, teacher training and attitudes of teachers is therefore important. The following is a very brief overview of some of the main influences.

**Indigenous education.** The strengths, the diversity and the importance of indigenous education has been excellently described elsewhere.\(^3\) The following will only trace some of its effects on the educational situation today.

In traditional societies the elders are repositories of knowledge. This knowledge was passed on orally to the young who simply absorbed it and memorized it. There is further some evidence that looking for a formula, a right answer, originates in patterns of indigenous education. Similarly originated is the belief that there is a certain way of doing things that must be learned, not necessarily with complete understanding

\(^3\) See for example, Castle (1966); Moumouni (1968).
(Cameron, 1970). In some societies, oral explanations or learning imparted by a teacher is considered superior to the written word because it is backed by the authority and wisdom of the speaker (Hawes, 1975). This attitude towards learning --passive, one formula, one right way-- combined with unquestioning respect for what teachers say, persists to this day.

Religious influences. Koranic schools reinforced the tendency towards a passive, memorizing type of learning. Missionary schools--for a long time the only schools in Africa--stressed attitudes valuable for citizenship, such as co-operation, integrity and industry. On the other hand they also introduced ethnocentric moral values and neglected indigenous culture, music and dance. It is noticeable how little dance, even today, is part of the physical education lessons.

Colonial influences. Colonial education left two strands of legacies to the primary school curriculum. One was the theory of "adaptation to environment" argued in reports of the Phelps Stokes Commission and the Educational Policy memorandum mentioned earlier. This led to school gardens, practical subjects and local history and geography. The other legacy was the academic curriculum, a curriculum divorced from the daily life of the students, frequently enthusiastically supported by parents and teachers. The emphasis was on English and mathematics, and virtues like neatness and punctuality, as a prerequisite for junior civil service jobs in the colonial administration.

The "adaptation to environment" policy was revived after independence as a means to create more relevant curricula, e.g. in Tanzania, and is

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6 See Chapter I.
currently much in vogue under names like diversified curriculum or ruralized curriculum.

Even if the academic content now is largely Africanized, the style and orientation of the syllabus have been influenced by former colonial education, i.e. its outlook is urban and academic rather than rural and practical (Hawes, 1972). Countries like Botswana, Lesotho, Kenya, Senegal and the Ivory Coast have also maintained English or French as the national language (Watson, 1982b).

**Borrowing from metropolitan systems.** As an extension of the colonial period there has also been conscious borrowing of contents, practices and methods from the former colonial powers. The reasons for borrowing from Britain, Hawes argues, are twofold: British educators introduced what they thought represented the "best" education; and contents and practices were introduced following demands of nationals for what they thought represented superior European type of education.

Some developing countries still take over the essentials of former colonial academic curricula, or continue borrowing. They do so because it is convenient, and they feel insecure and might therefore be easily impressed by what seems modern or new. Also, leaders want to set up a technological society and that forces them to rely on models developed in industrialized countries (Anderson, 1967; D'Hainaut, 1981).

This overview has highlighted some aspects of context--political-economic, aid, social, material, administrative, historical--and their interrelations and impact on educational systems and curriculum development. Information on context is important in any country, but even more so in developing countries where the situation is often more precarious,
subject to changes and instability, and characterized by different kinds of constraints. There are seldom enough financial resources. Political decisions with implications for educational policy may be taken suddenly, or political and economic policies are unclear to educators. External aid sometimes distorts programs and efforts. Teachers cannot be assumed to be qualified, trained or motivated. Children come from very diverse backgrounds. The classrooms often lack the most essential equipment. The administrative machinery seldom functions efficiently. The educational system is further influenced by historical patterns of education. All these factors have to be examined before planning a school curriculum. Planners need to know what obstacles they face in order to choose a realistic strategy. This strategy might turn out less than ideal and far from what textbooks prescribe, still something has to be done. The following section examines the "prescribed" procedures and tasks involved in curriculum change. It does so through a comparison and analysis of two authors' views on curriculum planning, adapted to developing countries.

Components of Curriculum Development

Curriculum changes and the planning to achieve them include a series of interrelated activities both inside and outside the educational system; yet curricula can be said to consist of five components: 1) framework of assumptions about the learner and society; 2) aims and objectives; 3) content; 4) methodology; and 5) evaluation (Eash, 1985). Authors may choose other names for the component areas, order, subdivide
or categorize the elements differently, but basically these components give form to and shape syllabuses, teachers' guides, textbooks, workbooks and supplementary materials.

Small libraries have been written about curriculum change and the processes and tasks involved, mainly in and for industrialized countries. Sources that are applicable to developing countries are, however, scarce. UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) has published booklets called "Fundamentals of Educational Planning" that are primarily aimed at those engaged in, or preparing for, educational planning and administration especially in developing countries. In this section two IIEP booklets on the planning of curriculum are compared and analyzed: Planning the School Curriculum (1977a) by Arieh Lewy, and Planning the Primary School Curriculum in Developing Countries (1972) by Hugh Hawes. Arieh Lewy was, at the time of writing this booklet, a professor of Education at the University of Tel Aviv, and is considered an international authority in the field of curriculum development. Since the UNESCO/IIEP booklets are aimed at educational planners in particularly developing countries, they are likely to be used as references for national and foreign experts in these countries. For example, excerpts from Lewy's book are used in the Basic Training Course in Systematic Curriculum Development, arranged by the African Curriculum Organization in Nairobi. Some of Hawes' writings are also used for this course. It is therefore important to examine their assumptions, approaches and recommendations, with a view to see later how they apply to a field experience of curriculum development.
How do Lewy and Hawes set the stage for the planning of the curriculum? Lewy starts with an introduction to the nature of curriculum development, where he discusses the meaning of curriculum, curriculum centers and their roles and whether curricula should be highly structured programs for the teachers to follow, or be an "open" conception where the teachers are responsible for the structuring. Then he goes on to describe what stages curriculum planning entails: the preparation of the syllabus, the production of instructional materials and the implementation of the curriculum in the system.

Hawes' introductory heading is "Problems." He first deals with the problem of context. Most primary schools are rural; most parents are poor and want their children to get education so they can escape poverty; and teachers, for the most part are poorly educated, inadequately trained and have low morale. The second issue is the existing curriculum in schools--often inappropriate, formal, unstimulating, inefficient and dominated by examinations. The main message is that in spite of many new approaches, programs and projects, very little impact has been made on the primary school curriculum. The reasons for the failures are: the difference in objectives between curriculum designers and the curriculum users, the lack of money and manpower and an underestimation of the difficulties involved in curriculum change. Hawes then sets out to examine the tasks for curriculum change in the light of these problems.

Thus the two authors start out from different vantage points. Lewy's is "academic," with definitions of concepts and functions, not to any greater extent affected by context and limitations. In Hawes' view awareness of problems and constraints is necessary to any attempt at
planning curriculum change in developing countries. Educational planners must stop dealing in hopes and learn to deal with realities.

The following are the major elements of curriculum reform, according to Lewy and Hawes:

**Lewy:**

1. Planning outline
   - Selection of objectives
   - Selection of content
   - Selection of teaching/learning strategies
2. Preparing instructional materials
   - Creation of instructional materials
   - Organization of materials into courses of study
   - Try-out of new materials
   - Modification on the basis of try-out results
3. Implementation

**Hawes:**

1. Gather information on which to base planning
2. Decide objectives and discuss them with the users
3. Work out a strategy for curriculum change
4. Undertake planning, trial and modification of syllabuses and educational materials leading to their introduction in schools
5. Devise means of evaluation and feedback to be undertaken at all stages of developing the curriculum.

A quick glance at both the outlines might give the impression that they are not comparable, yet they are. The authors have only chosen to group the components differently, presumably depending on what they think is important to stress or how "clean" they see the processes. Lewy has chosen to include "implementation" as part of curriculum planning, while Hawes has not. This section does not include implementation as a curriculum component.

**Basic Information**

Before decisions about curriculum objectives are made, it is necessary to gather information about the society and the learner. Factors affecting decisions about curriculum objectives, according to Lewy are 1) contemporary life outside school; 2) the needs of the learner; and 3) the
nature of subject matter. The curriculum planner must be aware of directions of societal change, future patterns of employment needs and requirements of behavioral change in for example, health, politics and social activities. These societal concerns must be primarily coupled with individual concerns, what the learner might need for personal fulfillment. New developments within subject matter—new findings, topics, terms—must be also be identified and considered when planning a new curriculum.

Hawes emphasizes the importance and time-consuming aspect of gathering information, and the likelihood of never getting as much as is needed. The curriculum planner needs: 1) statistical information; 2) information about practice in schools; 3) information about the children; and 4) information about the teachers. Statistical information includes number and distributions of schools and teachers, enrollments and ages of boys and girls at various levels, the money available to equip the schools and patterns of money allocation. Practices in schools involve finding out what the official syllabus is and how it is realized in practice, availability of equipment, language policies and practices and links with the community. Essential but difficult to find is information about children, such as impact of culture on attitudes towards learning, cognitive development, linguistic capabilities and aspirations. It is also necessary to collect data about teachers' working conditions, their academic and professional background, their attitudes towards change, their morale and aspirations. All this information should be collected by different types of educators, preferably principals, teachers and inspectors. In practice it is rarely done because these people do not
have any knowledge and experience of survey methods or field research, besides there are no incentives for doing such work.

Lewy and Hawes have different assumptions about the availability of information and what the important factors that affect curriculum decisions are. Lewy seems to assume that there will be analyses of manpower needs, realistic economic development plans and financial resources; that policies and facts are the major initial considerations for curriculum change. Hawes, on the other hand, stresses the scarcity of information and that it is the people inside the schools—their abilities and limitations—that set the parameters of any proposed change.

Objectives

Educational aims, reflecting national policy and philosophy, serve as the basis for objectives for each level of education and for each subject. They are generally stated in broad general terms.

Lewy mentions two characteristics of the educational system as important prerequisites for decisions about curriculum objectives: national educational aims and the school system itself. Relevant information about the school system includes, for example, its organizational structure, division of student population between schools, selection procedures, differences in financial resources between schools and language policy. Bringing together considerations about contemporary life outside the school and the needs of the learner, as well as school organization and general aims, will provide the curriculum planner with a tentative list of objectives. The number of objectives arrived at in
this way will, however, be too large. Therefore, screening will have to take place to narrow the list. As screening devices Lewy suggests: 1) the values of society; and 2) educational psychology. By the latter term he means using the psychology of learning to determine what objectives can possibly be achieved at various age levels. The educational objectives can then be classified using the three domains of the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: 1) the cognitive; 2) the affective; and 3) the psychomotor. Lewy also discusses the advantages and disadvantages of specifying behavioral objectives in advance. He points out that curricula which do not explicitly state objectives but leaves the structuring of the learning to teachers, have proved successful with highly talented and well trained teachers. His conclusion is, that irrespective of what approach is chosen as to stating objectives, it is desirable that curriculum workers are knowledgeable about behavioral objectives and taxonomic schemes for classification.

Hawes' concern is how general aims can be interpreted and linked with national political and educational philosophy. Countries have to be careful when they formulate national educational aims. Issues have to be discussed and clarified, hard questions have to be asked and answered. After the broad educational aims have been formulated, decisions have to be taken as to what subjects should be included, how they should be weighted and their approach and emphasis. Subject panels should then specify objectives, decide content and consider evaluation procedures. Panels which frame objectives should not be dominated by subject experts from universities or curriculum development centers. They should also consist of teachers and non-educational personnel familiar with the
realities of schools and society, to prevent experts from being carried away by their specialty.

It is not enough to state objectives. These objectives also have to be known and understood by the teachers. The teachers must be able to explain the objectives to others--community, parents and children. The implications that follow from this are: 1) the objectives must be written in such a way that they are easily understood and explained by teachers; 2) the teachers must get an opportunity to discuss the objectives, in courses, conferences, teachers' colleges; 3) since these objectives have to be discussed with and accepted by the community, teachers must be trained in communicating with the adult population. Finally, a balance has to be struck between what objectives are desirable to achieve and what objectives can possibly be achieved, i.e. the objectives must not be too ambitious.

Both authors consider national educational aims as the natural starting point for decisions about curriculum objectives. But while Lewy focuses more on the academic aspects of formulating the objectives--psychology, taxonomies, stated or not stated behavioral objectives--Hawes emphasizes the people who are going to write them and use them. Lewy's approach is theoretical while Hawes also considers the feasibility and practical outcomes of objectives.

Curriculum Strategy

In Hawes view, it is impossible to make a direct leap from objectives to writing a syllabus. Curriculum change needs to be guided by a strategy. Scope, nature and timing of changes must be decided;
administrative machinery set up; financial support planned and initial policy decisions made. Lewy deals with somewhat similar concerns, but chooses to treat them as part of preparation for implementation of the change.

In developed countries curriculum change can be allowed to develop at its own speed. In developing countries, however, this is not possible, according to Hawes. Decisions have to be made about the nature and speed of changes, due to limitations in administrative capabilities and human and financial resources. In an ideal situation there is coordination between those who formulate aims and those who plan implementation. In practice this is seldom the case. Certain educational aims might be so desirable that they are pursued even if they are difficult to achieve. It is then for the curriculum planner to point out to professional and political superiors the extent of the task, as well as trying to make curriculum implementation as manageable as possible under the circumstances.

It is also necessary to decide who is going to implement the curriculum change. In some countries this responsibility lies with the Ministry of Education, in others it resides in a curriculum development center with responsibility to the ministry. Some countries involve universities through their Institutes of Education.

Curriculum planners also have to make a large number of policy decisions in the initial phase of a new project. Hawes lists the following policy decision areas:

1. Curriculum policy: e.g. major emphasis of primary school curriculum? language policy? subject panels? implementation targets?
2. Basic information: e.g. data collection methods?
3. Links with community: e.g. how to create awareness of changes?
4. Implications on building policies: e.g. what are guaranteed minimum standards?
5. Production and distribution of books and materials: e.g. centralized? produced locally or imported?
6. Examination reform: e.g. does new policy necessitate change? effect on secondary school selection?
7. Teacher education and follow up: e.g. need of better trained teachers? in-service education needs? inspection needs?

According to Hawes, the most important ones are the last two, in-service training and inspection, because it is at this level the fate of new curricula is decided.

Lewy identifies certain preparatory actions that are necessary before a new curriculum program is implemented. It is not quite clear at what stage he thinks the different aspects should be considered, but it can be assumed that some of them must be built into the early curriculum planning process.

In order to disseminate and later implement a program, a logistic network has to be set up to ensure that supplies are delivered to schools. Since most new curricula will require additional training of teachers, teachers should be motivated to participate in in-service teacher training. On the whole, teacher training institutes should be involved in program development and try-out. Inspectors and principals should be involved and consulted in the curriculum work from the start, since their support is crucial for successful implementation. Contact
should also be established with examination boards for eventual revision of the examination system.

Both Lewy and Hawes recognize the importance of curriculum strategies. They both emphasize teacher training, especially in-service training as a vital component of any curriculum change and suggest organizational structures and responsibilities. Hawes also outlines areas of policy decisions to be thought through. The fact that Hawes positions "Strategies" immediately after objectives in his list of major elements of curriculum reform might indicate a concern that this element is not considered early enough in the curriculum development process.

Content

Hawes does not deal with curriculum content or methodology per se, instead he chooses to focus on practical problems that might crop up in materials development. Therefore, the headings "Content" and "Methodology" will mainly be based on Lewy.

The process of curriculum development involves making decisions about what specific content should be included in the program. Drawing upon different authorities, Lewy sets out certain principles that should guide the decisions of the curriculum developer. The first guiding concept he suggests is structure of discipline. According to this concept, the curriculum developer has to identify the structural elements of a given subject matter--organization of knowledge, basic concepts, methods of inquiry--to select content. A second device is to list basic themes within each discipline. A third alternative for selecting curricular
content is the exemplar approach, i.e. a single content unit is studied thoroughly as an example of a whole series of phenomena.

Whatever approach is chosen, structure of discipline, basic themes or characteristic exemplars, certain pragmatic criteria should also decide the content selection. For example, whether the selection provides a basis for further education, is relevant to societal issues, include cultural heritage and provides opportunities for various learning activities.

Methodology

After having pointed out that decisions about teaching-learning strategies should precede the development of instructional materials, Lewy proceeds to describe general teaching-learning strategies, their advantages and disadvantages. The seven main strategies he examines are: expository teaching, inquiry learning, small group teaching, individualized learning, learning for mastery, games and programmed instruction. Since certain strategies may be more suitable for one subject but not for others, and since different students have different learning styles, Lewy states that an eclectic approach is often recommended.

Lewy also discusses instructional materials organized into program kits. The most common form of instructional material is a teachers' guide, combined with textbooks, worksheets and supplementary materials. Often materials such as demonstration charts, and slides are also included. In some cases there will be centers which lend materials to the schools. The following are examples of the components a curriculum kit can contain.
**Students' individual learning materials.** It is not necessary to include individual materials such as textbooks in a curriculum kit. Instead a teachers' guide can be provided which gives instructions on how to activate students, parents and teachers in their own materials production. This approach is not only more economical but it will also most likely result in materials that better fit the needs of the students. Another approach is to provide a single kit which contains a variety of assignments. The teacher then distributes the materials according to individual student needs.

Even if the class has an identical set of textbooks, the books may contain suggestions for individual work, group activities, assignments that requires the students to use dictionaries, encyclopedias and maps.

**Teacher's guide.** A teacher's guide is probably the most important part of a curriculum kit. The purpose of a teachers' guide is to give instructions on how the different parts of the program should be taught. According to Lewy, a teachers' guide should contain: an introductory chapter describing the rationale for the program, the pedagogic principles involved, educational aims and specific behavioral objectives. Furthermore, the guide should provide alternative strategies for dealing with a lesson for the teacher to choose from. The teachers' guide should also provide background enrichment materials about recent development in topics like new mathematics and modern physics. To help teachers who want to give additional assignments or need remedial materials, a section on ideas for supplementary strategies is helpful.
Diagnostic instruments. Diagnostic instruments can help the teacher determine whether the student has mastered the different learning units, needs remedial activities or more time.

Classroom equipment. Classroom equipment may contain demonstration materials such as posters, maps, slides, coins, plants, butterflies, insects, stuffed birds and chemical and geological materials. Reference books, documents and games are other examples of resource materials.

Audio-visual equipment. Film projectors, videotapes or records may either be part of classroom equipment or borrowed from regional resource centers.

Instructional materials can be organized in a linear or modular fashion. A linear format of the materials means that all units of a program is following a prescribed sequence. In a modular arrangement the teacher decides order and units. Most textbooks are organized in a linear fashion. The advantage of a modular approach is greater flexibility, on the other hand it is more costly and has to contain a wide variety of materials.

Learning materials can be organized into courses of study following three approaches: subject matter, core curriculum and activity approaches. The most common organization is according to subject matter, although recent trends point to greater interdisciplinary integration. For example, social studies courses now link history, geography, civics, economics, etc. When courses are arranged around central themes like birth control or pollution, programs are called core curricula. In the activity approach, students' interest decide the organization of instructional materials.
Instructional materials can be produced by a classroom teacher who will either work alone or with other teachers from the same or neighboring schools. In most cases, however, a curriculum committee and a curriculum team develops the new materials. The curriculum committee is made up of experts such as university professors, top educational administrators and representatives from various interest groups. They are in charge of policy decisions on objectives or contents. The curriculum team does the actual production of the materials. The most successful teams generally consist of experienced teachers, since they are familiar with children's language and interests and the skills of the average teacher. Guidance for the work is provided by different experts such as subject experts and product designers.

Hawes, in his problem-identification approach to materials development does not focus on how content should be selected and what materials should be selected, but who should select and how much material should be designed. Hawes recommends that subject specialists, working in teams, should design the materials. The teams should consist of a large proportion of teachers since they are the ones who will have to use the materials. Curriculum experts should not be allowed to dominate the work since their passion for certain courses of action tends to carry them away. Foreign experts are particularly dangerous in this respect, but also local specialists--often exceptional teachers--may suggest curricula that won't work with average teachers. Therefore, enthusiasts and skeptics should form curriculum committees that meet before, during and after the materials are produced to achieve balance and realism.
Moreover, panels' demands for design of new materials should be restrained. Materials should be developed with the financial capabilities of schools in mind. Previous books and materials should not be ignored when new books are designed since this demoralizes teachers who are used to them and increases cost. One reason why previous material is ignored is that curriculum developers don't know what is available. Therefore, ministers and institutes should set up collections of produced materials.

Evaluation of Curriculum Materials

Instructional materials need to be tried out in classrooms before they are disseminated into the general education system. Data collected during the process of materials development is called formative evaluation; data collected when the program is completed is called summative evaluation. Most authorities in curriculum development strongly recommend that evaluation should be performed throughout the whole program development process, hence formative evaluation should not be neglected.

Lewy suggests three types of formative evaluation for a program: 1) prototype evaluation; 2) a preliminary try-out; and 3) a field trial.

Prototype evaluation. This activity is used to find out whether a certain type of learning activity is suitable for the students, e.g. whether children will have difficulties in using a microscope. This kind of evaluation can be performed before the instructional materials are developed.

Preliminary try-out. The preliminary try-out is carried out when the first version of the materials is ready for use in the classroom. The
purpose is to find out, for example, what activities are difficult for learners, what portions could be simplified, and where more exercises are needed. The try-out is conducted in 4-5 classes. The evaluation at this stage should rely not only on objective measures, but also on the opinions and reactions of experts, teachers and parents. As a result of the data obtained, materials are revised, and a new version is prepared to be used in field trial. Ideally, the curriculum team should include at least one person who is an expert in field evaluation and who would help conduct the try-out. Lewy also recommends that the evaluation at this stage should be carried out by a person who is a sympathetic co-worker of the team in order to avoid premature criticism before the program has got a chance. If external evaluators are going to be used, their evaluation should be postponed to later stages.

Field trial. After the try-out version has been revised, the materials are submitted to a field trial on a representative sample of 30-50 classes. If the target population is very heterogeneous, a stratified sample, representing, for example, regional, linguistic or ethnic differences, should be selected. Since the curriculum team then often will have to rely on long-distance communication, they will have to use data collection methods such as multiple choice, and questionnaires instead of personal impressions. The purpose of the field trial is to examine the efficiency of the program. The field trial will result mainly in suggestions as to, for example, required conditions for program use, teacher training, time needed and the kinds of pre-requisites necessary.
Formative evaluation of new materials and methods use mainly three kinds of data—judgmental, observational and performance. Experts, teachers, supervisors and students who have worked with the materials can provide judgmental data through interviews and questionnaires. Systematic observation of teaching and learning situations in the classroom provide observational data. Tests of what the students have learned by using the new curriculum materials and methods give performance data. In order to get a full picture of the new program, a combination of the three kinds of data must usually be employed.

Hawes describes the ideal evaluation stages as including: 1) preliminary stage of controlled experimentation; 2) stage of limited implementation; 3) stage of final evaluation; and 4) stage of universal dissemination.

In practice this seldom happens. His advice is, however, to try out the materials in as many different social conditions as possible and in a cross-section of schools, not only in the better schools with the better teachers. This task is not easily done, since this might involve schools that are very far apart, and one of the greatest problems is shortage of qualified personnel who can supervise and evaluate the operation. In addition, transportation is difficult and time-consuming and the language used in schools might not be a language the supervisor understands.

Hawes also warns about the time it will take to carry out the curriculum development process. He estimates the time for properly tested and revised materials to be three years, and more likely four. This estimation is built on the assumption that the writing of the
materials will take nine months, testing in schools a year, revision
two months, and production and distribution another year.

This summary of the two booklets on curriculum planning, which in
temselves are already summaries, becomes necessarily very compressed.
The idea is, however, to give a flavor of how the two authors structure
their approaches, what they prioritize, what they choose to stress and
not stress, and what concepts they use. The authors are both interna-
tional authorities in the field, yet from this brief abstract it is clear
that the world they are writing for looks different:

Lewy: | Hawes:
---|---
Assumptions: | ideal situation; few constraints
Approach: | theoretical, academic; deals with concepts, procedures
Recommendations: | neutral; few recommendations; gives options

situation faced by problems, constraints
practical, down-to-earth; deals with people, processes
gives recommendations based on experience

Lewy writes for contexts which have financial and human resources,
where curriculum models, concepts and procedures developed in the Western
world can more or less be applied. His approach is to outline the steps
of curriculum development without considerations of constraints or giving
any recommendations. His intention is possibly to inform the readers of
the ideal methods in planning a new curriculum but to leave the choice of what is feasible to the planners.

Hawes also gives an outline of the tasks in curriculum change, but he focuses on the problems and constraints the planner is likely to meet. Thus he does not emphasize what should be done, but what, according to his experience, the trouble areas within each curriculum component are. He looks beyond the curriculum steps and procedures, "curriculum change depends on people not paper" (1972, p. 21), because that is where the outcome of most curriculum reforms are decided.

Curriculum Planning and Development Strategies

Institutions for Curriculum Change

The previous section outlined the curriculum components or processes involved in curriculum change: gathering basic information, deciding objectives, setting up a strategy, developing materials and evaluation. In order to make these processes possible, it is necessary to set up a national machinery to promote and manage them.

In the 1960s and early 1970s curriculum change in Africa meant simply changing the syllabus. Aims and objectives were often very general, syllabuses overloaded and ambitious, coordination between subjects lacking, and there was hardly any trial or modification of the new materials. As a result of increased interest in curriculum development in the United States in the late 1950s, these ideas spread to Britain and later to Africa. International projects for curriculum change were initiated and the new belief was established that it was desirable to
engage in curriculum development instead of syllabus change (Hawes, 1979). Initially governments usually delegated the curriculum development task to organizations outside the Ministry of Education, for example to University Institutes of Education or to curriculum development centers.

Hawes gives two reasons why governments so easily delegated this important educational function. First, there was no analysis of the planning and policy decisions involved in curriculum change, the links between curriculum planning and implementation or the costs. Secondly, governments' revenues and manpower at that time were highly committed to quantitative expansion, therefore people were happy to accept the advice of aid donors and advisers which suggested the idea of curriculum development centers.7

In terms of structure and location, national curriculum centers can be organized into two main groups. There are those which can be regarded as autonomous or semi-autonomous, operating outside the immediate control or structure of Education, and those which are part of the formal administrative structure of the Ministry of Education. The following is a brief description of the two types of institutions found in Africa, based on document materials from a conference held in Berlin for African Curriculum Organization member centers in 1986 (Schirmer, 1986).

**Autonomous or semi-autonomous curriculum centers.** Autonomous and semi-autonomous curriculum development centers or institutes are normally run or controlled by a governing board. Members of the board often come

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7 Both Britain and the United States had a tradition of governments not "interfering" in curriculum matters.
from the Ministry of Education, thereby guaranteeing the involvement of the ministry. The board or governing body is usually responsible for the management of the administration of the center. Even if these centers operate independently of the Ministry of Education, no center can claim absolute autonomy since the Ministry of Education will have influence on educational policy, priorities and funding. It appears, however, that autonomous/semi-autonomous centers have the advantage of being able to carry out their tasks without too much outside interference as long as they keep to Ministry of Education policy guidelines. They can, for example, recruit and appoint their own staff. In terms of budget allocations, most centers rely on funding from the central government budget, but autonomous and semi-autonomous curriculum centers have the advantage that once the budget has been passed and approved, the governing board controls it. Autonomous/semi-autonomous curriculum centers can be part of a university, like the National Curriculum Development Center in Sierra Leone, or be an independent and parastatal organization like the Institute of Education in Tanzania, or be semi-autonomous bodies like the Institutes of Education in Kenya and Malawi.

Units Within the Ministry of Education. In the case when curriculum development centers are parts of the formal administrative structure of the Ministry of Education, they function like any other Ministry of Education department. There is no governing board. The centers are usually run by a Director of Education, the Permanent or Principal Secretary or any such person under the Ministry of Education. Staff is appointed by the Ministry of Education which can mean that inappropriate staff is posted in the centers or that staff can suddenly be transferred.
The budget is controlled by the Ministry, funds can therefore be diverted to other government priority areas. Being inside the Ministry of Education bureaucracy often means delays in matters like staff replacement or project implementation, however, one of the advantages is that the curriculum development centers get the protection and support of the Ministry of Education. Their publications are covered by the Ministry, and their programs are sometimes regarded as having official Ministry stamp, therefore they do not always have to seek higher approval and can get their programs implemented more quickly.

Even if the centers are located inside the Ministry of Education, they can still enjoy a lot of autonomy. For example, the curriculum development center in Ghana has full control over its budget and can recruit its own staff. In fact, the conference held in Berlin in 1986 for twenty African Curriculum Organization (ACO) member centers suggested that whether a curriculum center or institute is autonomous, semi-autonomous or an integral part of the Ministry of Education has very little bearing on its degree of autonomy. What is important is the understanding and rapport between the centers and the Ministry of Education. Another conclusion from the conference was that no structure could be regarded as ideal for an effective functioning curriculum center or institute. It all depends on the context of the system in which the center is supposed to function.

National Aims

Once the curriculum development processes outlined in the beginning of this section were under way in Africa, and curriculum development
centers or institutes were set up, the realization came that national goals must be formulated and that this task could not be left to curriculum developers alone.

Hawes (1979) identifies two ways by which national goals may be set and made public: 1) through a political announcement of national policy and philosophy; and 2) by seeking consensus through a commission, review or national symposium.

A well known example of a political announcement is Nyerere's book *Education for Self-Reliance* (1967) with its call for changes in practically every area of the school curriculum--values, structure, content, evaluation. The second alternative of using conferences, reviews or commissions to formulate curriculum policy can be exemplified by the Nigerian Curriculum Conference in 1969 and the National Workshop which followed it in 1971. Representatives had been invited to the Conference, not only from the education sector, but also from many other interest groups to give their opinions and formulate aims. At the Workshop, educational panels met and wrote objectives in six areas of the primary school curriculum, based on the aims set by the 1969 Conference, and produced guidelines for curriculum planning. The approach and procedures Nigeria followed had their faults, for example, a long time elapsed between conferences and reports, follow up and publicity had their weaknesses, and the committees consisted largely of university academics. Still it was a serious attempt to lay a broad base for decision making and to provide instruments for curriculum planning that reflected these curriculum decisions.
Machinery for Evaluation

Any attempt to introduce curriculum change must include means for evaluating its efficiency. There are, however, few evaluation models to help the curriculum planner in this task (Hawes, 1972). Many major curriculum reforms have not regarded formal evaluation as an essential requirement. This is not only the case in Africa, but was also true for Britain and the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The notion seemed to be that any curriculum change must be for the better (Kelly, 1977). Later experience has led to the realization that evaluation has to be an integral part of curriculum development, but it still receives too little attention in developing countries.

Hawes (1979) identifies two aspects of evaluation that the curriculum planner has to build into the curriculum reform program right from the start:

1. Evaluation of the process of curriculum planning and development.
2. Internal and external evaluation of outcomes through the examination process or alternatives to them.

The following will be a brief discussion of some of the main reasons why evaluation has been one of the most neglected aspects of curriculum development.

Evaluation of process. Apart from a theoretical concern about process evaluation or lip-service to the concept, few successful evaluation systems have been established in developing countries. One reason for this is cost. Systematic and scientific evaluations are time-consuming and costly. Often external evaluators have to be called in because the countries themselves lack qualified personnel. Another
obstacle is the fact that educational objectives are sometimes unclear which makes it difficult to see how far they have been achieved. The reason why objectives lack clarity might be that governments want them to be unclear to be acceptable to as many groups as possible. Furthermore, many curriculum projects are put together and implemented on a large scale too rapidly to make any serious evaluation feasible.

In their study of the process of educational change in developing countries, Havelock and Huberman (1977) found that externally sponsored projects could not show a much better record of well executed evaluations either. Aid agencies usually require some kind of formal evaluation in order to justify the investment to their constituencies, but even so, evaluations are often perfunctory, and once external funding is over, so is evaluation. The information for evaluation generally comes from the opinions of officials and experts and from statistical data such as the number of students trained, materials produced, etc. The result is heavily quantitative assessments which may have little relevance to the objectives of the project, as is pointed out in this commentary from a curriculum development project:

This project is judged successful ... but in my opinion it is so on quantity of materials produced, teachers trained and the rigorous speed at which it has advanced. It is very questionable whether the new curriculum is widely used, and whether it actually meets the learners' needs more than the old (Havelock & Huberman, 1977, p. 269).

Both Hawes (1979) and Havelock and Huberman note how seldom evaluations are used for decision making or actions of change. Hawes talks about evaluation as a "libation to the gods," something that is done to gain respectability, but with little intention to make any organizational or financial changes, mainly because changes are extremely costly.
Havelock and Huberman (1977) claim that decisions to start, continue or expand an innovation are not so much based on reading evaluation reports. Instead project directors, ministers or political leaders make decisions on the basis of their own convictions or on opinions of close advisers. If evaluation reports contradict these convictions, they tend to be ignored.

In some cases government cannot afford to fail in their intentions:

... many educational innovations are political acts of faith, that is to say, they are often not politically tolerable as failures and will typically receive additional support and resources until some form of success is assured. The evaluation, then, will tend to be used if it is either favourable or at least aligned with the opinions of key people associated with it, and will be disregarded at least by the same individuals - if it is unfavourable or dissonant (Havelock & Huberman, 1977, pp. 275-276).

This would then partly explain why not more energetic attempts at evaluations are being done or why evaluations are not being used for decision making. Another suggestion why evaluations are being ignored is offered by Hurst,

*Evaluations are all too often vindicatory and propagandistic, aimed at collecting evidence to show that projects and programmes should be continued and replicated, and that those responsible have been doing a good job, instead of detecting what needs to be done differently in the future, or not done at all (1981b, p.192).*

The constraints and problems of evaluation stresses the need for thorough evaluation preparations before passing to action. In contexts of rapid changes and scant resources it might not be desirable to find out and report what is going on; yet it is essential in order not to deal in unrealities. In spite of the many concerns and difficulties, Hawes (1979) finds reason for optimism. African politicians and educators are currently showing more interest in evaluation and approaching the task with growing pragmatism.
Evaluation of outcomes. It would seem quite self-evident that those who are responsible for curriculum design would also control the examination process. After all, who would better know the objectives of the program and hence be most suitable to design the instruments for their evaluation? The reason why these two important functions are not linked is that a machinery for examination and selection was set up and institutionalized before a machinery of curriculum planning and development was established. This division of functions has in some cases led to examinations being more a test of what examination councils think that students should know in order to gain entrance to secondary schools, than an examination of the objectives which primary education hopes to achieve. This is possible because the final examination is often not conceived as an assessment of what students have learned but as an instrument of secondary selection (Hawes, 1972; 1979).

The effect of examinations on curriculum will be discussed in greater detail later; here it is enough to raise the issue of current examination and evaluation policies in order to understand the struggle the curriculum planner has to face when setting up a machinery for assessment hand-in-hand with that of curriculum planning and development.
Curriculum Content

The Official Curriculum

In his book, Hawes (1979) makes a comparison between the official curriculum—what primary children should learn—and the actual curriculum—what they actually learn—since he has found the gap between them wide and disturbing.

One of our common and false assumptions is that the syllabus is the core of the official curriculum. This is not so, according to Hawes. A curriculum includes the national goals, the legal and administrative framework of the school system, official calendars, time allocations, the syllabus with its description of content, official lists of books to be used, and the content and style of examinations used. Further determinants may be policies concerning school buildings, furniture, equipment, content of radio and TV programs and syllabuses for teacher training.

Educators seldom take a look at the total situation they are developing the curriculum for, and the consequence is a wide gap between official plans and the actual realities in schools. There are examples of syllabuses that recommend one type of content and examinations test a different one; of educational aims that stress self-reliance and enquiry approaches to learning while the official syllabus is so rigid and overcrowded that such initiatives are virtually impossible; or cases where the official syllabus recommend principals to buy or use local materials but no money is made available for such purchases or no facilities provided to store them. What is important to the curriculum
committee, i.e. the syllabus, is often regarded less important to principals or education officers who have to face the realities of daily life.

Determinants of the official curriculum. According to Hawes (1979) there are three factors that have a great impact on the learning planned and provided for children: age of entry, the length of time they spend in school and the disposition of that time.

In countries that were colonized by Britain, much of the structural framework is inherited from their colonizers. Thus they often have a three term year, a five day week, a six or seven year primary cycle, an age five or six entry and a forty minute period. Not until lately have these practices been questioned. Thus, some countries in Africa have raised their minimum age of entry into primary schools. If children start school at a later age they will be old enough to take up productive work when they leave school.

A trend has been for some countries to differentiate between a basic education cycle and a continuation cycle, where the first cycle offers basic skills, and the latter prevocational studies and education for citizenship. In most of the countries Hawes surveyed there has been a reduction from eight to seven or six year primary cycles.

Another determinant is the amount of time children spend in school and what time of the day they are there. Urban schools with a great number of children have sometimes had to introduce a shift system, so that the lower classes only attend two-and-a-half to three hour sessions mornings or afternoons.
Structural changes of the school system will affect the official curriculum. A child who starts school at the age of eight will learn faster than a child of five. A child cannot learn the same amount in six years as in seven, or in four hours in the afternoon as in five hours in the morning. Unfortunately this is seldom recognized by curriculum makers. Curriculum content is measured by what is included in the syllabus, not by how much the learners can actually absorb. There has further been a tendency not to reduce the content although the primary cycle has been reduced (Hawes, 1979).

In addition to the structural framework of the curriculum, there are other factors that affect the choice of curriculum content for the primary cycle. The choice of language of instruction is one such factor. In some African countries there is a multitude of languages, and the question of choice becomes very complex since it will not only have educational implications but also cultural, social, economic and political aspects (Hummel, 1977). Whatever choice is made, it is bound to create dissatisfaction among certain groups. Some countries have opted for keeping the foreign language they inherited from their colonizers as a "neutral" language; in other countries some major vernacular languages are used for the lower primary classes while a foreign language is used in upper primary and secondary schools. The position of foreign languages is usually quite strong, since it is regarded as more prestigious than vernacular languages; it opens doors to higher studies and is the language of the elite. The result of this charged issue is that governments avoid issuing any clear, unambiguous statements of language policy (Hawes, 1979). The trend is, however,
towards an increased use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. One of the pedagogical grounds for this is that the ability to read a language is intimately connected with the ability to speak that language. The choice of medium of instruction, whether one or two languages are chosen, will necessarily mean a reassessment of curricular priorities, changes of materials currently used and new teacher training programs.

Hawes also studied patterns of time allocations in syllabuses and found them very crowded. The emphasis was on language (particularly English) and mathematics, while little time was allowed for cultural activities. Practical and prevocational subjects also received modest time allocations in upper primary schools in spite of national and international exhortations of the importance of such subjects for primary level children. Another common trend was a move towards integration of subjects that had previously been taught separately.

Despite the fact that interesting and useful content is now being planned for the primary school, Hawes (1979, pp. 95-100) concludes his analysis of the official curriculum with some main concerns:

1. The content often reflects the experience and values of a middle class urban or semi-urban culture, sometimes totally alien to rural children.

2. The syllabuses are heavily overloaded and exceptionally ambitious in the language, skill and concepts children are expected to learn.

3. The demands made by syllabuses on teachers are unrealistic, for example, in terms of background knowledge, approaches and attitudes and preparation time.
4. The approach to syllabus and materials is rigid; there is little incentive for selection or divergence.

5. Curriculum plans and materials are highly structured and sequenced for class by class progression.

6. Plans and materials are teacher centered and classroom oriented.

7. Syllabuses and teachers' guides show little concern for poor educational contexts.

Examinations and the official curriculum. Instead of being used as an assessment of what students have learned, examinations have tended to become the real objective of education (Dottrens, 1962). The two last years of the upper primary cycle is particularly dominated by preparation for the final examinations that the students will take. The teaching and learning is determined by whether or not the information is going to be asked in the examination. Teachers may not have a syllabus for the primary school, but they will most likely have copies of previous final examinations (Hawes, 1979). The emphasis on teaching for the examination stems from the fact that examination results are regarded not as evaluation of learning but as passports to secondary education which in turn will qualify the students for opportunities of better jobs and a brighter future (Dore, 1976). Tradition equates secondary entrance "successes" with teachers' performance, consequently teachers continue to teach for examinations, an act which coincides with the interests of the students and the parents.

Hawes in his examination of the ten English-speaking African countries, notes the following findings:
1. Examinations are heavily weighted towards language and mathematics; in most cases English language papers were more heavily weighted than vernacular languages.

2. Skills of English language are also necessary in other parts of the examination, e.g. in mathematics, science, social studies.

3. Certain subjects in the primary school curriculum are not covered by examinations, e.g. practical and cultural subjects.

4. Those who set the examinations might not have experience of primary schools or their curriculum.

5. Examinations are designed to secure easy marking, e.g. multiple choice questions are highly favored.

6. All examinations are competitive.

The effects of the examination on the primary school curriculum are enormous. For example, discovery methods recommended in mathematics and science are regarded as a waste of time if examinations concentrate on general rules and definitions which can be learned by heart. Interest in writing skills wanes since students only have to check off a right answer in examinations. Construction of graphs and geometric figures in mathematics are no longer important since the figures will be provided in the examinations and the students have to choose between alternatives. A further effect of the way examinations are set and marked is that questions based on students' local environment cannot be included and therefore environmental studies will be neglected.

The tendency of using multiple choice questions in examinations not only limits the scope of the subject matter but also the range of skills that can be tested. Test papers will favor memory and recall of facts.
over understanding, analysis, creativity and problem solving skills. Curricula that emphasize the latter skills will therefore stand little chance as long as the format and content of examinations remain what they are.

According to Hawes, there is an expressed concern among educators in Africa over the efficiency and the effects of examinations on curricula and learning. The majority realizes that it is impossible to abolish them totally, therefore steps are being taken to improve their efficiency and limit their effect on the curriculum. A first step has been to review and improve the test papers. Other countries have reconsidered the role of examinations as a selection instrument for secondary schools. Tanzania, for example, combines teachers' reports and cumulative records of performance with examination marks to de-emphasize the importance of final examinations and change the pattern of secondary school selection.

This section has discussed the influences underlying decisions and choices which have to be made concerning the official curriculum. The following section will briefly discuss what determines the actual curriculum practices in African primary schools.

The Actual Curriculum in Schools

It has been pointed out earlier that there is a wide gap between the official curriculum and actual curriculum practices in schools. The official curriculum provides purposes and plans of learning. What goes on in schools can be something totally different—intentionally or unintentionally so. In fact, actual practices might be more realistic than the plans dreamed up by ministries and curriculum committees.
Too broad generalizations about the differences should, however, be avoided since there is an enormous variety of actual practices in African primary schools (Hawes, 1979). There are creative activities going on in schools with inspiring resourceful teachers who have not become discouraged despite very difficult circumstances. There are also examples of dull meaningless lessons in schools with teachers who have more or less given up in face of the difficulties. Although the gap between official and actual curriculum differs in nature and extent, Hawes offers the following generalizations:

Time allocations. The time schools have at their disposal is less than the time allocated in curriculum plans. Terms begin leisurely, weeks are set aside for examinations, there are unexpected holidays and festivals, and students are asked to parade or help with community work. Then there are the absences of teachers, e.g. to collect salaries, to mark and supervise examinations or to tend to sick children or relatives. Since syllabuses and teachers' guides are planned for full time allocation, the result is that their content will never be fully covered.

Language of instruction. Irrespective of official language policy, schools tend to choose their own medium of instruction. One of the factors that will influence that choice is what language will further secondary school entrance. However, the main decisive factor is what helps the child in learning and the teacher in instructing, with the result that lessons sometimes will be carried on in two or three languages.

Basic skills. Although the syllabus may be designed to give an all-round education, schools prioritize two subjects: language and
mathematics. Hawes finds these priorities quite sensible since teaching the 3R's is what schools can do best.

Preparation for examinations. The extent to which examinations dominate selection of subject, content and methodology has been discussed previously. This practice will continue as along as the economic and social structures of African societies reward higher certificates with better jobs, prestige and income. Even if the importance of final examinations has decreased in later years, still other types of examinations take up a considerable amount of time—a rather meaningless exercise since few teachers know how and why and when to test.

Survival teaching. Sengova (1982) in her study of primary school curriculum policies and implementation practices in Sierra Leone, found that variations of the official curriculum were also influenced by certain realities within classrooms or school settings. These realities ranged from the professional incompetence of the teacher to the lack of basic instructional and physical facilities. In order to "survive," teachers adopted various kinds of coping mechanisms which manifested themselves in switching between the official curriculum and what Sengova labels a "private" curriculum. She also found that what to teach and how to teach were not the most crucial problems, but rather the material constraints such as lack of books, desks, classroom space, teaching aids, etc.

In order to get a flavor of the classroom realities, consider the following description of a teaching situation in a classroom housing five classes and four teachers in the same room.
In class III, the subject on the time-table was English Activities. After about ten minutes of sitting and staring and enjoying the singing of "Where is Tommy Thumb" coming from the infant section, class III is finally rescued when the class one teacher comes over and draws lines on the blackboard for writing. After spending about ten minutes drawing lines, he puts the writing exercise on the blackboard.

"Here is a tree in the compound of the school" was written out. The teacher then asked the children to read it aloud, and to list new words, which were "Tree", "Here", "Compound". Children were then asked to translate the word "Here" into Mende and Temne. Hands went up for volunteers, but this lasted only a few seconds. The teacher then asked pupils to copy out writing in their notebooks, and he returned to his class I where the singing was kept going by the class II teacher.

Meanwhile, the class IV and V teacher was trying to teach science to 19 children, and apart from the drawing of a bean seed on the blackboard, which the children had copied into their books or on pieces of paper, nothing much could be achieved, because of the roaring noise coming from class I and II. Her frustration was amplified when class III, left unattended and with little motivation to write out a dreary little sentence over and over, resorted to creating their own entertainment.

Finally, the class IV and V teacher asked the class I teacher to take care of class III. This helped the situation temporarily, because the infant section also reacted to this warning and the singing subsided.

The class I teacher returned to class III with the apparent intention of going over the writing exercise, but reconsidered and decided instead to send them out for five minutes break while he then returned to class I and II. Meanwhile, the class II teacher, started the first lesson of the day that did not involve singing (Sengova, 1982, pp. 240-241).

Hawes suggests that unless curriculum workers become more aware of the aspirations, capabilities and limitations of schools and the people who work in them, and unless syllabuses are made more flexible to suit different kinds of people in different contexts, the gap between central plans and local realities will remain wide. As the situation is now, official curricula are unattainable to the average teacher in the average school.
More often than not, the task was considered complete when the plan was drawn up ... The sad and alarming truth is that a substantial portion of educational plans never went beyond the paper on which they were written or printed. A further portion did make it to the stage of implementation, but was, in the process, altered or watered down beyond recognition (Weiler, 1978, p. 253).

The literature on educational reform indicates that most proposals for educational change are never implemented. The list of reasons is lengthy. Failures can be due to lack of communication between planners and those who are responsible for the implementation; to attitudes and competence of officials; to neglect of inviting participation and involvement of groups and individuals at different levels and stages of implementation; to an unstable political environment; to lack of understanding and co-ordination between different professional groups taking part in the educational reform; and to lack of time, financial and material resources (McCaig, 1981).

According to Hawes (1979), curriculum implementation is a long, slow and complicated task involving certain related steps: dissemination of ideas in order to prepare people for change; an implementation strategy based not on wishful thinking but on practical realities; an implementation process involving not only the introduction of the new educational practices but also their consolidation and continuation; and some form of planned evaluation. Hawes groups these implementation tasks into two main processes: 1) changing people's attitudes; and 2) providing materials and administrative means.
Changing People and Their Attitudes

Teachers and the community. Among the main prerequisites for implementation are teachers' willingness and ability to change, since a new curriculum inevitably involves acquisition of new knowledge and attitudes. Irrespective of how many new syllabuses and orders are sent out, if the teachers cannot do it or won't do it, nothing will be accomplished. The reason why a new curriculum can so easily be rejected is related to the previously discussed teacher situation in Africa. Teachers are ill-educated and untrained, therefore anything new that might threaten their already insecure status will cause professional resistance (Beeby, 1966). Hurst (1981b) has summarized some of the conditions necessary for teacher acceptance: 1) teachers must be informed about the proposed change; 2) the outcomes of the changes must be perceived as beneficial by the teachers; 3) teachers must believe that the educational change will work in their particular context; 4) teachers must have the necessary resources; 5) the reform must prove to be better than existing practices, not just give more work with little visible result; and 6) teachers must not be expected to cope with a mass of simultaneous innovations.

The other group that affects curriculum implementation is the community. Every curriculum change needs community support (Hawes, 1979). Attempts to introduce practical subjects or an agriculturally oriented curriculum is one example of a reform that has kept failing partly because parents have rejected the idea of education for rural life (Griffiths, 1968; Hawes, 1972; Heyneman, 1986; Hurst, 1981a).
Consultations are seldom made with either teachers or parents with the result that these two groups fail to support the new curriculum.

Information and change. Lack of communication is one of the weaknesses in African educational systems. Principals, teachers and parents are seldom informed about curriculum changes. There are a few examples of countries that have tried to remedy this situation through the publication of informative magazines or by arranging public debates, but they are more exceptions than the rule.

Teacher education. Teacher training is a vital necessity for curriculum implementation since teachers are responsible for transforming new curriculum plans into practice. The previous emphasis in pre-service training has begun to give way to more in-service training as it is realized that this is the only way for professional survival in schools.

In in-service training new curricula are usually introduced by offering a series of courses for teachers that can last from one evening, one weekend to longer residential courses. The length of the course is usually determined by availability of money and personnel rather than actual need, because nationwide in-service training is expensive. First staff for in-service courses has to be trained; then nationwide courses have to be organized for all teachers at least once a year. Heads, supervisors and inspectors must also be retrained. This is an enormous, time-consuming, costly task, especially if more than one subject is to be covered—which usually is the case.

Hawes contends that the effects of in-service courses as means of curriculum implementation are rather limited. What teachers need is support in their daily work in schools. As an example of how this could
be done, Hawes mentions an innovation in Northern Nigeria where they have introduced mobile teacher trainers who travel to schools and help with the introduction of new materials, provide feedback and train teachers. Hawes also believes in teachers' groups or teachers' centers as effective agents for implementation. Such groups are, however, very rare at the primary level, mainly because of lack of support and guidance.

Implementation of curriculum change is also dependent on the training of new teachers. Most pre-service education takes place in college courses. Hawes stresses the importance of close cooperation between curriculum developers and colleges. Teacher training colleges would provide expertise on curriculum planning, act as research centers and be a link with realities in schools. Moreover, primary teacher training curriculum and primary school curriculum should be closely linked. This is, however, seldom the case. College curricula are overcrowded and often emphasizing academic rather than professional content. What professional content is offered is often highly theoretical and irrelevant to local problems. The total situation is further exacerbated by the fact that college staff is poorly qualified and might lack experience of primary schools.

Training is also necessary for the agents who make implementation possible, i.e. curriculum developers, teachers' college tutors, inspectors and principals, but for many of these groups training is insufficient or just not available. Another group that tends to be forgotten are the educational administrators. They play an important role since they control finances, distribute materials, post staff and sometimes plan in-service courses. If they don't understand the new
curriculum they might become obstacles to change rather than assist change.

Since curriculum implementation depends on people, Hawes emphasizes the need for developing a feeling of shared effort and responsibility among those who implement new programs--teachers, inspectors, teacher trainers and curriculum developers. These people also need to be rewarded for the work they do, for example through a viable career structure, so that they will remain involved in improving the quality of primary education. As the situation is now, the promotion system often moves the primary education specialist into secondary education.

Providing Materials and Administrative Support

Administrative machinery. The administrator's role is to ensure that communication takes place, and that the demands for teachers made by the new curriculum are satisfied. For example, teachers should not be posted in locations where they don't speak the language, or asked to teach subjects they have not been trained to teach. Furthermore, constant transfers have to be dealt with in order to ensure continuity. Administrative capacity to deal with these demands appears to be limited. There is little effective communication between people and offices, and often distrust between the administrator, the inspector and the principal.

School buildings and furniture. Administrators also have to plan the building and furnishing of schools. Ideally curriculum planners should suggest what kind of buildings and furniture are needed for the implementation of the curriculum, and cooperation and consultation take place at
the local level in order to ensure that the suggestions suit the means and materials available. These consultations do not often take place and hence many schools are planned and built without the necessary features that are prerequisites for successful implementation.

Hawes (1979) suggests the following essential features for effective curriculum implementation: 1) adequate space so that children can move around and do group work in the classroom; 2) classrooms that lock; 3) large flat working surfaces that allow drawing, experimenting, constructing etc.; 4) large blackboard and display place for children's work; and 5) staff room for teachers. Other necessities could be added to this list depending on local conditions or the nature of the syllabus.

Materials selection and production. The often precarious economic situation in African countries means that they have to ensure that they get the most equipment for the least amount of money. To spend money on books is a popular choice. Some curriculum workers have reservations of the priority value of books though and suggest alternatives such as replacing books with wall charts and cards for the lower classes and use the money saved to buy scissors, crayons, newsprint etc. which would allow a greater variety of activities than the use of a single book.

Textbooks or class readers are usually the greatest item of expenditure. Some countries have started to realize that children can share books and therefore choose to spend some money on other types of graded reading materials. The Kenya Institute for Education, for example, has prepared boxes of graded supplementary materials. In one state in Nigeria, each parent buys a different book from a recommended list for his or her child and the children then exchange them.
Most books are published by local subsidiaries of multinational publishing companies. These books are often colorful and attractive, but expensive. Therefore, Hawes has reservations for the use of such books in poorer countries. What schools need there are simple, cheap, durable books.

Materials can also be produced by teachers and students, but curriculum planners should be realistic in their demands in this respect, both as to available resources and willingness and energy on the part of the teachers.

Materials dissemination. However carefully the selection and production of materials is made, no curriculum implementation will take place unless teachers and students get the materials into the schools. Materials distribution systems in Africa are often inadequate and inefficient. Systems vary in different countries. In Uganda and Kenya, for example, national school supplies companies have been set up. Schools order materials from a list and supplies are (or are not) delivered. In Botswana supplies are handled by local district committees, in parts of Nigeria by local education authorities or state governments. In Sierra Leone basic texts are distributed free to schools and parents are expected to buy additional materials. In other cases parents buy books from a list issued by principals. Whatever mode of distribution, the situation in schools is bleak. There are problems of communication, of bureaucracy, of corruption, of lack of money and transport. Some action has been taken to remedy this situation. For example, in Ghana local textbooks depots have been set up at district level to facilitate distribution. In other countries initiatives have
been taken to allow principals a certain freedom of local purchase. In 1975, Nigeria set up guidelines for coordination between inspectorate, local managers and principal in distribution matters. In spite of recognition of the distribution problems, for many countries there is a long way to any effective solution.

Summary

For a practitioner or planner of curriculum development in primary schools in Africa there is not much literature to consult. The available sources cover general topics such as basic education, education and development, the development of education, education in the Third World, education in Africa (e.g. Adams & Bjork, 1969; Cameron, 1970; Philips, 1975; Thompson, 1981; Watson, 1982), or particular aspects related to curriculum development such as educational planning, implementation or evaluation. There are books on curriculum in the context of lifelong learning which investigate the kind of contribution the school curriculum can make to preparation for future life-conditions, but again they are generally only concerned with certain facets such as possibilities, implications or contents of curriculum for life-long education (e.g. Busshoff et al., 1981; Dave, 1973; Hawes 1975; Hameyer, 1979).

In order to get a total picture of the curriculum development methods, operations and issues you have to look for pieces of information in the general works on education in Africa or developing countries, and in journal articles. Even so, the information is likely to be theoretical. Very little concerns the practical difficulties facing the
planner or curriculum developer, e.g. constraints due to lack of knowledge, lack of resources, lack of motivation, that contribute to the success or failure of curriculum reforms. It seems that these forces are not given full recognition, in spite of their tremendous impact on any attempt at change.

Hugh Hawes' two books (1972; 1979) are exceptions since they are written by a person with expertise on curriculum matters and knowledgeable about the potential and limitations of developing countries. This literature review has therefore focused on the one main source that most comprehensively covers curriculum development in primary schools in Africa, Hugh Hawes' *Curriculum and Reality in African Primary Schools* (1979). The review was complemented by information from other sources when relevant and available. In addition, a section on "curriculum components" was added. This section compared the views of two international authorities, Hawes and Lewy, on what they consider are the tasks for a curriculum planner.

The literature review covered five aspects of primary curriculum development: curriculum context, curriculum components, strategies, content and implementation. The purpose of the review was to "set the scene," i.e. provide the background, present the concerns and constraints, and identify the issues of curriculum development, for the case study in Somalia. In order to understand the case, its strategies and choices, it is necessary to understand the educational realities in Africa. Another purpose of the review was to provide a framework of analysis for the case study of curriculum reform in Somalia. Thus, the
case will refer back to the section on curriculum components to examine to what extent the suggested curriculum procedures were followed.

The strength of main sources reviewed, i.e. Hawes' books, are that they are based on pragmatism and practicality, and that they reflect field reality. Hawes does not minimize the difficulties and complexities involved in curriculum change and he recognizes the importance of curriculum context, people and their limitations and financial and material constraints. He therefore advocates approaches and solutions that are possible, rather than those that may be ideal. In short, he recommends a curriculum geared to educational realities—the social and political framework, finance, administration, material provisions and the capability of teachers.

In spite of his realistic curriculum development approach, what Hawes suggests appears still too idealistic for some countries, particularly those which have to attempt curriculum change with virtually no additional resources. It may appear as if he has pruned the curriculum development tasks and expectations to a minimum, yet there are situations where "minimum" asks too much.

Another consideration of curriculum development which has not been touched upon in the literature is the context of the institutions that are responsible for curriculum development. While Hawes adequately covers the socio-political, financial, administrative and material framework, i.e. the context out there which furthers or inhibits success of curriculum reforms, he does not deal with the context of curriculum development centers. After all, curriculum development centers are the first implementors of educational policy. They interpret policy, write
aims and objectives, teaching methods and learning activities and carry out evaluations. Yet there is little known about what goes on in these institutions. We know that numerous curriculum projects have been undertaken, and in spite of massive efforts little impact has been made on actual school curricula. The solution to this problem, according to Hawes (1972) is a totally new approach to curriculum planning. But who are the planners? They are often the people assigned to a curriculum development center. Their experiences and capabilities, in combination with other internal and external resources and forces, determine whether the advice of wise men and women on curriculum development approaches will be possible.

The case study of a curriculum reform in Somalia addresses this gap in the literature. Through its practical-ordinary curriculum development approach the case will identify, among other things, what is possible in spite of limitations, what intentions fail and why, and why compromises and improvisations are necessary.
CHAPTER III
EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOMALIA

In order to understand an educational system, it is important to understand the environment within which it operates, since educational processes are usually shaped by socio-economic, political and cultural factors. Thus it is necessary to be aware of history, physical and social environment and characteristics of the people before any attempts are made to describe the educational system or to explain its problems.

The first section of this chapter examines the aspects of the Somali society that relate most directly to the country's policies and practices of education. The second section discusses the development of education in Somalia, from traditional, pre-colonial education up to the present time.

Somalia: Historical and Social Setting

The written cultural and political history of Somalia is very much the work of the British anthropologist I.M. Lewis. Most scholarly writings in the present time are based on his findings and reports. While admitting Lewis' major contributions to the recording and understanding of the Somali people's history, culture, social and political development, a number of Somalis will dispute certain of his findings,

1 For discussion of the effect of culture and social setting on educational development, see for example, Kimball (1968).
but until Somali nationals write for themselves, the society will continue to be viewed through foreign lenses. The following section is to a great extent based on Lewis, since most authors use him as a reference.

History

The Somali region has a long history, beginning in antiquity. It was known to the ancient Egyptians as the "Land of Punt," supplying Egyptian traders with myrrh and frankincense for the Pharaonic temples as early as the fifteenth century B.C.

In the seventh century A.D., Arab and Persian traders began to settle on Somalia's coast, establishing towns and bringing with them the Muslim faith. By the ninth century A.D., a number of coastal towns had been established, e.g. Zeila, Mogadishu, Merca and Brava (see map, p. 91).

The point of origin of the Somalis is a matter of dispute, but it is considered that they were in much of the present-day Somalia and in Haud and Ogaden of present-day Ethiopia by the twelfth century, when also the process of their conversion to Islam seems to have begun. The first recorded use of their name, however, did not appear until the early fifteenth century (Nelson, 1982).

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a struggle took place between Christian Ethiopia and Muslim warlords from the Arabian peninsula for control of the Somali-inhabited territory. One of the great Somali heroes of this time was Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim Al Ghazi, known as Ahmed Guray (the left-handed) under whose leadership most of Ethiopia was
Figure 1. Map of Somalia
conquered. In 1542, however, the Portuguese came to the rescue of the Ethiopians and Ahmed Guray was killed in battle.

From the sixteenth century nominal Turkish suzerainty influenced northern Somalia, while the south was under the overlordship of the Sultan of Zanzibar who ruled virtually the whole of the East African by the close of the seventeenth century. In the latter half of the nineteenth century four countries competed for the control of Somalia because of its strategical importance in the Gulf of Aden. The processes of demarcating the frontiers among the competing powers contributed directly to the irredentism that would become the significant political issue in the postcolonial period (Lewis, 1980; Nelson, 1982).

First the British and then the French succeeded in establishing protectorates in the north and northwest along the Gulf of Aden. In 1888 they signed an agreement with each other delineating their respective spheres of influence. Meanwhile, the Italians leased the rulership rights to southern Somalia from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1889 and began to establish a colony.

The fourth power to covet parts of the Somali territory was Ethiopia. In 1887, Emperor Menelik defeated the ancient Muslim town of Harar, and extended his war to the southwest. In 1897, after an Ethiopian victory over the Italian army, a boundary treaty was concluded with the British, in which, according to the Somali view, the British gave away the territory in the north of Somalia known as the Haud which they had no right to cede. The same year, Italy was also forced to give up her claims to Ogaden to Ethiopia, claims which Britain had accepted a couple of years earlier.
The next twenty-three years were dominated by resistance to the imposition of colonial rule through the holy war against the Christian "infidels," led by the first true Somali nationalist leader Sheikh Mohamed Abdulle Hassan, also known by the Europeans derogatorily as the "Mad Mullah" (Lewis, 1980).

Sheikh Mohamed, a religious leader and a poet as well as an excellent warrior, managed to defeat the British in four major battles between 1900 and 1904. He and his followers which he referred to as Dervishes, used a guerilla strategy which completely outmanoeuvred the British tacticians. Only when the British brought in expeditionary forces from India, Kenya and Sudan and received military support from the Italians and Ethiopians did they finally manage to defeat Sheikh Mohamed's forces in 1920.

During World War II, the British defeated the Italians in the Horn, and established a temporary military administration over both the Somali territories, which lasted between 1941-1950. In 1948, the first step towards independence came when the United Nations appointed a Four-Power commission to explore what future the Somali people wanted, and set a timetable for ending colonial rule.

By the 1940s, Somali nationalism was on the rise. The first nationalist political organization was the Somali Youth League (SYL), founded in 1943 with the support of the British Military Administration. SYL campaigned in the south for independence and called for a single Somali Republic.

In 1950, a ten-year United Nations trusteeship over southern Somalia was declared, with Italy as the administering power. By this time civilian rule had been re-established in the northern British Protec-
torate. The activities of the SYL gained sufficient momentum to induce the Italians to set up a Legislative Assembly and a Somali government in 1956, and a Legislative Council followed in the north in 1957. Demands for unification of the two territories and complete independence reached a successful outcome on July 1, 1960, when the UN trusteeship period ended.

The first years of Somali independence were marked by turbulence and corruption in the political sphere, with a series of fairly short-lived civilian governments. Confusion on the political scene reached a climax in 1969, when over sixty political parties contested the elections. In October the same year, the President was assassinated, and when the civilian leaders failed to agree upon a successor, the army, with the support of the police, seized power in a bloodless coup on October 21, 1969.

Under the leadership of the Army Commander, Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre, a Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) was set up, the constitution suspended, parliament dissolved, and a program launched to create a new Somali society, based on freedom, justice, equality and the dignity of labor.

The tenets of the revolutionary system were proclaimed in a charter of 1970, which first set out the principle of "scientific socialism." There was a highly disciplined drive to eradicate tribalism and orient the Somali people towards mass participation in development and social reconstruction. Medical services, schools, banks, electricity and transport services were nationalized. One of the most significant commitments to social reform was the introduction of the new Somali
script in 1972, an act which for the first time made literacy possible for the vast majority of the population.

Under the rulership of the SRC, new political structures were set up at grass roots level, which could provide the channel whereby local communities could contribute to decision-making at the national level. By 1976, President Siyad Barre fulfilled his original promise to establish a political party of mass representation, and announced the formation of the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party (SSRP). A new constitution drafted by the SSRP was approved in a national referendum in 1979 which provided for an elected people's assembly and granted religious and press freedoms (Lewis, 1984; Sheikh-Abdi, 1981).

The age-old controversy between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Somali-inhabited Haud and the Ogaden had never been resolved to Somalia's satisfaction. The reunification of the Ogaden with Somalia had long been a Somali nationalist dream. In 1975, the Somali government recognized the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), an organization committed to the Greater Somalia concept. In mid-1977, WSLF, unofficially supported by the armed forces of Somalia, began to make progress towards that end, and by the late summer they claimed military control over 90% of the Ogaden. A decisive factor in the collapse that followed was the Soviet Unions shift from supporting Somalia to its enemy. With military assistance from Cuba and the Soviet Union the Somali guerillas were defeated and by March 1978 Siyad Barre announced the withdrawal of Somali regular forces from Ogaden. The conflict has since then resumed its early characteristic of sporadic fighting.
Since the Ogaden war huge numbers of refugees have fled to Somalia as a result of drought and war. In 1984 the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated the population in refugee camps to be about 600,000, less than throughout 1979 and 1980, but still an overwhelming burden to a poor country. In order to deal with the situation UNHCR and other agencies have assisted the country in meeting the costs of accommodating the refugees, estimated to be about $120m. annually. The effect of the refugee problem has been a distortion of the national economy. Not only is the diversion of resources costing them their entire development budget, but it has also sometimes meant shortages of food and other essentials (Lewis 1984; Nelson, 1981).

Land and People

The Somali Democratic Republic lies in eastern Africa, in the area known as the Horn of Africa. It is bounded to the east and north by the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, and to the west by Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. Somalia covers an area of 640,000 square kilometers, roughly the size of the state of Texas, and has a coastline of 3,200 kilometers. There are few large towns. Mogadishu, the capital, had an estimated population of 700,000 in 1984 (UNDP, 1985).

Most of the country is sparsely-populated arid semi-desert or scrubland and savannah, only suited to the migrations of pastoral nomads and their camels, sheep and goats. There are only two permanent rivers in the country, the Juba and the Shabeelle in the south. The land between the two rivers is the most fertile in the country and constitutes a zone of mixed cultivation and pastoralism (Lewis, 1984; Somalia, 1978).
Almost all Somalia is dry and hot, with a rainfall that rarely exceeds 500 millimeters per year. Drought is a constant threat and severe droughts occur roughly every generation. The worst recorded drought in Somalia's history was in 1974-75. The climate is a major determinant of Somali life. The time of arrival and amount of rainfall decide whether grazing will be adequate for their livestock.

Somalia is one of the world's poorest countries with a per capita income of approximately US $300. Livestock is the largest economic activity and constitutes, together with the cash crop bananas, the majority of export earnings.

The Somali people are culturally, linguistically and religiously one of the most homogeneous populations on the African continent. The population is presently estimated at about 5.8 million people. This does not include some 700,000 refugees who have arrived in recent years from Ethiopia (UNDP, 1985).

In the early 1980s, about 60% were pastoral nomads or semi-nomadic herders, about 20-25% were cultivators, often partially dependent on pastoralism for their livelihood, and the rest urban dwellers (Nelson, 1982). Even if only 60% are nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists, the nomadic lifestyle pervades the lives of all Somalis. Most people who live in towns have also relatives who are nomads, and they commonly invest in joint herds of livestock.

The majority of the Somalis belong to one of six clan families. Four of these, the Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Isaaq, constitute about 75% of the population and are predominantly nomadic pastoralists. The Digil and Rahanweyn constitute about 20%, are settled in the riverine areas of
southern Somalia and rely mainly on agriculture and cattle husbandry. There is further a number of smaller ethnic communities in the south that differ culturally and ethnically from the Somalis. Their origin is not quite established, but some authorities suggest they are either descendants from pre-Somali inhabitants or from escaped or freed slaves in the nineteenth century. Those believed to be descendants from the original population form specialized occupational groups, such as hunters, smiths, weavers and circumcisers. The largest group is the Midgaan, people who are barbers and circumcisers. Those considered to be of ex-slave origin are mostly cultivating people. The best-known among them are the Shidle, Shabelle, Wa-Gosha and Gobaweyn (Lewis, 1980; Nelson, 1982).

Somali traditional organization is based on descent through males. The descent groups range from clan families to the clans and then to the lineages that make up the clans (Lewis, 1961). Membership in clans and lineages defines rights and obligations; descent is, however, modified by the principle of contract. Contracts unite specified descent groups particularly for blood-compensation (diya-paying groups) in cases of homicide and injury.

Their traditional culture is characterized by democracy and fundamental egalitarianism. Certain groups are, however, exceptions to this equality. The pastoral Somalis feel superior to the sedentary ones, and both consider the non-Somalis descendants in the south and certain professional groups as social inferiors.

The fragmented kinship order also characterized the post-independence periods, with different clans or lineages combining or competing for
power and wealth. After the coup in 1969, one of the first tasks of the new government was to eliminate "tribalism." In the traditional culture, the first question most Somalis asked when they met a stranger was: "What is your clan?" When this tribal basis of identification was outlawed, Somalis, in their true intransigent fashion, began to ask: "What is your ex-clan?" (Laitin, 1976). Despite attempts to rid the country of tribalism, clan and lineage have continued to remain important.

The validity of generalizations of "national character" is questionable. Since there are, however, a number of observers who have dealt with this topic and come up with certain similarities, a few references might be appropriate (Touval, 1963).

The egalitarian aspect of the traditional culture has already been mentioned, a fact that led I.M. Lewis (1961) to describe the practice as "pastoral democracy." There were no permanent chiefs, instead policy was debated in councils where every adult male of a clan had the right to speak at any time. Laitin (1977) cites a more recent example of this practice. When he taught at the National Teacher Education Center in 1969, he was surprised to find the school bus-driver participating in staff meetings and discussing educational issues.

In this egalitarian system every man has a sense of nobility. R.E. Drake-Brockman, in the beginning of this century, met a caravan in Kenya with an escort of natives he could not identify, and the Baganda officer in charge of his own entourage told him: "Somalis, Bwana; they no good; each man his own Sultan" (1912, p. 102). Similarly, Richard Burton noted the pride of the Somalis when he planned his expedition through Somaliland in 1854. He described them as "accepting almost any job without
feeling a sense of inferiority, perhaps because they believe that they are superior to everyone else" (1966, p. 32).

Contempt for other nations is another epithet attributed to the Somalis. Again, Richard Burton had something to say on this: "They are a people of most susceptible character, and withal uncommonly hard to please. They dislike the Arabs, fear and abhor the Turks, have a horror of Franks and despise all other Asiatics..." (1966, p. 90). Laitin describes them as "egregiously xenophobic," only tolerating foreigners when they are of some use to them. Thus, aid organizations are treated with respect at an official level and their representatives accepted as long as they know their place, "but intrinsically they have little to offer the Somali" (1977, p. 33).

While egalitarianism, nobility, pride, xenophobia and love of freedom is drawn from their traditional culture, the Somalis also display a firm attachment to Islam. Somalis are almost exclusively Sunni Muslims, and adhere to Koranic law when it does not conflict with local customary law. Religious principles and traditional practices do sometimes conflict, and in such cases customary practices often prevail. This does not, however, diminish their strong attachment to Islam. In fact, Islam strengthens and reinforces the cultural heritage and nationalism of the Somalis (Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964).
Pre-Colonial Education

Like any other society the Somali people have their own traditional education. The children are educated in the family. The mother and father function as teachers for the infants, together with members of the entire community when the children are old enough to leave the house. The children learn through experience what they have to know physically and intellectually to function as adults in the society.

Rearing animals is their main occupation and economic source, thus, camel-camps are initiation schools for the nomadic life. At the age of seven or eight, boys are sent out with their brothers and relatives to look after the camels. There they are trained to go without water, to take care of the camels—count, water and milk them, to identify the best grazing lands, to take care of sick animals, in short, adapt to living with the herds. In addition they are taught to develop their physical aptitudes through different kinds of competitive games, e.g. wrestling, jumping and throwing spears (Good, 1985; Lewis, 1961).

The girls will help their mothers fetch water, go to the market, light and tend fires and take care of younger siblings. Later they will cook certain dishes, learn to preserve meat, weave articles for the hut, make household utensils and build and dismantle huts as well as look after sheep and goats.

The training is completed by listening and observing the elders at, for example, local councils. There young boys come and sit behind the circular line of elders and listen as elders are making decisions.
Somali nomads make their decisions in a very democratic manner. Every issue is finalized by the rule of majority of the elders of the hamlet. The children have no right to participate, yet they are permitted to listen, and the objective is to prepare them for future leadership. In these meetings speakers support their arguments with proverbs and references to the past. At these meetings children can study the decision-making process, the art of oratory and also learn about the history of the community, traditional laws, and how to manage community affairs. Stories and legends are further sources of instruction in clan customs and the modes of behavior, and riddles are used for intellectual gymnastics. Children in settled areas also learn the skills of cultivation, crop collection and harvesting, and learn to identify different types of soil and do weather calculations.

Koranic Education

Parallel and integral to traditional education are the Koranic schools—the oldest structured educational system in Somalia. There the children are introduced to the values of the Islamic religion and to some rudimentary arithmetic and reading and writing of Arabic.

It is estimated that there were 5,480 Koranic schools in Somalia in 1982, about seven times the number of schools with elementary grades (U.S. Agency for International Development [USAID], 1984). Koranic schools constitute a parallel system to the official education system, since they are privately set up by communities and not supervised by the government. Most of the teachers are semi-itinerant religious men. Only a few of them have completed primary school.
Children begin Koranic school at the age of four or five, and spend about two years there before enrolling in primary schools. They also continue attending Koranic schools after they have joined primary school. Due to cultural tradition, many fewer girls than boys attend Koranic education. Boys often continue until they are fourteen, while girls only attend until they are nine or ten years.

Educational programs in Koranic schools are very similar throughout the Muslim world. The main function is instruction in the principles of Islam and repetition and recitation of passages from the Koran. Few schools teach the Arabic language, because most teachers know only the Koran in Arabic, but do not know Arabic as a language. The teaching methods consist of repetition and memorization of the verses and chapters of the Koran. There are rarely any explanations of content, language or vocabulary: "...what is learned in these schools is the shape and sound of the sacred words, not their meaning" (Laitin, 1977, p. 54). No textbooks are used. Children write on wooden boards provided by their parents.

Koranic schools are the only structured education to which the majority of the Somali population have access. For most nomadic children the Koranic schools are presently the only means of formal education, the Koranic teachers travelling with the nomadic groups. The vitality of Koranic schools is demonstrated by the fact that they still continue to increase in number.
Colonial Education: British Somaliland

Before 1891 only Koranic schools existed in British Somaliland, the year when a French Roman Catholic mission school opened. This school was closed, however, in 1910 as a result of pressure from Muslim religious leaders, among them Sheikh Mohamed Abdulle Hassan, who saw the school as an attempt to destroy the Muslim faith. Mission proselytization was forbidden and opposition to Western education during this period was much stronger in the British Protectorate than in Italian Somaliland. The government also took steps to introduce Western education and had by 1905 established three primary schools despite Muslim resistance and hostility (Kaplan, et al., 1977; Lewis, 1980; Touval, 1963).

The educational development between World War I and World War II was extremely limited. Further efforts at expansion of the educational facilities were hampered by the fact that the British home government refused to provide funds to what it considered one of the least important areas in the Empire. In order to raise capital, tax was imposed on livestock. This led to fierce opposition, an opposition that extended itself to schools, that eventually led to a riot at Burao in 1922 where the District Commissioner was killed. Nevertheless, in 1919 the home government provided funds that would enable Somali boys to study abroad, and in 1929 the government also granted money to some Islamic schools provided that they taught arithmetic and the reading and writing of Arabic. The British policy, however, had little success. In Laitin's words, "the Somalis ... were at least as reluctant to subject themselves to British education as the British were to supply it" (1977, p. 79).
In 1935, British colonial authorities adopted a new plan of education for the Protectorate. A new government school was built in Berbera and the first Director of Education was appointed. Again the scheme was opposed by religious leaders who feared Christian influence, and a new riot occurred at Burao in which three Somalis were killed. The implementation of the new educational plan had to be postponed until 1941, when the British defeated the Italians in East Africa and both territories came under British military administration.

During World War II, interest in Western education increased, at least among the non-nomadic groups. In 1942, three primary schools opened at Hargeisa, Berbera and Burao, and by 1945 seven primary schools, with an enrollment of 400 students, were operating. Nineteen Koranic schools were also given financial assistance. Interest in education continued to increase, particularly among the population in the former Italian territory, in part inspired by the Somali Youth League (SYL). By 1950, two intermediate schools had been established in the northern region and a secondary school was also planned.

In 1953, the first government school for girls was opened, in spite of continued resistance to both secular education and education of girls. The same year, the first secondary school for boys was also opened (Lewis, 1980).

The increased interest in and expansion of educational services led to the establishment of a standing committee on education in 1954. The same year the British Protectorate's first Somali education officer was also appointed. School enrollment continued to rise. The total number of students in 1948 was 1,424, of whom 617 were in government schools and
807 in Koranic schools. By 1959—the year before independence—the number had risen to 7,213, of whom 3,713 were in government schools and 3,500 in Koranic schools (Great Britain, 1960; Touval, 1963). This increase should, however, be compared to the total population of British Somaliland which at that time amounted to about 700,000.

Colonial Education: Italian Somaliland

Apart from the many Koranic schools that existed in the Italian territory of Somalia in 1885, educational services were mainly in the hands of Roman Catholic missions. Although mission education was viewed with suspicion, there was less hostility towards Western education in the South than there was in the North (Lewis, 1980). In 1924, the Italian government subsidized one mission which then organized primary schools for Italian and Somali children (Hess, 1966). The enrollment of Somali children in mission schools was, however, low since Koranic schools were preferred and since there was still mistrust of Western education.

Initially, Italian and Somali children were taught together, but with the establishment of the fascist regime in Italy in 1922, this practice was discontinued in the colony, since it was considered an incompatible relation between the master race and their "subjects." By 1929, Italian and Somali children were, therefore, taught separately. The same year, the colonial government took responsibility for the educational system, but continued to run the schools through the missionaries. The government also subsidized Islamic mosques, shrines and educational institutions (Kaplan, et al., 1977).
Expansion of educational opportunities continued and the enrollment of Somali and Arab children in primary schools rose from 1,390 in 1930 to 1,776 in 1939, figures that compare favorably with the British Protectorate at that time, but still a very modest figure out of a total population of approximately one million (Touval, 1963).

By 1935, there were ten government primary schools for Somali children but middle schools were only offered to Italian children. When the British military administration took over Italian Somaliland in 1941, there were thirteen government-funded Italian mission schools; when they left in 1950, twenty-nine public schools had opened, offering education to about 2,000 students. The first secondary school also opened that year.

Under the UN trusteeship, the Italian government was obligated to establish a plan for general education, including primary, secondary and vocational education. In 1953, a five-year educational development program was launched with UNESCO cooperation, which replaced the mission schools with state schools. Five years later there were about 12,500 students enrolled in primary schools—quite an advancement compared to the 1950 enrollment figure—but still far from the envisioned goal of an annual 22,000 enrollment. Shortly before independence, enrollment had still not reached 16,000. The low rate was attributed to untrained teachers and the fact that students had difficulties with the foreign media of instruction—Arabic and Italian (Castagno, 1959; Dawson, 1964).

The education scheme also included a plan for education of the nomadic population. The obstacles in the form of nomads' constant
movements, coupled with their resistance to change and interference from outside, led, however, to the termination of the project.

Comparison of the Two Colonial Educational Systems

It is evident that education for the Somalis was neglected or ignored during the seventy years of colonial rule. The British colonial interest in the north was purely logistical and strategic. They needed Somalia to supply their garrison in Aden with food. In other respects the colony was regarded as unprofitable. There were few natural resources and the territory was almost totally inhabited by nomads. Moreover, the British never settled there.

Since the territory served only strategic purposes, there was little incentive for economic or social development which explains the lack of interest in any educational undertakings (Touval, 1963). The absence of educational services was further justified by the hostile religious feelings of the Somali population who were afraid Western education would undermine Islam. Also, in the 1950s, there was no outside pressure in the North, in the form of a set independence date or a UN Advisory Council to further rapid educational development.

The Italian Somaliland was more fertile than the British, and the Italians saw their colony as a territory to attract immigrants from Italy who would settle and build farms there. Therefore, the Italians invested more in agricultural projects and private enterprises, particularly during the fascist era. As a consequence, the Somalia in the South were more exposed to European ways. There was further a much smaller population of nomads in the South and more urbanization, therefore they did not
resist Western education as fiercely as the inhabitants in the North. However, there were no attempts at socio-economic or cultural transformation, and education was not used to try to Italianize the Somalis but to prepare them for minor clerical positions in government offices (Hess, 1966). A sign of neglect of education was that Somalia received the least aid for schools of all Italian colonies.

A comparison of the British and Italian education system shortly after independence showed that the Italian school system expanded faster and reached more students per capita, but that the British school system had more students at intermediate level, had better curricular development and discipline and better education in general. Students in the British system were carefully selected and a policy of high standards maintained. The Italians emphasized education for the masses and practiced unselective admission at the elementary level, a fact that led to a much greater drop out rate in the South (76% compared to 15% in the British territory). Schooling in the Italian system was free while students in the British system had to pay a small school fee. School administration in the British controlled area was more decentralized and emphasized local responsibility and control, a fact that might have contributed to a much lower drop-out rate there than in Italian Somalia (Castagno, 1962; Laitin, 1977; Robinson, 1971).

Education after Independence

When Somalia achieved independence in 1960, it inherited a dual educational system, a British-oriented system in the North and an Italian-oriented in the South, which differed in structure, language of
instruction and content. The British system consisted of two years of Koranic school as a pre-requisite for primary school admission, three years primary school, four years of intermediate school and four years secondary school. Arabic was the medium of instruction in the primary school and English was usually introduced in the second year of primary school. From grade five English was the medium of instruction.

In the former Italian region, Koranic schools were not a prerequisite for admission to primary school, and the system included five years of primary school, three years of intermediate school and four years of secondary school. Children were taught in Arabic for the two first grades, and from the third grade Italian was the language of instruction (Robinson, 1971).

Under the unification plan the primary school programs were reorganized into four-year institutions in the 1964-65 school year, and the preparation of a common curriculum started to make education more relevant to the Somali society. By 1967, unified and integrated curricula for the primary and intermediate levels were written. One obstacle to unification was the language of instruction. Somali, which would have been a natural choice, lacked a written form, and therefore, Arabic was chosen for the four first years, to be replaced by English in the intermediate school. The issue of language of instruction remained unsolved during the whole decade since political leaders could not agree on a suitable script for Somali--a Latin script, Arabic or an indigenous script.

After independence popular demand for educational opportunities increased. A considerable expansion of primary enrollment followed, from
about 16,000 in the 1959-60 school year to almost 23,000 in the 1965-66 school year. The government then deliberately held back primary school enrollment and expanded intermediate education in order to strike a balance between the number of primary leavers and the places available in intermediate schools. Thus the number of intermediate schools increased from 4,800 in the 1963-64 school year to 10,600 in the 1968-69 school year. The enrollment of girls in intermediate schools during the same interval rose from 700 to almost 2,200 (Kaplan et al., 1977).

The supply of teachers during the early independence days was inadequate and many of them were untrained. Therefore, the expansion of education and the new unified curriculum called for training and retraining of teachers, particularly at the primary and intermediate levels.

The four teacher training institutions that existed in the country did, however, experience problems with this task. Only one externally-aided teaching center was well-equipped; the rest lacked books, libraries and teaching equipment. Discipline was poor, the morale and motivation among teachers and teacher trainers were low, the trainees consisted to a great extent of those who had failed to get enrolled in secondary schools, or who hoped the profession would bring them scholarships, government jobs or provide a springboard for better things (Dawson, 1964). The result was that a number of schools operated with unqualified and undertrained teachers who were unable to teach many subjects.

Towards the end of the decade, all but one of the previous pre-service teacher training centers were phased out—the National Teacher Education Center at Afgoi (Somali Democratic Republic [SDR], 1970).
In addition to the problem experienced with teachers, the educational progress throughout the 1960s was impeded by shortage of textbooks, stationary and furniture. The problem was partially due to budget limitations in combination with increased enrollments, but also to lack of administrative efficiency (Robinson, 1971).

**Post-Revolutionary Education**

Although attempts were made at improving education during the 1960-1969 pre-revolutionary period, education was not given high priority, the educational policy lacked direction and relatively little progress was achieved. In this respect Somalia differed from other African countries which after independence tended to invest heavily in education as a means towards social and economic development.

The revolution of 1969, brought about several reforms in the system of education as a whole. The aims of the new revolutionary government were considerable expansion of access to education for both boys and girls; the introduction of syllabi that reflected the socio-economic and political realities of the country; efforts to overcome illiteracy; expansion of technical education; and provision of higher education (Kaplan et al., 1977; Somalia, 1978).

The year of 1972 saw many changes with implications for education. The most important was the adoption of a Latin script for the Somali language. Previously three languages had been used, English, Italian and Arabic. The adoption of a Somali script enabled educational expansion at the primary level, and gave the impetus for an education that was truly Somali in character. Private schools, which at that time catered for
more than 21% of the total enrollment, were nationalized. The printing
industry was also nationalized in 1972 in order to meet the requirements
for new texts for schools in the Somali language, and for the proposed
literacy campaigns (Kaplan, et al., 1977). Moreover, promotion from the
primary to the intermediate level was made automatic, whereas students
previously had to pass a competitive examination. From then on the two
cycles began to be treated as a continuous eight-year program.

Between 1973 and 1975 massive nationwide literacy campaigns were
undertaken to teach the population the new script; in 1973 among urban
and sedentary Somalis, and in 1974-75 among the nomads. In 1974, all
schools and colleges were closed. Around 25,000 students and older
children were instructed to set off into the nomadic areas and become
teachers for a while. The results were encouraging. Even though the
nomads were enduring the century's worst drought, about half of the 1.25
million people who participated in the campaign passed the literacy test.
As a result, Somalia was awarded the UNESCO prize for outstanding
achievement in the field of literacy2 (UNICEF, 1984b). During this
period the preparation of textbooks, course materials and curricula also
started.

In 1975, free and compulsory primary education was declared, with
Somali as the medium of instruction. In 1975-76 the schools reopened
with a revised structure. Primary education was reduced from eight to
six years. The rationale for a shorter primary cycle was the strain on
the government's resources and the belief that the use of the Somali

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2 The rate of illiteracy which was about 90% before independence, was still around 88% in 1985, according to UNESCO estimates (Dolley, 1986).
language as the medium of instruction would enable primary education to take place in six years rather than in eight. The outcome was, however, a dramatic decline in the quality of educational achievement of primary school leavers and those who entered the secondary school programs. A decision was therefore made to return to the previous eight-year primary school cycle in 1979. The return to a longer cycle created problems in terms of materials. Since 1975, classroom materials had been developed for the six-year cycle. In order to help the teachers, the Ministry of Education produced teachers guides that would help teachers to adopt the six-year cycle materials to the new eight-year cycle (USAID, 1984).

With the introduction of free primary education, enrollment rates for both boys and girls rose from 78,153 in the 1973-74 school year to 263,751 in the 1978-79 school year (UNICEF, 1984b). During this period there was also a high rate of students completing schooling, and about 90% of the primary school students continued beyond the fourth grade. The reasons for the low drop-out rates were probably a combination of factors such as the use of Somali as the medium of instruction; automatic promotion between the lower and upper primary cycles; free education; and visible economic benefits of schooling.

Primary Education in the 1980s

**Aims of education.** The late 1970s placed a severe strain on the country's resources due to the extreme drought in 1974-75, border conflicts in Ogaden, with ensuing influx of refugees, and another drought in 1978-79. As a result education received lower priority in budget allocations. In 1975, 12.5% of total government expenditure went to
education; in 1980 only 8.7%, one of the lowest figures in Africa (UN, 1986). By 1983, however, enough external and internal stability was reached to enable a redirection from short-term goals based on emergency needs, to longer term goals focusing on access, equity, quality and efficiency.

Of the Ministry of Education's main educational aims, as stated in the Five Year Development Plan (1982-1986), three focused directly on primary education:

- to continue the process of democratization and expansion of educational opportunities through compulsory universal and free primary education (classes 1-8);
- to improve the content of educational programs;
- to increase the effectiveness of the educational process with a view to developing intellectual abilities, attitudes and values, and improving the practical skills of the people (USAID, 1984, p. 1-3).

Another educational aim, "to strengthen the teaching and popularization of the Arabic language," has also an impact on primary education.

The educational aims indicate a continuing emphasis on educational expansion through improved access. Somalia has one of the lowest primary enrollment ratios in Africa. Presently, the primary system only reaches about 20-30%, (the UNESCO figure for 1983 was 21%) exact figures are impossible to ascertain. It is clear, however, that the extensive nomadic population is more or less excluded from formal education. Girls are also a disadvantaged group. They make up about one-third of all students in the primary system. Wide urban/rural and regional imbalances exist. Another problem is the children of refugees, which also represent a group with demands for primary education.
The aims to improve content and increase effectiveness, address the serious problem of quality of education which was the legacy of internal and external interruptions of the educational system in the 1970s. The situation was further compounded by poorly trained teachers, low teacher morale and motivation and lack of instructional materials. The result was a dramatic enrollment decline in the beginning of the 1980s. From 1980-81 to 1981-82 enrollment fell by 19,565 of which grade one alone fell by 12,302 (USAID, 1984). This possibly reflected a beginning disillusionment with the quality and value of formal education.

The education system. The primary school system consists of an optional two years of kindergarten, followed by a free compulsory eight-year education. In practice, most children begin their schooling in grade one; very few children attend kindergarten. The age distribution within classes can vary greatly; for example, there can be an age span from six to fourteen years in grade one. During the first half of the 1980s, school began in December and ended in June. The short cycle was adopted in order to enable teachers, who have very low salaries, to find other jobs for the rest of the year. After 1986, the school year was lengthened to 36 weeks, but still most schools are only in session for five to six months a year.

Students who complete grade eight may take the primary school leaving certificate. Then they have three choices for further education: general secondary education, vocational education and technical education.

Enrollments in the primary schools totaled 204,048 in 1984-85, with 35% comprised of females (SDR, 1985). There are wide regional variations, from less than 10% in some regions to over 50% in Banadir
(Mogadishu) region. Student-teacher ratios in 1981-82 was 35:1, with an average class size of 37. Again there are variations from 20:1 in sparsely populated areas to 63:1 in populous regions (USAID, 1984; 1985). Many schools do not provide the full eight-year cycle; again the Banadir region is best equipped in this respect. Due to high repetition and dropout rates, it currently takes twelve student years to complete grade eight, and an average of seventeen years to pass the grade eight leaving examination.

Equipment and facilities. Most primary schools have been built through a combination of central and local government and self-help programs. The schools in the rural areas are made of local construction materials, and some of the earlier schools are in a state of total disrepair. The supply of furniture is inadequate, especially in remote or rural areas. Maintenance is a major problem. Textbooks are lacking and their supply system is weak. Other equipment is almost non-existent, except for schools in urban centers where some maps, demonstration materials and reference books may be available. "The problem faced by most primary schools is not to obtain the best materials, but to obtain any materials at all" (USAID, 1984, p. 6-61).

Teachers and teacher education. A number of teachers presently teaching in the primary school system have never received any training at a teacher training institute. They were "crash-trained" to meet the sudden demand of teachers created by the declaration of free compulsory primary education in 1975. Another group of teachers consists of secondary school graduates completing their year of National Service. They only receive a month of teacher training before they are assigned to a
school. The rest of the teachers are primary school leavers with one or two years of training at the Primary Teacher Training College (PTTC) at Halane, Mogadishu. They entered the PTTC directly after having completed their grade eight examination, often because they failed to qualify for secondary education.

The curriculum at the PTTC lacked methodological training; instead it concentrated on the upgrading of subject content skills to compensate for trainees' lack of secondary education. The outcome was very young teachers who taught students very close in age and educational level.

In classrooms the teachers face further difficulties. There is a severe lack of materials, and what exists is inappropriate in content and approach. Teachers who are assigned to remote primary schools are particularly disadvantaged in terms of materials and support structure. Moreover, they have to face students spanning a wide range of ages in the classroom which places strain on teachers' management skills.

The depressed economic situation in Somalia, and a budget allocation for education of only about 6.7% have resulted in salaries for teachers that are extremely low (Dolley, 1986). The average salary for a primary teacher in 1983-84 was So.Sh. 683 per month (approx.$36). At the same time the World Bank estimated that the average monthly expenses for a family of four was So.Sh. 8,650 (USAID, 1985). If it is assumed that most primary school teachers are single and that the expenses of a single teacher are approximately one-third of those of a family of four, this

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3 The PTTC closed temporarily in 1985 to await the new plan of decentralized teacher education.

4 The salary was still the same in 1986 in spite of high inflation and increased cost of living.
would mean that their salary only contributes to about 24% of their cost of living each year. The result is that the best teachers tend to leave primary education, regard it as a temporary occupation, or treat it as an income-supplementing activity. Those who remain in the profession compensate for the low salary by reduced efforts and frequent absenteeism to pursue other income-generating activities.

The effects of the low salaries on morale and motivation are further exacerbated by the teacher assignment process. Even if attempts are made to post teachers according to their requests, reality and needs often make this an impossibility. As a consequence, the primary teacher profession is not regarded as an attractive career by most people. In fact, "there is no evidence that teaching is perceived as an occupation to which parents would be proud to have their children aspire" (USAID, 1985, p. 2-13).

There are further few promotion or career opportunities within the primary level system. The best they can hope for is to become a principal one day. Therefore, many primary teachers take the opportunity of taking an examination, after three years of teaching experience, to qualify for the secondary teacher training program at Lafole College of Education. Thus, primary teaching is regarded as a means of gaining access to secondary teacher training, with the consequence that the better teachers are removed from primary education.

Poor teacher quality is the single largest constraint on the effectiveness of primary education (USAID, 1984). The development of a strong professional cadre of primary teachers has been hampered by inadequate

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5 (USAID, 1985) gives the contribution figure 12%.
and inappropriate teacher training, absence of promotion or career structure within the primary system, and little incentive to remain in the profession for any longer period. In order to address the problems of teacher quality, the Ministry of Education has now decided to admit only secondary school graduates to primary teacher training. Halane Primary Teacher Training College has been closed while the proposed new decentralized primary training colleges are being planned, and a new pre-service curriculum is being designed.

Analyses done by external donor agencies have pointed out that any efforts to improve the quality of education will be in vain unless teachers' salaries are increased to the real cost of living. Given the strains on the Somali economy, and the fact that raising teachers' salaries has implications for the entire civil service salary structure, no action has so far been taken by the government.

A concomitant constraint to that of teacher quality, is the lack of adequate textbooks and classroom materials. The problem of lack of instructional materials has previously been mentioned. Textbooks and classroom materials are the products of curricula. New curricula, in their turn, are usually a development or rejection of previous curricula. In order to understand current efforts and problems of curriculum design and materials development, the following section will briefly trace the development of curricula from colonial times up to 1984—the time for the case study.
Curriculum Development

Colonial Curricula

Subjects taught at the primary and intermediate levels in the Northern Region were outlined in a 73-page mimeographed booklet entitled "Syllabus," written in English. Except for the subjects physical education and arts and crafts, there were no statements of aims, and generally no suggestions of teaching methods. The subjects Arabic and religion were not included, although taught. The subject Somali story—basically Somali history—taught in grade one, was not treated either.

The primary school in the North was a three-year institution. Arabic was the medium of instruction, with English introduced as a subject in the second year. Arabic, English, religion, mathematics, hygiene, local affairs (local geography), physical education and arts and crafts were taught at the primary level.

All instruction was through foreign media, both in the North and the South, and about 50% of the total curriculum time was given to foreign language teaching at the primary level. Mathematics took up 31% at the same level in the North, so a total of 70% of the curriculum was devoted to languages and mathematics, not leaving much time for other subjects. There was no syllabus for mathematics for grades 1-3, possibly because the Arabic-language number system was used, which differed from the European system.

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6 The review of curricula for the colonial and post-independence period up to 1970, is based mainly on Robinson (1971) and Somali Republic [SR] (1965).
At the four-year intermediate level, Arabic, English, religion mathematics, science, history, geography, civics, physical education and arts and crafts were taught. The medium of instruction was English from grade five. Thus, in order to pass through the seven-year cycle, Somali children had to learn Arabic and Arabic script so that they could follow instruction in that language, as well as Arabic number symbols. Then, in grade four, they had to switch to European number symbols, and by the end of that year be enough fluent in English, using a different script, so that they could follow instruction in English beginning in grade five.

The situation was similar in the Southern Region, with Italian replacing English, but since the Italians practiced unselective admission to primary schools, many more students succumbed to the inordinate pressures and dropped out. The British and Italians were aware of the language problem. It was discussed by the UN Trusteeship Council and a UNESCO planning group, all of them agreeing upon the importance of teaching in the Somali mother tongue in order not to make education alien to the children. Yet no action was taken, mainly because it was impossible to reach any agreement on an orthography.7

The syllabus in the Southern Region differed from that in the North, in that it was laid down by law, which made changes or adaptations difficult. The syllabus consisted of a 65-page handbook written in Italian. In contrast to the Northern syllabus, Arabic and religion were included, using Italian for the text.

7 The issue of the choice of Somali script will be examined in the following chapter.
The subjects to be taught at the five-year primary level were Arabic, Italian, religion, mathematics, science and hygiene, moral and civic education, history, geography, physical education, arts and crafts and singing. Arabic was the medium of instruction in grades one and two, with Italian an oral subject in these grades. From grade three, children were taught in Italian. At the three-year intermediate level the same subjects were taught, with a reduced emphasis on foreign language teaching.

Similar to the Northern region, language teaching occupied 50% of the time allotment, while mathematics was only given 10%, compared to 31% in the North. Since the syllabus tried to cover most subjects, and the concentration on languages left little time for teaching them, it can be assumed that only minimum, superficial instruction could take place. Many subjects had little relevance to the Somali environment. A UNESCO expert observing the teaching of local geography noted, "One would think that the subject was some distant land about which very little was known" (Robinson, 1971, p. 148).

During the colonial period textbooks were available and in adequate supply, both in the Northern and Southern regions. The British often used textbooks from their other African colonies, and the Italians had produced two primary level books for use in Somali primary schools. At the intermediate level, the Italians used texts developed for schools in Italy.

The British and Italian curricula were alike in that they both devoted much time to language instruction at the primary level. The British stressed more mathematics than did the Italians. While the
Italian system was more academic, theoretical and didactic, there was a greater emphasis on athletics and extracurricular activities in the British system. Team games were compulsory and schools often had their own playing fields. Plays were set up in Somali, Arabic and English, and many schools had debating societies. Moral education was a subject to be taught for four periods a week in the Italian system. Character training and citizenship training in the North was fostered in boarding schools through, for example, house and prefect systems, and through field projects on local affairs.

Curriculum after Independence

The Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education in 1961 provided guidelines and established educational priorities for African countries. The Conference recommended that priority should be given to secondary education, teacher training and curriculum reform. The Somali Ministry of Education discussed educational policy in the light of the Addis Ababa Conference, and the Minister of Education stated in an address to the National Assembly, "that all the recommendations of the Conference are sound and practically all of them are applicable to our own situation" (Robinson, 1971, p. 171).

The Addis Ababa Plan had set a target for universal primary education for all African children by 1980. The Somali government intended to increase primary education enrollment, but first priority was given to the expansion of intermediate and secondary education.

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8 See "History of Curriculum Development in Africa," Chapter I.
Although the Ministry of Education expressed intention to revise school curricula, little progress was made in unifying the curricula of the two former colonial regions during the first years of independence. A UNESCO mission noted in 1962, that the curricula of the two regions showed considerable differences, the same subject was taught with different books, and there was a general unawareness among educators and teachers of what was taught in different parts of the country.

A series of conferences dealing with curriculum reorganization issues were held in the ministry of Education from October to November 1964, under the direction of the UNESCO curriculum expert, Dr. Dalmacio Martin. These conferences were followed up by a curriculum workshop in Hargeisa in January 1965. There sixteen people worked on nine different subject fields at the primary and intermediate levels. The resulting curriculum was revised in Mogadishu, and then published in April 1965 for trial application, under the name "Tentative Syllabuses for the Unified Primary Grades One to Four."  

The assumptions that guided the curriculum workshop were: 1) the curriculum should have Somali and Islamic background; 2) the curriculum is based on conventional subjects; 3) it is based on a four-year primary and a four-year intermediate cycle; 4) it is assumed that primary education shall be free and therefore primary schools should be a complete education in itself, as well as preparation for secondary school; and 6) the educational system will use Somali language as the medium of instruction in the primary grades and English as the medium of

9 A separate syllabus was published for the intermediate grades a couple of years later.
instruction in the intermediate and higher levels; until the choice of Somali script has been made, Arabic will be used in the primary grades.

In terms of major objectives for primary grades, it appears that the Ministry of Education adopted the 1957 proposed objectives of the International Advisory Commission on the School Curriculum, a body formed periodically by UNESCO. In Dr. Martin's simplified summary they suggested "health and physical development, moral and spiritual life, efficient action based on sound thinking and understanding, skills in the fundamentals of learning, general acquaintance with one's environment, development of creative imagination and artistic appreciation, and finally, patriotism coupled with sound internationalism" (SR, 1965, p. 28).

The following subjects were allocated for the four-year primary level: Arabic, English (from the second grade), religion, mother tongue (Somali story), social and natural environment, social studies, natural science, mathematics, arts and crafts, music and singing and physical education—making up altogether thirty-six periods per week for each grade, 1-4.

Language instruction continued to dominate the program, with a time allotment of about 40%. Together with mathematics, the 3R's subjects still took up 61% at the primary grades, forcing the other subjects into minor importance.

The Somali language had previously only been used for the subject Somali story, one period per week in grade one, in the North. The Hargeisa workshop increased the time to three periods a week in grade one, and two periods a week in grade two. The Tentative Syllabuses
suggested that Somali story periods could be used for study of Somali speech and oral poetry, and also act as a "bridge" where other subjects were explained and summarized orally in Somali. No curriculum was developed for the subject. Lessons and activities should be planned by the teaching staff of the schools, so that the material would be local in origin and spirit. It was further suggested that the Somali story materials that was developed locally should be written in a script of the teachers choice--Arabic or Latin--and sent to the Ministry of Education which would pass on the materials to other regions. Thus, for the first time, Somali language was seriously considered as part of the curriculum, reflecting an awareness of the importance of the mother tongue as a learning tool. However, in spite of national and international recommendations and statements of intentions on the part of the government, no action was taken during the first nine years of independence to select a script for the Somali language.

The intermediate curriculum and time allotments recommended for grades 5-8 were very similar to the British system then followed in the North. The subjects included: Arabic, English, religion, geography, history, civics, natural science, mathematics, practical subjects and physical education--forming a total of forty periods per week for each grade.

English was to be the medium of instruction for the intermediate level. The choice of English instead of Italian was a result of a recommendation of a UNESCO mission, based on the language's greater international utility. The Italians were naturally uncomfortable with
the decision, and so were Italian-educated Somalis who felt that their
importance would be diminished by the decision.

In December 1967, the Director General of Education declared that
curriculum unification had taken place through the sixth year. In the
same year, the syllabi for the intermediate schools were completed and
had been introduced in the schools.

The curriculum developed during the post-independence, 1960-1969,
period showed a continued British influence. The courses of study were
written in Hargeisa in the North, by mainly British-educated Somalis.
The workshop was also assisted by British expatriate teachers. Other
foreign experts, mainly Western-educated, also helped develop the
curriculum. As we will see in later chapters, the Northern influence on
Somali education will continue in the present times.

Reports of visits to schools prior to the introduction of the unified
curriculum indicated a lack of practical approach and lack of knowledge
application of the subjects being taught, a generally theoretical
approach and lack of creativity. The UNESCO expert, Dr. Martin, also
visited schools in 1964 to study how prepared the teachers were to teach
their lessons. He found that many teachers were unable to teach a full
lesson. He quoted as an example a teacher in the second grade who asked
the students what food could be produced in Somalia. The teacher then
wrote a sentence in Arabic on the blackboard which listed some of the
foods produced. "The teacher read the sentence in Arabic, translated it
into Somali, and then had numerous students read the sentence. After
that the teacher was at a loss as to what to do next" (Robinson, 1971, p.
230). Dr. Martin's explanation for their unpreparedness was that few
teachers prepared any lesson plans. Another explanation was probably the teacher's weak educational background. A better educated teacher might have been able to teach about food even without a lesson plan.

The implementation of the new unified curriculum met with considerable difficulties, even chaos, according to some Somali sources. The Ministry had not made any provision for retraining of teachers in order to prepare them for the new content or teaching methods. The natural resistance to change was also overlooked. In addition, the dissemination system lacked efficiency. Inspection tours in 1968 revealed that official communications and circulars did not reach schools, and even if they did, teachers often did not read the communications. In many schools syllabi were not distributed; in other cases syllabi were not followed; for example, there were schools that still taught in Italian although they were supposed to have changed to teaching in English.

The problems of implementation were further exacerbated by the lack of textbooks. It has been previously mentioned that textbooks were in sufficient supply during the colonial period. Due to increased enrollments, severe budget limitations and reduced administrative efficiency after independence, there was shortage of textbooks and materials in most schools, and a complete lack of textbooks in some.

There were some Arabic readers for the first three grades, prepared by a UNESCO expert from Egypt. All other textbooks used for the first four grades had to be purchased from abroad. A UNESCO-USSR project, set up in 1965 for textbook production for the intermediate level, sent Somalis to the USSR to write textbooks in English, science and mathe-
matics. After having been edited in Somalia, the texts were sent to be printed in the Soviet Union. By 1970, the texts were still not back in Somalia, and it is assumed that the texts were lost. The situation was slightly better for English books at both primary and intermediate levels, particularly in areas where Peace Corps volunteers were teaching, where students could buy books directly from the volunteers.

The reality in most classrooms was therefore a situation where teachers might or might not have access to the new unified syllabi. If they had the syllabi, the syllabi would provide them with objectives and guidelines of what to teach, but they had no textbooks developed for the new content. The teachers were expected to continue with the textbooks already in use until new materials were available (SR, 1967). There were further no school libraries or any significant public library in the country to provide the educators with professional reading. The reason there were no textbooks developed, according to the Annual Report of 1969, was lack of adequate facilities and staff (SDR, 1970). It appears that the 1965 Tentative Syllabuses were taught up to 1975 more or less without textbook support.

The first ten years of independence were characterized by the struggle of unifying the two colonial systems of education, of coping financially and materially with the sudden increase of enrollments and of solving language issues. It was not until the 1970s that the real problems were faced and some decisive steps taken. The most important was the introduction of a Somali orthography, using a Latin script, in 1972. This meant that books could be written in Somali. The next was the decision to use Somali as the medium of instruction in all primary
and secondary schools. A literacy campaign was initiated, and in the 1975-76 school year, the government introduced universal free and compulsory education.

The general aim of Somali education was stated to "be one which is serving the interests of our country. The way we can wipe out hunger, disease and ignorance is to have the people who are qualified in teaching agriculture, mining, politics, geology, and in every other field that is necessary to benefit the nation" (SDR, 1982, p. 21). More specifically, the educational policy aimed at 1) expansion of education: adopting the policy of compulsory education for all children from 6 to 14 years of age; 2) democratization of education: making it free and equal, unrelated as in the past to property status, making it accessible to all areas of the nation; 3) Somalization of education: changing it from its previous foreign structure and content to education relevant to Somalia; 4) socialization of education: teaching scientific socialist principles and world outlook at all levels and aspects of formal education; and 5) vocalization of education: increase vocational technical and professional education (SDR, 1976).

To implement the free universal primary education, new schools and classrooms were built, largely through community effort, and the necessary teachers (6000 out of the total of 8000) were "crash-trained" in one-year courses. A textbook writing campaign was initiated in 1974, where a number of secondary school teachers were brought together for a year to outline syllabi based on the new educational policy and write textbooks in Somali; and in a very short time, Somali textbooks were in the classrooms. Thus the 1970s saw major educational achievements:
equality of opportunity, use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction, and the beginning of a curriculum that reflected national needs and aspirations.

The Curriculum Development Center

A curriculum unit was established in 1964 within the Ministry of Education (MOE). Its activities were, however, limited in the early years. It was mainly concerned with revising syllabi, not developing curriculum in the sense of gathering basic information, deciding objectives, planning strategies, developing educational materials, implementing and evaluating. For example, authors of the Tentative Syllabuses developed in Hargeisa in 1965, "borrowed" their aims, outlined the subjects and to some extent content to be taught, but did not develop any materials or prepare teachers for implementation.

In the 1970s, the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) was established as a section of the Department of Teacher Training and Curriculum Development. To begin with, its role was still rather limited because of the campaign approach to many issues. With the introduction of the Somali script in 1972 and the decision to use Somali as the medium of instruction, CDC was entrusted with the enormous task of preparing textbooks in Somali for all subjects of the primary and secondary school curricula. Educators were brought together from different sectors to accomplish this task and returned after the first set of textbooks were prepared. CDC's role then was mainly supervisory. It did not have the capacity to initiate, design or implement educational reform projects (Schirmer, 1986).
The concentration of effort in this first post-revolutionary phase was on rapid quantitative expansion. The demand for more and more textbooks, coupled with the lack of trained curriculum writers led, in many cases, to hastily adapted and translated versions of existing foreign textbooks and syllabi built up from the content of translated books (Curriculum Development Center [CDC], n.d.c). However, the achievement of producing so many textbooks in a recently written language in such a short time was under the circumstances remarkable.

With the introduction of Somali as the medium of instruction, the school year was reduced from eight to six years; the rationale being that content taught through the mother tongue could be assimilated in a shorter time than when taught through a foreign language. This strategy did not succeed to the extent hoped for. In fact, in the minds of many the ensuing decline in education was associated with the introduction of Somali as the medium of instruction. The reasons for the decline, however, appear to have been the lack of trained teachers and the inappropriateness of the materials prepared. With a relatively poor primary education and an eight-month training course devoted mainly to content upgrading, the teachers were inadequately equipped for their tasks. Since the written language was so new, the textbooks that were written did not use consistent vocabulary, syntax or spelling. Also, because the people who wrote them were not trained textbook writers, the books were often written beyond the level of the students (and sometimes the teachers), lacked methodology, were poorly designed and illustrated, and therefore did not operate efficiently in the classroom. The reaction to the decline was that the government reinstated the eight-year cycle in
1979, but as it turned out, this did not contribute to the improvement of the quality of education (Kiernan, 1984).

In order to arrest the deterioration of educational standards and to provide the curriculum, syllabi, textbooks and other materials needed by the school system, the MOE negotiated a loan with the World Bank through the International Development Association (IDA) to build and equip a new Curriculum Development Center. Work began on the building in 1982, and was expected to be ready in July 1983. The British Council set up an English language unit within the CDC and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) offered personnel assistance in the form of two advisers, one for curriculum development in general and the other to develop an audio-visual (AV) production unit.

In 1982, CDC was headed by a Director and had a staff consisting of eight curriculum officers, two advisers sponsored by DANIDA, a British Council English language team with the task of preparing English textbooks for secondary schools, and occasional staff who were engaged on a task basis. The offices were poorly equipped and there was little or no secretarial or clerical assistance (Kiernan, August 1982).

During the 1982-84 program of cooperation with the Somali government, UNICEF supported the areas of curriculum development and teacher education in the formal education sector. UNICEF assisted CDC with a number of interrelated sub-projects aimed at developing CDC's capacity and capability for curriculum development. The main focus was on diversification of primary education through the introduction of agricultural, animal husbandry and fisheries activities in grades 6-8 curricula. Other UNICEF-assisted activities in 1982 were revision of existing textbooks,
production of supplementary textbooks, preparation of technical terms dictionaries, and preparation of AV wall charts. The above sub-projects were experimental in order to test the capacity of the CDC staff and to introduce them to innovative curricular approaches.

During 1983-84, MOE decided to continue and consolidate projects that had begun with UNICEF assistance in 1982, but also to concentrate on providing an operational framework for its activities. Thus, the main preoccupations of CDC during this period were to prepare for the operation of the new center and to establish an awareness of the role of a curriculum development center among the educational personnel of the nation. (Kiernan, 1984).

Preparations for the new center involved making equipment and library lists and devising a new organizational structure. Further tasks were staff development and curriculum planning. Staff development proved to be a challenge. In August 1982 there were at most 6-8 curriculum officers and 10-15 AV-staff. The AV-staff belonged formally to the Arts section of the MOE and were therefore primarily engaged in the production of posters and other visuals for MOE campaigns. The IDA/CDC project had a fellowship component. Twelve candidates were selected, but only one returned to CDC. By 1984, six curriculum officers had also received short-term training in Nairobi—the African Curriculum Organization Post-Graduate Diploma in Systematic Curriculum Development.

As previously mentioned, civil service salaries in Somalia are very low. No increment increase was given to teachers or graduates who became curriculum officers. They were therefore forced to take on second and third jobs to supplement the "official" salary. This made it difficult
for CDC to attract and retain promising staff. A stipend negotiated in the UNICEF program helped to motivate staff to some extent. During 1983 a large number of part-time staff were appointed to CDC, often without request, possibly because CDC was seen as a source of further income. This did not, however, help in CDC's efforts to develop a core of professional curriculum developers (Kiernan, 1984). Another constraint was that the staff, although graduates from Lafole College of Education, did not have any specific qualifications or experience in curriculum development work.

Another concern was the lack of coordination between different sectors within the educational system (CDC, n.d.b). CDC, teacher training centers and the Inspectorate were operating independently with a resulting lack of common objectives and approaches. Moreover, the Inspectorate was hampered by the lack of effective training programs and lack of transport to carry out evaluation activities in the schools (CDC, 1984). In order to strengthen the contacts within the educational sector, CDC helped organize and implement a three-month seminar for Regional Education Officers and inspectors. To improve teacher training, a Teacher Training Task Force was set up within CDC to develop teacher training curricula and a Teacher Trainer's Manual (CDC, 1983). Examinations, another important aspect of sectoral cooperation, were not related to curricula to any great extent. Exam papers were set on an ad hoc basis, often by people who had no training in examination preparation or correction of papers.

The curriculum development situation was further impeded by frequent changes in policy. For example, in the MOE 1982-1986 educational plan it
was decided to strengthen the use of Arabic in schools by making Arabic the medium of instruction for some subjects in the upper primary school (SDR, 1981). For social, cultural and religious reasons, the Arabic language plays an important role in Somali life. Arabic is also the first foreign language children meet in Koranic schools. However, teachers were generally not fluent in Arabic and children's understanding of the language was limited. The shift of language policy meant that the use of the Arabic language in the classroom would have to be improved before it could serve as the medium of instruction for, for example, a subject like social studies where class discussion is of importance. Also, the suggested Arabization of education came only six years after the introduction of Somali as medium of instruction when the school system had hardly begun to function effectively in that language. Textbooks were prepared in Arabic for social studies but were never distributed because the policy was reversed, requiring social studies to be taught in Somali in the future (Kiernan, 1984). This example demonstrates the weakness of CDC which should have been in a position to advise on strategies for curricular innovation.

Other major constraints for CDC were financial and logistical. In 1982, the DANIDA general curriculum adviser wrote a proposed outline for curriculum change, including gathering basic information, discussing objectives and devising strategies for change. He proposed collection of base-line data and evaluation of conditions in primary and secondary schools. This evaluation would include an assessment of teacher performance and attitudes and student learning outcomes. Based on the national educational aims, public debates would be arranged through radio,
political gatherings and village meetings. A national seminar would then be convened to bring together educational planners, teacher trainers, inspectors, head teachers and teachers to discuss educational policy and curriculum development (Kiernan, August 1982).

In order to plan curriculum development and coordinate the activities of CDC with the educational policy of other sectors, the DANIDA adviser also proposed that MOE appoint an Advisory Board that would act as a policy making body for CDC. The Board would be chaired by the Head of the Department of Teacher Training and Curriculum Development, and have as members one representative each from Lafole College of Education, Halane Primary Teacher Training College, Central and Regional Inspectors, the Examination Board, the Institute of In-Service Teacher Training (refugee education), Adult Education and Women's Education. The Director of CDC would be the executive officer of the Board, and the activities of CDC would require prior approval of the Board. Thus the Board would coordinate all curricular input and prevent overlap and underutilization of resources.

It was further suggested that subject panels be set up as advisory bodies to individual subject areas. The members would be people with specific skills and interests in the subjects, and could consist of Heads of the relevant subject departments at the primary and secondary teacher training institutes, an inspector knowledgeable in the subject, primary and secondary teachers who teach the subjects and parents. The panels would meet monthly and work closely with the Head of the subject sections in preparing the syllabi for primary and secondary schools. This would ensure that the materials prepared originated with the practitioners and
were not imposed by curriculum officers who might be out of touch with what was happening in the schools. A dissemination unit would ensure that the materials produced would reach the classrooms. Teacher training institutes, the Inspectorate, Regional Education Officers and the Examination Board would cooperate in this effort.

In order to address the problem of inappropriate examinations, a seminar was also proposed for all MOE officials to advocate the purpose of examinations as assessment of student learning and to emphasize close cooperation between curriculum officers and the Examination Board. The seminar would analyze the present examination system and review the relationship between curricula and examinations. The outcome of the seminar would be short-term and long-term strategies for examination improvement.

Little of the planning activities for curriculum change, suggested by the DANIDA adviser, were implemented up to 1986. No systematic evaluation of previous syllabi was done, since the syllabi developed during the first post-revolutionary phase were generally not available. There was no situational analysis carried out, involving assessment of teacher and student performance or attitudes, mainly because of organizational and financial constraints and lack of transport. CDC lacked transport even to carry out field studies in the greater Mogadishu area, much less the rest of the country. A landrover purchased from IDA/CDC funds had not arrived by the end of 1983, so whatever transport CDC needed had to be negotiated on a day-to-day basis. The Head of CDC often had to spend two or three hours daily securing transport. Even if transport had been available, a systematic evaluation of practices and outcomes in schools
would have required trained personnel, another scarce resource of CDC, to design evaluation instruments and analyze the data. Data collection, compilation and analysis would further have been a time-consuming task in the absence of computers or even pocket calculators.

No public debate or national seminar for discussion of educational policy was arranged. However, a seminar on educational reform was held for Regional Education Officers (REO) and Inspectors in April-May 1983 (CDC, n.d.a). Participants at this seminar identified what they felt needed revision in the current curriculum and made recommendations for a revised curriculum, teacher training and inspection.

Suggestions for setting up an advisory board and subject panels recurred in CDC advisory documents up to the mid-1980s but with no successful results. It appears that the main obstacle was coordination and transport. The suggested representatives for an advisory board and subject panels all have professional duties combined with unforseen tasks of a professional or personal nature, e.g. ad hoc meetings such as those with expatriate personnel who turn up unannounced, solving administrative problems, sudden requests from superiors, helping relatives or lining up for gas. Most of them do not have private cars and have to rely on transport being provided for them. The telephone system is unreliable, so if there are no cars, no gas or other changes of plans, no communication will take place. Moreover, if there are no extra incentives for being on the Board or on panels, there will be little motivation for participating in this additional task.

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10 A Teachers Newsletter was printed in 1984 as part of an information strategy. The idea of newsletters was, however, not followed up during the years to come.
The task of creating awareness among educational personnel of the role of CDC also presented difficulties. Most people regarded CDC as an organization responsible for the production of textbooks (Kiernan, 1984). Thus CDC was blamed for the scarcity of books in schools as well as the deficiencies of the books themselves. School textbooks were printed by the Textbook Production Unit at the State Printing Agency (SPA), the one government agency that caters to all government printing needs. Under the UNICEF/CDC 1982-84 sub-project textbook revision, 37 textbooks were revised in December 1983, but only seven were printed due to the backlog of materials that had accumulated at the SPA (CDC, n.d.b). Furthermore, in June there were over 100 manuscripts at CDC awaiting to be printed by SPA.

The issue of quality was to a great extent outside the direct control of CDC. Many textbooks presented to CDC were considered to be in final form by their authors who were not necessarily staff of CDC or even the MOE. These texts were then either accepted or rejected, the decision often not based on an analysis of the content but on the status of the writer. The textbooks were, therefore, more the products of individual authors than the result of an integrated and coordinated educational approach of a curriculum development center.

Without understatement, textbook availability and production were the major problem areas in the early 1980s. There were not sufficient textbooks in the schools and SPA did not have the printing capacity to even handle the reprints of corrected and revised editions. Given that CDC could produce a new set of relevant and pedagogically appropriate
textbooks, it was estimated that only about 20% of the required number could be printed and made available for classroom use (Kiernan, 1984).

Throughout the 1982-84 period, CDC was aware of the fact that its task—a reform of the curricula of the primary and secondary schools—was a central task, but also a task beyond its capacity. Priority decisions had to be made in order to address the serious decline in school performance. It was therefore decided to concentrate on the primary school to avoid overlap with materials in production for grade twelve and downwards, and also because of the greater possibility of attracting funding for primary programs. CDC would try to identify experienced curriculum experts in the core subject areas to do the foundation planning and outlining of content.

A study was undertaken of the existing curriculum in the primary school in terms of the length of the school year, number of terms, number of subjects, periods per subject, content and conceptual levels. Staff meetings were held to discuss general curricular issues, and subject teams were set up to analyze the content and methodology of existing materials used in schools.

Analysis of the materials showed a strong theory orientation, lack of relevance to the Somali environment and an absence of practical skills training. It was therefore proposed to introduce the subjects environmental and practical studies, health education, arts and crafts and physical education.

CDC then submitted the proposal Curriculum Reform Project 1984-87 to the MOE and sought assistance from UNICEF. The proposal was accepted by the Ministry and approved by UNICEF in April 1984. UNICEF was to
contribute towards the development of materials for mathematics, science, Somali and social studies, through support for consultancy services in the subjects, stipends to the curriculum officers, printing of trial materials and field trial and evaluation activities (CDC, n.d.c; UNICEF, n.d.). USAID would support health education and the Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ALESCO) would supply expertise for Arabic and Islamic studies.

The project was very ambitious in that it proposed to produce materials for the new curriculum at all grade levels within four years. The Curriculum Reform Project would formulate new curricular objectives, set up a new subject structure, design new learning and teaching strategies and prepare new materials, beginning with grade one. The materials would consist of student texts, a teacher's guide, a supplementary reader and an AV kit—three books per ten subjects per eight grades—a total of 240 books and 80 AV kits. The materials would be printed in trial editions and tested in three regions. They would then be revised and produced by the Textbook Production Unit of the SPA (Kiernan, 1984).

After several delays, CDC moved into its new facility in August 1984, and in October the same year the new building was officially opened. CDC staff then consisted of 44 curriculum officers and 36 ancillary staff. By the end of the year all subject departments were in operation, but it was estimated that all projects were four months behind because of the delayed transfer to the new building and absence of materials and equipment. The production of new curriculum materials was particularly delayed by lack of any reference materials (CDC, 1984).
In 1985 the MOE was restructured and CDC, previously a section under the Directorate of Teacher Training and Curriculum Development, became a full Directorate in its own right. Under the general mandate to improve the quality of education in the formal sector, the specific functions of CDC are to:

1. Evaluate the existing curricula at primary, secondary and teacher training levels.
2. Design new curricula where appropriate.
3. Carry out research into new learning and teaching approaches.
4. Develop to print-ready stage learning and teaching materials.
5. Print trial editions of all materials and test them in a variety of conditions (rural, urban, etc.).

CDC is part of the formal administrative structure of the MOE and as such a highly centralized organization. It relies on the MOE for its capital and recurrent costs. Apart from staff salaries, there is, however, no budget for CDC, which therefore has to seek assistance from donor agencies.¹¹ (Kiernan, 1984). Cooperation between CDC, teacher training and the Inspectorate has improved over the years and thereby also the implementation aspect of curriculum development. The cooperation is facilitated by the fact that the offices of the Inspectorate and the In-Service Division of the Teacher Training Department are in the CDC building.

¹¹ UNICEF is at present CDC's main donor.
With regard to present work output, CDC is overstaffed, at the same time it is understaffed with regard to trained curriculum developers. The AV-section is a particularly weak link, with few qualified textbook designers, and the section as a whole is often seconded for ministerial or other tasks.

**Summary**

Although in existence since 1964, it was not until 1984 that CDC began to have the capacity to initiate, design and implement educational reform projects. Previously CDC had been a loose gathering of people who were mainly engaged in textbook production; first textbooks in Somali to meet the immediate needs for materials in the mother tongue, then revision of existing textbooks.

In 1982, the concept of curriculum development was introduced. Strategies for curriculum planning were outlined along the lines suggested by Hawes, but limited financial resources coupled with shortage of technical expertise prevented the implementation of many of the initial stages of the curriculum development process.\(^\text{12}\)

The government's budget for CDC covers only staff salaries. In the early 1980s, CDC staff consisted of a few primary and secondary school teachers with no training in curriculum development. Salary incentives were inadequate to attract employees with higher education or training from abroad.

\(^{12}\) For outline of curriculum development elements, see "Curriculum Components," Chapter II.
Thus money and manpower were the major obstacles for the recommended curriculum planning strategies. A situational analysis of the schools was prevented by lack of transportation and qualified personnel. A national seminar on educational policy would similarly have needed transport and funding. Public debates would have needed efficient administration, people with vision, people who could write radio manuscripts on educational topics, and people who could facilitate meetings towards constructive suggestions and solutions.

CDC therefore had to compromise. Instead of a big national seminar, a smaller seminar was held for REOs and inspectors, and their knowledge of the situation in schools and the existing curricula formed the basis for a needs assessment. CDC staff—most of them teachers—were a further source for background information. The disadvantage was—something the general curriculum adviser wanted to avoid—that there was no national involvement or even a great involvement of educational personnel in policy decisions for educational change.

The alternative to such a compromise would have been to wait and secure external funds for a major reform project. But that would have been time-consuming, and the educational crisis in schools, manifested by decline in school attendance, called for rapid remedies or the achievements of the 1970s would be lost. Also, the fact that money needed for curriculum activities has to be provided by donor agencies, meant that unless there are people with vision and ability to plan ahead at CDC, and unless there are people who can write proposals that will be acceptable for funding, little curriculum development will take place. CDC did not
have that capacity when it began to seriously consider educational change.

Other policy decision areas such as subject panels, information strategies, production and distribution of books, examination reform, teacher training, research and educational sector coordination were recognized as needing attention and change. However, as Hawes states, "when you have big problems and little time and money to solve them, something has to be done first and done properly" (1979, p. 3). CDC had to prioritize where to put the main effort, and the choice was on the most tangible evidence associated with learning—textbooks. With the provision of new textbooks, schools might again become an attractive proposition for parents and children.
Struggle for Somali Script

I am a bewildered student
Lost in confusion with four books
Haunted by the teacher's cane
Learning other people's languages
From my generation I have lagged
The boys I bettered boast to me
Of their written languages
O Father of children
My pen weeps and I shed tears
Tell me now what to learn
Tell me now!

Come together it's Idd
Come hither good news are here
It's the good day we opened our eyes
A day unforgettable in history.

Our language is to be written
It's to have a script
This has been announced today
We must support our Father Siyad
And indeed the Revolution
And discard foreign languages.

From us this is a notice
For all the world to hear
That who hates our language
Who doesn't want it to be written
Who thought that impossible
See how literacy is spread
Watch the fruits of Revolution
And the literacy campaign.

We say with emphasis
Let imperialism lose hope
Let the afminshar follow suit
As far as we say
With all our ability
We have belief and confidence
In the goal of the caravan
Never to retract is our pledge
(SDR, 1976, p.i).
CHAPTER IV

SOMALI: FROM ORAL LANGUAGE TO TEXTBOOKS

Characteristics of the Somali Language

The Somali language belongs to the Eastern Cushitic group of the Afro-Asiatic branch of languages. It is related to languages such as Galla (spoken in Ethiopia and northern Kenya), Saho-Afar (in Eritrea and Djibouti), Sidamo (in southwestern Ethiopia) and Randille (in northern Kenya). Within the Cushitic group, Somali and Galla are the most widely spoken (Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964; Laitin, 1977; Tucker & Bryan, 1956).

There are several Somali dialects. The dialects can be grouped into three main divisions: 1) Common Somali; 2) Central Somali; and 3) Coastal Somali. Common Somali is spoken by the majority of the pastoral nomads and by Somalis in Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti. It is the language used in broadcasting, and it has also acted as lingua franca. Central Somali embraces the dialects spoken by the agriculturalists between the Juba and Shabeelle rivers, and Coastal Somali is used in the southern coastal towns. Speakers of Common and Coastal Somali can generally communicate without difficulties, while speakers of Common and Central Somali will need some months of close contact to understand each other (Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964; Laitin, 1977). In spite of the dialectical differences most Somalis can understand the northern dialect used in broadcasting. The fact that Common Somali is used by broadcasting stations both inside
and outside of Africa seems to imply that the dialect has acquired the position of standard Somali (Andrzejewski, 1971).

The Somali language is unusually rich in grammatical structures and vocabulary (Bell, 1953; Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964). Nouns and verbs can take on several affixes with different grammatical functions. The language has further six classes of nouns and two genders, masculine and feminine. The following is a brief description of the definite article in the language in order to show the range of distinctions that can be achieved by the use of affixes.

The definite article is attached to the noun with a suffix. The basic masculine suffixes are -ku/-ka/-kii, the feminine suffixes are -tu/-ta/-tii. The -ku/-tu form is normally used when referring to the present time, to identify the subject noun in the sentence; the -ka/-ta form is used to identify the object noun; and the -kii/-tii form is used for both subject and object in the past.

nin, man ninku/ninka/ninkii, the man
naag, woman naagtu/naagta/naagtii the woman

The -ku/-tu, -ka/-ta forms can also be used when the noun to which they are attached is physically or mentally close to the speaker at the time of speaking, while -kii/-tii denote that the noun is remote from the speaker. These suffixes are further subject to phonological changes when they are attached to nouns ending in vowels or certain consonants (Bell, 1953; Caney, 1984).

Another peculiarity of the Somali noun is that the plural forms change the gender of the singular in most of the noun classes. Thus a word that is feminine in the singular will become masculine in the
plural. The gender of the noun decides the verbal forms which in their turn have an inflectional system indicating person, number and tenses.

The vast vocabulary of the Somali language can be attributed to the existence of a large number of roots as well as its productive derivational system, particularly in the verbal system. For example:

Verbal root + an aammusan be silent
Verbal root + i aammusi, silence

The high productivity of the Somali derivational system would later prove highly facilitating in the creation of a new Somali vocabulary to meet modern day needs.

The Somali vocabulary is divided into two groups of words: one group is used for everyday speech, the other consists of a poetic vocabulary. The two layers of words differ considerably. The poetic vocabulary often consists of archaic words or words no longer in use. Although familiar to people with a pastoral background, the urban younger generation often has to learn this particular vocabulary in order to understand and appreciate traditional poetry (Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964).

Somali Poetry and Verbal Expression

The importance of the spoken word, oratory and poetry in the Somali society has attracted the attention of many scholars. Already in the nineteenth century, Richard Burton wrote, "The country teems with 'poets, poetasters, poetitos, poetaccios'" (1966, p. 93). Andrzejewski and Lewis
stated, "It is perhaps not too much to claim that the Somali are a nation of bards: and their poetry certainly is one of their principal cultural achievements" (1964, p. 3). Andrzejewski and Galaal further noted that, "The extensive and conscious cultivation of the art of speaking is one of the most striking features of Somali culture" (1966, p. 29).

The Somalis have an oral tradition and oral literature of considerable antiquity. It is uniquely Somali in form and content, with themes drawn from traditional life and local environment (Andrzejewski, 1979).

The importance of the spoken word is closely related to the traditional egalitarianism of the Somali society where political power and influence was wielded through persuasion rather than coercion or force. Arts and skills in rhetoric and persuasion was a political asset in the shir, the traditional council. Although in theory every adult man had the right to speak in this council, it was dominated by three types of men: the orator, the poet and the expert-in-tradition (Samatar, 1982). Since a man's position and political power in the shir is dependent on oratorical or poetic skills, many Somalis practice refinement of speech, expression and style.

Eloquence and effective speaking is particularly important within the Somali traditional judicial system, where people present their cases to a panel of judges. The parties needing to settle a dispute often appoint spokesmen, unless they are orators themselves. The orator's success will depend on whether the knows customary law, traditions and case prece- dents, remembers the arguments of the opponents in order to refute them,
and has the ability to persuade the audience of the soundness of his own arguments.

In a non-literate society, the ability to remember plays a crucial role. The Somali pastoralists have excellent powers of retention. There are people who can remember and recite a poem of 150 lines after having heard it only once. The pastoralists therefore tend to be contemptuous of those who have to rely on the written word to remember. As an orator known for his rhetoric expressed it:

...the so-called educated people who acquire book knowledge collect all they learn in books according to written symbols. When such people are called upon to give a public speech, they resort to their written symbols. Without these they can hardly open their mouths. To register our contempt for such a person, we say: "He who looks at a paper never becomes a memorizer" (Samatar, 1982, p. 33).

Another characteristic of Somali speech is volubility. A proverb says, "If a man with more talk than you speaks before you, he leaves nothing for you to speak on; if he is to speak after you, he keeps you in dreadful trepidation" (Samatar, 1982, p. 34). In cases of litigation it is therefore customary to be verbose in order to "out-talk" the opponent. A Somali elder, less enchanted with his compatriots' verbosity, expressed it thus, "We Somalis just talk, talk, talk, whether or not we have something to talk about" (Samatar, 1982, p. 24).

The tendency to use many words is also bound up with the traditional art of negotiation. Since pride is an important aspect of Somali culture, it is necessary to avoid a blunt request or refusal which might cause parties to lose face. It is therefore customary to present a proposal indirectly, using allegories and veiled expressions. According to a proverb, "One presents one's words to a (real) man from a distance
as great as the camels' daily walk to the pastures; one puts them in
front of fools on the basket frame of a water vessel" (Andrzejewski,
1968, p. 79). By watching his audience, the speaker can then discover
their attitudes, modify his approach or withdraw his proposal altogether.

From the examples above, it can be concluded that the spoken word and
oral communication are highly developed, particularly among the pastora-
lists in the North, from which also most of the poetry stems. The
language itself is a rich medium whose literary resources are well-known
to the speakers. Thus, the audience of a poetry session are aesthetes,
appreciating beauty, sound, clarity and precision of thought, while being
ruthlessly critical of what doesn't meet their high standards. In the
1850s Richard Burton wrote about "... the fine ear of this people causing
them to take the greatest pleasure in harmonious sounds and poetical
expressions, whereas a false quantity or a prosaic phrase excite their
violent indignation" (1966, p. 93).

The main characteristic of Somali verse is its alliteration. The
lines of a Somali poem consists of two sections, two hemistiches, each of
which must include an initial, alliterative vowel or consonant. All
initial vowels are considered as alliterative with each other. If, for
example, the alliterative sound is m in a poem of one hundred lines, the
poet must find two hundred words that begin with m, preferably nouns,
names, numerals or verbs. This makes exacting demands on the poet's
skills and is the downfall of a weak poet. In order to supplement his
vocabulary, the poet therefore has to revive archaic words, enliven
outmoded ones or create new ones (Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964; Samatar,
1982).
Poetry and poets have a status different from that in most Western societies. Poetry in Somalia is not an esoteric preoccupation of a small elite, but a living art related to social situations. A Somali pastoral poet composes verses on all important events, records clan history, broadcasts information, tells a story, influences opinions and acts as a public-relation man for his clan. He has further considerable political power. His poems can sow peace or hatred, ruin reputations or sing praises ((Lewis, 1968; Samatar, 1982). Sheikh Mohamed Abdulle Hassan employed poetry most effectively in his 1900-1920 war against the foreign colonializers (Andrzejjewski & Lewis, 1964). He wrote, for example, a poem to the Ogaden clan and encouraged them to break any connections with the British and Ethiopians and join him instead.

Although most vital and flourishing in traditional pastoral societies oral skills and poetry has not lost its importance in modern days. A poem written by an exiled opponent, caused the present regime to mobilize its own poets to challenge the exile on his own terms, in what is referred to as the "radio war" (Sheikh-Abdi, 1981).

Choice of Somali Script

In spite of their highly developed language, oral skills and poetic creativity, the Somalis had no official orthography until 1972. The Somali people were therefore once described as "a nation of poets in search of an alphabet" (Contini, 1964, p. 301). The reason was not that Somali had never been written, but rather that the Somali people were unable to agree on a script for their language. Rivalling powerful
individuals and groups advocated different scripts and refused to accept any script that was not their own.

The first attempt to develop a written Somali script was done by Sheekh Yuusuf bin Axmed al-Kawnweyn in the thirteenth century. In order to explain the Arabic vowel point system to children in Koranic schools, he invented a Somali nomenclature for the Arabic vowels (Lewis, 1958). Centuries later, attempts were made to adapt the Arabic script to Somali. This met with difficulties, however, since vowels in Arabic can be omitted without loss of meaning, while vowels in Somali are critical for comprehension.

In the early 1920s, Cismaan Yuusuf Keenadiid, a Majeerteen of the Darod clan, invented his own script for the Somali language. "Cismaaniya" which the new script was to be named, employed a new set of letters totally different from Arabic or Latin. It was written from left to right and the orthography was considered highly sophisticated and effective. This indigenous script appealed to the Somali nationalists although it was resisted by conservative religious leaders who favored Arabic. The Darod clan was politically influential in the early organization of the Somali Youth League (SYL) and got the party to accept Cismaaniya as the national script (Laitin, 1977). Later the too close association between clan and script made SYL withdraw its support in favor of a "national script."

In 1933 another indigenous script was developed by a teacher of religion in the Protectorate, Sheekh Cabduraxmaan Sheekh Nuur of the Gadabuursi clan. In spite of its phonetical accuracy, this script gained
little recognition, possibly because the inventor came from a small clan (Lewis, 1958).

Still another orthography was devised in 1952 by Xuseen Sheekh Axmed Kaddare from the Hawiye clan family. A UNESCO technical commission would later agree that the Kaddare script was the most satisfactory indigenous script for Somali.

Parallel with the attempts to use Arabic script for Somali and to invent a national script, Latin based orthographies were also developed. In 1938, the British tried to introduce Somali written with the Latin script in the primary schools in Burao. The script, coupled with a general fear of Christian influence, led to demonstrations where three Somalis were killed. The influence of religious leaders was less in the South, therefore Italian scholars could publish Somali in the Latin script with little opposition.

In 1948, C.R.V. Bell, the Director of Education in the British Protectorate, initiated a research project on the development of a Somali script. The researchers were B.W. Andrzejewski and Muuse Xaaji Ismaaciil Galaal, who in 1952 presented their Recommendations for a Somali Orthography. The report, however, did not lead to any action, due to the opposition to the Latin script at the time. Yet, the collaboration between the two researchers continued with ensuing publications including modifications of their previous transcriptions. In spite of limited circulation of the publications they reached a Somali collector of oral literature, Shire Jaamac Axmed. In his publications of oral works he first adopted the Andrzejewski-Galaal transcription and later introduced
further changes, and in 1972 his system of transcription was adopted as the national orthography for the Somali language (Andrzejewski, 1978).

At independence in 1960, the need for a Somali orthography had become urgent. The lack of a script hampered educational progress and impeded unification. Everybody spoke Somali but they could only communicate in writing in a foreign language. This led to "linguistic chaos," particularly in the administrative sector, since Arabic, Italian and English were all considered official languages. Civil servants from the North could not communicate in writing with colleagues in the South. Therefore, the government had to hire expensive foreign translators to deal with communications (Andrzejewski, 1979; Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964; Laitin, 1977).

The new government therefore set up the Somali Language Commission in 1960 and instructed it to investigate all the systems of writing, mainly from a technical point of view, and to recommend the best one for adoption. It would then be up to the government to deal with the political, religious and social aspects of the issue. The Commission made the Latin script their first choice, and a Somali script their second. The report was, however, never published since the government feared the strong opposition and displeasure among the religious leaders (Robinson, 1971).

In 1966, a UNESCO Commission composed of three linguistic experts were sent to Somalia to study the language problem (Andrzejewski; Strelcyn & Tubiana, 1966). Their task was not to advocate any particular script but only to assess the advantages and disadvantages of them. Although their evaluation of the scripts did not recommend a particular
selection, it made clear that a Latin orthography would be the best medium.

After the new revolutionary government had come to power in 1969, they reconstituted and strengthened the Somali Language Commission. The Commission's task was not to select, adopt or recommend any script. They were only to 1) write textbooks for primary schools; 2) write a Somali grammar; and 3) work out a compilation of a 10,000 word Somali language dictionary (SDR, 1971). For this they could use whatever script they wanted and the final decision of a script would be made by the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SCR). Most of the textbooks that were produced during the first year were written in a Latin script, partly because the office machinery borrowed from the Ministry of Education was designed for operation in English, and partly because the Commission considered the script "convenient."

Meanwhile the Latin script was also discretely promoted by the SCR. Religious leaders were approached and urged to "modernize" themselves, the implicit message being that a challenge of the military government would be unwise (Laitin, 1977).

In 1972, on the third anniversary of the revolution, the President announced the decision to introduce an orthography in the Latin script. Helicopters dropped leaflets with the new alphabet from the sky--perhaps to convince the population that the decision came from heaven--over the masses on the parade ground. In order to prevent opposition that had so plagued former governments, the revolutionary government designed a program that would ensure that the new orthography would be received with
enthusiasm. Thus they provided language talks on the radio and commissioned poets to compose poems praising the script (Caney, 1984).

The script that was chosen was that of Shire Jaamac Axmed. It had no diacritical marks and the script could be used on any office equipment. In this way the government could order that all communications in the civil service should be written in the Somali language within three months.

It may seem strange that a country where the majority of the people speak only one language took so long to choose a national script. The reasons were political and religious, and the issue of the choice of a script so inflammatory involving demonstrations and possible violence. Conservative religious leaders considered the Latin script associated with Christianity. Their slogan, *Laatin waa laa diin*, "Latin is without God," indicates their fear of erosion of Islamic values (Laitin, 1977, p. 93). Supporters of Cismaaniya associated the Latin script with the negative colonial experience and also as possibly furthering linguistic inequalities between urban and rural areas. The supporters of the Latin script considered the indigenous scripts as costly and unsuitable for a modern world of technical progress, opposed Cismaaniya because it came from the Darod clan-family, and objected to an Arabic script since it would need radical modifications to suit the Somali phonology. There were also people who opposed any kind of Somali script. They were those who were literate in English, Arabic or Italian and who feared that they would lose their privileged position if the Somali language was written (Andrzejewski, 1978; 1979; Laitin, 1977). In view of the conflicting
opinions and bitter polemics, the consequences of a non-decision seemed preferable to agreeing on a script for the Somali language.

Modernization of the Somali Language

The use of the Somali language as the official language of administration and business and as the medium of instruction in schools made modernization of the vocabulary a top priority. A certain modernization of Somali vocabulary had begun in the early 1940s through the work of broadcasters. The first broadcasting station was set up in Hargeisa in 1943 where international news bulletins were translated from English.

Somalia had been a rather isolated country up to the Second World War. Since it was a largely nomadic country with a language based on their pastoralist environment, it had a vast and specialized vocabulary related to animal husbandry, traditional medicine, weather forecasting and poetry, but they lacked concepts related to the modern world. Thus, words such as socialism, independence and economic development had no equivalents in Somali since the concepts were alien to their culture (Andrzejewski, 1971). The audience to the broadcasts had long been nourished and reared on oratory and fine poetry and were therefore extremely critical of careless translations. This meant that the standard of translations had to be high.

The course the translators followed was similar to that of poets of alliterative verse. They coined new words mainly by using old roots to create entirely new words. Less frequently they used borrowings from
Arabic and English since there was little tolerance among Somalis for large influx of foreign words. For the task of coining new words, the broadcasters often sought advice from poets, poetry reciters and storytellers, many of whom were monolingual, illiterate men. Yet they were regarded as authorities on the language. This early modernization of the Somali language saw the coining of new words such as dayax gacmeed, "satellite" (lit. handmade moon), dhaqaale, "economy, economics" (lit. thrift, looking after livestock and property with care), gobannimo, "independence" (lit. being of noble birth or noble character), hantiwadaag, "socialism" (lit. to share wealth, livestock), and hubka is wada, "guided missiles" (lit. weapons which drive themselves) (Andrzejewski, 1971, pp. 267-269).

With the new orthography and the adoption of Somali as national language in 1972, the need arose for further provision of words and expressions to meet the demands of social and political change. The modernization that had taken place through the language of radio had showed the adaptability of the Somali language to modern needs and laid the foundation for the language of the press. Following the example of poets and broadcasters, authors of new textbooks in science, mathematics and technical subjects created new words either 1) by giving new specialized meanings to existing ordinary words, or 2) by coining new words out of the roots and suffixes present in the language. Examples of the first method used in mathematics are, falladh, ordinarily meaning "arrow," given the specialized meaning "vector"; or dhidib, whose ordinary meaning is "pole supporting the roof of a hut," but given the specialized meaning of "axis." An example of coining is the word
saddexagal, "triangle" which comes from saddex, "three" and xagal, "bend of a limb"¹ (Andrzejewski, 1979, p. 43).

Not all words were drawn from the existing resources of the Somali language. They used, for example, borrowings in science, chemistry and medicine. Interestingly enough, in the field of physics where borrowings would also be expected, they used mainly native words, possibly because the subject is concerned with natural phenomena for which there are indigenous words (Caney, 1984).

**Production of Educational Materials**

The Somali Language Commission set up in 1971, were instructed to produce textbooks, a grammar and a dictionary of modern technical terms in Somali. In 1973 the Language Commission was relieved of its task when the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) became responsible for the production and terminology of instructional materials.

The major part of Somali lexical expansion was carried out during the textbook writing campaign in 1974-75, when the schools closed for the rural literacy campaign. The closing of the schools made it possible to employ about 250 secondary school teachers and a handful of curriculum officers to undertake the task of creating terminology and writing textbooks in the Somali language for all primary and secondary subjects.

The writers formed fifteen committees for the different subjects. Each committee compiled a list of vocabulary relevant to their field, ¹ An interesting fact is that the leading Somali mathematician, Maxamuud Nuur Caalim, who invented many of the terms is himself a poet and is famous for his poems on mathematical themes.
then they all joined together to discuss and standardize the coined vocabulary. According to the participants of the textbook writing teams, discussions were dominated by much heated arguments and disagreement. In the end, however, a standardized terminology was agreed upon which would guide the textbook production (Jama, 1984). Every committee then prepared textbooks in their subject for all educational levels. In their work they were supported by illustrators who were themselves teachers.

The work procedure for the writing of the textbooks differed. In some committees the chairperson asked the members to submit drafts of chapters or units, following the syllabus and the agreed-upon terminology. These drafts were then exchanged and checked among the members. In other committees the members were assigned tasks to be finished within a certain period. Each member's work was then checked by the whole committee for suitability of content and terminology. Although appropriate, this latter method proved very time-consuming due to the lengthy discussions that inevitably ensued, and was therefore in some cases abandoned. When the first drafts were completed by the committees, the writers left. Only the chairperson plus one other member of each committee remained to edit the manuscripts.

By the end of the one-year textbook campaign, about 70 primary and 40 secondary school textbooks had been written. Primary school textbooks were printed with astonishing speed. The printing of the secondary school textbooks took longer since there was only one printing press in the whole country.

Another textbook writing campaign took place in 1977-78. This was a result of the policy change of the educational cycle. In 1975, the
primary cycle was shortened to six years. Due to falling educational standards, there was a reversion to the eight year cycle. As a consequence, the syllabi of the six year cycle had to be rearranged to fit the eight year cycle. In practice, however, little syllabus change was made.

The second textbook writing campaign was mainly carried out by CDC staff with some additional help of secondary school teachers and teacher training tutors. In contrast to the previous campaign when the schools were closed, this writing program had to be accomplished parallel to ordinary work, and therefore took longer. By the end of the program, 82 titles were ready for printing, but by this time the printing process had slowed down considerably. By mid 1982, only eight of the 82 titles had reached the schools (Jama, 1984).

Since the adoption of a Somali script and the introduction of the Somali language as the medium of instruction in schools, a large number of primary and secondary school textbooks have been printed in the Somali language. A tremendous effort was made to meet the challenge of providing teachers and students with learning materials in a very short time and a considerable success was achieved. This rapid preparation had its cost, however, in terms of quality of content, methodology and illustrations.

The majority of the textbook writers were secondary school teachers, some of whom had never taught in primary schools and therefore knew little about the reality, problems and needs of learners and teachers. Others were fresh graduates from the College of Education without any teaching experience at all. The writers did not have any skills or experience of textbook writing. Neither was any training provided,
possibly because it was assumed that they were native speakers of Somali and therefore would not have any problems in writing textbooks in the Somali language. The lack of skills and training also applied to editors, illustrators, production specialists and printers. The situation was further exacerbated by the short time assigned for their task.

No trial of the materials was done prior to their publication, and no revision or updating has been attempted before reprints. It is therefore common to see printing errors of the first edition in later reprints. Since the choice of type sizes was left to the printers, there is no difference in type sizes for the different age levels, hence they are generally too small for the lowest grades.

The lack of methodology can be illustrated by the first two lessons of Somali, grade one. The very first lesson covers twelve pages, including eighteen pictures (picture description?) and the whole alphabet in upper case letters. The second lesson consists of one page. The purpose of the lesson seems to be to read syllables (ba, be, bi, bo etc.). The syllables are presented in lower case letters. Thus, the students are expected to read lower case letters without having been previously introduced to these characters (Jamhuuriyadda Dimuqraadiga Soomaalida, 1976).

The modernization of the Somali language that took place during the 1974-75 textbook campaign was introduced without any trial or pilot programs. Later it turned out that some of the new terminology was unsuitable or unsatisfactory in that certain words were not able to express new concepts (Jama, 1984). This was partly due to the inadequate linguistic capabilities of the writers. The practice of seeking the
advice of wise elders did also lead to complications since many elders were unfamiliar with concepts learned in schools. A workshop for secondary school teachers was therefore organized in 1981 by CDC to list all the required terminology that was still missing for the different subjects. No action was, however, taken on the findings. As mentioned previously, the process of coining new terminology was taken up again in the following years with UNICEF assistance.

During the first years after the adoption of the Somali language as the medium of instruction, the production of adequate numbers of school textbooks was fairly successful, mainly due to the enthusiasm and dedicated spirit of the time. The first crisis came when it became necessary to reprint the first editions. The short duration of the life of a textbook had not been taken into account and therefore no steps had been taken in anticipation of the need of reprints. The increasing enrollment of school children also made it necessary to print much larger numbers.

New textbooks were written for the primary schools in 1977-78 to deal with the change of duration of the primary school cycle. These books needed to be printed before the implementation of the new eight year program. The State Printing Agency could not cope with the reprinting of old books and the printing of new ones. The majority of the books were therefore never printed, and the result was a widespread lack of primary school textbooks. With the dissipation of the enthusiasm that dominated the early Somali language period, things also began to slow down. In 1975-76, the printing of a textbook used to take less than a month, in 1981 it took six months or more (Jama, 1984). Thus, in 1984 when the
new Curriculum Reform Project started at CDC, most primary schools in Somali suffered from a severe lack of textbooks. There were virtually none in grades 1-4, and frequently the teacher did not have a copy either.

Summary

The majority of the people in Somalia speak only one language, Somali. The Somali language has a long tradition of oral literature. Oral skills and poetry were highly developed and important features of traditional life, especially among the pastoralists in the North. In spite of this, the Somalis did not have an official orthography until 1972. Several attempts had been made to develop a written script, mainly using Arabic, Latin or an indigenous script, but no agreement could be reached. The reason why it took so long to choose a script was political or religious opposition. Not until the revolutionary government came to power in 1969 was the issue resolved and a Latin script was chosen as the national orthography.

Modernization of the language became a top priority in order to facilitate its use in administration, business and education. The method that was followed was borrowed from the work of early broadcasters who translated news from English to Somali and mainly consisted of coining new words or giving specialized meaning to already existing words.

In 1974-75 a textbook writing campaign was carried out to produce educational materials. The schools were closed and secondary school teachers and curriculum developers created terminology and wrote
textbooks for primary and secondary schools. By the end of the campaign, sufficient textbooks had been written and these materials were rapidly printed.

This rapid production met the immediate needs of the schools, but later it turned out that the quality of content, methodology and terminology were unsatisfactory. The staff who had written the books had little experience of primary school teaching and no experience of textbook writing. Moreover, the State Printing Agency could not cope with the reprints and the printing of the new books which eventually resulted in a lack of textbooks.

In 1984, it was therefore decided to initiate a New Curriculum Reform Project at CDC which would first focus on developing a new curriculum for the primary schools. The lack of training and experience of curriculum development and textbook production that had characterized the staff of previous efforts, was still a feature of the CDC staff that were to undertake the new reform. There were also many other inhibiting factors. Through a case study of the Somali language department at CDC, the following chapters describe and examine how the department tried to carry out the curriculum reform in a situation characterized by many constraints.
CHAPTER V
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN SOMALIA:
DEALING WITH REALITY

A horseman found a sparrow lying on his back in the middle of the road, feet up. When the horseman asked him why he was doing it, he said he'd been told the heavens were going to fall that day. The horseman laughed and asked him if he thought his puny little legs could hold the heavens up, and the sparrow said, "One does what one can."

Arabian legend.

This chapter and the following chapter describe a curriculum development work experience with the Somali language department at the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) in Mogadishu, Somalia. The description is detailed because I want to show that curriculum development, particularly in developing countries, is not such a straightforward linear process that the literature on curriculum development and curriculum development models might suggest. The description is also personal and the reality viewed through my eyes because I was part of the process and influenced the working context. Of hundreds of pages of notes of what happened during my two years at CDC I have tried to summarize and bring forward those experiences that I find most significant and typical. My intention is to recount our struggle, coping strategies, choices, compromises and achievements in the face of human and financial constraints, and to demonstrate why attempts at curriculum reform sometimes come out less than ideal.
Chapter five first describes the program setting and my entry into CDC. It then discusses different aspects of developing a syllabus and materials in the Somali language for grade one. The purpose of this chapter is not to give a sequential account, but to try to give a "feel" of the daily work at CDC. Only by focusing the analysis on the activities, events, interactive forces and dynamics of curriculum development in intimate detail can we fully understand what such work entails and approach the task realistically.

Arriving in Mogadishu

The first day here I only noticed the sand. Now I have discovered the trees also. You cannot see any houses. They are all hidden behind high walls. The women are beautiful. To be a single woman in a hotel is rather uncomfortable. If I sit down in the hotel lobby, there are only men there and they all stare at me. None is unpleasant though. It is almost impossible to make a telephone call.


I arrived in Mogadishu, Somalia on 22 September 1984. Nobody met me at the airport, but a taxi trip to UNDP established my presence and the non-existence of the telex announcing my arrival. After an hour of information of the responsibilities, conditions and entitlements of a United Nations Volunteer, I was taken to a hotel. I was allowed a day to rest, then I would be taken to the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) to be introduced to my new working place.

The same evening I happened to meet the general curriculum adviser to CDC in the reception area of my hotel. He had come to look for me but had been informed by the hotel that nobody with my name was staying.
there. He invited me home for dinner and I got my first insights into
the place where I would spend more than two years. He told me a bit
about the past history of CDC, what was presently going on, and a little
about the people working there. I was rather tired from the cultural
transition and overwhelmed by the information blitz that I could not put
in any context, but I noticed and appreciated his attempts to try to
describe the situation at CDC as objectively as possible. None of the
frequent expatriate stances: Those people cannot do anything right. I
would later experience that he had ample grounds for frustrations.

Mogadishu is a coastal town, originally founded by the Arabs, and the
town is a mixture of Arabic-style housing with several mosques and later
Italian colonial architecture from the 1930s and 1940s. The houses are
generally not more than four stories high and surrounded by walls so most
houses are invisible to a passer-by. The shops along the streets are
small, often pastel colored in shades of blue, yellow, green and pink.
The names of the shops are sometimes written in Somali or Arabic and on
the walls there are frequently painted pictures illustrating what the
shops sell. The street scene is dominated by Italian cars, yellow and
red taxis, minibuses which are the town's main public transportation,
huge lorries, generally without mufflers, and donkey carts. In certain
sections of the town, sheep, goats and occasional cows mingle with the
traffic. Many people walk, the women brightening up the streets with
their long colorful traditional dresses. The women have their heads and
shoulders covered but no veils. Some sidewalks and corners are lined
with beggars.
The new CDC building to which I was taken the following day, is located near the airport and the Ocean, some three miles from the center of the town. The building is situated on a stretch of sand, surrounded by sand dunes and with few buildings in its vicinity. To the left of the building is a garage, and opposite are a few houses. Behind the building, hidden by sand dunes, there are a couple of primary schools.

When I arrived in September, the CDC building was still under construction. It was a white, rectangular one-story building with a flat roof. The center of the building was an open courtyard without a roof, and a rectangular hall followed the shape of the building. There were about twenty-five rooms in the building, most of them rather small, assigned to the different departments. The rooms were sparsely furnished with a couple of tables, chairs and file cabinets. Later CDC added another story to the building, planted a garden and built a mosque. CDC also came to house the Inspectorate and Population Education. Canteen facilities consisted of a woman sitting outside the building, making spiced tea on a charcoal fire and serving rolls with jam and butter.

On my first day I was introduced to the CDC personnel by the general curriculum adviser. The majority of the curriculum workers were men, generally from the North. The women who worked there were either typists or cleaners. People had been assigned to different subject departments, hence the Somali language department with which I was going to work had an assigned Head and three other male members.
Getting to Know CDC and the Somali Language Department

I have now been at CDC for three weeks. We are still cutting, pasting and preparing the exhibits for CDC's official opening. It is very relaxed, but when is my "real work" going to begin? Considering the dire straits of their educational situation, how can they afford having their whole workforce involved in "decorations"? Are there some benefits I cannot see?

Personal Journal, October 1984

What I eventually learned was that "official appearances" were important in the CDC context. When CDC expected a visitor, or hosted a seminar or conference, the whole building, including its workers, experienced a "shape-up." The building was cleaned, slogans and posters were mounted and people were present and where they should be. None of the latter preparations were, however, on the scale of our one-month preparation for the official opening of CDC which took place on 21 October. And we were proud of what the building looked like on that day. It looked like a place where exciting things could take place.

This first month also gave me an opportunity to get to know the people in the Somali department. They were as previously mentioned all men, all of them were college graduates and all but one from the North. Cabdi was the Head of the department. He had taught primary school for four years and been a teacher trainer at the Primary Teacher Training College for four years.¹ He was married and had children of primary school age. Xasan had taught English and social studies (in Arabic) in the primary school for ten years, and English in secondary school for six years. Axmed had taught English for four years in secondary school. He was the only one with no primary teaching experience. Ghana was the only

¹ All names in this case study are fictitious.
member from the South. He had taught primary school for eleven years, mainly in Italian and Arabic. He had also taught Somali for three years at the primary Teacher Training College, and for two years in a secondary school. He was married with grown children. Ghana had very little understanding of English so in the beginning I had difficulties in communicating with him. Hence, most of them had been educated under the colonial system and their teaching experience had been through a foreign medium of instruction. When Somali became the medium of instruction in 1975-76, most of them had left primary school teaching to instruct at teacher training colleges or secondary schools, therefore they had no practical experience of teaching Somali in primary grades. All of the members had joined CDC in 1984 and none of them had any experience of curriculum development or materials preparation.

Not all of October was devoted to decorating the walls of CDC. I also sat down with the Somali language department to establish what syllabus work they had done before I arrived. It turned out that they had written some aims, mainly translation of aims from a teacher’s guide from Kenya, and had made some suggestions for lessons based on pictures.

In line with my own teaching and curriculum training I thought it advisable to start with a discussion where we compared our educational philosophies as basis for our future work. Among other things I therefore suggested, that we would brainstorm a list finishing the sentence, "I think children learn best when ..." The list they developed impressed me. It contained all the "right" answers: Children learn best...when they are interested; when they understand; when they are doing; when they feel respected; when they are in the center (student-
centered), etc. I felt very encouraged and optimistic. Later experience not only with the Somali department, would show that my optimism was a bit premature. Yes, people would know the educational jargon and concepts but they did not "own" them and could not translate these values into actions, most likely because they had never experienced a student-centered approach themselves, or seen it applied in a classroom.

The brainstorming and discussion sessions established, however, the very positive working climate that would continue all through our endeavors. It was not without anxiety I began my work. I was entering a new culture, I did not speak the language I was supposed to advise on, the language itself was recently written, I did not know previous curricular practices or practices in schools or teacher training institutions. Besides, I was a foreigner and a woman. If I had doubts, my Somali colleagues must have had doubts too, but they never showed them. Since I had so much to learn, I started asking questions, a learning device I never stopped using during the two years I was there. One usually cannot find information on paper in Somalia; most of it is in people's heads. Therefore you cannot read up on something and pretend you know. You have to interact with people all the time. Perhaps that was the reason why it was easy to establish a balanced relationship with my colleagues. I knew something they did not know, and they knew a lot I did not know, thus we were dependent on each other.

On the whole, a lot of social interaction takes place at CDC. People enjoy talking and discussing. There is a lot of dropping in into offices just for a chat, seldom work-related. Outside visitors or relatives will arrive at CDC, take a curriculum worker by the hand and lead him or her
out of the office for a conversation of half an hour or so. Personal visits are traditionally the most important means of communication to deliver a message, give information or solicit advice or decisions. To write letters or use the phone is still not very common and rather unreliable.

I spent much more time "just talking" than I am used to in a work situation. We would converse on any topic, politics, religion, love or family problems. In this way I came to learn a lot about the people and the Somali context that helped me in my work, and it seemed to help establish friendly relationships not only with the Somali department but also with other people at CDC, relationships that were important when you wanted to have something done. But it would be dishonest not to admit that I often thought this excessive socializing was a waste of time and interrupting and slowing down our work. During the first months we were five people sharing a small office. With visitors and discussions it was hard to concentrate. I also sometimes had to search the whole building to find a colleague I needed for help with some work, only to find him or her engaged in conversation in another office. However, after half a year or so I learned to accept it as part of the working context. Although I felt I stretched my acculturated work ethic as far as I could, some people still thought I was not particularly sociable. "Whenever I pass your office you sit with your head bent down," or "you work too hard," were some of their comments. Still, since CDC seems to be not only a working place but also a place for social interaction, most people generally come to work. When I asked a worker why he never took a
vacation he said, "What would I do at home? If I come here I'll at least have people to talk with."

The office working hours at CDC are from 7:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., six days a week, from Saturday to Thursday. CDC provides transport for its workers. Officially there are two buses for this purpose, but very often there is only one, due to breakdowns or one bus being used for other purposes. Gas is often a problem, and when available it is rationed to a certain amount per day. Often the drivers have to spend hours locating gas. The buses pick up the curriculum workers outside their homes which means that the earliest pick up might be at 6:30 a.m. and the bus arriving around 7:45-8:00 at CDC. Many of the staff then go to the canteen for breakfast, since they either have had their breakfast very early in the morning after their morning prayers, or as bachelors they live in hotels and have had no breakfast. Around 10:00 a.m. people go for a teabreak, and around 12:30 they generally start packing up for the day. The bus leaves CDC around 1:30 p.m. If there is no work transport, only a few people arrive since that would mean they would have to take public transport which to them is costly. Only those most dedicated would walk to work. Work time is also used for dealing with private affairs, since offices are only open in the mornings.

Hence, the efficient work time at CDC can be estimated to about three hours a day. However, when I sometimes returned to CDC in the afternoons I would find people there, usually those in administrative positions. They had then changed into more informal clothes, and a radio would be playing while they were doing odd jobs. Still the fact remains that the very ambitious curriculum reform program CDC set out to do—to develop a
new primary school syllabus and materials for seven subjects in three years—had not taken into consideration the work time that would realistically be spent on the program.

**Beginning to Work**

Planning is difficult. My colleagues have never been exposed to a structured language or reading program so everything I say or suggest is new to them. The Somali curriculum runs the risk of becoming "my curriculum" unless we hold the planning and work on one bit at a time.


After CDC had been officially opened, we could begin planning the syllabus and reading materials. CDC had decided to concentrate on one primer with accompanying teacher's guide. The primer would be a combination of a reader and workbook. The teacher's guide would be more like a manual built on the principle "if you can read you can teach." It would outline in detail what the teacher would say, do and write on the blackboard since most of the teachers were inadequately trained. Also they could not be expected to do any preparation work at home since their work was so poorly remunerated.

The size of the textbook had been determined to be 8" by 12." The decision was based on the suggestion of a German adviser to the State Printing Agency (SPA) who thought that this size would best fit the capacity and capability of SPA. The schools don't have any storage facilities so it would later turn out that the books were too big for grade one children to carry, especially when they got six books of this size. The result was that only a few children brought the books to
A few weeks of transporting the books to and from school also showed that the books' lives would not be long.

The first step was to collect background information about children in Somalia and teaching practices. Since my colleagues were former teachers and one of them had children in school, I asked and they provided answers according to their experience. Ideally we would have wanted to know the nature of children's language, e.g. their hearing or spoken vocabulary or language patterns used, but no data were available. Previous textbooks were of no help since they tended to contain adult language. There was no time (or money) to do a study since CDC's goal was to get some materials out in the schools within a couple of months to alleviate the crisis situation of no materials whatsoever in the lower primary schools. The approach we later came to adopt to deal with children's language was to ask, for example, Cabdi who had children, "would your daughter say it like this?" It was far from ideal, but it was the best we could do just then.

The aims and objectives for Somali Book 1 were basically written by me. My colleagues' previous experience of language arts had focused on reading and writing. The methodology had been: first you learn the alphabet, then you read and write. Listening and speaking skills had been neglected. Structured reading programs were unheard of. Their teacher education had not provided them with any tools either, therefore it was very difficult for them to come up with suggestions for objectives. One alternative to get them more involved at this stage would have been to provide training in child development, children's language development, principles of language arts and the art of writing aims and
objectives. We could not do that. It would have been very time-consuming, even very superficial training would have needed at least a month, and we were pressed for time according to our production schedule agreement with UNICEF. It would also have become rather abstract. Therefore I suggested aims and objectives, explained why I had included them and asked for feedback. At this stage the staff thought everything sounded very good and possible. Later, by working on the different components and by discussing and writing lessons they came to understand the concepts and objectives. When we were wiser and more experienced, they revised the objectives.

The materials we prepared for the first half of the Somali Book 1 were a radical departure from previous books. Two weeks were mainly based on pictures, listening and talking. Since we focused so much on pictures, one issue was to what extent children in Somalia were picture literate. This had not been previously tested and not given much consideration. In rural areas there are not many pictures or illustrated materials. Only children in towns are exposed to posters or paintings.

The illustrations for the lessons were also a problem. As previously mentioned, the artists in the AV-section were primary school teachers or other persons good at drawing but most of them were without formal training and none of them had any experience of textbook illustration. They were therefore not good at, for example, perspectives, proportions or drawing people in movement. Another difficulty, particularly in the beginning, was the translation of ideas from the subject department to

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2 CDC staff were paid stipends by UNICEF. These stipend payments were tied to a production agreement.
the illustrator. Since the artists were not very skilled they wanted to use other pictures as models. It therefore often happened that you got an illustration that did not look as you wanted it to look because it had been copied from another picture.

During the first weeks, when most departments focused on lessons based on pictures, I noticed how overwhelmingly male-biased the pictures were. In science, for example, I saw a picture of a science lesson classroom with a male teacher talking to a class of only boys. Other departments, including our own, showed the same tendency. This eventually led to a personal crusade on my part to try to promote CDC materials that would depict an equal number of males and females in both traditional and non-traditional roles.

To teach a lesson based on a picture only called for a new teaching approach. What teachers would normally do with a picture was to ask the pupils to name the things they could see in the picture. End of lesson. To make pictures a starting point for practicing different oral skills meant that the teachers would need new questioning skills and new methods of teaching. These new methods had to be provided in the teacher's guide. Therefore we devoted most of the time during the first months of the book writing teacher's guides for the lessons. The methods were not only new for the teachers, they were also new for the curriculum writers so they had to be trained. First the Somali department wrote suggestions for lessons based on pictures that I looked at, but since their repertoire of methods was so limited, the lessons would only have lasted for ten minutes. Our department did not have a single reference book that could have helped them. I therefore provided a model in English
which they followed. They first wrote a lesson in English, I read it through and made suggestions. Then they translated it into Somali and I looked at it again, not that I understood much, but I could see if they had jumped steps in the translation, omitted sentences, used capital and small letters and punctuation correctly or underlined what should be underlined. I would estimate that a quarter of my advising time during the first year was devoted to checking the mechanics of correct sentences and paragraphs, a consequence of dealing with a recently written language. Writing lesson models for the department became a curriculum training approach I used much during the first year. It saved time although the lessons tended to become very similar. I comforted myself with the thought that repetition of the same type of lessons would also serve as teacher training. By not exposing teachers to a lot of different lesson types, they would at least learn to do a few well. Besides I could not come up with any better solution in view of our restricted time and the lack of skills of curriculum writers and teachers. I came across a section on reading materials production in a UNESCO sourcebook. It said that a

team should include at least one reading specialist, one or two writers who are proficient in the language used, and one person proficient in fieldwork for collecting information as well as testing materials. The help of a linguist, sociologist and educational psychologist should be available to the team on a part-time basis. A full time artist will also be a great asset. An artist who has been with the group and who has understood the philosophy and sequence of the materials... (McCullough & Chacko, 1973, p. 169).

I wondered how many developing countries would be able to fill this criteria.

After the lessons had been translated into Somali, they had to be first typed, then the typed pages would be copied and assembled into a
teacher's guide. Most of the typists at CDC were self-taught. In the beginning they therefore had to be told about margins, headings, underlining, indentations and spacing. Also, to begin with we did not have self-erasing typewriters so we repeatedly had to ask them to proofread the page before they took it out of the machine. If they did not, they had difficulties in, for example, hitting a previously typed line for correction. Since the typewritten page was to be copied directly for the teacher's guide it had to be as perfect as possible. Many were the instances when a whole page had to be rewritten because the typist had skipped a part of a line or not used the correct margins.

When the typist returned the lesson for the teacher's guide to the department for final proofreading, the consequences of a recently written language again became evident. The curriculum writers sometimes did not use the same word for an object or a concept or their spelling differed. Therefore, we had to sit down and try to standardize spelling, plurals and the writing of verb forms, and to introduce some kind of vocabulary control. Eventually, as we gained more experience, we achieved some internal standardization, consistency and vocabulary control, but this was never coordinated with other departments. The reason why this never took place was mainly because we all had to struggle so much just to cope with a task for which we did not have the skills or resources. The more subtle finesses of language had to take second place. That we were able to use the Somali language was achievement enough. Unofficially our department acted as some kind of standard-setter and occasionally people from other departments would ask our advice. Since there are three main dialects in Somalia and since no advice as to what dialect to use is
provided from the ministerial level, most language choices were based on opinion—a process that could lead to very lengthy discussions.

Most of the members of the Somali language department were used to reading English, Italian or Arabic, but not their own language. This became evident when they were proofreading lessons in Somali. Some of them would proofread aloud, possibly because they had to hear the word to recognize it. A visual image would not give an immediate stimuli for understanding, since their experience of the language had been mainly oral. They also tended to overlook a sentence beginning with a small letter, a word that had been capitalized by mistake or spelling mistakes. It is perhaps not surprising, because there are so few good and correct models in Somali to follow. Consider, for example, the following excerpt from the daily Somali newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar* which not only displays typesetting problems, but also lacks punctuation.

Waxay iigu jawaab tay: macallimaddeyda aayaa igu tiri: Buugaagta sheekooynka carruurta lagu qoro wey habboon tahay inay carruurta guryaha dhigtaan wa xaaase habboon inay habeystaan oo ay mak tabad u sameystaan, dafaadeedna ku ururisadaan Wargeysyada, buugaagta iyo waxii kale ee wax ka qofayo sheekooynka maawcalada carruurta waxaana wanaagsan in arday kasta uu nadiifyo, si wa naagsanna u sarto keydka maktabadda u yaall lo, sidaas darteed ayaan mashquun u ahay haatan oo waxaana nadiifinayaay oo aan safayaa buugaaga ta aad u jeeddo.

After we had written four weeks of teaching materials based on listening and speaking, we introduced the teaching of letters. Since
Somali is basically a phonetic language I suggested we introduce reading using a phonic or synthetic method, i.e. the method where the letter-sound relationships are emphasized as the first steps in beginning to read. Previously the children had first learned the names of the letters in Arabic alphabetical order: B, T, J, X, etc. Then they had learned syllables, but they had never followed through the syllabic approach, i.e. combined the syllables they had learned into words. Instead they had proceeded from syllables to reading any words without considering of what syllables they consisted.

I explained to the department how you teach children to read by using the sounds of letters, and they thought it made sense and would work in the classroom. But they also told me it would constitute a minor revolution, since the chanting of the names of the letters (instead of the sounds) was so much a part of traditional teaching, and that parents might react negatively if the children learned the letters in a new way.

Learning the sounds of letters instead of the names was not the only change. We also started teaching small letters first, since they are more frequent in texts than capital letters. Moreover, we did not teach the letters in alphabetical order but according to their frequency in words and how easy their sounds were. So the initial changes in our reading program were: 1) teaching the sounds instead of the names of the letters; 2) teaching small letters first; and 3) not teaching the letters in alphabetical order. It was sobering to realize that what is considered "innovative" approaches to teaching reading is very contextual. Our method of teaching reading would not have merited an article in a professional journal, yet it changed a long-standing
educational tradition, to the extent that it could be a failure if it met with too much resistance.

The first step was to train the Somali department in the use of the reading method. Since the staff found that the approach made so much more sense than the way it was presently being taught, they soon became proselytes, and in their turn taught teachers in what would be our trial schools and in workshops. Personally I had my doubts about the approach. What if we built up a reading program around a method which would eventually fail? I thought the method was practical and not too difficult, but there was no time to pilot test the idea. To launch a reform as we did without previous testing is not uncommon in Africa. Pilot testing is usually a luxury they cannot afford. It is a long process and societies cannot wait very long for reforms (Lallez, 1974; Thompson, 1981). We certainly had to make a fast decision and then pursue it. It is too early yet to say how the method is going to work. We did not meet with any resistance among the teachers to which we introduced the method, once they understood the principle behind it. The children did not have any problems since they were not burdened with any previous ideas of how teaching of reading should be undertaken. The success or failure will probably be determined by what teacher training can be provided.

In the beginning of January, 1985, when the Somali Department had produced about two months of teaching materials, the general curriculum adviser suggested that CDC should try to produce materials for three months by the end of January. Although primary school terms were supposed to begin in September-October, they were still recruiting
children for grade one in January. If CDC had three months of materials ready these could therefore be used in the schools where there were presently no materials. Also departments at CDC needed to do some testing of the materials written and this would present an opportunity to do so. Two days after the first production deadline had been set, it was changed from end of January to the end of February. The reason was that the AV-section was so far behind. Departments had handed in six or seven weeks of lessons for illustrations and layout, but the AV-section had only been able to do a couple of weeks of lessons, mainly due to lack of trained and experienced layout personnel. The idea of producing three months' of trial materials was never implemented, like so many other plans that were initiated or suggested during my time at CDC. We could not accomplish the task within the timeframe set.

Progress and More Work

I get less and less time to do what I am supposed to do. CDC is getting a reputation of being one of the few functioning institutions here. A lot of outsiders want our help. We have more equipment and materials now so our work is a little easier. I am still worried about our books being male-biased. The UNDP Res. Rep. had called me a "women's libber" and it's hard work convincing people at CDC that girls' education is a concern.


When people and organizations in Mogadishu began to realize that CDC had a certain expertise in educational matters they started approaching us for help. Adult Education and the Women's Education Department (WED), for example, would seek our assistance. Other organizations were mainly interested in our AV-department, to get leaflets, posters and illustrations done. Then there were visitors from outside funding.
agencies who saw CDC as a potential funding object, plus other visitors with a marginal interest in education who were directed to CDC since the place had become something of a show-piece. Things were happening there, things were produced there. Nobody who asked for help was turned down, because it was beneficial for the country if, for example, health education, population education or women's education projects were coordinated with primary education. Still these activities diverted time away from the regular department work. Since our workdays were so short, a meeting could eat up most of a day. Fortunately the Somali department became more and more competent and able to work on their own, still if they came across a problem they could not solve themselves, or wanted my approval before continuing, nothing might be accomplished if I was away for most of a day in a meeting. The department itself also got involved in other unforeseen tasks. They were asked to advise the Arabic department on language teaching strategies, since that department had difficulties in finding an approach that was suitable for children and second language teaching. Some members of the Somali department were asked to put together a book on Handwriting. Others were engaged in translating materials for WED. Some of these tasks were supposed to be done outside regular work, but the staff tended to want to bring the work to CDC so they could get advice.

My work as an adviser was split into many diverse tasks. The following can be considered a typical day:

7:50 I talk to Cabdi about his sister who is having an operation.
8:05 I check what lessons for the teacher's guide have not yet been typed. I look for the typist but cannot find him.
Axmed comes in and shows me a lesson he has written. The objectives he has written for the lesson have nothing to do with the content of the lesson. We discuss this and make changes.

Ghana shows me the latest drawings he has fetched from the illustrator. Big problem. What is supposed to be the same boy in several illustrations looks different in every picture. The children will not be able to recognize him as the same boy. The illustrator evidently cannot draw the same face in different pictures. I go to the AV adviser to get advice on what to do. The adviser is busy. I have to wait 15 minutes. He suggests we find an attribute by which the boy can be distinguished, e.g. something about his dress, a watch, a scar. Back to the department. Big discussion. Watch is out, children are poor; dress cannot be changed, they all wear the same uniform; a piece of string around his wrist, not common; possibly a handkerchief. We take the handkerchief idea to the illustrator. He thinks the idea is inappropriate. No solution to the problem.

Teabreak.

I start proofreading typed lessons.

Visitor arrives. A Somali who studies at an American university. He is supposed to write a paper and wants me to tell him why there is such a high dropout rate in Somali primary schools. I suggest that he must be a much better informed person about that than I. He says: "No, you outsiders know more than us." We discuss possible causes and I help him with questions for his questionnaire.

I continue proofreading typed lessons.

Xasan tells me a story he has written and wants suggestions for extension exercises.

Everybody in the department has left.

As we progressed in our materials writing additional tasks were added to the routines of composing lessons. By mid-February we were ready to test some of the materials we had written. For this purpose we had invited a group of children to CDC from Hawa Tako school, one of the better schools in Mogadishu. The members of the Somali department would act as teachers and we would try out different types of lessons. In
order to make this try-out a learning experience for the CDC staff, we were going to videotape the lessons.

A couple of days before the children were to arrive, we practiced the lessons the department would teach, following the teacher's guide we had written. The staff were told to act as if they had little children in front of them. I was a bit disconcerted when one of the members who was going to teach the letter "m" started with a very theoretical introduction, told the "children" what they were going to learn in this lesson, provided answers instead of asking questions, wrote words on the blackboard although children at this stage cannot read, and did not write the letter "m" following the handwriting model we had adopted. The only explanation could be that he was the one who had never taught primary school. But he was going to now. I demonstrated, he did it again, and it developed eventually into a very fruitful discussion for us all.

The try-out with children went very well. We did not discover any methodological problems and the children were eager and interested. I noticed that the students were not used to the open-to-personal-interpretation questions that characterized our method. One of the questions was: "Where do you think this picture is from?" Student 1: "Merca." Teacher: "Good, and you?" Student 2: "Merca." All the students answered "Merca." It seemed that once the teacher had said Merca was a good answer, everybody thought that was the correct answer.

An additional task I took upon myself was to try to raise the consciousness among CDC staff about the importance of educating girls. Only about a third of the girls in the country attend primary schools
compared to boys. There are regional differences, with some regions having enrollment figures for girls as low as 0-5%.

There are many reasons why girls don't attend school and CDC would not be in a position to affect many of them. What CDC could do, however, was to ensure that the materials that were produced were aimed at girls as much as at boys. We discussed the issue in the Somali department and they laughed a little in the beginning at my fervor, but agreed that education was important for girls too. As a first measure I then suggested that the principle that would guide all our illustrations, would be a 50-50 representation of boys and girls. Later discussions would change the content to some extent too.

It would not be very effective if only one department tried to develop materials that would promote education of girls, therefore I approached the general curriculum adviser. He was positive and suggested I should write a proposal to UNICEF asking for funds to attend the Women's Conference in Nairobi to make contact with other people and organizations with the same concerns. If this had been a fairy tale everything would have run smoothly and CDC would have produced materials which in no way discriminated against girls and women. The reality was different. First of all, mine was a single female voice that tended to be drowned in the male environment. I was not listened to. Once when I was in the AV section, an illustrator showed the male AV adviser a drawing. Adviser: "Excellent!" Gudrun: "Why aren't there any girls in the picture?" Adviser: "That's none of your business. It's not your program." Secondly, since there was little awareness of the importance of girls education, departments did not consider the issue critical, and
if they did, they did not know how they could change their materials so that they became more responsive to girls' needs. Eventually I succeeded in creating a small support network and achieved a little success, but it was an uphill struggle most of the time.

Visiting Schools

Seen reality in primary schools. It is really worth trying to improve the situation. So little is needed to make learning more interesting.


I had visited primary schools outside Merca in December 1984, but at that time there were few pupils in the schools and the classrooms I visited had no teachers. Any real teaching did not start until late January, thus only leaving a primary school year of four or five months. CDC did not much attempt to reach out to the schools, visit them or test the materials during the first one-and-a-half years.

Since I had not seen a real teaching situation since I arrived in Somalia I, Cabdi and Ghana arranged to visit some lower primary classes in Mogadishu in April. The schools we were going to visit operated an afternoon shift from 2-6 p.m. One of the reasons why you hesitate to visit schools is the preparation it takes. First we had to arrange transport to go to the different schools to ask permission to visit. We had to have an official letter from CDC to the principal so that they would not believe that we were "inspecting." Then we needed to arrange transport again for the actual visit. The fact that the schools were informed of our visit was a disadvantage, according to Cabdi. The
principal might ask the best teacher of the school to teach a prepared lesson.

The primary schools around Mogadishu are usually pink or yellow, one-story high and built around a courtyard. The classrooms have bare cement walls, a blackboard and long wooden benches attached to the floor. The lower primary school children wear school uniforms, white blouses or shirts and turquoise skirts or shorts.

In the first school we were welcomed by an older principal. Often principals in Somalia are rather young, sometimes not more than 18 years old. The principal introduced us to a grade one class and the teacher took over.

When we entered the class the children stood up and said in chorus, "Galab wanaagsan, bare" (Good afternoon, teacher). Then they sat down with their hands tightly crossed over their chests. I asked Cabdi why they sat in this manner and he said they were afraid to be hit by the teacher who was standing with a stick in front of the class.

The alphabet was written on the blackboard in clear, regularly spaced letters. One student went up to the blackboard, pointed at one letter at a time, said it aloud, and the class repeated it, or rather shouted it. We could hear similar shouts from other classrooms. Then another student went up to the blackboard and did exactly the same thing. And another, and another. This went on for half an hour, when we left.

In the next classroom we visited, exactly the same thing went on. Cabdi told me that if they had not been visited by us, the teachers would probably have practiced the alphabet for 5-10 minutes, then sat outside the classroom while a monitor watched the class. In this case the class
would be sitting quietly doing absolutely nothing for the rest of the
lesson.

In the second school we visited we found similarly the alphabet
written on the blackboard in the grade one classroom, but not as neatly
as in the previous school. The teacher was evidently not prepared for
our visit so she asked the students to take out their exercise books.
She then wrote a song on the blackboard and asked the students to copy
it. Her handwriting was bad and she did not space the letters or words
correctly. Since the children cannot read at this stage, and since the
teacher's model was so poor, what they wrote in their exercise books was
a jumble of illegible signs, not following any lines. One student had
his exercise book in a vertical position while writing. Then the teacher
read the song and the children repeated it. They did not sing the song.

We then tested some of our pictures with the children. It turned out
that they did not recognize some of our pictures that were predominantly
rural, since they had grown up in town. But the children were extremely
eager to look at the pictures, probably because they were the first
materials they had seen.

In the third school, they were teaching syllables: BAA, BOO, BUU,
etc. The teacher read the syllables, the students repeated them, over
and over again. Then they wrote the syllables in their exercise books.

An ambitious feature of this school was that the teachers had to hand
in lesson plans every morning with objectives, methods and materials to
be used, activities and evaluation. The plan was stamped by the
principal. However, the principal never checked if the teachers imple-
mented what they had proposed. If he did, I was told, he would not have any teachers.

**Finishing and Printing Our First Book**

It is now four months since our book was printed and we still haven't got copies for the department. The books are in the Ministry store; we have to have a letter; there is no transport; the Head is not there... If CDC could only concentrate on this problem, we might have got the books earlier.


By the end of April 1985, we were ready to begin planning the last third of our book, the actual reading section. Through many months of lesson writing, suggestions and questioning by me, and testing lessons with grade one children, the Somali department had a much better sense of the level of the children for which we were writing. When we began to discuss pictures and themes for reading, it turned out that what they suggested and what I thought was interesting and appropriate for children differed. The department suggested themes that were didactic, e.g. Axmed being a good boy helping father and Aamina being a good girl helping mother, themes that should serve as models to school children. I wanted to concentrate more on children's activities and scenes that depicted both good and bad behavior since that is the reality of life.

One of the advantages of our working relationship in the department was that my colleagues were never overly in awe of my "expertise." They would listen to what I suggested but would tell me immediately if they did not agree or if they though what I proposed was inappropriate, at least if we dealt with a topic with which they were familiar. However, I
also think that by working with me, for different reasons they began to think like me. This meant that they in some cases would accept suggestions by me that later would be rejected at a higher level. This dilemma of different values and cultural variations never ceased to haunt me.

In this particular case, we solved our problem with pictures to accompany reading with a compromise. We showed only good behavior, but children were in the center, often playing different games.

After we had decided on the pictures, we discussed what sentences to put under the pictures. This brought up a characteristic of the Somali language that would evidently make the beginning of reading more difficult. Many Somali words are long since the language uses a lot of affixes. A verb, for example, consists of the root to provide the basic meaning—sometimes modified by an extension—and endings that reflect time, mood and person etc. (Caney, 1984). Thus, the Somali verb dhegeysanaysaa is a part of the third person plural present continuous verbform, meaning "listening." Not an easy word for a beginner to decode. Therefore, the content of our sentences was to some extent limited by what words we could use without creating too many reading difficulties.

Another issue was children's language patterns. How do children in Somalia speak? We did not really know, so I sent out a couple of members of the department to schools with a tape-recorder. When they came back, one of them said, "Their language is very poor." However, when they listened to the recording they changed their opinions. The children's

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3 The complete present continuous verbform is (Ardayda) "waa ay dhegeysanaysaa."
language was not poor at all. It was very adequate and functional. What might have given the impression "poor," was the fact that children do not speak in complete sentences. On the question, "What games do you play in the afternoon?" the children would answer, "Football." Before the interview, the department favored only complete sentences and a written language, as opposed to spoken language, for our texts. After the interview they also felt comfortable with spoken forms. However, when our next book was revised by one of the few linguists Somalia has, the issue of written versus spoken forms was again brought up. The linguist, who was not an expert on children's language and language development, thought that only complete sentences were acceptable in a reader. We argued our point, but his status was such that my colleagues thought it advisable to follow his suggestions, at least in some cases.

By the end of June, 1985, our first book was print-ready, but the State Printing Agency (SPA) was not ready to print it until the end of August. I was slightly shocked to find out that the book was going to be printed in 50,000 copies--25,000 to be used in grade one, and 25,000 to be used in grade two. What about try-out? We had only tested a few prototype lessons using our own staff, but the whole reading method had not been tried out with teachers. I was told by the Head of CDC that the 50,000 copies were going to be considered as "trial," since there were no books at all in grades 1-2. If we only printed 3,000 copies for trial and revision purposes, we would probably have to wait 2-3 years for full printing, considering SPA's capacity. The educational situation was critical. Parents were losing faith in education and enrollment figures
decreased. The delay that a trial would have meant could not be politically afforded.

If we had known in advance that the printing would be more or less final, we might have done more try-out in the schools. In retrospect I am not so sure that would have happened. Our first year was a year of learning, training and coping. Our energy was maximally taxed. In spite of many constraints and limitations we had produced a book that we considered a definite improvement over previous textbooks. At an academic distance I can ask myself, why didn't we do this? why didn't we choose a different path? Yet, I know that there were so many forces and "energy-drainers" influencing our work that what we did, and the way we did it, seemed inevitable.

Exactly a year after my arrival at CDC, September 1985, we saw the first printed version of Somali Book 1. The fly-leaf was wrong, some of the lessons were in the wrong order, names of the authors were wrong and there was a white streak across many of the pages, but we were proud! A couple of months later, the Minister of Education held up CDC's books at an assembly on Teacher's Day and declared, "A new educational revolution is sweeping the country, starting with grade one." Our department was complimented on our achievement by the Vice-Minister of Education. A USAID funded project arranged a review of CDC's books and praised them for their superior quality compared to previous books, their excellent illustrations, and their accurate and adequate content with a true Somali focus (USAID, 1985).

There were also some unintended outcomes of the printing. An inspector told CDC's general adviser: "You have achieved something."
Adviser: "What?" Inspector: "Your books are printed." Adviser: "I know." Inspector: "Yes, I have been using pages of them as toilet paper." This was not in any way a judgement of our books, but a consequence of State Printing practice. They would line up certain pages incorrectly and then sell them by the kilo to hotels and shops to be used as wrapping paper. This practice was condemned by the Minister of Education and people were encouraged to report such misuse to the police.

Even if our first book was printed, it would not work without the teacher's guide, since our methods and activities were so different from previous practices. SPA was not going to print the teacher's guide. CDC would do it on a duplicating machine. The work at CDC started in mid-October. The first problem was the paper. The paper we had to use was of inferior quality so it absorbed too much ink. Therefore, when the duplicated papers piled up, they smeared the previous printed pages. In addition to smeared pages this also meant that prints could not be made on both sides of the page. Eventually it was decided to use CDC's offset machine for the Somali teacher's guide. The offset machine broke down after a while. After two weeks it was fixed, but then it was decided it needed a stabilizer because of the fluctuations of the electrical current and an ordered stabilizer was still in the port. When the machine at last was working again, it was realized that personnel had to be trained. They had to learn how to get pages lined up, how to print back to back and how to get the numbering of the lessons right. The training had to be done by the AV adviser who then had to abandon his normal advising responsibilities for several days which meant that a lot of layout work came to a standstill.
The printing of the first part of the teacher's guide was finished by the end of January 1986. The printed pages were piled up crisscross in a big room, and eight of the women who normally worked as cleaners were asked to collate them—900 copies. The women were illiterate. This meant that they could not judge whether they put the pages in the right order by number, or if the pages were upside down. The reason why these women were asked to do the job was that they were not very busy in the middle of the day, and through their assistance the Somali department would be able to continue its regular work. By necessity, however, we ended up supervising and assisting the work for four days. It became a matter of demonstrating how to physically move to pick up the papers to compensate for the fact that they could not read. We perspired and sometimes despaired, but the women cheered us up with a lot of joking and singing.

Then the books were going to be stapled at SPA. SPA refused to do the stapling until they got a letter that stated that the Ministry of Education was going to pay for the job. This letter was lost. Beginning of February, the teacher's guides were taken to SPA, in spite of the missing letter. There they awaited stapling until mid-March when we got 100 of the 900 copies. Thus the process of getting the first teacher's guides printed and stapled took almost five months, only a few months less than it had taken to write it.

Ideally, the distribution of the Somali primer and teacher's guides to the schools would have taken place simultaneously. This did not happen. First of all the two books were printed and stored at two different places—SPA and CDC. Secondly, the teacher's guide was late in
being printed. Thirdly, there was no functioning system for textbook storage and distribution. In November 1985, the Ministry of Education promised to start a campaign for the distribution of books. In December USAID funded a seminar for people from the Ministry of Planning and inspectors on textbook distribution, and they also provided money for the actual distribution. Beginning of January 1986, SPA complained that their stores were full of printed books and refused to print any more books until the Ministry came and fetched them to their stores.

Not until the end of January—four months after the Somali book had been printed—did our department get some textbooks. Meanwhile Somali books had trickled out to certain regions. The only check we had on to what extent books actually reached the schools, was through members of the British team at CDC who regularly visited schools. They told us the different fates of our books. Some were immediately stored in cupboards because headmasters had been told not to distribute the books without the teacher’s guides or because the teachers did not know how to use them. In other schools, only the teachers got a copy. Often schools were reluctant in handing out the books to the students because they did not know when they would get any more books.

No distribution system was set up for the teacher’s guides. We sent teacher’s guides with the British team when they visited schools, and headmasters were encouraged to come and pick up copies for their schools at CDC. In the end we concentrated on getting books to our trial schools. We had to stop worrying about whether schools got their books or not because it was beyond our control. An uneven distribution was
better than none. Besides we were deep into writing Book 2 and had to focus our attention on more immediate needs and problems.

**Summary**

In this chapter I have tried to give a sense of the daily work at CDC in Somalia, focusing on my first year there when we produced our first book in Somali. What mainly characterized and influenced the work at CDC during this first year was lack of trained and qualified personnel at all levels—curriculum writers, AV personnel, typists and printers—and lack of financial resources and equipment. These constraints were coupled with a sense of urgency—the schools did not have any textbooks, therefore materials had to be produced as quickly as possible.

When we started our work in the Somali department there were no data available and no resources for collecting information on background and language. Planning was difficult since the Somali staff lacked any experience in curriculum work, materials development or practical experience of teaching the Somali language. The Somali language itself presented problems since it was recently written and not yet fully standardized in terms of what dialect to use, its concepts and its spelling. In addition, the teachers that were going to use our materials were inadequately trained and little motivated to do their work, due to very low salaries.

The only solution was to do what we could under the circumstances. This meant on-the-job training and mainly using the staff members' experience as a basis for planning and decisions on focus, content,
appropriateness and language choices. This approach was coupled with actual experience with children in schools and my advice. The curriculum development took place in an environment characterized by a working climate that differs from typical Western ideas of job efficiency and by a lack of organizational infrastructure.

What the chapter demonstrates is, that in a curriculum development context like this, it was not grand visions, educational theories and conceptual frameworks that mainly determined our work, but the constraints in human and financial resources. We had plans, we knew what we wanted to do, but we constantly had to compromise, do the next-best-thing and change our priorities in order to get anything done at all. Big ideas often ran aground on basic realities such as if there was anybody who could do it, bureaucratic procedures or lack of equipment, transport and electricity.

The following chapter will describe in greater detail some factors that influenced our work at the Somali department—what we did and how we did it—in order to further illuminate curriculum development work on the level of reality.
CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCE OF VARIOUS FACTORS ON THE DEVELOPMENT
OF SOMALI LANGUAGE MATERIALS

There were many factors that directly or indirectly influenced the curriculum development process and the curriculum materials we developed within the Somali Language department at CDC. We had control over some of them; others were beyond our control. This chapter describes and analyzes some of the factors that influenced our curriculum development work at CDC.

The following factors had the most influence on the approach, content and quality of our Somali instructional materials for the lower primary grades:

1) Foreign adviser influence;
2) Promotion of equality issues;
3) CDC context;
4) Lack of trained personnel;
5) Somali language issues.

Each is analyzed in detail below.

Foreign Adviser Influence

It was inevitable that I as an adviser would have influence on the content, product and process of curriculum development. My role was to help, train, generate ideas and provide structure to the work. As it
turned out, I also did a lot of the practical work and generally pushed and kept things going. "Gudrun is the machine of the department," one of my colleagues had told a friend. It eventually led to my taking over more responsibility than I would have liked.

What I brought to the work were my ideas, attitudes, beliefs and knowledge based on previous experience and filtered through my own culture. Although I was aware of the risks of cultural bias and sincerely wanted to be sensitive to the Somali context and culture, I could only use my own frames of reference for advising. For example, the objectives I suggested for the Somali language were based on what is considered appropriate, meaningful and beneficial for children's mother-tongue instruction in the Western world.

My approach to learning was based on the following philosophy:

1. Learning should use children's experiences, see children as resources, i.e., be child-centered.
2. Learning should promote imagination and creativity.
3. Learning should further cooperation instead of competition.
4. Learning should be activity based and problem solving.
5. Learning should promote equality and be particularly sensitive to girls' needs, since girls tend to be ignored and neglected.
6. Learning should not "hurt," but be fun.
7. Teacher-student relationships should be characterized by friendliness and respect.

My philosophy was then to be matched with the educational reality in Somali schools, where teachers were undereducated, poorly trained, little motivated, seldom encouraged, had huge classes and no materials. The
teaching was usually characterized by lecturing, memorizing, copying, little creativity, little relevance to children's own experience and often based on fear of the teacher. Hence, the situation consisted of a considerable gap to bridge.

Our task in the Somali department was to create a curriculum and materials that would perhaps not totally change present teaching practices—after all, "survival teaching" might be justified in many cases—but to give teaching a slightly different direction. We tried to do so by writing more or less programmed materials that would make teachers behave differently in the classroom if they chose to follow our instructions. The task of understanding and embracing a different teaching-learning approach we had to leave to teacher training.

Thus I suggested we let the children work in pairs, talk about their own experiences, dramatize stories and events and play language games. For example, in the teacher's guide to Book 3, we wrote instructions for exercises built on pair work. I thought that if the teachers used our guide, it would be easier for them to follow exactly what we suggested than to come up with a way of doing it differently. This assumption could of course be wrong. The teachers might simply decide to skip the lesson. With big classes, pair work would mean more noise unless the students were trained in working in pairs. The noise might attract the attention and displeasure of the headmaster unless he was informed about the underlying pedagogy. Another constraint, at least in urban schools, is that desks and benches are attached to the floor. The desks are assigned for four students, but often five or six are crammed on to the same bench. This makes grouping difficult, and perhaps pair work
unacceptable as a methodology. We introduced pair work mainly in grade three, but the grade three students we visited could not read so the materials we wanted to test could not be used. Pair work methodology might be a well-meaning technique that is never accepted except by a few teachers. Yet, what can be done to make students less passive?

In order to design materials that would be based on children's experience or be appealing to children, I had planned to let children write and submit their own stories and to do research on what children wanted to read about. This plan died when I realized the enormous organizational constraints as well as the time it would take to collect materials and data. I therefore tried to jog my colleagues' memories as to what they enjoyed as children or what their friends' children enjoyed. Although I tried, I found Somali themes to write about limited. In my culture we can write on topics such as skiing, skating, the first bike, immigrants, hobbies, pets and space monsters. Such a frame of reference did not assist me when I tried to help members of the department remember happy and sad memories from their childhood. Somali children's experience seemed based on village events like celebrations, visitors, animals or accidents. Also, according to my cultural lens, what they told me did not seem to have a "child quality," probably because Somali children's experiences were not childhood experiences in my Western sense. I simply did not have access to their world and therefore could not be a good judge of whether we wrote child-centered materials.

I sometimes found that the stories the department wrote were dry and unimaginative; therefore, I wrote some stories myself. In doing this I did interesting research, e.g., on what Somali mice like to eat (onions),
where they live and what kinds of traps are used to catch them. Through "cultural checks" I found out that the Hare was not supposed to be clever; the Fox was. I could not write a story where girls go and look for boys to play with. That was not appropriate; girls look for girls. I wrote a story about a couple of girls who found an injured tortoise and took it home to nurse it. I was told that Somalis do not take sick animals home for treatment (unless they are domestic, I suppose). I had suggested an exercise that was immoral according to my colleagues. We had a text with a dialogue between the tortoise and his wife in direct speech. I had proposed that the children read this dialogue in roles. This, too, was not appropriate. Although the dialogue was very innocent, the fact that a man and his wife were talking had sexual connotations, and the children would tease the role players afterwards. Reading a dialogue between a tortoise and an elephant in roles was, however, acceptable. Indeed, I was fortunate to have colleagues who were not afraid to point out cultural clashes, a fact that I hoped at least prevented the most obvious deviations from Somali culture.

Exercises involving imagination also displayed what I saw as differences in cultural perceptions. Cumar had written a traditional story about how the crocodile lost its tongue. This gave me an idea. Why not let children come up with similar stories of their own? Somali sheep have black heads, so I suggested we would let children fantasize around how the sheep got its black head. The Somali department was skeptical. They thought children would not be able to do that. I therefore asked a female friend at CDC to test the idea with her children. She did, and came back to report that the children had said,
"Allah gave the sheep a black head." I do not know whether the reason was her instruction to the task, the fact that her children were not in the habit of making up stories or religious influence. We decided to drop the idea.

On another occasion I had designed a fantasy animal, consisting of parts of several animals (Appendix A). In the exercise, the children were asked to identify the different animals and find the words for them. I thought the illustration was quite charming and so did the Somali department. We then had the page copied to take it to our trial schools. While the copies were lying on my desk, a member from another department came in and saw it. He asked me, "Do you think this picture is appropriate?" Gudrun: "I guess so. Why?" Man: "When illiterate people see this picture they might think, what is this? Is it a 'jinn'? Has God created an animal like this?" In short, what he was saying was that we might be accused of interfering with God's creation. The Somali department argued with him and defended the picture. The picture was then taken to other departments for their opinion, and in the end it was shown to the Director of CDC. He told us not to use the picture. We could keep the different parts of the animals, but they had to be kept separate so that the parts would not make up a hypothetical animal. I felt it spoiled the whole idea, to intrigue and stimulate children's curiosity and imagination, but I had to respect their judgement.

In this way, educational philosophy, ideas and methods, filtered through my cultural grid, were bounced and checked against Somali philosophy, culture, tradition and reality. Therefore, the outcome of the curriculum development process was not totally Somali in origin.
This might be considered both good and bad. It was good because I provided an infusion of new ideas, approaches, methods and ways of thinking about learning. It was bad because I provided advice that was inappropriate or not feasible due to my lack of knowledge and understanding of the context. I could only trust my Somali colleagues to guide me and to inform me when they perceived a strong culture or reality clash, and they were honest and straight-forward. However, it is also possible that they accepted or promoted some of my advice out of respect, loyalty, friendship or because my ideas sounded good on paper. The influence of foreign advisers on education can be considerable, and advisers are not always realistic, sensitive and wise. I was fortunate in that I worked on a practical grass-roots level where I got daily evidence of problems and constraints. What would I have advised if I had been an educational planner, comparatively isolated in an office in the Ministry of Education?

Promotion of Equality Issues

My influence as an adviser was very pronounced in one aspect of our curriculum effort--that of furthering the cause of girls' education. Since I tried to influence not only the work of the Somali department but the work of the whole of CDC, and since I regard equality issues in education and elsewhere of utmost importance, I chose to treat this topic separately from the previous section on adviser influence.

Education is one of the areas in which women have made the greatest gains during the last decades. Most governments have taken measures to
remove formal barriers to entry into school systems and give equal access to girls and boys. However, basic education is not yet available to a large proportion of the world's children, and girls are particularly disadvantaged. Especially in rural areas in developing countries, the advantages to the family of girls' work at home can often prevail over what benefits are seen in sending girls to school (Sivard, 1985).

Lack of access to education due to economic considerations is not the only constraint. In societies and in the educational process itself there are also restrictive stereotypes of what is considered "natural" or "acceptable" for both sexes. School curricula and textbooks can help to change or reinforce these stereotypical patterns. Although there is little information available on what effect content of education has on the images that girls have on themselves, evidence suggests that teachers and instructional materials perpetuate cultural stereotypes. Awareness is, however, growing of the need to eliminate discriminatory materials that suggest academic limits and limits of choices for women.

As a result of the declaration of universal primary education (UPI) in Somalia in 1975, most of the formal barriers to equal access to educational opportunities were removed, and the proportion of girls enrolling in primary schools increased. A decade after the introduction of UPI, however, the enrollment figure for girls is still very low. In fourteen out of eighteen regions, girls' enrollment in lower primary schools is below 5%, and in some regions it is 0%.

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1 From a speech made by the Head of Educational Research and Documentation Service at a CDC seminar, 27 November, 1986.
Social attitudes and economic constraints seem to be the main obstacles to education of girls, e.g., girls are needed at home for work, early marriage, parents do not understand or see any benefits of educating girls or stereotypical thinking. There are presently also barriers to girls' participation inside the school, e.g., images textbooks convey and teachers' attitudes and expectations. For example, in the previous Somali textbook for grade one, illustrations show 89 boys or men but only 20 girls or women, thereby giving the impression that men/boys are more important and that schooling is mainly for boys.

When I have talked to Somali women educated in the late 1960s, they claim that the attitude towards girls' education was different then. One woman said that she went to school to become clever and educated which was connected with dignity. It was something you wanted to do. And girls' schools competed with boys' schools in who was best in science or mathematics. "Now," she said, "boys will say in class when a girl is asked a question: 'She doesn't know that because she is a girl.' The girls have now internalized the concept that they are dull." She did not offer any explanation to why the situation has deteriorated for girls. One can only speculate. One reason might be that in the 1960s, there was no universal primary education, and only perhaps the elite went to school. The general decline of education in Somalia during recent years might also contribute to a greater reluctance to send girls to school. Parents see few benefits even for boys.

In chapter V, I mentioned that the first thing that struck me at CDC were the male biased illustrations. Pictures were dominated by men and boys. I began working with the Somali department to raise their
awareness of the issue and to ensure that we at least had a fair representation of both sexes in our illustrations. Three months after my arrival I brought up the topic of curriculum content and girls with the general curriculum adviser to get a sense of what he thought was feasible in the CDC context. We discussed the possibility of holding a seminar for CDC curriculum writers to promote awareness of the importance of girls' education and how curriculum materials could have an impact. He suggested I apply to UNICEF for funds to attend the Women's Conference in Nairobi in July, 1985, in order to contact and share ideas with women from other countries who had the same concerns. I applied and UNICEF approved.

Then I started my own networking at CDC. I had the approval and support from the general curriculum adviser who was quite influential in CDC policy, and I never let him forget the issue. I would look over his shoulder when he drafted the general goals for the new curriculum and ask him whether it said anything about the importance of girls' education. So he added a sentence. I asked him if he had reviewed illustrations of the different departments in terms of the representation of sexes.

I also needed support from the Somalis. I therefore approached two female curriculum writers in the Health Education department. I brought up my concern and we discussed the issue. They had not thought about the effect curricula could have on girls, but were quite supportive. I gave them copies of a UNESCO publication dealing with the images of men and women in textbooks. One of these women later became a strong and eloquent advocate for women and girls.
The idea of holding a seminar to promote education of girls was brought up by the general adviser at a meeting for department Heads in April 1985, and was approved. I was not present at the meeting so the adviser reported later to me the outcome. A committee was to be set up to plan the seminar, and, added the adviser, "I don't know if I dare to tell you this, but the Director suggested you should be secretary for this new committee, so I told him I would be the first secretary and then the position could rotate." After the meeting I wrote a proposal to UNICEF for funding of such a seminar, and UNICEF approved the proposal.

Although the Somali department was basically positive to the idea of equal representation of boys and girls in illustrations and agreed that we should promote positive images of girls and women, the task was still not easy. If we told our artist that we wanted a scene of children playing, he would draw many more boys than girls. Somali stories that the department adapted often seemed to center around men and boys. I kept asking, "Couldn't this story be about a girl instead?" Sometimes they agreed, other times they said the theme only applied to men. Although I thought I was sensitive to the issue, I also lapsed. I would find that I had approved a text where Sahra was feeding chickens while Axmed was playing football—a type of illustration unfortunately common in textbooks. Girls are working and doing boring things, while boys are depicted as doing fun and interesting things.

I also wanted to discourage negative images of girls and women. This led to intensive discussions in our department because the idea clashed with some of the best known and most popular traditional Somali stories. One such story is about a woman called Dhegdheer. When she married she
was a good woman. "After a time, she bore a child to her husband. It was unfortunate that the child was a girl, but God had willed it so" (Laurence, 1970, p. 129). As the story develops the woman eventually becomes a cannibal. Another story is about Araweel, a wicked, viciously cruel queen who ordered all baby boys to be killed. My colleagues only regarded these stories as entertainment. I brought up similar stories from my own culture and pointed out that many folktales with a woman in a central role, show the woman as cruel or wicked, and that I did not feel comfortable including such stories in our primary readers. In the end we decided to leave out these popular stories.

Although I felt strongly about not including texts that were only depicting women in traditional roles or texts that were derogatory to women, I felt I was walking a tight-rope. I wanted a curriculum that did not in any way discriminate against girls or women. At the same time I did not want to be insensitive to the country's social values. Once we wanted to illustrate a scene of a rural family eating. All but Cumar thought that we should show the mother eating together with the girls and the father with the boys. It sounded to me as if this was a rural tradition, so although I agreed with Cumar, it seemed best not to interfere with tradition on this particular issue. Later, this turned out not to be the right decision.

In September 1985, I was informed by the CDC Director that no seminar to promote education of girls would take place. Two other big seminars were scheduled for CDC which would demand all its organizational capability. The committee that we had planned to set up for the seminar had never materialized. The departments continued developing materials
without consideration of girls. I had a bad conscience constantly for not doing enough or making things happen. I had long discussions with a close friend about what I felt was my limited impact, but she comforted me by saying, "Look, if you hadn't been there absolutely nothing would have happened."

And at the end of 1985, some progress had been made. We had promise of funding for a seminar. There was a sentence about the importance of girls' education in the overall goals of the new curriculum. Sadiya from the Health Education department had pointed out at a seminar for regional Educational Officers that there were no female inspectors. The Somali department was a bit less male biased in their way of thinking. I had distributed a checklist to the different departments of points to consider when writing curriculum materials. This checklist dealt with images, roles and activities of girls and women, and the list generated discussions in some departments and was ignored in others. The Physical Education department told me when they had seen the list, "Girls are not interested in P.E. They only sit beside half sleeping." The Environmental Studies department said, "We are not going to put a woman on a tractor!" Others were more positive. The Health Education department, through Sadiya, already worked along the lines suggested in the checklist. The Social Studies department was positive to the idea, even if their products did not always show it. For example, I once looked at some of their layed-out lessons and saw a classroom with only boys. I asked the Head jokingly: "Is this a boys' school" Head: "No." Gudrun: "But there are no girls." Head: "Oh, ... we'll change that." And he took the page back to their illustrator.
In 1986 I continued to try to influence the curriculum towards equality of educational opportunities, with more or less success. I have mentioned that the Health Education department was consciously trying to promote equality. Then they got a West African male adviser. I happened to see a lesson he had designed in English about the concept "The Family." About the mother it read: "She is hardworking, quiet and obedient like a good wife should be." The father was described as brave and proud, and the daughter was a nurse. I showed the lesson to Sadiya and asked, "Are you going to let this pass?" She just laughed.

In the English book for form three, written by the English team, I read that a girl "enjoys working and being useful in the house" while the boy "especially likes physics." When I pointed out the stereotypes to the writer, he said, "I don't think it is our role to change this. It mirrors society."

However, this society was changing, and so was policy. The Vice-Minister of Education, a woman, was also concerned with the images and roles of women in textbooks. The Somali department was asked why it mostly depicted women cooking and sweeping or as wives. One reason was my attempt at being culturally sensitive, but also that we in our textbooks concentrated on activities in rural areas. In rural areas a mother works mostly with chores around the house, domestic or agricultural, since there are few occupational opportunities there. Even finding appropriate occupational roles in urban areas was sometimes difficult unless you chose what women in the Western world would consider stereotypical roles, e.g. secretary, nurse or waitress.
I mentioned previously that we had an illustration of a family eating in a male and a female group. The Vice-Minister did not approve of this picture at all, but said that practices had changed. (Cabdi said he ate separately with his son.) We agreed to change the picture. This picture led to an experience that I perceived rather humiliating. An Italian delegation visited CDC, accompanied by the Vice-Minister. She wanted us to show the delegation the picture of the family we were going to change, and told them that such pictures should not be accepted any more. My sense of humiliation stemmed from the ensuing discussion where I felt the delegation was made to think the Somali department was not sensitive to equality issues. At that particular point it was hard to take.

The plans for a seminar to promote equal educational opportunities for girls proceeded very slowly. In September 1986, my first contract expired, and I was only going to do a another three-months consultancy after that. Then I would leave the country. In September nothing was firm about the seminar. I had agreed with UNICEF that I would only participate in the planning of the seminar, but not in the implementation, due to my workload. UNICEF agreed to locate a resource person for the implementation. Their attempts came to nothing, so in October UNICEF's Education Officer told me, "It seems as if you'll have to do the seminar yourself."

I made a tentative schedule with topics and activities which I presented to women from different women's organizations and CDC. We brainstormed for possible speakers. I contacted the persons and discussed with them what they might present. Then the program was presented to the Vice-Minister and approved.
On November 22, 1986—after two years of work—we were ready to open our one-week seminar, "Promotion of Equal Educational Opportunities for Girls Through Instructional Materials." CDC staff had spent the day before decorating the conference room and preparing banners with slogans. The food for the opening reception was ordered and waiting upstairs. We all waited for the Vice-Minister who was going to open the seminar. Then the Director for CDC came into my office and asked if the speakers had handed in copies of their presentations because the Vice-Minister had said she wanted them in advance. I told him that most of the speakers had not had time to have their presentations typed.

Director: "What about postponing the seminar?" Gudrun: "Absolutely not!"

So the Vice-Minister and TV came and the seminar was officially opened, without copies of presentations.

The three first days consisted of presentations and discussions. The discussions were very lively and heated. They often touched upon religious values. However, one of the female speakers had, unusually enough, continued her religious studies through her adult years. This turned out to be an asset, since men tend to have studied the Koran more and therefore dominate discussions. In this case she could challenge interpretations that seemed to give women an inferior role.

After the three days of introduction and presentation of background knowledge, the participants reviewed the curriculum materials they had already written for the lower primary school, summarized their findings, gave recommendations and came up with a plan of action for the future.

The findings showed that all CDC curriculum materials were male dominated. Women were generally portrayed as mothers, and men as bread-
winners. Women were not shown in all their roles as mothers and wives, and in occupational roles women carried out helping roles while men had more prestigious roles. Women and girls were further shown to be less active than men and boys.

Judging from the evaluation session at the end, it seemed the participants' attitudes towards education of girls had changed. Some departments were concerned about the findings in their books. However, at the peak of this heightened awareness, my contract was finished and I left the country. The general curriculum adviser had left a couple of months before. At the seminar we had discussed follow-up strategies, e.g., setting up a committee that would review curriculum materials to ensure they were in line with the recommendations of the seminar. It is doubtful that such a review will ever happen. There are few women at CDC who can "carry the torch" which takes a lot of dedication and energy in addition to the normal pressure of work. Besides, these women have family responsibilities and little spare time to spend on the task. Only if the Ministry of Education continues to support education of girls, will these initial efforts bear fruit.

I have discussed my influence as a foreign adviser in two sections. In the first case, my influence was limited to the Somali department, its work and curriculum production. In the second case I tried to influence the curriculum as a whole for Somali primary schools towards equal educational opportunities for girls. I wanted textbooks that mentioned and pictured girls and women as often as men; showed girls and women working and living as equals to men; and offered positive role models to girls. I did not want my influence on the Somali language curriculum to
be very pronounced, to the extent that the focus or content did not mirror Somali culture and social values. In terms of equality of opportunities for girls, however, I definitely wanted to have an impact. The tangible results of my influence seem to have been greater in the area of language curriculum as a consequence of lack of trained Somali curriculum writers. On the other hand, my initial attempts in the area of equality of education might have a long term effect. Without me or any other technical adviser, the Somali language department might choose any path for further curriculum work. With support from the Ministry, however, equality issues can affect the whole curriculum.

**CDC Context**

Some factors that affected the curriculum work and its outcome at CDC had to do with the CDC context itself. There were forces that operated both inside and outside CDC and they were sometimes beyond the control of CDC. Such factors were, for example, the time available for the work, staff problems, policy, priorities, institutional infrastructure and material resources.

I have previously mentioned that the effective time for work at CDC was about three hours per day. This was not much, considering the ambitious curriculum reform project and lack of trained personnel. However, other tasks and unforeseen events often reduced this time even more. In mid-September 1985, we were told that CDC's aim was to have Book 2 finished for all subjects by December 1985. This was a task that would have needed the full attention of curriculum writers and AV
personnel for the 3 1/2 months left. In October 1985, there was a complaint from the Ministry of Education because the Arabic Book 1 was not yet finished. The adviser to the AV department was appointed to be in charge of the Arabic program to ensure that illustrations and layout were done. This focus on the Arabic program meant that the AV adviser had little time to spare to advise and help illustrators and layout personnel for other departments, with the result that their work was delayed.

In November 1985, CDC personnel were asked by the Ministry of Education to teach secondary schools from 8-10 a.m., since the regular secondary teachers had not arrived by the start of the school year. In mid-December, the work on preparing a new teacher training curriculum started. The departments were asked to prepare aims and objectives for the program, collect materials and outline methods. This was an extremely demanding task. In the Somali department, the Head turned to me for help which deflected advising time from my regular work. The AV department that normally had difficulties in keeping up its production schedule were now considerably behind. They were therefore told to return to CDC in the afternoon to work. To be able to do this they needed transport. At this time there was no diesel in town, therefore this plan suffered. The result was two months' delay. Instead of finishing Book 2 in December, it was finished by the end of February 1986.

Work time was also reduced by the personal problems of CDC staff. Members of their families got sick, were injured or died, and the staff sometimes had to travel to attend to their personal business. They only
earned about 3,500 So.Shs/month which was not enough to support a family. Therefore they took on other tasks or jobs which could interfere with CDC work.

The economic concerns of the CDC personnel was particularly brought home to me when I was conducting short workshops on different curriculum topics. Originally I had only planned to give these workshops for the members of the Somali department, but the CDC Director suggested that other departments would be invited too. Attendance was high for the two first workshops, then it dropped. Cumar told me that people had come to him to ask when they would get their per diem. He had told them that they would not get any money since these workshops were internal and not funded by any external source. I felt very disappointed when I understood the reason for the decline of attendance and burst out: "Is this what it has come to? People are not interested in learning unless they are paid." Cumar: "We have to think about economics first." I was still not appeased, since I felt that the workshops only took staff away from their desks for a few hours, they did not deprive them from earning extra money.

To some extent external aid organizations have contributed to this attitude of "paid learning" in Somalia. Whenever they offer a workshop or a seminar, they provide per diem even if attendance does not involve any extra costs for the participants. The result has become a fierce competition for participation in such seminars, often involving clan politics and often generating frustration and ill feelings.

Sometimes CDC work was affected by priorities overriding curriculum development concerns. AV staff would be seconded for illustration work
in preparation for the celebration of the Revolution Day. AV staff would be asked to stop printing our teacher's guide and asked to print lined papers for the children of CDC staff. Or SPA would stop printing our textbooks and print passports instead.

Climate was a factor that also influenced work and work output. The hottest season occurs from February through April in the Mogadishu area, with temperatures around 90-100 degrees F. None of the department offices had air conditioners. The fasting month, Ramadan, when people did not eat or drink from sun-up to sun-down was also a month of reduced effort. Some government offices close earlier during this month since people are very tired. Many people stay up very late and get up before sunrise to have their first meal. It is therefore not unusual that staff fall asleep during the day.

Policy decisions were communicated by word of mouth to CDC departments. Since I only spoke a little Somali and therefore did not have access to informal chats around CDC, it was difficult for me to know what was going on, whom to listen to or which decisions to act upon. For example, in September 1985, we were told to change our general aims in accordance with the educational aims of the Arabic world. CDC never acted upon this, and nothing was further said about it. Also, information I got about the length of the primary school year differed. First I was told it was 39 weeks, then 35 weeks. The same day I had been told 35 weeks, I was informed that the Vice-Minister had said on the radio 36 weeks. Directives also changed. We were, for example, informed that the State Printing Agency would take over the task of doing the layout of the pages of our books—-a task the AV department had been doing until then.
When I had begun discussing and planning for this change, I was told that SPA was not going to do the work after all. Sometimes our department got conflicting information. The general curriculum adviser said that children should be encouraged to write in the textbooks we prepared; the CDC Director said they should not.

Lack of organized and clear information channels was part of the inadequate institutional infrastructures, both at the Ministry of Education and CDC. As previously mentioned, one aspect of this infrastructure was inaccessible or inadequate information. If I as a foreigner needed to know what had been previously done, I had to talk to the people who had been actually involved since nothing was recorded. Most information, old and new, was only stored in people's memories. If reports existed, they were usually written by expatriate advisers, but they could seldom be found. Consequently, information, decisions and recommendations were not shared and could not be built upon or acted upon.

Another feature of the institutional infrastructure at CDC was that power seemed to be invested in individual persons rather than, for example, committees. To review our books, CDC set up an advisory council consisting of headmasters, inspectors and subject specialists. Even if a book was approved by the council, their decision could be overruled by a representative of the Ministry of Education.

Finally, the availability and functioning of equipment directly influenced the production of curriculum materials. The biggest problem was lack of electricity. The electricity would sometimes not come on until noon. Particularly, the work in the AV department came to a standstill
since they constantly needed to use copying machines and repro-camera for their work. Typing was also effected. When we had electricity and our equipment was working, it was often used for other educational projects in Somalia. When a machine broke down, it took days, weeks or months to repair depending on availability of spare parts or someone to do the repairs. Equipment problems at SPA, such as lack of ink, chemicals or spare parts also determined whether any layout work could proceed at CDC.

Lack of Trained Personnel

Somali Department Staff

Of the four original curriculum developers who were in the Somali language department when I arrived, only two remained when I finished my contract in December 1986. Cabdi got a scholarship to go to Great Britain in mid-1986, and Axmed was transferred to another CDC department since I judged that his aptitude lay elsewhere. New staff joined the department, not through any established recruitment procedure, but as a result of transfer or personal recommendations. We had to accept whom we got without any screening procedure. In March 1985 we got a new member, Cumar, who eventually became a most able linguist. At the beginning of 1986, Sahra joined us fresh from secondary teacher training college. Other staff joined for a short while and then left.

Turnover of staff meant additional problems of training. New staff, for example, who were writing Book 2, had no background in the approach and methodology we used for Book 1, and little time could be spent helping them to catch up. I would usually present a brief introduction,
give them a lesson writing task to assess their ability, and have them join the regular Somali staff to learn from them.

Promotion in Somalia appears to occur through seniority or personal connections. When Cabdi, the Head of the Somali department, left, I suggested to the Director of CDC that Cumar be promoted, since I judged him to be the most capable member. This was not possible, according to the Director, since Ghana had seniority. Ghana was conscientious, dedicated, hardworking and open to suggestions, but according to the feedback I got from other members, he had problems with Somali syntax and spelling, and some of the vocabulary he used was different from the rest in the department. His command of English was weak so his and my communication was limited. He could not read any of my instructions in English; what I told the department had to be translated for him; and he could not report out very well to me from meetings he had attended unless somebody acted as interpreter. In practice Cumar came to act as unofficial Head, a task he performed very well. However, as Head of the department one attends meetings, seminars (with per diem) and also has a greater chance to go to conferences abroad or gain scholarships. Since Cumar did not get any of these rewards for his work, his spirit sank and he began investigating other job possibilities. Most probably CDC will lose him since the salary CDC can offer is not very attractive and his promotion to Head is a remote possibility.

The working atmosphere within the department was cooperative. At no point during my stay did I experience any quarrels among staff or any backbiting. They were generally non-judgmental, always finding an excuse for each other if I complained about something not being done. Everybody
participated in discussions, spoke up and had opinions. If they did not agree or thought that somebody was wrong, they would say so immediately, and nobody took offense. It appeared that they accepted that some of them were more capable than others, but this did not make them feel inferior.

Preparation of Materials

Writing. As mentioned, none of the members had any previous training or experience of curriculum development or preparation of instructional materials. Furthermore, they had not been selected for the department because of their recognized ability or skills in the Somali language, but had been assigned or recommended for their posts by other members of CDC. Most of them had majored in English and few of them had taught Somali in the primary school.

As a result of their lack of knowledge and experience, I took responsibility for initial planning, framing of objectives and outlining content, since the directive was to start writing materials immediately after the official opening of CDC at the end of October, 1984. As far as I know, none of the other departments wrote their own objectives. If they did not have an adviser, they "borrowed" objectives or based them on the content of foreign books.

Since there was no time for theory or curriculum development training, the only solution was to provide on-the-job training. My approach to this task was not the result of any previous needs analysis, but grew out of the needs as they arose. Often it consisted of providing skills without having time to explain the theory behind them. My first
two main tasks were to provide skills in designing and writing lessons and to increase awareness of children's language and awareness of characteristics and structures of the Somali language—a language I could not speak. Later the training also came to include design, editing and trial and evaluation.

There were two tasks to be accomplished for Somali Book 1: 1) to design the pages that would go into the pupil's book; and 2) to write the lessons to be included in the teacher's guide. We always discussed in a group the pages that were to be included in the pupil's book. We did a rough illustration and indicated the layout (arrangement of illustration and text) of the page which would then be handed to the illustrators and layout personnel in the AV section. In the beginning I was the sole illustrator for the page drafts to go to AV, not because I was particularly good at drawing, but I could draw stick figures. The page drafts had to include detailed instructions, e.g., exact position, size and measurements of illustration since the AV staff were also untrained for their task.

Our approach to train lesson writing skills consisted of the following steps:

1. First I wrote lessons in English which the Somali language department translated. In this way I provided a structure for how lessons could be written. I also hoped that the lessons would provide them with different models that they would internalize, however, some members only saw it as a translation task.

2. My colleagues wrote their own lessons in English and then showed them to me. I discussed the lessons with them, pointed out weaknesses
and made suggestions for improvements. We used the method of first writing lessons in English for almost a year. It slowed down the lesson writing process considerably since their lessons then had to be translated into Somali, but as long as I kept discovering serious flaws, I felt I could not relinquish my control function. Once they wrote in Somali I would not be able to tell whether the lessons were logical, had clear instructions or taught what they were supposed to teach.

3. I assigned topics to the department. The staff came to me and explained how they planned to design the lesson. They wrote the lesson in Somali; and then showed me their lesson. By this time I was well aware of the members' different strengths and weaknesses. I knew who needed little supervision, who had problems with spelling and punctuation and who jumped logical steps. My ability to read simple Somali had also improved, and my ability to detect spelling mistakes was the cause of many jokes. If I was not sure of the writer's ability to design a coherent lesson, I would ask him or her to orally translate it into English.

4. The Somali department as a group planned a month's work. They presented their plan to me, and then they distributed tasks and lessons among themselves. This phase did not occur until after almost two years of on-the-job training. However, when we at last reached this step, my colleagues were more motivated and worked harder when they took responsibility for their own work.

The steps described above may seem as logically smooth transitions from one ability level to another. The reality behind them was fraught with difficult and often frustrating work. After one and a half years of
training I would still be shown lessons with language exercises that had nothing whatsoever to do with the text they accompanied; lessons with unimaginative stories; lessons with content borrowed from other countries, not relevant to the Somali context; and lessons with the same type of exercises repeated over and over again. Particularly Sahra, who joined the department last, had difficulties. She made poor translations from English and what she wrote directly in Somali was not satisfactory either, according to Cumar, our linguist. In conversations with Cumar I tried to discover what her particular problem was. He said that she wrote long sentences with poor syntax. This was a difficulty beyond my ability since it concerned the Somali language itself. We tried to tackle her particular problem by having her first write the lesson in Somali. Cumar then corrected and improved her style. Afterwards she rewrote the improved version and was urged to reflect upon the evaluation of her writing. Thus Cumar took on a training role I could not handle.

Even if I could not contribute much in terms of improvement of Somali language ability, I could increase awareness of children's language and characteristics of the language itself, e.g., vocabulary, grammar and syntax. My first concern was identification of children's language. In the previous chapter I mentioned that we sent out two members of the department to record children's language. This kindled an interest in Cabdi who had small children of his own. He came to me a few weeks later and said he had become very interested in children's language. He then proceeded to tell me about one of his daughters who had made up a story while he was listening. Later he brought a tape where he had recorded another story his daughter had made up. What seemed to fascinate him was
his daughter's imagination--the story was about a lion flying an airplane. I found this very encouraging since the stories the department wrote were usually lacking in imagination--possibly because staff do not pay any attention to what children say or the way children say or tell things. We therefore transcribed the story Cabdi had brought and used it in one of our textbooks.

The fact that our department now had a member who took an interest in and actively listened to children provided a tremendous advantage. Cabdi became the person the department submitted stories to for evaluation of whether they were "child-friendly" or not. The solution was far from the language analysis we needed, but it was better than nothing. Unfortunately Cabdi went to Britain, leaving us with nobody who could take his place.

In order to outline a structured reading and writing program for the Somali language, I needed to know the characteristics of the language. The only way I could find out was to ask questions of my colleagues. How do you form the plural? What is the difference between the different definite articles you use? How do you compare adjectives? etc. As native speakers they had never thought about any rules. My questions forced them to start thinking about their language in a new way. The one who seemed to benefit most from these discussions was Cumar. It was not surprising since he had a good command of the language. He was also a poet and therefore had a keen ear and interest in the language.

In spite of on-the-job training in lesson writing and language, there were many tasks I performed myself, without transferring them to the staff. I wrote the introduction to the teacher's guide which dealt with
methodology. I also developed the complicated lessons, e.g., lessons dealing with visual perception, drama, cursive writing, identifying key words or expanding kernel sentences. The most compelling reason for this was to save time. In order to write a methodological introduction, for example, my colleagues would have needed reference materials. We had few or none. To tell, explain, and help them write such a section would have taken days while I could do it in a couple of hours.

I was the only person in the group who had a vision of what a structured language arts program should look like. I kept track, mostly in my head, of what we had done, what vocabulary we had used, what exercises we had employed, where there were pieces missing and what type of lessons could fill that gap. Often the staff would not work on consecutive lessons and thus not see the whole picture.

Skills in program planning and developing cohesiveness should have been eventually transferred to the Head of the department. This did not happen to any great extent. When the first Head left for Britain we were still struggling and coping with immediate tasks at hand. The next Head lacked communication skills in English and was not capable of taking on such a demanding task.

However, there were achievements too. Through discussions, writing of lessons and visits to schools, the staff achieved a sense of how teaching and learning could take place. The most remarkable result was that some of the members began visiting schools in their spare time. In December 1985, Cabdi told me that he had visited a grade three class of 70 students. The teacher had written a few lines on the blackboard for the children to copy. The students were noisy and restless. Then Cabdi
took over. He first wrote difficult words from the text on the black-
board, read them and explained them. Then he told the story and asked
the students to retell it. After that he wrote the story on the black-
board and asked the students to copy it. He also randomly pointed at
words in the text and asked students to read them. He divided up the
long words into syllables. Finally he walked round the classroom and
checked their handwriting. Thus he changed the lesson from consisting of
one activity--copying--to several activities. Cabdi said that the class
had been attentive and quiet, and I could see that he was very pleased
with what he had achieved.

Ghana also visited schools in his spare time. He would go to his
headmaster friends and explain our new approaches, and sometimes take
some of our materials to the teachers and explain, for example, how to do
document description. Thus he disseminated our ideas informally. Since
Cabdi and Ghana did this on their own initiative, without telling me
until afterwards, I interpreted it as actions done because they believed
in what we were doing and they "owned" the ideas and materials. I might
have come up with ideas initially, but by thinking about them, discussing
them and working on them they had become their own.

On a more technical level their skills also improved over time.
Cumar was asked to review adult education textbooks for the Somali
language, and he told me he had found twenty-one points to criticize,
e.g., lack of illustrations, long sentences, exercises not related to the
text, inappropriate type size, and short lessons. It was evident that
his work with our books had heightened his sense of what beginning
materials in reading should look like. Within our own department they
would read through a story they found in a Somali book and say, "The language is not suitable for children; we have to rewrite it." They began to keep track of whether they had used a word before or not, i.e., vocabulary control, and their proofreading ability improved.

Illustrating. CDC did not have artists experienced in illustrating textbooks. The artists therefore got on-the-job-training from the adviser in the AV section.

In the beginning, illustrations for the Somali books were done by different artists, with the result that the pictures had different styles. One of the artists, for example, drew children who looked more Asian than African. Eventually one artist was assigned to the department. Since the artist was not trained, we could not simply give him guidelines of what we wanted illustrated. We had to give very precise instructions of size, number of people in the picture, and their ages, sex and what they were doing. To begin with, I went with a picture draft to the artist and explained what we wanted. When we sent illustrations back for changes because they were not what we wanted, the artist complained that he did not understand my English. Then Ghana took over the task of giving instructions.

All through our four books we had to struggle with two problems: transfer of ideas from department to artist and lack of illustrating skills. We would ask for a shirt with short sleeves and get one with long sleeves; we would ask for a boy and a girl running and get a boy running and a girl standing; we would ask for a picture 5" by 5" and get a picture 10" by 15." This happened even after we had changed to instructions in Somali. When I sometimes asked the artist why, he would
either not answer or shrug his shoulders. If Ghana asked him, he would say Ghana had given him the wrong instructions or that the pencil sketch I had made indicated something else. Ghana and the artist often had very angry and heated discussions, at the end of which Ghana would come to me, sit down, shake his head and say, "Ah, problem, problem with Ismaciil. He is 'nervoso'."

Ismaciil certainly had reasons for becoming nervous or irritated. Often the demands were beyond his capability. I mentioned in the previous chapter that we needed illustrations that showed the same boy in many pictures. Ismaciil just could not draw a boy whose face looked the same in different situations (Appendix B). Eventually the problem was solved by drawing two pictures of a head, one en face, and the other in profile. These two heads were then copied and stuck on top of the body whenever the boy was to be illustrated. Other problems for the artist were proportions, drawing different facial expressions—all his people looked very serious—or drawing people of different ages. He was not skilled at drawing people in motion and some concepts he could not illustrate at all (Appendix C). In such cases the AV technical adviser usually had to do the job. And sometimes, particularly if we were under time pressure, we just accepted what we got, even if it was not exactly what we wanted.

Our illustration problems were not in any way unique. All departments had them. As the illustrator became more experienced, the products also improved.

Book design. Book design or layout was also done in CDC's AV section. Departments ordered the text for their lessons from the State
Printing Agency (SPA), a procedure that often took a week, then they submitted the SPA-printed text and illustrations to the AV staff responsible for layout. When layout had been done for a whole book, the materials were sent to SPA for final printing.

Layout for Somali Book 1 was done by the adviser in the AV section which meant that the job was very nicely done. The only constraint was that the adviser did not have much time to spend on the task since he had to do it between advising and training. Even with other people doing layout, the time lag between prepared manuscripts and final layout was a constant problem. We handed the AV department manuscripts week by week as we finished them, yet there was an instance when layout was 98 lessons behind manuscript production.

The main constraint was lack of skills. Most people in the AV department had some experience in looking at and making drawings, but none had done any layout work. The skills that were needed were neatness, precision and an eye for spatial relationships. The layout person, for example, had to cut up the printed text that came from SPA in narrow rolls and make longer lines out of the text and glue them on white stiff paper. Often the lines were not glued on straight or the words or lines were not spaced or lined up properly (Appendix D & E). The person then had to tear off what he had glued and do it over again, in the process of which the text and the page became dirty. He therefore had to use white-out to cover the dirty spots.

Apart from the training the layout personnel got from the AV adviser and on-the-job, we in the Somali department also had to learn to foresee everything that could go wrong, give very clear instructions and
supervise the work constantly. Often things went wrong because of our
different way of thinking. I would assume that they would layout a
sentence for an instruction to an exercise from the left margin
stretching to the right margin, but I would find that they had divided
the sentence into two lines, three words on the top line and five words
on the line below. This taught me not to work on any assumptions but
always spell out exactly how we wanted things.

Once I noticed that an "n" was missing in a word in the layed-out
text and asked the staff person to add the letter. In my mind I saw it
as a job of moving the words on the line a bit to the right to
accommodate the addition of the letter. But I did not say this. When I
came back to check, I could not recognize the page. Previously it had
been nicely divided into paragraphs. Now the layout person had cut up
the whole text and joined it very tightly into one paragraph, leaving a
lot of space around. Since the text was supposed to be in three
paragraphs he had to redo the page again, all this work for one letter.

Another problem in layout was organization. Each layout person had a
drawer for his equipment and tasks. At the end of the day they would
drop their work in the drawer which after a while became a disarray of
print-outs, instruction sheets, discarded papers and layed-out pages. At
certain times three people would be working on layout for our department.
They would cut up the SPA printed texts between them and work on
different weeks of lessons. In this process words and sentences some-
times disappeared, since the pieces were very small. This meant that I
had to keep track of what was missing and put in a new order to SPA for
the words/sentences. Meanwhile pages could not be finished. When the
new print-out came after about a week, I had to find out who was missing what and for what lesson. We tried to solve this problem by providing the staff with marked envelopes where they kept the texts for each week of lessons.

The work we asked the layout personnel to do for our Somali books was generally more varied and complicated than for other subjects, but over time their skills improved considerably. We were also fortunate to work with extremely patient staff who seldom showed any irritation in spite of their demanding task and our request for changes. One of them even said: "I like to work with the Somali program. You get good experience."

Gudrun: "But sometimes you are not so happy when I ask you to change and change." Layout person with big smile: "Oh, we forget about it after a couple of minutes."

**Editing.** Lessons written in Somali were edited first by Cabdi, the Head, and when he left by Cumar. When they edited texts they considered aspects such as content, story structure, sentence structure, language and vocabulary. Then the lessons were given to me to check capital/small letters, punctuation, paragraph structure, underlining and headings.

The text was then submitted to the typist, returned to the department, proofread by several members and finally checked by me again. Although the text was checked by several people it still contained mistakes, usually of a technical nature. Sentences would start with a small letter, quotation marks were missing, there was only one half of a parenthesis or a sentence was missing. I would then take the typed text back to the department and point out what they had overlooked in order to sensitize them to details. It was imperative that the final typed text
be perfect before we sent it to SPA for printing to save delays in getting corrections later. A considerable amount of the training was spent on increasing the department's awareness of not only words and content of a sentence, but also punctuation and capitalization.

I also provided training in editing illustrations and layout. I would give the department a picture or a laid-out page and ask them to criticize it. Then I would add my observations to what mistakes they had found. The staff seemed to find it easier to discover if something was wrong in an illustration than in a laid-out text. With texts they would have the same problems as the layout personnel. They would not notice if the lines were not straight, if there was too little space between words for exercises or if the type size was wrong.

The above has been a description of problems brought on by lack of skills, the effect on the materials and the kind of on-the-job training that was provided. There were advantages to training the staff on-the-job. The training provided learning-by-doing, an approach frequently advocated in training manuals. It became relevant, practical, hands-on experience with immediate results. In the Somali department, learning was also individualized. In discussions with me the members would get feedback on their particular ideas and products, and tasks were distributed according to ability. Moreover, in our group discussions we learned from each other about culture, children, methodology and language.

On the other hand, this kind of training was extremely time consuming. For example, the individualized approach meant that I might have to go over the same thing three or four times. I tried to insert
short instructional sessions, but somehow this did not work unless we worked on a practical task. Most skills that they needed were new to them, so they had to spend a long time practicing these skills until they were mastered. Another constraint was that the instruction was piecemeal. Often my colleagues did not know why we did what we did because I never had the time to explain fully. Not until towards the end of my contract, when we had some breathing space, did I give a brief workshop on curriculum development per se. Even if this instruction came late, I hoped that the pieces we had worked on would fall into place when they saw the total picture. A third shortcoming of our on-the-job training was that there never was enough time to provide theory and background knowledge in, for example, child psychology, language development and approaches to reading and writing programs. This meant that the department could not plan ahead. Their knowledge and skills were just enough to manage the tasks at hand. If the Somali department were asked again to write a curriculum and develop materials for grades 1-4, they would be quite competent because they learned much during these two years. However, for the task of developing materials for the upper primary grades they need continued training.

Somali Language Issues

The fact that the Somali language is such a recently written language also affected our work. Our first problem was a matter of resources. Even if the language has a rich oral tradition, these sources were not readily accessible to us. For example, members of the department did not
know enough stories, legends, poems or proverbs to fill four readers. We therefore went to the National Academy of Science and Arts which collects and compiles literature and prepares and prints cultural publications. The Academy could not help us. A researcher told us that they had lots of collected materials lying in cupboards, "being read by cupboards," but no classification was going on due to lack of personnel. We were advised to buy the materials the Academy had already printed. We bought a couple of books of Somali stories and my colleagues read them. They said the stories were nice but they found them too difficult as reading materials for the lower primary grades. We would have to rewrite and simplify them.

Later research on resource materials showed the same thing—too difficult. For example, Somali poems are very sophisticated and use many difficult or archaic words and are therefore only suitable for upper primary grades. There are a lot of Somali proverbs, but again, their meaning is often obscure, even to adults. It appeared that a lot of their oral literature was literature for adults. I asked Cumar who was our poet to try to write poems suitable for children, a task he did not find easy since he had never written for children before. In the end he wrote "songs" because Somali poetry follows fixed rules which evidently leads to increased difficulty in understanding. When I suggested we should encourage children to write their own poems, I was told it was impossible, mainly because of the poetic rules. Cumar also seemed to think that the ability to write poetry was a gift. You either could or could not—"it was not something that could be practiced in schools.
Another type of resource material difficult to find was non-fiction. We consulted the social studies and science departments, but they were not much help. There were just not any simple written materials on topics like animals, natural phenomena, jobs or folk heroes. The Somali department did not feel competent to write factual texts without research, and research without a good library would have taken days for a single lesson. In the end we borrowed materials from books in the English department.

The second main problem had to do with the language itself—the fact that it was not standardized, fully modernized or had an adopted praxis of grammar usage. Particularly in our teacher's guide, we introduced new concepts, e.g. sight words, flash cards, pre-writing skills, word games and manuscript and cursive styles of writing. No Somali words existed to express these ideas so they had to be coined. The best minds in our department would come up with suggestions, then they would take the suggestions to other people working in CDC to test their viability. For example, for "manuscript" and "cursive" they suggested expressions that meant "separated letters" and "joined letters." If enough people agreed we had a new Somali expression.

Another area of concern was what dialect and words to use. Should we use the Northern dialect or the Southern, i.e., gabadh or gabar (girl)? Should we use Somali or Arabic words, i.e., irrid or albaab (door)? Should we use forms of written or spoken language, i.e. waxa_aan or waan (am)? There were no explicit guidelines on which dialect to use from the Ministry, probably because the issue was too political. Since the majority of curriculum developers at CDC were from the North, most texts
used a Northern dialect. Also, I was told by a representative from the Academy of Science and Arts that the Northern dialect was the most "pure." Since it was mainly the nomadic dialect, it had not been influenced by the Europeans. Somali Book 1 and Book 2 therefore used the Northern dialect. Ironically, Book 2 in all subjects was reviewed by a (Southern) representative from the Ministry of Education. We were then told that the majority of the regions in Somalia used the Southern dialect, therefore we would have to change the language in our books. At this stage Book 2 was already laid out. The changes mainly involved replacing "dh" (e.g. gabadh) with "r" (gabar). In our case that meant about 100 changes. We had to order a lot of r's from SPA in different type sizes. Then I spent days cutting out dh's from words in the book and gluing on r's instead. Later I understood that this was not a new message from the Ministry. It had been brought up for Book 1, but nobody had acted upon it.

Other decisions on word usage did not seem to have dialectical grounds, but simply differed between speakers. Ghana would tell me, "You can say hooyadooda or hooyodosoda." But Cumar would say, "You can only say hooyodooda." Or which word to use for "tin," tanag or teneg? One writer would use teneg. His manuscript was typed. Another person read the typed text and changed it to tanag. A third person would proofread it and change it back to teneg. Very often we could not settle the matter, but let the last person who read it decide.

Spelling also differed, and there were no standardized models to follow. We had a Somali-Somali dictionary that we consulted, but my colleagues would not always agree with its spelling. Often the depart-
ment would just pronounce a word over and over again to decide, for example, whether a word was spelled with a single or a double consonant, e.g. **mundulo** or **mundullo** (huts). The only spelling rule our department knew was which consonants could be doubled. It was therefore almost impossible to design a spelling program for children.

Grammar construction and grammar usage was equally problematic. My colleagues knew more or less how to speak grammatically (although there seemed to be regional differences), but they knew very few grammatical rules. Once I discussed the plural of words with them. One of them said, "Yes, we have the plural forms **shaatiyo** (shirts) and **maroodiyo** (elephants), but we never use them when we speak." I was very puzzled, but through subsequent discussion I found out that **shaatiyo/maroodiyo** were the indefinite plural forms, forms that are perhaps less used than the definite plural forms, **shaatiyeeda/maroodiyeeda**.

No Somali grammar was available, so we approached the Academy of Science and Arts again. It turned out that the Italian supported section of the Academy had prepared a five-volume Somali grammar that they gave us. Unfortunately the grammar was written in Italian so we could not use it.

The lack of a Somali grammar, my colleagues' lack of awareness of Somali grammatical constructions in combination with my lack of Somali language skills made the design of a language arts program extremely difficult. I would use my experience of other languages as the basis for language categories to be practiced, but I never knew if we really caught

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2 **-yo** indicates plural.
the typical or the most common features to be introduced in lower primary readers.

According to my previous experience, you teach lower primary children, for example, alphabetical order and vowels and consonants. In discussions with the Somali department I questioned whether this was important in the Somali context. Learning to differentiate between vowels and consonants helps with spelling and spelling rules. Since we hardly knew any spelling rules to teach the children, knowledge of the vowel-consonant distinctions seemed superfluous. The department was, however, in favor of teaching vowels and consonants, so we did.

Likewise, to know alphabetical order is helpful in looking up words in a dictionary or names in a phone book. Somali uses Latin letters, but Arabic alphabetical order, i.e., b, t, j, x, kh, d, etc., with five vowels added to the end. There are no dictionaries to speak of in Somalia, and the only one I came across, i.e. the Somali-Somali dictionary, used Latin alphabetical order. There are no phone books, and lists of names are never written in alphabetical order. What would then be the purpose of teaching alphabetical order? The department saw my point, but still thought we should teach it. We then asked the most knowledgeable Somali linguist who edited Book 3. He agreed that there was not yet any practical purpose for the order, but he recommended we teach it, "since it is close to the Arabic and everybody knows that." So we included alphabetical order as a concession to educational tradition.

It was only natural that the Somali language itself would have a great impact on our curriculum work in the department. In this particular case, the language was recently written and not yet fully
standardized and modernized which complicated the task. There were in addition few resources to consult or draw upon. These constraints influenced the focus and content of the curriculum materials we prepared. Lack of established language policy and guidelines often made language decisions subject to opinion. Our reading texts were determined by the skills of writing of the department and the Somali resource materials we were able to locate. The language we used in the books was determined by the language ability of the writers. Language exercises were influenced by what I thought was appropriate, the extent to which the language could accommodate itself to my ideas, and the writers' knowledge of syntax and grammar. In short, our language materials were outcomes of what we could do, not what we should do. The result was far from perfect, but it was a product which at least had been discussed and thought through. The Somalis seemed to think our books were a definite improvement over previous materials. Cabdi told me a higher official within the Ministry of Education had said, "This is the first time we have a scientifically developed book in the Somali language."

Summary

This chapter has identified five significant factors that influenced the curriculum process and the materials we produced in the Somali language department. One influence on our curriculum activities and products was my being a foreign adviser. Since the department lacked trained staff, my influence on the design of the curriculum became pronounced, particularly in terms of objectives, approaches and methods.
This influence was to some extent adjusted to the Somali culture by feedback from the staff.

In one area of curriculum development—promoting equal educational opportunities for girls—I was the initial instigator and consciously worked on having an impact, not only on Somali language materials, but on all materials produced at CDC. These efforts resulted more in a growing awareness and possible attitude change than in concrete changes of the materials.

The context of CDC itself had direct and indirect effects on the curriculum development work. Institutional infrastructure, personnel, economic considerations, time available for work, policy and material resources were all factors that decided the speed, effectiveness and quality of curriculum production.

The most overriding factor was perhaps lack of trained curriculum writers. In order to be able to prepare a curriculum and write instructional materials, the Somali department had to be trained on-the-job. This was time consuming, could only provide the skills immediately needed for the task, and to some extent limited the scope of the kind of materials that could be produced. On the other hand, this training became relevant, practical and led to ownership of the product by the Somali department.

Finally, issues related to the recently written Somali language also affected the materials. Lack of Somali resource materials, lack of standardization of the language and lack of adopted praxis of grammar particularly influenced the focus, content and scope of our lower primary books.
CHAPTER VII
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT MODELS AND CDC REALITY:
A COMPARISON

In chapter II, I gave an overview of the curriculum development situation in Africa. One of the sections of that chapter dealt with "Components of Curriculum Reform," where I compared and analyzed two authors' views—Lewy's and Hawes'—of the tasks and processes involved in curriculum planning.

This chapter uses what the two authors suggest and recommend as a curriculum development model, and it compares their recommendations with what was actually done at CDC in Somalia, to analyze at what points the model matches the Somali experience. The curriculum components that are discussed are: 1) objectives; 2) strategy; 3) content; 4) methodology; and 5) evaluation. Each component is divided into model recommendations and CDC approach. Since the curriculum components have been described in detail in chapter II, this chapter will only give a brief summary of Lewy's and Hawes' suggestions and recommendations.

Objectives

Recommendations. According to Lewy, educational objectives should be based on national aims and information about the school system. Further determinants of objectives are societal concerns and the needs of the learners. After the list of objectives has been screened through
societal values and educational psychology, the objectives should be classified into cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains and be expressed in behavioral terms. According to Hawes, objectives for the different subjects should be decided by subject panels consisting of subject experts, teachers and non-educational personnel. The objectives should be formulated in such a way that teachers understand them and can explain them to the community. Moreover, the objectives should not be too ambitious.

**CDC approach.** The national aims of education in Somalia focus on democratization and expansion of educational opportunities, and improvement of content and effectiveness of educational programs. As often is the case, they are rather vague and therefore not really helpful when it comes to formulating specific objectives. In 1982, the general curriculum adviser proposed that public debates and a national seminar should be arranged to discuss educational policy and curriculum in light of the stated national aims. Subject panels consisting of representatives from different educational sections should also be set up at CDC. None of this happened, mainly because of financial and organizational constraints. Even to find subject specialists for the CDC departments presented a problem, since CDC's salaries and recruitment policy did not always attract the most qualified staff.

In the Somali department, for example, we had no Somali language specialist, only staff who had taken the subject as a minor at the College of Education. This was a great constraint, considering our special situation of having to develop curriculum materials, using a recent orthography. Due to lack of language specialists and lack of
experienced curriculum writers, the objectives for the Somali language were largely determined and formulated by me. The objectives were, however, checked against educational reality through feedback from the Somali department.

There was no involvement of teachers in formulating objectives for the new curriculum developed at CDC. The main reason for their non-participation was probably the fact that teacher involvement was not planned into the curriculum development process, therefore there was no structure set up to facilitate their participation. To arrange for consultation with teachers on an informal basis, would have needed coordination and transport. Also, we tended to avoid anything that would delay or complicate our already overwhelming task. We comforted ourselves with the thought that the curriculum writers themselves were all former teachers, and that our materials would therefore include a teacher perspective.

The only attempt we made in the Somali department to get feedback on our objectives from teachers, ended ingloriously. Two teachers from one of our trial schools visited the department for training. At this point, we had just finished a three-page outline of objectives for grade three. When the teachers' training was over, I asked a member of the department to show the teachers our outline of objectives to get feedback on how appropriate and feasible they thought they were. After about ten minutes my colleague came into my office and said that the teachers thought the objectives were fine. Since I knew that quite a few objectives had to be explained, I asked: "How did you manage to go through the objectives in
such a short time?" Colleague: "Oh, you mean I should have gone through more than the objectives for listening?" By then the teachers had left.

Lewy mentions that it is desirable for curriculum writers to be knowledgeable about classification of objectives and behavioral objectives. Since the Somali department had never written objectives before, and since there was very little time for theoretical or practical training, I formulated the objectives for the subject in general and focused the training on writing objectives for lessons. The main problem was to make them see the connection between objective and lesson. They had, for example, designed a lesson aimed at teaching a poem. If the poem was about a fruit, they might state that the objective was learning about the importance of fruits, i.e. a health education objective instead of a language objective. Under these circumstances training had to focus, not so much on taxonomic categories, as on the function of objectives and the skills of writing objectives that made sense to them.

The Somali department, and most other departments, were rather realistic in one area— that of writing objectives that were not too ambitious. We knew that the actual semesters were very short and that the time spent on daily teaching was far less than scheduled. Hence, a teacher would never finish the prescribed curriculum in a school year. Therefore, our objectives were rather modest, concentrating on basic skills. Thus, of all the recommendations Lewy and Hawes made, this was the only one we followed.

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1 Our language program was based on four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing.
Strategy

Recommendations. Hawes, especially, emphasizes the need for a strategy to guide curriculum change. Such a strategy would include decisions made in advance about scope, nature and speed of changes, and decisions about initial policy and responsibility for implementation. Curriculum change, particularly in developing countries, must take into consideration administrative capabilities and human and financial resources in order to realistically estimate the time and effort it will take.

In the initial planning phase, policy decisions have to be made, for example about curriculum policy, dissemination, production and distribution of materials, examination reform and teacher education. Both Hawes and Lewy emphasize in-service teacher training as particularly important for the success of educational reform.

CDC approach. The curriculum reform project in Somalia did in many respects lack a strategy. The fact that it was proposed that CDC would produce three books per ten subjects for eight grades in four years, shows that little consideration had been given to the human and financial capacity of CDC as an institution. The result of this unrealistic planning was that all the tasks had to be carried out under heavy time pressure. Little training could be provided, and the curriculum development tasks had to be pared down to what was feasible, considering the constraints. Anything that took time, organization or that was not absolutely necessary for the production of materials had to be excluded.
Few policy decisions were made in advance, partly because it was difficult to anticipate MOE policy or if there would be money or personnel to implement the strategy. Another reason was the lack of expertise in overall curriculum planning. At CDC there was only one person capable of this task, the general curriculum adviser. His tasks involved outlining, curriculum policy, writing proposals for funding, ordering equipment, supervising production, training department staff who lacked advisers, assist the teacher training department, plus generally deal with the practical realities of limitations and constraints. In face of such an overwhelming task, policy decisions tended to be left until there was time or need to deal with them. CDC had to function, as once described, more as "a reactive 'fire-fighting' unit" than as a proactive development institution (USAID, 1985, p. 4-7).

Dissemination of the ideas presented in the new curriculum was partly planned and partly a result of opportunities that arose. Seminars were held for regional inspectors and principals where they were informed about the new curriculum. USAID assisted the Health Education department at CDC by providing money for seminars and workshops on health education for primary teachers. Since CDC itself had little money to spend on dissemination, it used these seminars as an opportunity to spread information on the new curriculum in other subjects too. For example, Health Education staff was trained in the new Somali language methodology which they then presented to the teachers.

Through feedback from one of these health seminars we heard that parents did not like the fact that Somali Book 1 did not present the letters in alphabetical order. This led to the decision to use radio to
inform the nation about the content and methodology of the new curriculum in all subjects. Although it was planned to have each subject department inform about their programs, only the Somali department implemented this. We also planned to use TV to demonstrate the new methods suggested in the curriculum. Again, this was never implemented, mainly because the regular work at CDC took so much time and energy. To write TV scripts, arrange for children to come to CDC, and to rehearse and film teaching-learning situations would have deflected time from tasks we hardly had the capacity to handle under normal circumstances.

Textbook storage and distribution systems would have needed particular attention. The procedure for distribution of textbooks in Somalia presumably follows this chain: Books are transferred from the State Printing Agency stores to the MOE stores, to the Regional Education Officers (REOs), to the District Education Officers (DEOs), and finally to the schools, classrooms and students. In reality, large quantities of books stay in the Ministry store, where they are stacked in a disorganized manner. The situation is exacerbated by minimal and unreliable record keeping.

The distribution system is hampered by lack of transportation and fuel, absence of a systematic procedure for distribution, lack of trained personnel to handle the distribution system, lack of experience and expertise among REOs and DEOs in the distribution of textbooks, lack of reliable data on textbook requirements and lack of clear delegation of responsibilities (USAID, 1985).

The consequences of these inefficiencies might have been impossible to anticipate at the planning stage of the new curriculum project, since
this was the first thorough curriculum reform Somalia had attempted. And even if the complications had been anticipated, probably not much could have been done about it, considering their financial situation. One possible alternative for the future might be to retract the official Ministry policy of providing each student in each grade with a free textbook in each subject. Parents want textbooks for their children. Currently a lot of textbooks do not leave the Ministry store or other stores. If parents were to buy books, there would be a greater incentive for distribution. This might be considered detrimental to the ideal of democratization of education; yet, as the situation is right now, the majority of children do not get any books at all.

There was also lack of coordination between the production of textbooks and teacher training. No in-service training of primary teachers was carried out during the two first years of the curriculum reform. The teacher training task force at CDC had limited capacity, so CDC had to prioritize what aspect of teacher training to concentrate on. Since the current pre-service training program was of low quality, mainly consisting of content upgrading, pre-service training became the chief focus for CDC. The design of a new curriculum for the planned decentralized colleges started towards the end of 1985. By the end of 1986, materials for the new teacher training curriculum had been prepared, but no training of tutors had taken place because the money allocated for this training had been otherwise spent.

Lewy recommends that teacher training institutes should be involved in curriculum development and try-out of materials. During the preparation for the new teacher training curriculum the Primary Teacher Training
College at Halane closed, so no pre-service training took place in Somalia during this period, therefore, no involvement of a teacher training college was possible.

The curriculum reform project in Somalia is an example of a project that quickly tried to respond to what was perceived as an educational crisis. In doing so it had to forego certain aspects of the curriculum development procedures. There was little time to gather necessary baseline data, few experienced curriculum planners and little money to invest in research, institutional infrastructure or training. The result was that the project could not be guided by the kind of strategy the literature suggests. Instead it was guided by immediate needs, emergencies or opportunities. Even if problems were anticipated, there was often not much to be done about them in view of the shortage of human and financial resources. The strategy was either to try to do something in spite of the limitations, or wait until some time in the future, when there would be enough money and expertise.

Content

Recommendations. Decisions on content can be guided by three principles, according to Lewy: structure of discipline, basic themes or exemplar approach. In addition, content selection should also apply certain pragmatic criteria, e.g. relevance to society and culture, and usefulness for further education. To this Hawes adds his recommendations on who should select materials and how much materials should be selected. He suggests that subject specialist teams, consisting of teachers and
curriculum experts, should write the materials. If foreign experts are involved their influence should be curbed since they tend to design materials that are beyond the capacity of the average teacher. Moreover, material writers should not ignore previous textbooks and materials when they design the new materials. In order to facilitate the use of previous materials, institutions should set up collections of previous productions.

**CDC approach.** At CDC all three guiding concepts mentioned by Lewy were used for content selection. Social Studies, Health Education and Environmental Studies tended to use themes; Science used both themes and exemplar approaches, and Mathematics and Somali Language used the structure of the discipline to select content. Content selection was further guided by the three principles set out in the New Curriculum Reform project: relevance to the Somali environment, promotion of skills training and applicability of knowledge.

In terms of who did the selection of content, CDC was far from Hawes' suggestion of subject specialist teams. As previously mentioned, there were few true specialists in the CDC subject departments, no curriculum experts, no teachers and very few foreign experts. In some cases there was not even a team. The Physical Education department, for example, consisted of one person. Instead, CDC teams consisted of staff who had studied the subject at a college and who had previously been teachers. Yet, content choice was one of the few areas where CDC did not experience a great amount of difficulties. The constraints that existed mainly concerned availability of resource materials.
When CDC began its curriculum work in 1984, there were hardly any reference books. Hawes' suggestion of using previous textbooks was not practicable. First of all, not many were available, and secondly, their content was considered inadequate or inappropriate. When a small library had been set up, subjects like science or mathematics had the advantage of finding books from other African countries that could easily be adapted, while a subject like Somali had greater difficulties since it generally could not borrow content from foreign books.

Methodology

Recommendations. Lewy recommends an eclectic selection of teaching-learning strategies, which can include expository teaching, inquiry learning, small group teaching, individualized learning, mastery learning, games and programmed instruction. Decisions concerning strategies should precede production of instructional materials since the latter is affected by methodology. In regard to materials production Lewy suggests a curriculum program kit that can contain, for example, textbooks, teacher's guide, diagnostic instruments, classroom equipment and audio-visual equipment. Finally, he considers the organization of learning materials—whether textbooks should use a modular approach or follow a prescribed sequence, and whether materials should follow a subject matter, core curriculum or activity approach.

CDC approach. The classroom situation in Somali schools is dominated by expository teaching, e.g. lecturing. The New Curriculum Reform project wanted to change this towards a situation where students would be
more active, solve problems, use games and work in groups. In order to achieve a change, new teachers would have to be trained in such a methodology and old teachers would have to be retrained. Such teacher training was not likely to effect the near future, therefore teacher's guides would have to act as teacher training tools. The CDC approach was to design teacher's guides that were prescriptive, with highly structured texts, exercises and activities, since this type of book was likely to be most useful for inadequately trained or inexperienced teachers.

If choice of content was not so much of a problem at CDC, selection of methodology was, mainly because the curriculum writers had very little experience themselves of other methods than lecturing and memorizing. A few workshops were held at CDC on different ways of designing and presenting lessons, activities and exercises, but this was not enough for the majority of the curriculum writers, especially since only a few departments had long-term technical advisers. Therefore, although an eclectic approach of teaching-learning strategies was intended and very much desired, the outcome was constrained by the curriculum writers' lack of training, experience and awareness of options.

For the same reason, the materials had to be organized in the manner that was easiest and most well known to curriculum developers (and teachers). All textbooks at CDC followed a tight sequence. Each lesson was coded, indicating both period and week, e.g. 4.2 meant the second period of the week, during the fourth week of instruction. Most departments organized the learning materials according to subject matter,
although integration was planned for higher grades of Social Studies and Science.

The plans for the 1984-87 curriculum project envisioned production of textbooks, teacher's guides, supplementary readers and an AV kit. Other kinds of program materials suggested by Lewy, such as slides, stuffed birds and geological materials for the classroom, or film projectors and videotapes, were of course beyond consideration in a country where a blackboard, chalk or desks are sometimes luxury items. It turned out that textbooks and teacher's guides were all the materials production CDC could cope with during the planned curriculum development period.

In considering the content and methodology of the instructional materials, it is worth noticing that curriculum development at CDC does not appear to have been mainly influenced by concern about the teachers who were going to teach the materials or the students who were going to learn it—the main focus of curriculum development according to the literature. Instead there were other internal and external factors that dominated the process. In the Somali department, for example, lack of trained personnel, language issues, adviser influence and the CDC context, mainly influenced the curriculum work. In other departments, lack of training and expertise took even greater proportions. The struggle for them became to produce something that was accepted by the general curriculum adviser or the Ministry, at the same time coping with general institutional limitations and constraints. Under such circumstances it was easy to forget the whole purpose of the task.
Evaluation

Recommendations. Hawes and Lewy suggest similar evaluation stages, only different names. Here I will use Lewy's categories. Lewy suggests three types of formative evaluation of instructional materials: prototype evaluation, preliminary try-out and field trial. The first, prototype evaluation, examines whether students will have difficulties with any of the features of the program, e.g. difficulties with learning equipment or learning strategies. At the second stage, preliminary try-out, materials are still in the process of preparation, but some parts can be tried out in a few classes, using objective measures in combination with opinions of experts, teachers and parents. The result is then used for revision. At the field trial stage, the materials have been modified and are tried out on a representative sample. The purpose of this evaluation is to examine the efficiency of the program with a larger group of students. To obtain information during formative evaluation three kinds of data should be combined--judgmental, observational and performance data.

CDC approach. There was no built-in strategy for evaluation of the curriculum materials at CDC. Most departments worked without feedback on their programs until the first textbook was printed. Then CDC tried to organize some try-outs of materials in schools. Two departments, however, did do some prototype evaluation--the USAID assisted Health Education department and the Somali Language department. Here I will describe more in detail how the Somali department attempted to deal with the problem of wanting to do formative evaluation, in spite of the fact
that there was no structure set up for such evaluation and very little
time we could devote to such an undertaking.

For Somali Book 1 prototype evaluation we used five sources for
feedback: 1) children of CDC staff; 2) students invited to CDC; 3) visits
to schools; 4) Somali Language department staff; and 5) other CDC staff.

In previous chapters I have mentioned that we sent pictures, stories
or lessons with unfamiliar methodology home with Cabdi or Sadiya and
asked them to test the materials with their children. If other CDC staff
brought their children to work, we would invite the children to the
department and ask them to do an exercise that we thought might be
difficult. We also invited grade one students from two different schools
to come to CDC (transport could actually be arranged). The Somali
department then taught three prototypes of lessons. As a third method,
we combined a general school visit with testing of some of the illustra-
tions from our grade one materials. In addition, Somali staff members
voluntarily visited schools near their homes and taught some of the
lessons.

The feedback we got from this interaction with children primarily
indicated difficulties in interpreting illustrations. Children would not
recognize, for example, a spider (=insect) or a cat (=lion). In terms of
methodology we did not identify any major difficulties, possibly because
Somali staff, not regular teachers, taught the lessons. This prototype
evaluation was of course on a very small scale and did not consist of a
representative sample. We only tried out the materials in the Mogadishu
urban area or with children of educated parents. The approach followed
CDC's general philosophy, "it is better than nothing." At least we knew that some of the materials worked with some children.

When we could not rely on children as sources for evaluation, we had to resort to adults, primarily the members of the Somali department. I have previously mentioned that my colleagues would inform me if I designed or suggested lessons which were inappropriate or too difficult for children. In doing so, they would base their feedback on their own experience, or their knowledge of Somali culture or classroom realities. After about one-and-a-half years of on-the-job training, at least two of the members were able to judge whether the language and the content were suitable for children. When the Somali staff had written lessons, the lessons would be read by Cumar for the language and then by Cabdi who decided whether the material was "child-friendly."

Sometimes the department could not agree on whether to include a certain type of lesson or exercise. The Somali staff would then take the suggestions to other departments for their opinions; or we would get spontaneous feedback when other CDC staff happened to see our materials, as was the case of the fantasy animal, mentioned in the previous chapter.

We were sometimes concerned that the instructions we wrote for the teacher's guide were not clear. In order to test this, we would show the teacher's notes to the typists or the janitor or the librarian who were all primary school teachers but not involved in curriculum development. Since they had only received normal primary teacher training, we assumed that if they said they understood how to teach the lesson, regular teachers would too.
In mid-February 1986, when grade one textbooks were printed for most of the subjects, CDC began preparing some kind of strategy for try-out of the new curriculum materials. A letter was sent to the Director of Primary Schools to ask him to release primary school teachers from two schools, for training in the use of the new materials. The schools that were chosen as trial schools, were both within walking distance from CDC so that we would not have to rely on transportation. Grade 1-2 teachers were invited to CDC, and the different departments presented the new curriculum, aims and objectives, methods and provided some training. It was decided to focus on a try-out of grade one books, but also to try to do some prototype evaluation of grade two materials. A committee responsible for trials of the materials was also set up.

One of the trial schools was not ready for the trial experience. Grade one consisted of one class only, with 90 students sitting on the floor. None of the schools had any timetable, although this was March, and the school presumably had begun in November. CDC therefore developed a timetable and made sure that the children and teachers had the necessary materials. Within a couple of weeks, the school without desks had divided the class into two, and the classroom had obtained desks.

Since the trial teachers had got little training in the use of the materials, the Somali department first demonstrated a few lessons, then they would instruct the teachers in the methodology of the following lessons and return to observe the teaching-learning situation in the classroom. After the lesson, the department would give feedback to the teachers and discuss whether they had experienced any problems with the materials. These visits were kept up very regularly by the Somali
department through the rest of the year, and seem to have contributed to
the positive attitude among the trial teachers towards Somali as a
subject. This was an unanticipated effect of formative evaluation, not
mentioned by Lewy or Hawes. Our visits were a sign of interest and an
opportunity for professional encouragement in an environment that had
generally failed to support teachers. Unfortunately, most other depart-
ments at CDC only visited the schools a few times, then left the teachers
on their own.

We focused our observation on how the materials were used in the
classroom and how the students reacted to the materials. From the
beginning it was evident that the teaching of letter sounds, instead of
teaching the names of the letters, was an area that needed attention and
training. The teachers realized this themselves and requested further
training. Once the teachers mastered the technique of pronouncing the
sounds of the letters, they were able to follow the instructions in the
teacher's guide without any problems.

Our observation in four classes showed that most teachers had the
students divided into three groups: the clever ones, the ones in the
middle and the stupid ones (they actually used that word). We did not
find this in harmony with the general philosophy of the new curriculum,
so we asked the teachers to change this grouping. There was a further
tendency to direct more questions to boys than girls. Questions on the
materials were included in the teacher's guide to provide a range of
different types of questions. The trial teachers used the questions, but
sometimes added a particular feature of traditional education—that of
repeating the same question over and over again and having the children
answer in chorus. They also tended to continue with aspects of the lesson long after they were mastered.

The students were generally interested in the materials and were eager to participate. However, their reaction to the lessons had a lot to do with the personality and enthusiasm of the trial teacher. We had one outstanding teacher who followed our lesson instructions, but also improvised and took her own initiatives. We also visited teachers who had not read through the teacher's guide before the lesson and who ruled by the stick. The teachers' performance therefore decided to what extent the students understood and learned the materials. In terms of performing the assignments, e.g. practicing writing letters, they often stumbled on practicalities. Not all children had pencils, some of the pencils the five-year-olds used were only two inches long, they badly needed sharpening, and there was generally only one student who owned a pencil sharpener which had to be shared with 40 children. Therefore, some children never got started on writing assignments during a lesson, with the consequence that they did not get enough writing practice.

Towards the end of the school year, the Somali department arranged for a performance test, partly to introduce the teachers to different types of testing, and partly to see what the students had learned. This test focused mainly on recognizing letters and letter sounds and the writing of letters. The outcome of the test was very satisfactory. The majority of the students mastered the letters that had been taught and could write them. One CDC staff member commented when he saw their letters, "they write better than grade four students."
Thus this try-out of parts of grade one Somali materials using teacher's judgments, unstructured observations and a performance test, showed that the materials generally worked, or at least did not call for any major revisions. The main determinant seemed to be the teachers. If they were properly trained—and they needed thorough training—and fairly motivated, the materials stood a good chance to succeed. As we have seen, however, in-service and pre-service training in Somalia had not begun by the end of 1986. This meant that two textbooks had been printed, and some of them had already been distributed. CDC therefore runs the risk of having their materials rejected by teachers, since they do not know how to use them.

Try-out of materials continued in the fall of 1986. Grade one students in the trial schools who had used Somali Book 1, were going to continue with that book in grade two. However, the trial teachers who had taught the book in grade one either were transferred or requested to teach grade one again. Thus new grade two teachers had to be trained by the Somali department in the methodology. This did not work out very satisfactorily, and the momentum gained in grade one was therefore lost.

Prototype evaluation of materials for grades 2-3 was planned to be carried out in grades 3-4. This presented problems, since the Somali materials built on children having mastered previous books. For example, the children were expected to be able to read. The majority in these classes could not read. Students would be very active as long as the lesson required oral participation. When the students were asked to practice reading a short passage the teacher had first read to them, most of them would look at the text and retell the text as they remembered it.
In a grade four class, students were asked to each write a word. This was again a task they could not do. Many only wrote a string of letters. Even copying a word caused difficulties. We therefore more or less had to give up prototype evaluation of materials at this level.

Since evaluation was not part of a planned strategy, most departments did no formative evaluation of instructional materials until the first textbook was printed. The Somali department did some prototype evaluation using judgmental data provided by children and CDC staff. When the textbooks were ready, CDC set up a more formal structure for preliminary try-outs in two trial schools. No objective measures were used and only teachers were consulted as to the appropriateness of the materials. No trial of materials had previously been done in Somalia, so the main purpose at this point was to make curriculum writers aware of the importance of evaluation. Any further demands on them would have complicated a task many of them were not very willing to do. The Somali department did the most thorough try-out, collecting judgmental, observational and performance data. Since CDC tried out already printed materials no revisions were done. The main purpose was to establish if CDC was on the right track and use the results as "feedforward" for materials for the next level. If, however, the pattern of waiting until materials are printed is followed in the future, no revisions are likely to be done. To have the textbooks printed at all is such a time consuming and complicated task, that the idea of having the same book printed again within a short period is quite unrealistic. Most likely, no field trial will take place either, considering the financial and organizational constraints of the MOE and CDC, and the pressure to get
books into the schools. What CDC presently produces is what the schools will have to accept if they want any materials at all.

Summary

This chapter has compared Lewy's and Hawes' model for curriculum development with what CDC in Somalia actually could do, and discussed some of the reasons why the process did not follow the ideal. The main constraints usually fell into one or several of the following categories: time, personnel, organization or money.

Setting objectives, with the involvement of expertise, teachers, and the community was not done because there was very little expertise available for CDC to tap and the whole task would have involved coordination, organization and money, activities and resources beyond the capacity of the MOE and CDC. The task would also have taken time, and the educational situation needed instant remedies.

Strategy decisions were not dealt with in advance but tackled when the need arose. To fulfill funding agreements, CDC had to start producing textbooks as soon as possible. There was little expertise in overall curriculum planning, little time and money to devote to dissemination, setting up a functioning textbook distribution system or developing in-service and pre-service programs.

Content and methodology of instructional materials were constrained by the capability of the curriculum writers and the resources available. Formative evaluation, finally, was neglected, partly because no time or structure had been built into the curriculum development program, but
also because revision and reprinting of materials were unrealistic goals within the current time frame of production and the State Printing capacity.

Thus, the curriculum development situation at CDC was not dominated by the question: "What should we do?" but by the questions: "What could we do?" and "What should we do first?" Usually the answers to these questions were screened by factors such as time pressure, shortage of knowledgeable and experienced personnel, shortage of materials or financial resources and the general institutional context.

A lot has been said about constraints, problems and limitations at CDC. Constraints to "proper" curriculum development is not the only issue that should be considered. Another issue to be raised is, how realistic are the guidelines that are suggested in the field-adapted literature? The Somali experience indicates a need for modification of these guidelines. The following are some of the ideas, issues and insights that the Somali case has brought up.

The recommendations that Lewy makes on how to select objectives are unrealistic. In many cases, the basic question to be asked in subject departments is: What life skills do children need when they finish primary school? The answer to this question can form the objectives in different subjects, and the answers can be provided by those who write curricula if they forget for a while what formal education is supposed to be all about. I know, because we held a workshop at CDC that asked and answered just that question. When curriculum writers are not experts or forget they are experts, they know what will help children in their future lives.
The idea of being able to develop a strategy before undertaking a curriculum development task is very attractive, yet not easily accomplished in many developing countries. Often they will have to do what CDC did, come up with strategy decisions mid-course. What needs to be investigated is what types of strategy decisions are most crucial to be dealt with ahead of time. In the Somali case, one strategy area that should have been dealt with in advance was one that was never mentioned by Lewy or Hawes—that of training curriculum development personnel, possibly because they assumed that qualified staff was available. Teacher training and textbook distribution would have been considered next at CDC. The problem of inexperienced personnel was solved with on-the-job training which turned out to have certain advantages in terms of practical and relevant learning but which was very time consuming. Other countries would choose to focus on other aspects, depending on circumstances. What is important for the curriculum planner is to prioritize strategy decisions. If an institution cannot deal with all ahead of time, which decisions will make a difference for the curriculum development outcome?

Aspirations of what can be accomplished in regard to content and methodology also need to be modified. It is perhaps significant that Hawes who has the widest field experience does not make any pronouncements of what should be. He does, however, recognize the need for "survival teaching." At CDC, curriculum writers were not knowledgeable of and experienced in different types of teaching-learning strategies. This was a constraint since the curriculum aimed at an inquiry, problem-solving, activity approach. On the other hand, the teaching situation in
the Somali classroom was characterized by traditional teaching methods, i.e. lecturing, memorizing and copying. Perhaps the lack of experienced curriculum developers functioned as a necessary filter to ensure that a too radical departure was not taken from traditional methods? Foreign experts tend to suggest changes that differ considerably from what normally goes on in the classroom, instead of building on and improving what already exists. Since I was only an adviser to the Somali department and not a representative of a big educational aid project which had money that "talked," my ideas were checked by my colleagues and I was told when they thought I deviated from what was appropriate or possible. This raises the issue of how to decide which changes from traditional teaching are preferable and which changes only cause confusion or rejection. Choosing methodology is not only a matter of choosing philosophy and techniques, it is also a matter of choosing what is possible under the circumstances and with the support that exists.

Evaluation is an area where I wish no constraints existed. Formative evaluation of materials is the ultimate control of whether the curriculum has a chance to work. However, there are likely to be constraints and the question is--what to do if evaluation cannot be done the way it is supposed to be done? The improvised model the Somali department followed where we tried to use the CDC environment as imaginatively as possible to provide us with feedback, might be developed for situations with similar limited structures and resources.

Finally, the focus on problems should not obscure the substantial accomplishments achieved at CDC. First of all, the New Curriculum Reform Project at CDC was not a development project funded by a major aid
organization. The disadvantage was that there was never enough money or technical expertise. On the other hand, the MOE and CDC could very much decide its own policy and did not have to comply with what an external agency thought they would benefit from. The curriculum development work at CDC therefore became very much a Somali affair, especially since there were so few foreign advisers.

The shortage of money—even if very much lamented—made the project a realistic project. When big development agencies withdraw their assistance from organizations, they often crumble and die because the government cannot pay the same salary when they take over, and counterparts are not sufficiently trained to take over, or leave for more lucrative jobs. At CDC no high expectations have been raised in terms of salaries or equipment, and the curriculum development personnel have had to learn to do the jobs themselves, and learned to cope with limitations. Therefore, the project should stand a better chance to survive on its own, in the long term. In fact, Havelock and Huberman notes that paradoxically an educational reform

is often enhanced by constraints: the absence of consistent, high-level administrative support, inadequacy of funds and materials, and necessity of appeasing groups with conflicting interests, leave innovators with the only remaining option, viz. lower their ambitions to a more realistic or less risky, (i.e. unpredictable) level (1977, p. 75).

A great number of staff were trained between 1984-86, curriculum writers, AV personnel, administrators, teacher trainers, typists, all on-the-job and under realistic conditions. Not sufficiently, it is true, but it is a start.

Textbooks and teacher's guides for grades 1-3 were produced in six subjects, all of them considered by outside evaluators (e.g. USAID) to be
of superior quality in terms of content and quality. New teacher training materials in line with the new curriculum were also produced. Finally, CDC gained a reputation of being one of the most productive institutions within the MOE. Other organizations within Somalia began to turn to CDC for help and advice. Another sign that CDC was considered a viable institution was the fact that donors began to approach CDC to offer their assistance, since many aid agencies that are not directly invited to assist are interested in working with institutions that can produce results that meet constituency expectations.²

² See, for example, Hurst (1981a).
CHAPTER VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CPC Needs and Problems

The mid-1970s saw considerable educational achievements in Somalia: quantitative expansion, equality of opportunities, use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction and the beginning of a curriculum relevant to the country's needs. Towards the end of that decade, however, the educational situation worsened. The teachers were not sufficiently trained, the materials that had been prepared were not appropriate and due to educational expansion and limited capability of the State Printing Agency there were not enough textbooks in the schools.

In 1984, a decision was taken to initiate a curriculum reform project to improve the quality of education and to address the need of instructional materials. UNICEF agreed to partly fund the reform project, and the aim was to design a new curriculum and prepare materials for the new curriculum at all grade levels within four years.

The perceived urgency of the needs led to very rapid planning. Somalia had no previous experience of a curriculum reform of this kind and had therefore no knowledge of what to expect, what difficulties lay ahead. The result was a head-on approach to curriculum development, without pilot projects and without full consideration of the needs for
financial, human and logistical support—an approach not unusual in developing countries.¹

CDC, which was the implementing agency for the curriculum reform, did not have the institutional infrastructure needed to carry out the variety of components that the process entailed. The main problems were funds, materials and equipment, skilled manpower plus a communications infrastructure for transporting people, materials and information.

The lack of expertise and trained personnel meant that very few people had any experience of overall curriculum planning. Curriculum writers did not know how to design curricula, content or methodology, AV personnel had no experience of textbook illustration or book design, and subject specialists were often not available.

The lack of highly qualified personnel could partly be attributed to the low salaries CDC could offer. Funds were also lacking for training workshops to upgrade the skills of the curriculum workers, inspectors, principals and teachers. The lack of money (and coordinating mechanisms) further hampered the involvement of the community or teachers in the curriculum development process.

Resource and reference materials as well as equipment for materials production were scarce in the initial phase of the project. Later there were problems with materials not delivered on time, frequent breakdowns of equipment or no electricity.

The CDC context was further characterized by unclear decision-making and communication structures, lack of transport for gathering basic

¹ See for example, Beeby's (1980) description of curriculum reform in Indonesia.
information, visits to schools, try-out of materials and distribution of materials. The system was also taxed by the short time span for the reform since the Ministry of Education wanted to see results as soon as possible and UNICEF had only promised to fund the project between 1984-1987.

**CDC Approach to Curriculum Development**

It is evident that the initial aims for the curriculum development were too ambitious in relation to the capacity of CDC. However, the perception of an educational crisis plus reliance on an "optimism factor" made CDC go ahead and implement the project. That this is not unusual for developing countries is demonstrated in this interview between an external adviser and his African counterpart:

Q. Was the project very ambitious?
A. Yes, very ambitious, too ambitious. We did not have the structures behind us to carry it out, and we knew that in advance. But we decided to go ahead with the plan anyway (Havelock & Huberman, 1977, p. 145).

Because of the short time frame allocated to the implementation of the project and the weak institutional infrastructure of CDC, many unanticipated and unpredictable things happened. This limited, not the scale of the curriculum reform, but the ambition. Many procedures that go into a well-planned and executed reform project had to be eliminated or reduced to what was possible considering CDC's constraints.

The preliminary needs assessment and data gathering processes were cut down to a minimum. Since the problems were so big, there was no time for refined analysis instruments. Also, without research most parents,
teachers and inspectors knew the major problems: no textbooks in the classrooms and untrained, little motivated teachers. Educators also knew that the content and methodology of existing materials were not appropriate for the needs of the children and the society.

Two choices could have been made at this point: either focus on improvement of the quality of the teaching cadre so that education could take place even without adequate materials, or production of textbooks that could act as "crutches" to untrained teachers. Ideally, of course, both things should have been attended to, but since Somalia is a very poor country priorities had to be made. The choice fell on textbook production since the low civil service salaries made it rather unlikely that the teaching profession would attract or retain good staff.

Since CDC had no previous experience of curriculum reform and few local experts on curriculum planning and development, foreign advisers were brought in for key areas, e.g. a general curriculum adviser, and AV adviser and a few advisers for subject departments--not enough though for the needs of the institution. The general curriculum adviser suggested a curriculum development model and a structure for implementation; other advisers were generally influential in areas such as overall design and methodology, probably more than they would have been in a country with curriculum expertise.

To cope with the problem of lack of trained and experienced curriculum personnel, CDC provided on-the-job training. This training was done by advisers for departments fortunate to have advisers, or by the general curriculum adviser. Much work was also done on a trial and error basis.
The extent to which an "ideal" curriculum model was followed was decided by what could be accomplished considering the constraints of the curriculum development context. Thus, if departments did not have an adviser, they would use foreign textbooks to formulate objectives or to decide content. Few strategy decisions were taken initially, possibly because the planning phase at CDC was so rapid, or because preplanning or strategy decisions in developing countries often cannot be implemented or have to be based on information that is not reliable. As an experienced adviser expressed it,

"It is really very difficult to do good planning, and we find that in most cases things don't turn out as we planned, so we end up by not paying too much attention to the plans. Perhaps if we could plan better, that wouldn't happen, but I'm not so sure of that" (Havelock & Huberman, 1977, p. 90).

Therefore, most strategy decisions at CDC were taken mid-course in response to a felt need or an opportunity. For example, information about the new curriculum was disseminated through the radio when parents complained about the content, or through opportunities of USAID funded Health Education seminars. Examination reform was never discussed during the first two years of the project since that was an issue that would not have to be directly tackled until grade eight.

Pre-service teacher training took precedence over in-service training because the whole pre-service system needed change and a new curriculum. To design in-service courses and materials when there was no pre-service curriculum or materials to build on seemed uneconomical.

In terms of evaluation, there was no first-version try-out and revision of textbooks, mainly because it would have taken a long time and demanded a printing capacity that the printing agency did not have.
Instead, the total number of textbooks needed for grade one classes in Somalia were printed and then tried out in two trial schools. The try-out did not use any objective measures, but acted mainly as a source of information for future approach to materials production. Little prototype evaluation was done and what was done was carried out very informally, using children of the CDC staff as data sources or the CDC staff itself.

Thus, CDC tried to follow the curriculum development guidelines that the literature suggests, i.e. gathering basic information about the educational context; deciding aims and objectives; planning a strategy for change; preparing instructional materials; and evaluation. What varied was the scope and the degree. Due to the nature of challenges and constraints, the yardstick became, what is better than nothing? If we cannot do it all or do it the prescribed way, what can we do? How can we improvise?

Judging the curriculum reform project in Somalia from a distance, one can point out that more careful planning might have reduced the problems related to personnel, materials and funds. Unfortunately there are not many options or planning solutions for poor countries, especially if they want to or have to reform their systems on their own, without substantial external funding.

Curriculum Development Literature and Practical Reality

This study has reviewed curriculum development literature, mainly Hawes (1979) and Lewy (1972), that is adapted to field reality in
developing countries. The main purposes of this review was to establish a framework for the case study in Somalia but also to examine to what extent this literature is applicable and helpful to the curriculum practitioner.

The main strength of Hawes' book on curriculum development and primary schools in Africa is the focus on the educational context. His analysis of the political, social, historical, material and administrative context provides useful information for the curriculum planner/developer of the problems, diversities and inequalities of educational systems. Especially his description of the children and the teachers within that system are insightful and important for curriculum designers. It is the neglect to consider the actual classroom situation that has provided unrealistic curricula and created the dichotomy between the official and the actual curricula in schools.

Both Lewy and Hawes outline strategies or models for how curriculum should be developed. In this respect Hawes is more practical, more aware of constraints and the complexity and untidiness of the process. Structure, guidelines and directions for curriculum development are necessary tools for realistic curriculum planning. They help institutions identify needs, look ahead and anticipate problems and organize and coordinate the work. Before the new Curriculum Reform Project, curriculum development in Somalia "occurred" without guidelines. People were simply gathered together to write textbooks without clear educational policy or structure.

However, these ideal guidelines suggested in the literature build on certain assumptions. Such assumptions include an adequate institutional
infrastructure which has trained personnel, funds, equipment, transport, repair services and a good communication and organization structure. If these assumptions are not there then the literature does not help much. The literature identifies constraints and problems, but no practical suggestions on how to deal with them. Hawes describes several curriculum development projects in Africa, but only in summaries so the microaspects of the projects are not revealed. Besides, they are internationally funded projects which means that the projects had money and technical assistance. What can be learned from such projects is different from what can be helpful for countries which try to reform curricula more or less on their own.

Therefore, while the field-adapted literature is good on educational context, it is weak on curriculum development context, i.e. describing the processes of curriculum development. It does not examine how CDC-type institutions go about developing curricula, what adaptations have to be made to accommodate constraints, what implications these adaptations or improvisations have on the outcome, and what practical lessons can be learned.

This comparison of the literature and the practical reality of CDC raises some issues. First of all, should curriculum reform projects be undertaken at all if many of the prerequisites in terms of finances, personnel, equipment and organization are lacking? If the answer is yes, as it was in Somalia, then countries need to know how to go about it on a reduced ambition scale. Some examples of questions that are not answered by the field-adapted literature are:
1. **Collection of basic information.** What information about educational context is the most important and most useful for curriculum planning? How can this information be gathered with the least organization and expense?

2. **National aims and objectives.** How can awareness be raised among curriculum planners about the importance of discussing this step? If aims and educational policy cannot be dealt with at a national level, at what level should it be dealt with and who should be involved?

3. **Strategy.** If the curriculum reform project cannot make many strategy decisions in advance, which should have priority? Which strategy decisions might be addressed mid-course?

4. **Content and methodology.** What are some of the prerequisites for materials production? Which are the most common problems? What methodologies are feasible for teachers with large classes that are also appropriate for children's learning? What features of traditional education are worth building on? What "Western-imported" methodologies are likely to fail or succeed?

5. **Evaluation.** If formative evaluation procedures have to be reduced in scale and ambition, in what way can this be done? How can the methods be adapted to constrained circumstances?

The above questions were raised through the Somali curriculum development experience. Countries with other conditions might have different questions. What is needed, however, are methodologies for curriculum planning and development drawn upon practical experiences. There are lessons to be learned from poor countries, from their successes and failures, but they have so far not been researched or documented.
Curriculum Development Directions for the Future

It is impossible to make generalizations on curriculum development in African countries based on one case study. The Somali reform project was characterized by severe constraints at most levels. Some of the factors that influenced the curriculum development process were specifically Somali, e.g. the language issue. It is important, however, to look at what might be described as extreme cases to realize that certain issues are hidden unless they are revealed from a "bottom spot." When I began my work as an adviser, I was prepared for the educational context of the country, but I was not fully aware of the fact that you can only produce curriculum to the level of existing knowledge and training of the curriculum workers or the resources of the institution.

Since the lessons learned from this case study cannot be readily translated to other circumstances, I do not suggest any formulas or prescribe solutions. Instead I indicate needs and suggest some directions for future curriculum efforts. In doing this I address three types of audiences: scholars and researchers of curriculum development, curriculum planners and practitioners, and funding agencies.

Directions in Research

1. Towards "commonsense" research for practical purposes

Much theoretical research on education and development in developing countries (often rather repetitious) exists, but very little on curriculum development in these countries, and almost nothing that deals with practical problems in the field. A need also exists for country specific
analytical studies and dissemination of information on curriculum development reforms in African and other developing countries. This information should not come mainly from funded "show-case" projects but also from countries that have to attempt reforms with limited resources. The research focus could be on what the countries are doing, how they are doing it, what kind of problems they encounter and how they try to resolve them. It would include practical components such as how they dealt with materials production, in-service training and distribution of materials to schools. These studies should report failures as well as successes. A prerequisite for these kinds of studies is that international agencies give researchers more access to project reports and evaluation reports than they do presently. Currently, many of their reports appear to be "confidential," thereby preventing learning from experiences. It would also require new research into ordinary, little funded reform projects in developing countries. This type of research needs to be funded—though not necessarily carried out—by international agencies and foundations.

2. Towards more research into curriculum development contexts

I will not say much here, since the whole Somali case study is an example of the need for examination of the institutional context in order to understand curriculum processes and outcomes. There is a need to generate more case studies similar to the Somali case. Such case studies could be combined and analyzed and the results used by curriculum planners, practitioners and funding agencies who have to plan and develop curricula under constraining circumstances. I would recommend participant observation as a method since such a method does not require
sophisticated research skills or techniques; at the same time it provides the important grass-roots information that is so often overlooked and ignored in macroplanning.

3. Towards evolving appropriate process guidelines for curriculum development planning and development

Presently there is a lack of suitable curriculum development models to use as guides in impoverished settings. What is needed are practical manuals which tell how different aspects or steps of the curriculum development process could be approached. They might focus, for example, on what resources are necessary, how to deal with different strategy decisions or alternative methods of evaluation. In their simplest form they could look like charts with questions and answers similar to the decision charts developed by the World Bank for review of textbooks (Appendix F).

The handbooks could build on researched case studies in developing countries, cover the problems and conditions that exist in such environments, provide practical advice to curriculum planners, point to possible limitations and try to inform about possible ways of adapting curriculum development models development models for various settings and resources. The Somali case has demonstrated how a curriculum development model was adapted to constraining circumstances. Other countries would contribute with different solutions. These accumulated experiences of approaches would provide guidelines that were realistic and helpful.
Curriculum Planners and Practitioners

1. Towards more realistic curriculum development planning

Curriculum planning should be based upon a realistic appraisal of what is, and what is not possible considering human and financial resources. In Somalia too much was attempted with too little resources. The aims for the curriculum reform were to ambitious considering the institutional infrastructure and lack of resources. Even if it appears that the country had not much choice but to go ahead, for example, more realism in estimating the time the process would take would have helped. Thus, an attempt to renegotiate the production schedule with UNICEF should have been undertaken. With a less tight production agreement, more training could have been provided for curriculum workers, more resources could have been devoted to in-service training of teachers, and more formative evaluation could have been done.

2. Towards pragmatic curricula and implementation of programs

There is a need to develop curricula that take the educational context into consideration. The educational programs should be limited to what is realistic in the educational context and possible with teachers and students. CDC's lack of trained personnel actually contributed to rather realistic curricula. There were no subject or curriculum development experts who could be carried away by their expertise. Therefore, suggested teaching approaches were generally within the average teacher's capacity. What was overlooked, however, was for example, the administrative capacity of the educational context. Textbooks reached schools very slowly due to administrative inefficiencies, a fact that impeded the implementation of the program.
3. Towards increased commitment to training

Training is needed at all levels, for curriculum workers, teachers, inspectors, principals and administrators. If the purposes of the curriculum reform are not disseminated, discussed and accepted by these groups, curriculum change is unlikely to take place. Curriculum workers at CDC would have needed more initial training, but such training was not built into the process. When the first new textbooks reached the schools, teachers were generally uninformed of the purpose of the reform. Teachers in Somalia would have needed in-service training in the new language arts approach and in the new approach to teach reading. Minimal training was provided and therefore many teachers could not use the Somali books in the classroom. Inspectors and principals got information about the new curriculum reform, but their involvement in the outlining and implementation of the program was limited.

If CDC and the Ministry of Education had spent more time on planning and accepted a slower pace for implementation, curriculum officers could have been trained before the program started. Ideally, teachers would have got in-service training parallel with materials production, or no dissemination of textbooks would have taken place until teachers were trained. However, the scarcity of resources to develop and implement such a program made this impossible.

Aid Donors

The Somali case has been an example of a curriculum reform project that was undertaken without extensive funding from international agencies. UNICEF was the main donor, but its contribution mainly consisted
of stipend payments to CDC staff, support to the Teacher Training Task Force and supply of school material. In other developing countries overseas aid has had much more impact, and curriculum planning is one area where foreign experts have been particularly influential (Hawes, 1979). Since aid educational strategies tend to be top-down, the Somali experience can contribute to insights from a different perspective and give indications of needs that should be considered in aid policies.

1. Towards support for clarifying policies and their purpose

In Somalia they did not have the resources for national seminars to discuss overall aims and educational policy before initiating the reform. This first step is extremely important, yet experience has shown that many developing countries cannot organize or provide money for such debates. Financial support for seminars, conferences, meetings and discussion groups to discuss purposes, content and training might therefore be valuable.

2. Towards increased awareness of the educational context and the curriculum development context in developing countries

The conditions under which curriculum reforms are carried out are often characterized by instability, unforeseen events and undesirable external influences. There are changes in decisions, orientation, personnel and structures. There are often lack of managerial prerequisites and resources. Aid funded projects can off-set these deficiencies with money and technical assistance to some extent, but after the project is finished the problems still remain. Therefore a need exists

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2 In formulating some of my ideas for this section I have been aided by Hawes (1979) and Havelock and Huberman (1977).
for donors to examine more closely these conditions and adapt educational strategies to the realities. Some aid projects focus on "flash-and-chrome" innovations (in order to satisfy their constituencies) which cannot survive after the support discontinues. Instead aid projects need to build on what is possible. Funding agencies need to discover "the attraction of the ordinary." This can only be done through knowledge and understanding of how systems are made up.

3. Towards training of personnel in appropriate techniques of curriculum planning, development and implementation

The stress here should be on appropriate. The focus should not only be on "ideal" models and approaches but also include discussions of constraints, and modifications and adaptations that can be employed in impoverished settings. The handbooks on curriculum planning and evaluation (Lewy, 1972: 1977b) sponsored by UNESCO, IIEP, were a good initiative, but they are now ten years old or more and need follow up. The present study is an example of what is needed.

4. Towards sharing of international experience

International agencies have a lot of information on what policies work and what strategies have not worked and why. Such information is seldom available for developing countries (Psacharopolous, 1986). There is a need to review and diffuse this experience through, for example, international conferences, dissemination of reports and documentation of experiences. The studies should look, not only at the content of curriculum reforms, but also at the process: the various stages, strategies, obstacles and solutions. They should also trace the
experiences over a long period, from initiation to implementation, expansion or decline.

In his book about curriculum development and reality in African primary schools, Hawes notes the tendency to "avoid examining the full implications of a concept because we are frightened of what we shall find" (1977, p. 3). The examination of curriculum development realities reveals many uncomfortable truths. The processes are complex, complicated and untidy. The obstacles abound and the disappointments are many. Attempts to prescribe models or solutions often fail. The Somali case study has raised some of the issues that are involved when a very poor country attempts to reform its primary school curriculum. The issues involve for example, unrealistic planning, lack of qualified personnel and inadequate resources. It has also opened up a debate upon priorities. Poor countries have to make choices, preferably the right choices on where to place their scant resources. There are few models to follow in this endeavor. Yet lessons might be learned if more countries document their experiences.

It is perhaps appropriate for this chapter to end on a note of encouragement to the curriculum workers in Africa who persist in their optimism in spite of the challenges. As foreign advisers we often get impatient, angry and frustrated and try to seek security in what we know: theories, models, instruments. When these do not seem to work our confusion grows. But if we want to we can learn. We can learn to live with the untidiness, we can learn from our disappointments, and together with our African colleagues we can learn to plan education based on reality.
1. Haddii aad si foojigan u fiiriso xayawaankan, waxa aad arki doontaa in qaybo laga soo qaataay xayawaanno kale jirkooda. Qor xayawaannada ku dhex qarsoon sawirkan: Erayada ayaa ku caawin doona.
APPENDIX B

Problem in illustrating the same face

The boy marked with an X is supposed to be the same boy.
APPENDIX C

Task exceeding the artist's capability

Persons to be illustrated in the balloons are:
woman on tractor, stewardess, female pilot.
APPENDIX D

Problem with spacing of lines and size of pictures

Akhri sheekada 9.4 mar kale.

Ku qor sheekadan buuggaaga layliska. Ku dhig eray meesha sawirka.

Sahra iyo Axmed waxa ay yimaadeen layliska ayuu dhulka dhigay. Axmed iyo Sahra waxa ay ku ciyaarayaan ayaa daaqaya meel u dhow buugta.

Riyuhu waxa ay arkeen Dabadeed, waxa ay arkeen ay Sahra iyo Axmed ka soo qaateen. Riyihii waxa ay cuneen muuskii. Waxa ay ahaayeen xun.

Sahra iyo Axmed waxa ay qaateen , waxana ay eryadeen riyihii.
APPENDIX E
Corrected version of previous layout

Akhri sheekada 9.4 mar kale.

Ku qor sheekadan buuggaaga layliska. Ku dhig eray meesa sawirka.

Sahra iyo Axmed waxa ay yimaadeen
layliska ayuu dhulka dhigay.

Axmed iyo Sahra waxa ay ku ciyaarayaan ayaa daaqaya meel u dhow buugta.

Riyuhu waxa ay arkeen.

Dabadeed, waxa ay arkeen ay Sahra iyo Axmed ka soo qaateen. Riyihii waxa ay cuneen muuskii. Waxa ay ahaayeen xun.

Sahra iyo Axmed waxa ay qaateen, waxana ay eryadeen riyihii.
APPENDIX F

Decisions regarding standards of book provision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is a single text (for a grade and subject) adopted or can schools/teachers choose from a list?</td>
<td>This decision is usually dependent on whether books are produced publicly or privately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many texts at each grade level?</td>
<td>Few (2-3) at lower grades. Attempts to combine subjects in one book have generally not been successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many pages in a text? How many words/page? How many illustrations?</td>
<td>Texts for lower grades frequently contain too much material, too densely arranged on the page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What ratio of books to students?</td>
<td>1:1 is traditional but research suggests 2:1 may be as effective at the primary grades.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What book life is expected?</td>
<td>When students purchase books, one year can be planned for (although books may be reused). Otherwise, the tradeoff between initial book costs and replacement costs which includes distribution, must be considered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How elaborate should books be? Number of colors? Quality of illustrations?</td>
<td>The research evidence does not indicate educational payoff to elaborate production standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are books to be used in school only, or taken home?</td>
<td>Books taken home can be used at home and are a visible token of government support (when provided). However, book life is much shorter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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