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Wolfram Laaser

DISTANCE EDUCATION – A SOLUTION FOR EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES?

1. Educational needs of developing countries

World population growth poses a tremendous challenge for the ideal of "education for all". Even in the year 2025 about 100 million children will remain "out of school" (Facts and Figures 1990, p. 7). However, regional differences point to problem areas that vary not only between developed and less developed countries but also within the group of developing countries themselves.

In the year 2000 the young age dependency ratio in developing countries will be 56% compared to 31.2% in developed countries. The respective old age dependency ratio will be 8.3% compared to 20.3% (see Table below).

	1980			1990			2000		
	YA	SA	OA	YA	SA	OA	YA	SA	OA
Developing Countries	69.3	40.4	7.2	59.9	33.0	7.5	56.0	32.1	8.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	90.3	46.8	4.8	92.8	48.6	6.0	91.9	48.9	5.5
Arab States	82.8	43.7	5.8	81.4	44.9	6.8	73.0	41.1	5.5
Latin America/C.	69.1	39.7	7.4	60.8	34.7	7.9	52.9	31.2	8.7
Eastern Asia/Oceania	62.7	39.5	7.5	44.4	25.6	8.0	41.6	24.8	9.5
Southern A.	71.4	40.0	4.9	67.3	37.1	7.0	62.2	35.6	7.7
Developed Countries	36.2	21.8	17.4	32.9	19.7	18.1	31.2	18.8	20.3

Table 1: Young-age, School-age and Old-age dependency Ratios

Note: YA is defined as the percentage ratio of population aged 0 – 14 to the population in the age-group 15 – 64. SA is defined as the percentage ratio of the population aged 6 – 14 to the population in the age-group 15 – 64. OA is defined as the percentage ratio of the population aged 65 and over to the population aged 15 – 64.

Source: World Education Report, Unesco 1991, p. 22

The youthfulness of the population in developing countries has significant implications for the demand for teachers, who are needed whatever the kind of education to be provided, formal or non formal.

These rather crude facts already make clear that the priority of educational efforts in developing countries will be more directed to incorporate young people to first and second level education whereas age-structure in industrialized countries explains their interest to improve and extend adult education.

In many less developed countries the pressure of increasing enrolments led to over-burdening of teachers. Teacher shortages are prevalent at all levels in countries such as Bangladesh, Cameroon, Gabon, Indonesia, Kenya, Liberia, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe (ILO 1991, p. 12). In other developing countries shortages are limited to specific educational levels. At the same time in many countries declining real income undermined teachers' morale, encouraging absenteeism and the search for supplementary sources of earnings and support. Widely prevailing shortages of textbooks and learning materials got worse as funds for their purchase dried up. In addition, in many countries the whole infrastructure of support services deteriorated. Furthermore in Africa, Asia and Latin America internal migration from rural to urban areas has overwhelmed the provision of educational facilities.

Economic pressure on resources increases also by moving from first to second and third level education mainly because of lower pupil/teacher ratios and higher teacher remuneration at more advanced educational levels.

	First level		Second level		Third level	
	1975-80	1980-88	1970-75	1980-88	1970-75	1980-88
Developing Countries	2.2	1.1	5.7	3.1	7.1	4.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	9.4	1.8	14.4	4.3	14.0	8.1
Arab States	4.4	4.0	8.8	5.9	10.4	5.6
Latin America/C.	2.9	1.5	6.9	3.7	6.0	4.7
Eastern Asia/ Oceania	0.6	-0.8	5.2	0.7	15.5	7.3
Southern A.	2.2	3.5	4.6	6.0	3.5	1.1
Least Developed Countries	5.4	3.5	5.0	4.5	11.1	6.8
Developed Countries	-0.8	0.1	-0.1	0.2	1.9	1.3

Table 2: Enrolment Growth Rates by Level of Education, 1970 – 1988 (percentages)
Source: World Education Report, Unesco 1991, p. 32

Another additional burden are high school drop-out rates. In developing countries nearly one third of the children who start the first grade are estimated to drop out before completing grade four (World Education Report, p. 31).

To meet the economic challenges of broadening educational opportunities resources in the developing world are extremely limited. In the least developed countries overall public current expenditure per pupil declined from 50 US\$ in 1980 to 45 US\$ in 1988 while increasing from 1,862 US\$ to 2,888 US\$ in developed countries and from 106 US\$ to 219 US\$ in developing countries generally (World Education Report, p. 37).

From the facts above we can conclude that the educational challenges of developing countries are:

- lack of economic funds,
- lack of qualified teachers,
- lack of adequate learning materials.

Problems of the educational sector are reenforced by deficient infrastructure and imbalances within the educational sector. Therefore it is not surprising that many developing countries looked at low-cost alternatives to provide mass-education. One of the means adopted has been the introduction of distance education programmes. Before we will report on the various efforts made over the past decades we will look at development of the relevant models in the industrialized countries.

2. Characteristics of distance education and historical development

Distance education has always been defined as being different from direct conventional classroom teaching. Today there is wide agreement on the following characteristics to be essential to make distance education a special educational model:

- a) Distance education systems are characterized by the separation of teacher and learner throughout the length of the learning process. This distinguishes it from conventional face to face teaching.
- b) The educational organization influences planning, preparation and distribution of learning materials and provides student support services. This distinguishes it from private study and "teach yourself" programmes.
- c) To deliver the teaching content technical media such as print, audio, audiovisuals or computer programmes are used.
- d) The system provides established systematic two way-communication links between learner and institution.
- e) The system generally focuses on individual study at home with only occasional opportunities to assist face-to-face tutorials or seminars.

These more general characteristics hide somewhat the historical variety and evolution of distance education systems from past to current state of development. Distance education in Europe goes back to the middle of the 18th century. At that time the prevailing mode was "tuition by post" also known as correspondence education. The idea spread soon to other continents. In Australia the University of Queensland started in 1901 to teach external students by correspondence. Around the same time correspondence education was adopted by various universities to reach students in remote sites. Socialist countries like Russia started correspondence education shortly after the revolution to increase education from literacy to university levels.

Finally after the second world war distance teaching reached developing countries. Several programmes were based on radio programmes supported by some additional print material. Later full fledged distance teaching institutions were set-up as can be seen from the table below:

- University of Nairobi Correspondence and Mass Media Unit (1968)
- Tanzanian National Correspondence Institute (1970)
- Mauritius College on the Air (1972)
- Free University of Iran (1973)
- Everyman University in Israel (1974)
- Allama Iqbal Open University in Pakistan (1974)
- Universidad Estatal a Distancia in Costa Rica (1977)
- Universidad Nacional Abierta in Venezuela (1977)
- Sukothai Thammathirat Open University in Thailand (1978)
- China Central Radio and TV University (1978)
- Andhra Pradesh Open University in India (1982)

This list is certainly not exhaustive. Today distance teaching institutions can be found nearly in any country of the world either as autonomous distance teaching institutions (e.g. Open University in Great Britain, Fern Universität in Germany) or as departments of external studies as part of traditional educational institutions (e.g. in the former socialist countries and in Australia). More recently distance education systems also emerge as network systems connecting a variety of teaching material providers (e.g. National Technological University in the USA).

An interesting attempt to classify the development stages of distance teaching systems stems from Nipper (1978).

The first generation is "correspondence teaching" via a single media. There is little production of special material. Often simple reading lists are used. Feed-back is provided through written assignments that are marked by tutors.

The second generation is "Multi-media Distance Education" and has often been advocated as the industrial model of distance education. Teaching is delivered by especially developed material in form of print, broadcasting and cassettes. However the educational material is basically "one way"-directed. Two-way communication is provided by correspondence, telephone and additional face to face tutorials. The system incurs high fixed course development costs, decreasing with higher student numbers, and relatively low variable costs compared to conventional teaching. Dual mode institutions with low student numbers generally have greater difficulties to employ the industrial mode of distance education.

The third generation is called "Telecommunications and computer-based distance education". Low cost, low quality production of teaching material is provided by teleclasses. Computerconferencing, teleconferencing or audioconferences provide the necessary interactive feed-back links through immediate or delayed communication. With interactive feed-back links variable costs tend to rise. High fixed costs are spent rather on sophisticated technical infrastructure (satellites, networks) than on course development. Third generation models emerge from the idea to extend traditional classroom-teaching directly to on-campus and off-campus sites.

It will be an interesting point to discuss whether distance education systems in the developing countries are successively going through these stages, if they opt for one of these models or if they developed or should develop some sort of approach that meets their special characteristics.

3. Distance education in developing countries: Some examples

a) China's Radio and TV University

To train basically primary and secondary school teachers the China Central Radio and TV University was established in 1978. From 1979 to 1986 the university enrolled over 1.700,000 students (Shen Qi Yun 1988, p. 3). Nearly every second chinese graduate graduated from this university. Programs are distributed by satellite to local educational TV stations which broadcast them to local audiences. Local governments are responsible for the setting-up of the local TV Stations and for local studycentres with play-back facilities. In 1991 there were about 700 local TV stations and around 50,000 studycentres. At the local studycentres students complete most of their course work after viewing the teleclasses. This workload consists of additional readings and face to face lectures. The curriculum is unified and administered by the Provincial Radio and TV University. Also examination tests are prepared centrally. The answer-sheets however are marked by local teachers.

The new China Educational TV now broadcasts in two channels which offer 31 hs of programmes. Over the last twelve years CETV published printed material for more than 300 courses with a total sale of 150 mio. volumes and 20,000 hs of audiovisual material. The speed of training primary and secondary school teachers has been significantly accelerated by introduction of TV transmissions by satellite. In the Autonomous Region of Ningxia Hui for example more than 10,000 graduates have been turned out after 4 years of the satellite teacher training program. Otherwise it would have been taken around 14 years for the region to produce the same number of qualified teachers (Xing Chunjie 1992, p. 2). Within the past five years more than 1.2 million primary and secondary school teachers participated in degree courses. Other programmes are directed to vocational training. The whole countries secondary education of primary school teachers will roughly come to an end by 1994. Now gradually preparation of teaching material moves to continuing education.

During the past years each graduate cost about 2000 yuan which is equivalent to about one third of the cost of graduates from conventional universities (Shen Qi Yun 1988, p. 7).

So far some of the success stories about the chinese teacher training program. Unfortunately there is little detailed evaluation of the system available. However it seems that drop-out is not neglectable and may be around 50% (see table below).

	Enrolled (all subjects)	Graduated (all subjects)
1982	184 973	92 022
1983	235 567	67 905
1984	205 858	17 032
1985	273 112	165 204
1986	215 200	248 778

Table 3: Students of China TVU
Source: Shen Qi Yun 1988, p. 14

The quality of the transmitted TV lectures is generally rather poor with respect to didactic standards ("talking heads"). The actual ratio of self study to watching of TV programmes is 2: 1 and seems to be rather low. In the future, because of limited transmission capacities, video- as well as audiocassette distribution will become more important. Also more emphasis will be put on printed material, which actually seems not to be very elaborated for self study purposes.

The system can be characterized by top-down teaching and may be somewhat comparable to the one-way correspondence type model however using TV putting instead of print and less focus on individual self study. A positive feature of the system is that it addresses the specific educational deficits and overcomes the deficient transport and communications infrastructure. As in many non-socialist countries TV is private – and even if in public hands it may have a similar attitude – air time is nearly unaffordable for a public educational institution. Therefore the use of TV for mass distance education seems to be not easily transferable to other developing countries.

b) Correspondence Education in Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea is a small island nation with about three million people. Major distance education institutions are the College of External Studies and the Department of Extension Studies at the University of Papua New Guinea. The College of External Studies provides secondary correspondence courses and enrolled in 1987 about 10,000 students (Kealey 1987, p. 21). It became the biggest secondary institution of the country. However many students enroll for single subjects only. The Department of External Studies at the University of Papua New Guinea offers about 10 degree courses. Enrollment numbers are relatively small, e.g. 420 in 1985 for the matriculation studies course.

At both institutions the teaching load is mainly delivered by print with some additional audiocassettes (Arger 1990, p. 14). The correspondence material is supplemented by face-to-face sessions at local study centres. However, only a few centres dispose of qualified tutors. At the local centres students register, receive their study materials and submit their assignments for marking.

The distance education programmes established aim at:

- offering more equal educational opportunities for people who have not had the chance of full-time studies, especially those doing important work in remote areas
- improving educational standards of professionals without serious loss of work time
- offering a cost-efficient alternative to the formal educational system.

In practice most of these aims have not yet been reached by the distance education programmes so far. The College of External Studies in 1983 served only 0.7% of the total Lower Secondary School enrollments. About 74% of its clientel come from urban areas, are aged between 17 and 21 years and the majority of them probably live with working family members in the modern sector of the economy. Also the distribution of the few established study centres has been in favour of the more advanced regions. Tutors have to be paid by the local centres. With respect to the services of study centres Kealey states: "Attending tutorials at fixed times in the centres both in the case of COES and the Department of Extension Studies restricts the openness. This causes the students to drop out and diminishes the impact of such type of education. On the other hand the centres provide motivation, counselling, fast and easy delivery of course materials and marked assignments which can

otherwise be frustratingly slow due to the poor means of communication in different parts of the country." (Kealey 1987, p. 34)

Due to relatively low student numbers other media than print are not seen as viable. The quality of print material is influenced by the rapid turnover of expatriate staff. The college operates like a handicraft industry rather than a mass production device. There is no evidence that courses are cost-effective. Finally it seems that mutual cooperation between both distance teaching institutions is rather poor and that there is a lack of cooperation over study centres (Arger 1990, p. 14).

c) Radio-based distance education in Latin America and Africa

An OAS survey in the early 1980s identified 15 radio education projects directed towards the formal primary curriculum and 32 for the non formal education of adults (Nielsen 1991, p. 129). Two interesting features emerged from these projects:

Interactive radio programmes for basic education and radio programmes for out-of-school learners.

Interactive radio programmes were developed to improve classroom teaching at primary school level combining daily radio lessons with 15 – 30 minutes teacher-led activity and some home study activities through printed worksheets. The radio programmes are interactive in prompting a student response every few seconds.

Radio programmes for out-of-school learners typically involve the use of radio-broadcasts with learners who have not been able to attend conventional schools. Sessions involve one or more hours of listening to the radio followed by group work led by paraprofessionals. Groups gather at homes, community centres or school-buildings at evening hours. Short printed informations are also used to supplement radio lessons. Programs cover basic education curricula including those needed to obtain a primary school certificate or to master basic literacy, numeracy and livelihood skills. Project facilitators usually receive only a few days training.

Interactive radio has been applied in various Latin American countries such as Nicaragua, Honduras, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Ecuador. Radio programmes for out-of-school leavers are known from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Colombia (ACPO) and Argentina (INCUPPO). They have been applied also in some African and Asian countries. Some of these programmes aim at basic education as defined by participants others are more directed towards political and social mobilization or at reinforcement of local social or productive activities.

Evaluation of several interactive radio projects showed that these projects were highly effective especially in rural areas and that they demonstrated lower drop-out rates than conventional education. Concerning costs, expenditures for interactive radio programmes are add-on costs but they appear to be lower than the costs of other means to raise achievement, e.g. introduction of textbooks or teacher training. Other findings on the RADECO-project claim that children can achieve at levels equivalent to those in regular schools even with just a one hour daily broadcast and some discussions and exercises.

The experience with this radio based distance education shows some interesting patterns:

- they rely basically on audio information, print is only added
- group learning is important, individual study at home is less decisive, frequently incentives for group action are given

- tutors fundamentally play the role of facilitators
- direct feed-back from participants to facilitators is more important than feed-back through assessment papers or written comments
- the one-way character of radio is modified to include interactive patterns
- often projects address local needs of participants rather than extending the formal school system.

Some shortcomings of the approach are that people have to listen to the radio at fixed hours. Here audio cassettes offer more flexibility today. Also interactive features can be included in the one-way medium radio only to a very limited degree. A true interactive dialogue with the learner however is impossible. Furthermore sound information has severe limits in lacking the visual component. Therefore not every subject might be dealt with adequately unless printed information is more emphasized. Finally low qualified tutors may pose problems when some sort of certification is aimed at.

In general the type of projects mentioned above can be characterized as low cost approach using mass media with some special participatory and interactive elements and relatively little emphasis on individual study. The programmes are sometimes hard to distinguish from conventional education that simply makes use of some technical media.

4. Problems to implement distance education in developing countries

It is obvious that general conclusions cannot be drawn from the examples given above. They are only meant to illustrate how some of the projects look like and what kind of specific problems they face. The range of institutional setting is certainly broader, e.g. we have dropped description of the Open Universities modelled after European type distance education systems. However, from review of relevant literature some more general obstacles can be identified (Perraton 1982, Nielsen 1991).

Distance education as introduced in industrialized countries is a highly individualistic concept combined later with some industrial mode development, production and distribution techniques. Furthermore it is historically based on the written word. In contrast, cultural patterns in many developing countries, especially in Africa and Latin America, emphasize communalism and the spoken word. Therefore, group learning, face-to-face tutorials and audio or audiovisual information should gain more importance. This poses some restrictions on the home study component and, if applied, usually increases the costs of the system. The argument is even reinforced considering the focus towards learners with low learning experience and lower entrance qualifications. Therefore design of programmes have to account for these special characteristics.

Distance education in developed countries as well as in developing countries still has to struggle to gain its prestige compared to conventional education. As we have seen from some examples above distance education systems often argue with high enrollment figures but neglecting solid assessment of quality aspects. Comparability is expected to be gained from adopting virtually the same curricula as the conventional system. This can impede innovative approaches and the servicing of specific target groups. A chance that especially distance education systems offer through their modular structure and the possibility of contracting specialists.

In many developing countries the educational system often inherited from the colonial powers centralized authoritarian structures and rigidities. This may on one hand have favoured the development of huge autonomous Open Universities. On the other hand, employing the industrial mode authoritarian structures might be reinforced and participatory approaches be hampered unless systematic feed-back from learners is accounted for.

Furthermore distance education systems to be effective need continuous restructuring and adaptation to changing curricular needs. To gain the necessary flexibility in industrialized countries educational institutions can draw substantially on the private market to hire services and to contract personnel for a limited time. These conditions often do not prevail in developing countries and can make huge distance education institutions rather inflexible.

If distance education systems do not cater for local needs by relying on traditional formal curricula they might even promote migration from disadvantaged areas rather than reduce imbalances. For TeleSecundaria in Mexico Palavicini postulates e.g. that "if TeleSecundaria is to be effective in promoting the development of the Mexican countryside, to fill present educational needs, and to decrease urban migration, then this system should consider the introduction of a more rural-oriented secondary school curriculum" (see Palavicini 1985, p. 136).

As many distance education systems received some initial development aid centred on fixed infrastructure and occasionally some fixed course development costs projects sometimes have difficulties to cover long-run recurrent costs later on. To receive the necessary fees from young unemployed people in rural areas may be difficult. As they are usually dependent on public subsidies these systems enter into competition with conventional institutions that have due to their tradition and quantitative weight easier and more stable access to public resources. As a consequence institutions have to lower their recurrent costs by cutting down teaching staff employed at the central institution, by offering relatively poor tutorial and counselling services and by reducing the quality of the learning material. Drop-out then increases and the efficiency of the system is considerably affected.

5. Donor strategies

Distance education in the Third World has been heavily influenced by donor countries. Nearly every project received some sort of funding at least in the beginning.

The example of the British Open University led to similar institutions e.g. in India, Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia and Hongkong. These institutions follow the autonomous centralized pattern with some tutorial services at local study centres. The International Extension College established a series of correspondence schools in Africa (Dodds 1985). The two big Latin American distance teaching universities at Costa Rica and Venezuela were modeled after the Spanish Open University at Madrid. USAID on the other hand favoured interactive radio schools. So every donor agency propagated more or less their own model with some local adaptations.

The World Bank as a leading donor institution for many years did not put much emphasis on distance education. Up to the end of the 70s educational priorities were given to formal secondary education and to vocational training even though early investigations demonstrated that social rates of return decline with higher educational levels.

Level of Schooling	Social Internal Rate of Return
Primary	26
Secondary	17
Higher	13

Table 4

Note: The social rate of return measures the net benefit of educational investment and has been calculated first by Psacharopoulos 1973.

Source: Jones 1990, p. 20

In the 1980s priorities shifted to formal primary education. With respect to vocational training the World Bank today advocates internal and on the job training through private enterprises rather than formal vocational training except for pre-employment training in low-income countries (Haddad et al. p. 48). To reduce the increasing knowledge gap existing especially for low-income countries the Bank recommends additional school inputs such as textbooks and radio, and additional delivery methods such as peer tutoring, more effective curricula and teacher-student interaction. Educational television is not expected to contribute much to pupils achievement and is seen as an expensive medium (see the review of studies listed in Haddad et al. p. 54).

Attempts to save costs in distance education especially in course development by coordinated international development policy are numerous but little cooperation is found at national or regional levels in developing countries themselves. The international cooperation actually follows some patterns that can be somewhat ironically described like that:

First a network among participating educational institutions is established in a considerable number of meetings. The network is highly donor oriented and mostly other existing networks are ignored. Then common course development and exchange of information is initiated using high standard telecommunication facilities sponsored by the donor. Data banks for mutual information exchange are established but filled mainly by donor countries research and course materials. Once funding comes to an end the network ceases to exist.

That this scenario although somewhat exaggerated is not completely unrealistic is demonstrated by the history of the Commonwealth of Nations project. The nearly ten years lasting discussion to establish a multilaterally operated Commonwealth Higher Education Programme, including the harnessing of distance education and modern communication and information technology to support and accelerate development in countries which have neither the experience nor the resources to do it alone, was finally commented by A. Christodoulou like that: "The Commonwealth is fast evolving into two camps: those who need and hope to receive but are constantly frustrated; and those who have and give – but what they give and how they give is influenced primarily by their own trade and international political interests and their determination to control their own funds. For the present and as far as I can see into the future, Commonwealth Co-operation if not an outright shame, is an undernourished and sickly infant and I join with those who predict perhaps irreparable damage to the Commonwealth connection" (Christodoulou 1992, p. 29).

In Germany distance education played practically no role for donor organizations. Emphasis was given to establish vocational training centres in developing countries and to export the German dual system of vocational training. One of the few attempts to support distance education projects is known from the German Foundation for

International Development. The project addressed training of writers for basic distance education material. Over several years workshops were run jointly by external experts and local counterparts. The model was successful in improving quality of learning material in many ongoing projects. However, organizational difficulties in local educational institutions like allocation of time for writers, delays in printing and rapid turnover of staff somewhat limited the success that the project merited.

As today many conventional public educational institutions are running out of funds and face competition from private institutions they will start distance education projects only if they generate substantial coverage of recurrent costs. Therefore a viable strategy to implement such sort of projects might be to offer first some courses to upgrade higher income professionals at high prices and after gaining experience with development and logistics of the distance education mode to extend the offers to a broader clientele at lower prices.

Some lessons to be learned from past donor policies may be summarized as follows:

- projects should support mainly ongoing national projects,
- they should try to give administrative and organizational support for a considerable time period rather than offering own course materials for translation,
- they should train local staff to develop their own teaching material,
- projects should be favoured that address local educational needs and are related to labour market demand,
- low cost technology approaches such as audiocassettes and print should be used. Mass media may serve to give motivational support and publicity,
- projects should emphasize self-organized group learning and respect cultural patterns of learning,
- they should foster co-operation and specialization among local distance teaching institutions as well as co-operation with local conventional institutions.

6. Perspectives for future development

The needs to develop distance education in developing countries are obvious due to regional extension, population growth and lack of qualified teachers. However visions of the world becoming a "global classroom" with equal opportunities for all are misleading and hide the interest of industrialized countries to sell high-powered telecommunications and computer equipment. Naive beliefs like that of Pelton are revealing: "Even so, in the light of the tremendous needs for both the developed and the developing world, tele-education may be the only means for long-term human survival" (Pelton 1991, p. 3) and some pages later "From a management viewpoint, creating one or even two global production centres for tele-education to serve the entire world would be highly efficient and desirable, especially distribution, billing, scheduling and marketing" (Pelton 1991, p. 8). Some United States projects like the Global University or the University of the World are already institutional incarnations of these ideas.

It is with no doubts that telecommunications and computer technology already spread to developing countries and will continue to do so in the future. In the short run their main application will be rather in the production of print, in administrative support and evaluation than in teaching. However new technologies have to be incorporated stepwise and only after gaining experience with simpler methods of distribution and delivery. Often the main deficits are not lack of equipment or funds but lacking qualified human resources in teaching and management. The deficits will not be overcome in an efficient manner by adopting systems designed for the special purposes of industrialized countries. Distance education will not be able to solve all

educational problems neither in developed nor in developing countries but it can make a very important contribution if it is carefully applied and tailored to the specific needs of the economic potential of the respective country.

Abstract

The article starts with a brief overview of educational needs in developing countries in the twenty-first century. Needs will be specified according to regional differences and educational levels.

In a second part some basic characteristics of distance education systems are pointed out and an outline of the current state of development of such systems in industrialized countries and actual applications in developing countries is given. Also media used in communication and delivery will be described.

Third some conditions for successful application of distance education will be elaborated in the light of past experience. Donor policies will be reviewed and their efficiency will be analyzed.

In a final comment the contribution that distance education systems can make to satisfy educational needs in the twenty-first century is determined.

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Wolfram Laaser, Zentrum für Fernstudienentwicklung, Fern Universität – Gesamthochschule in Hagen, In der Krone 17, D-58084 Hagen 1 (Bathey)

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Dirk Hansohm und Robert Kappel: Schwarzweiße Mythen – Afrika und der entwicklungspolitische Diskurs. Bremer Afrika Studien Bd. 3, Münster/Hamburg Lit. 1993. ISBN 3-89473-699-2, 253 Seiten, DM 29,80, öS 233,–.

Die negative Darstellung Afrikas im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs und in den Medien, der „Afro-Pessimismus“, Generalisierungen und polarisierende Erklärungsmuster verhindern den Fortschritt in der afrika-bezogenen entwicklungspolitischen Diskussion. Die verallgemeinernde Betrachtung des gesamten Kontinents, vor allem aber die ständige Hervorhebung von Krisen und hoffnungslosen Szenarien, ebnet den Weg für simple, oft erfolglose oder sogar gefährliche Lösungen. So die zentrale Aussage der beiden Wirtschaftswissenschaftler Hansohm und Kappel, ausgeführt im Einleitungskapitel „Wider den Afro-Pessimismus“ – ein engagiertes Motto, auf das im gesamten Band immer wieder zurückgegriffen wird. Zu den Zielsetzungen der Autoren gehören genaue Analyse, Vermeidung versus Aufarbeitung von Dichotomien, Stereotypen und einseitigen Darstellungen sowie das Aufzeigen alternativer Perspektiven.

Zu Beginn steht eine allgemeine Einführung zur wirtschaftlichen Lage Afrikas. Anhand diverser sozioökonomischer Indikatoren wird ein informativer Überblick über die ökonomische Entwicklung verschiedener Länder geboten. Mit besonderer Sorgfalt weist Kappel immer wieder auf wesentliche regionale Unterschiede und Besonderheiten hin, die Verallgemeinerungen für den Kontinent unmöglich machen. Leider bleibt es jedoch bei dieser Feststellung; ein genaues Eingehen auf die Situation der einzelnen Länder fehlt und ist wohl aus Platzgründen gar nicht möglich.

Die weiteren Abschnitte sind thematisch zugeordnet und beginnen mit der Frage nach den Ursachen der afrikanischen Krise. Dabei skizziert Hansohm zwei entgegengesetzte Positionen: Während afrikanische Organisationen und Intellektuelle externe Ursachen für die Krise verantwortlich machen, betont die vor allem von IWF und Weltbank vertretene Position interne Faktoren. Hansohm ortet in der Überbewertung der internen Ursachen einen Modetrend, der, gestützt auf die gerade aktuelle neoklassische Wirtschaftstheorie, den westlichen Betrachter jeder Verantwortung enthebt – seine Kritik richtet sich dabei konkret vor allem gegen einige von Kohlhammer¹ vorgebrachte Argumente. Hansohms Einschätzung hingegen mißt den externen Ursachen größeres Gewicht bei und resultiert in mehreren konkreten Handlungsanweisungen an den Leser.

Im Kapitel „Staat oder Markt?“ wird der „entweder – oder“ Standpunkt als bequeme Simplifizierung entlarvt. Auf eine Analyse der Theoriegeschichte folgt die Erkenntnis, daß Staat und Markt keine Alternativen sind, sondern sich komplementär entwickeln. „Die Entwicklungsgeschichte zeigt, daß der funktionierende Markt ... nur durch von einem effizienten Staat gesetzte ... Rahmenbedingungen entsteht.“ (S. 61)

In der Frage Exportorientierung bzw. Importsubstitution hilft ebenfalls die Betrachtung der Wandlung in der herrschenden Theorie, Polarisierungen zu entschärfen und z.B. die Möglichkeit der Nachahmung legendärer Vorbilder (four little tigers) nüchtern zu beurteilen.

1 Kohlhammer, Siegfried: Leben wir auf Kosten der Dritten Welt? Über moralische Erpressung und Edle Seelen. In: Merkur; 522/523, September/Okttober 1992, S. 876 – 898.

Strukturanpassungsprogramme (SAP) werden nach Meinung Hansohms zu Unrecht mit der ökonomischen Misere vieler afrikanischer Staaten verbunden; da die ökonomische Situation der meisten afrikanischen Länder in den 80er Jahren katastrophal war, konnten auch die SAPs keine Verbesserungen bewirken. Während der Autor die SAPs prinzipiell für unverzichtbar hält, geht es ihm vor allem um das Wie: eine konstruktive Diskussion um die konkreten Maßnahmen im Rahmen der Programme ist gefordert.

Auch afrikanische Konzepte akzeptieren die Notwendigkeit wirtschaftlicher Strukturanpassungen; einige dieser Konzepte sind im Kapitel über die „afrikanischen Alternativen“ näher ausgeführt und bewertet.

Kappel beschäftigt sich in der Folge mit dem Verhältnis zwischen Afrika und Europa. Insgesamt konstatiert er, daß Afrika zunehmend in eine marginalisierte Position gerät, und daß sich in der Entwicklungsdiskussion Resignation breitmacht. Scharf kritisiert wird die Rechtfertigung von Interventionen; dieser Position wird Rassismus und Neokolonialismus vorgeworfen. Ein informativer Überblick über die Arten wirtschaftlicher Kooperation zwischen Europa und Afrika folgt. An der Entwicklungshilfe kritisiert Kappel die geringe Transparenz, er fordert die Offenlegung von Evaluierungen.

Regionaler Kooperation ordnet Kappel im folgenden Beitrag wachsende Bedeutung zu. Dem steht die Erkenntnis gegenüber, daß der Anteil der innerafrikanischen Austauschbeziehungen nach wie vor gering ist, und die Orientierung an Europa weiterhin dominiert. „Ecowas führt eher ein Schattendasein, SADCC hat sich relativ positiv entwickelt und CEAO gilt als erfolgreichste Kooperation,“ (S. 127) so eine zusammenfassende Beurteilung der wichtigsten regionalen Zusammenschlüsse.

Da sich die regionale Kooperation Afrikas insgesamt eher als erzwungene Reaktion auf die europäische Integration denn als eigenständige Entwicklung präsentiert, überrascht der abschließende Optimismus: „Deshalb gehen wir davon aus, daß der afrikanische Kontinent mit einer Vision von regionalen Blöcken, praktikablen Schritten und einer solidarischen Kooperation mit Europa mittel- und langfristig aus der Krise herausfinden wird.“ (S. 137)

Auch das Thema Multinationale Konzerne fehlt nicht, wenn es darum geht, Stereotypen zu überdenken. Neben umfassenden Fakten über die Aktivitäten der Multinationalen Konzerne steht die Einsicht, daß Direktinvestitionen nach Afrika vor allem seit 1980 längerfristig an Bedeutung verlieren (S. 145). In Übereinstimmung mit Nuscheler² empfiehlt Kappel den afrikanischen Ländern ein „pragmatisches Arrangement“, d.h. Wirtschaftsreformen, um Investitionen zu fördern, und gleichzeitig einen Verhaltenskodex für Multinationale Konzerne (S. 152).

Kappel tritt weiters für ein Konzept dauerhafter Entwicklung ein: „Es gibt aufgrund der wirtschaftlichen Krise so etwas wie eine abwärts gerichtete Spiralbewegung von Armut und ökologischer Zerstörung.“ (S. 155) Auf diese Feststellung folgen Analysen der spezifischen Probleme afrikanischer Staaten bei der Lösung von Umweltproblemen sowie Ausführungen über die Mitverantwortung des Westens an der Umweltzerstörung Afrikas.

Die Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGOs) sind in der entwicklungspolitischen Diskussion der achtziger Jahre in Mode gekommen: „Einige betrachten sie sogar als eine Art Allheilmittel.“ (S. 181) Zu Recht weist Kappel darauf hin, daß es sich um eine Restgröße einer Negativdefinition handelt, die entsprechend heterogen in Erscheinung tritt. (S. 184) Eine Zusammenfassung des Wirkens von verschiedenen Kategorien von NGOs in Afrika gibt Aufschluß über deren Vielfalt. Vor der simplen Schlußfol-

2 Nuscheler, Franz: Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch Entwicklungspolitik. Dietz-Verlag, Bonn 1991.

gerung, NGOs seien effektiver als der Staat und daher geeignet diesen in der Entwicklungsarbeit zu ersetzen, wird gewarnt: „Ein Blick in die afrikanischen Länder zeigt auch, daß NGOs nicht in den Ländern am besten blühen und gedeihen, in denen der Staat durch tendenzielle Abwesenheit glänzt, sondern dort, wo ihnen differenzierte Staats- und Marktfunktionen gegenüberstehen.“ (S. 196)

Auch der Begriff „informeller Sektor“ umfaßt einen heterogenen Bereich, an den vielerlei Erwartungen gerichtet sind. Nach theoretischen und allgemeinen Überlegungen illustriert Kappel die konkrete Situation am Beispiel des informellen Sektors in Nigeria. Das Aufzeigen der Vernetztheit vom formellen und informellen Sektor erleichtert die Einsicht, daß es wenig Sinn macht, die zwei Bereiche gegeneinander auszuspielen; im Gegenteil hat jede konstruktive Entwicklung, allerdings auch jeder Mangel, im Bereich des formellen Sektors direkte Auswirkungen auf den informellen (S. 214).

Im letzten Kapitel folgt auf die inhaltliche Zusammenfassung der behandelten Themenbereiche eine abschließende Stellungnahme der Autoren, in der sie ihren anfangs dargelegten Standpunkt bekräftigen. Eine 27seitige einschlägige Literaturliste ist angeschlossen.

Wertvoll an der Publikation sind tatsächlich die vielfältigen Perspektiven und unorthodoxen Sichtweisen. Es fällt allerdings auf, daß durchaus nicht alle relevanten Bereiche behandelt werden; so fehlt z.B. eine ausführliche Aufarbeitung der jüngsten Demokratiebewegungen. Es gelingt den Autoren nicht immer, den Anspruch der differenzierenden Sichtweise einerseits und der Beschäftigung mit dem gesamten Kontinent Afrika andererseits zu vereinbaren. Die Reduzierung unterschiedlichster Länder auf eine Größe hat per se weitere Pauschalierungen zur Folge. Der Optimismus in bezug auf die Entwicklung Afrikas ist gerade aufgrund der vorangegangenen Bestandsaufnahme nicht in jedem Fall ansteckend. Doch wer auch mit Pessimismus leben kann, sollte sich die Herausforderung dieses Bandes nicht entgehen lassen: Dieser wirtschaftswissenschaftlich orientierte Beitrag durchbricht auf anregende Art etablierte Denkmuster und stellt eine erfreuliche Belebung der entwicklungspolitischen Diskussion dar.

Imi Hanak, Chrudnergasse 8/10, A-1130 Wien

ABSTRACTS

Paul Streeten

MARKETS AND STATES: AGAINST MINIMALISM

Der Beitrag behandelt die Rolle von Markt und Staat im Geiste Adam Smiths und Gunnar Myrdals, dessen Beitrag zu dieser Frage skizziert wird. Häufige Irrtümer bezüglich Myrdals Vorstellungen werden korrigiert. Unterschiede, die für das Verständnis der Rollen von Staat und Markt wichtig sind, jedoch durch die Neoklassik verwischt wurden, werden klar herausgearbeitet. Die Notwendigkeit, den Übergang zur richtigen Art staatlicher Intervention zu erforschen, sowie einer normativen politischen Ökonomie, wird herausgestellt. Die derzeitige Kombination von einseitiger Preis- und Marktorientierung sowie Staatsminimalismus, ein Grundzug der Strukturanpassung, wird zugunsten eines realistischeren Ansatzes in Frage gestellt.

Kunibert Raffer

“STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT”, LIBERALISATION, AND POVERTY

Der Artikel behandelt zwei Hauptpunkte der „Strukturanpassung“, durch „SA“ hervorgerufene Armut und Liberalisierung, wobei auf die Doppelmoral der Liberalisierungsmaßstäbe ebenso hingewiesen wird, wie auf falsche Ansichten und heute peinliche Ratschläge der Bretton Woods Institutionen in der Vergangenheit. „SA“ wurde bereits vor der Schuldenkrise betrieben ohne diese zu verhindern. Anpassungen der „SA“ selbst blieben weitgehend auf das Verbale beschränkt. Allerdings, ob man nun für Maßnahmen zugunsten der Armen ist, um die Effizienz der „SA“ zu steigern, oder solche prinzipiell als überflüssig und schädlich bekämpfte, die BWI behaupten, stets im genuinen Interesse der Armen gehandelt zu haben.

Hans F. Illy

SOZIALE UND POLITISCHE DIMENSIONEN DER STRUKTURANPASSUNG IN AFRIKA

Die Weltbank und ihr Implementationsdefizit

The largely unsatisfactory outcome of structural adjustment programmes initiated by the World Bank in Africa since the early 80s makes it imperative to have a closer look at their social and political dimensions. In spite of all rhetoric and a flood of publications, the Bank does not seem to be competent to assess SAP's socio-political factors properly nor to act accordingly. The recent wave of liberalization throughout the continent is particularly irritating. Based on empirical research in several African countries, the author concludes that SAP performance, including poverty components, is minimal. One major reason is the Bank's institutional culture which puts a strong emphasis on loan approval to the detriment of effective project implementation based on partnership and commitment "on the spot".

George C. Abbott

THE CONTINUING DEBT CRISIS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Die Schuldenkrise dominierte die 80er Jahre, wobei das Interesse v.a. den schwerverschuldeten Ländern (HICs), wie Mexiko oder Brasilien, galt. Länder mit niedrigem Einkommen (LICs), die nicht weniger unter der Krise litten, wurden weitgehend ignoriert, sodaß die Krise, die in den HICs unter Kontrolle gebracht werden konnte,

sich in den LICs verschärfte. Schwarzafrikas Länder zeigen dies besonders deutlich. Die meisten sind nun ärmer, verschuldeter und weniger fähig die steigenden Kosten des Schuldendienstes aufzubringen, was sich in absehbarer Zeit nicht ändern wird. Daher haben diese Länder mit zwei Krisenjahrzehnten zu rechnen, was ebenso auf ein falsches Verständnis der Natur der Verschuldung, wie auf ungeeignete und ineffiziente Strategien der Schuldenerleichterung zurück geht. Obwohl viel getan wurde, sind die gegenwärtigen Strategien nicht in der Lage, eine Erholung und langfristiges, nachhaltiges Wachstum zu fördern. Der Beitrag schlägt vor, wie die bestehende Verschuldung verringert und Entwicklung gefördert werden kann.

Rolf Kappel

MONITORING ADJUSTMENT AND RURAL POVERTY
Concept and Major Results of the Swiss Monitoring
Programme in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique

Der Beitrag faßt Konzept und wichtigste Ergebnisse eines regionalen Programms zusammen, das die Zusammenhänge zwischen Anpassung und ländlicher Armut in Mosambik überprüft. Während die Liberalisierung das geregelte Konsumgüterangebot in ländlichen Gegenden deutlich verbessert hat, konnte die Agrarpreispolitik die Austauschverhältnisse der Bauern noch nicht verbessern. Signifikante Änderungen der Realeinkommen der armen Kleinbauern sowie der Einkommensverteilung wurden nicht festgestellt. Hohe Transaktionskosten und geringe Angebotselastizitäten behindern die Ausweitung der Agrarproduktion. Die sozialen Dienste weisen strukturelle Defizite auf, leiden aber nicht unter den Anpassungsmaßnahmen.

Moritz Kraemer

STABILISIERUNG UND STÄDTISCHE ARMUT
Eine Bestandsaufnahme der Erfahrungen
Lateinamerikas in den 80er Jahren

Poverty, especially in urban areas, increased considerably during the 1980s. A simple microeconomic model illustrates the impact of devaluation and fiscal austerity on the poor in various segments of the labour market. The theoretically derived results (i.e. erosion of real wages and rising unemployment) are supported by empirical data. Collapsing primary incomes are further accentuated by the changed structure of public spending reducing social expenditure in most of Latin America. Scarcely available more disaggregated information leads to the conclusion that the incidence of poverty was decisive even if aggregated indicators appeared to develop positively. Social conditionality is discussed briefly.

Wolfram Laaser

DISTANCE EDUCATION – A SOLUTION FOR EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES?

Ausgehend von den Entwicklungstendenzen im Bildungsbereich in den Entwicklungsländern wird untersucht, welchen Beitrag das Fernstudium zur Lösung der sich abzeichnenden Defizite leisten kann. Aufgezeigt werden zunächst die historische Entwicklung und die verschiedenen „Generationen“ von Fernstudiensystemen. Anschließend werden konkrete Projekte in China, Papua-Neuguinea, Lateinamerika und Afrika vorgestellt und analysiert. Vor dem Hintergrund der Beispiele werden generelle Implementationsprobleme herausgearbeitet und der aktuellen Förderpolitik der Geberländer gegenübergestellt. Zum Abschluß werden Perspektiven für die weitere Entwicklung diskutiert.

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AUTORENNOTIZEN

George C. ABBOTT,

is Chairman of the Centre of Development Studies at the University of Glasgow, Scotland. He has published widely on international finance, debts and structural adjustment.

Hans F. ILLY,

geb. 1940, Dr. phil., Diplom-Kaufmann, Akad. gepr. Auslandskorrespondent, Professor der Politik- und Verwaltungswissenschaft, wiss. Referent im Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut für kulturwissenschaftliche Forschung, Freiburg i.Br., und Gutachter für Entwicklungsmanagement (u.a. 1993 Evaluierung des SDA-Programms der Weltbank).

Rolf KAPPEL,

is Professor of Economics at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) Zürich and Director of the Postgraduate Course on Developing Countries (NADEL). His research focuses on economic reform and environmental problems in LDCs.

Moritz KRAEMER,

ist wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Volkswirtschaftlichen Seminar der Universität Göttingen. Zuvor war er am Ibero-Amerika-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung tätig. Veröffentlichungen zur internationalen Schuldenkrise, Stabilisierungspolitik und internationalen Umweltpolitik.

Wolfram LAASER,

Dr., ist Akademischer Oberrat und Koordinator der fernstudiendidaktischen Arbeitsbereiche am Zentrum für Fernstudienentwicklung der FernUniversität. Er hat in verschiedenen Entwicklungsländern Fernstudien spezialisten ausgebildet und zahlreiche Unterrichtsmaterialien, schwerpunktmäßig im ökonomischen Bereich, erstellt.

Kunibert RAFFER,

is Associate Professor at the Department of Economics, University of Vienna, and member of the JEP's editorial office. He was Visiting Fellow at the IDS, Sussex (1989), and Honorary Research Fellow at the Department of Commerce, Birmingham University, UK (1990 – 1993).

Paul STREETEN,

is Professor Emeritus of Boston University and a consultant to the UNDP on the annual *Human Development Report*, an Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. He is a member of the JEP's board of editors and chairman of the editorial Board of *World Development*.

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