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Recasting Gandhian basic education in the light of nonformal education.

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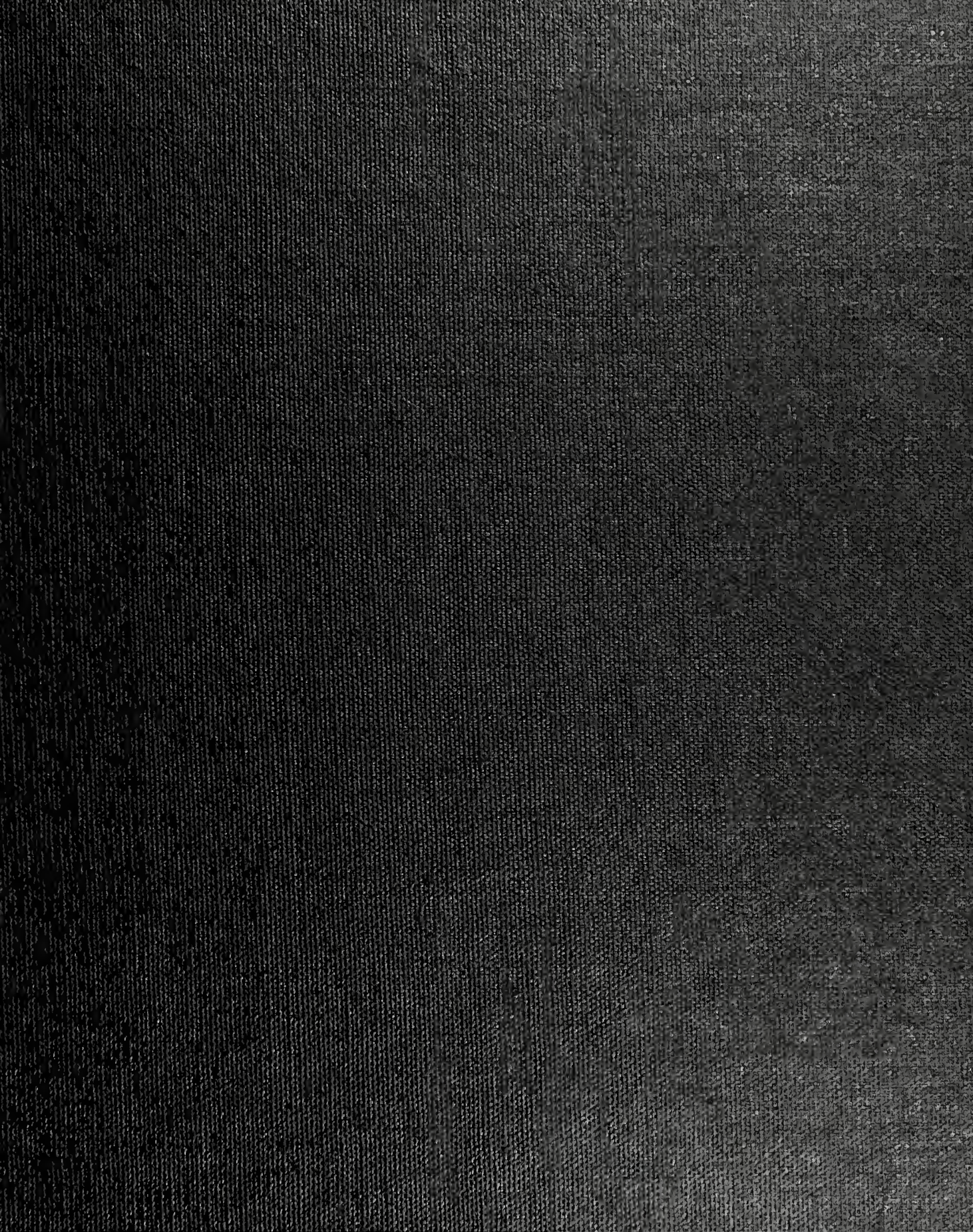
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RECASTING GANDHIAN BASIC EDUCATION IN
THE LIGHT OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

By

VASUDEVAN NAIR

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May

1978

Education

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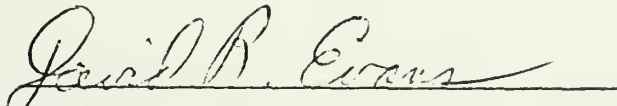
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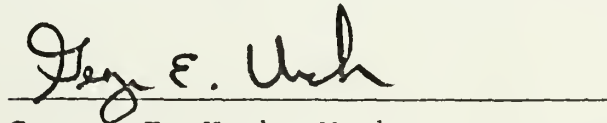
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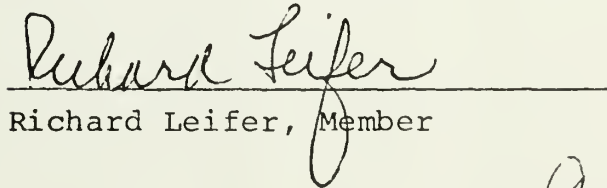
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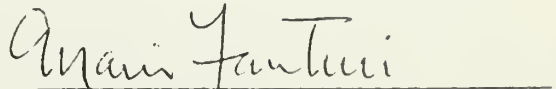
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Richard Leifer, Member



Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

To SITARA

Vivek and Jaya

With the deepest love.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The aid and assistance, encouragement and guidance given to me for well nigh five years by my professors David R. Evans and George E. Urch remain an essential part of an exciting educational experience at the School of Education, University of Massachusetts. To these fine educators, I owe a debt of gratitude.

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The final stage of writing was made possible by the joyous and warm hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. Juan Caban of Amherst who provided a home and surrounded me with loving care.

Finally, I mention with the deepest appreciation Professor Dwight Allen but for whose encouragement and confidence I would not have ventured to further my studies in the States.

ABSTRACT

Recasting Gandhian Basic Education in Light
of Nonformal Education

(May 1978)

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The concept of Basic Education identified with Mahatma Gandhi was adopted and implemented as a national system of education in India for nearly two decades before it was abandoned in the face of implementational difficulties as well as opposition from parents and teachers. Craft training formed the core of this educational approach that sought to instill in the learners the values of self-reliance, cooperation and respect for manual work. Gandhi's educational ideas were closely related to his vision of India as a nation of autonomous, self-reliant village republics in a non-violent and non-exploitative social order. The concept of self-reliance also meant that every individual would be skilled in a productive activity for economic independence. The Gandhian approach to craft and industry is based on the notion that "appropriate technology" will maximize work opportunities for the teeming populations of India, largely

concentrated in the villages.

Educational and development planners now endorse the very same approach of Gandhi in their advocacy of nonformal education, combining "minimum essential learning needs," with occupational skills. The promotion of out-of-school (non-formal) learning and training on a world-wide basis, as well as the existence of case studies that focus on the wide range of nonformal educational activities, provide perspectives with which Gandhian Basic Education can be recast as a workable system.

The study examined four aspects related to the field of Basic Education, and with these as a lens, a review was undertaken of the general field of nonformal education. Attention was given to the contributions of Philip Coombs, Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere for possible planning strategies and perspectives. The four factors considered were: (1) the role of education in social development; (2) teaching-learning strategies; (3) organization; and (4) personnel.

The review of nonformal education and the contributions of its chief protagonists has highlighted the futility of attempting social change through a change in the curriculum, since the basic motivation for schooling was the opportunity for jobs. The success of the Basic system would depend on the relationship between the training it offers and opportunities for gainful employment created by the pattern

of national development. The existence of the modern sector in the Indian economy, as well as the recent emphasis on rural and agricultural development, call for a redefinition of craft-based education to include various employment-related skills.

The study suggests a two-part curriculum consisting of a school-based core curriculum and an out-of-school component of skills training. Participatory mechanisms involve teachers, development officials, and local leaders identified as key personnel for effective planning. Also identified was the need to marshal and deploy scarce resources.

Change strategies to orient Basic schools toward learner-centered methods and process orientation are suggested by the review of teaching-learning processes undertaken in the study. Further, the use of non-professional staff and the inductment into the Basic Education system of development agency personnel to complement school instruction is recommended. The creation of regional centers to evolve self-motivating learning materials and innovative processes are suggested for effective implementation of an integrated system with formal and nonformal components.

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C H A P T E R I
THE RECASTING OF GANDHIAN BASIC EDUCATION
IN LIGHT OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Many of the concerns of educators in the developing part of the world are foreshadowed in the plan that Gandhi had envisaged for Basic Education, combining an intuitive feel for the problem with an uncanny understanding of the people and country of India and their needs. The emphasis on primary education, its relationship to craft and occupation, its practical relevance to the rural social milieu, and its orientation towards inexpensive and locally available means toward implementation are as timely today as four decades ago when they were first articulated. Additionally, the creation of employment, self-help methods, the combination of schooling with productive labor and "socially appropriate technology" were themes addressed by Gandhi and re-discovered in the light of today's needs.

The fact remains, however, that Basic Education has floundered on criticism and remains an orphan in the Indian educational world. A dual system of education, one for the poor and another for the rich, served to undermine the value of an indigenous approach that addresses the questions of

relevance and equitable distribution of educational opportunity. Efforts begun as early as 1938 lasted until the resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1940, and were completely crippled from 1942 with the arrests of many Basic Education workers in the British efforts to stifle a growing nationalism. The movement began again in 1946 and received considerable mention in the First Five Year Plan of India (1952). Later, the problems of initial equipment, poor attendance, lack of effective techniques and training all contribute to a growing concern whether the idea itself was worth pursuing. However, the planning commission maintained the Basic Education approach although it was apparent that a genuine craft-centered education was expensive, and paucity of funds a major problem. The Third Five Year Plan begun in 1962 envisaged the gradual conversion of most schools, including the urban, to the Basic Education model and, significantly, to link it to the local development activities. Yet, the Fourth Plan, in draft form in 1966, conspicuously leaves out mention of the basic system, and the earlier hopes pinned on it.¹ The rise and fall of Basic Education serves as a warning to those who underestimate the enormous social, cultural and economic problems that present themselves in changing educational practice to meet development goals.

Regardless, the hopes and circumstances that gave birth to the idea of Basic Education remain relevant now, if in more acute form. Much of these are embodied in the analy-

ses and prescription for development in nonformal education literature. From the beginning of this decade of the 'seventies, nonformal education (NFE) or out-of-school education received world-wide consideration, study and adoption. Can the experiences generated since then provide a basis for reworking the Basic Education model of Gandhi as a national system of education for India? Can the wider NFE experience and the passage of forty years provide perspectives for recasting the Gandhian mold to effectively prosecute its goals and objectives which are remarkably similar to the ones held up to justify NFE? These questions are the source and stimulus for the present study.

The study of the problem is timely. Over the last decade, interest in basic education² has manifested itself at various levels. For one thing, it has come to be accepted as a universal human right and an avowed goal of many nations. It is also clear that the basic educational needs of millions of school-age children are not being met in the less developed countries (LDCs). The problem seems to grow in magnitude with passing years:

In the developing countries making up the continents of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, there were as of 1970 an estimated 269 million children aged 5-14 who were out of school in the sense of having never attended school or who left school before completion. The number is expected on present trends to increase from 290 million in 1975 to 375 million in 1985.³

The political implications of this situation are clear. Since the Second World War, political consciousness

has grown with the emergence of independent nations. Simultaneously, a recognition of the importance of education has greatly increased the "social demand" for it.

A great impetus towards strengthening basic education was given by the decision of Unesco/Unicef in 1972 to shift their efforts to elementary education with the focus on

. . . literacy, numeracy, some measures for understanding the economic and social environment and health and nutrition, rather than the more academic studies needed for progression to secondary education.⁴

The Unicef sponsored study in 1973, New Paths to Learning, explored the use of NFE for those who missed schooling--children as well as adolescents. Since then Unicef has practically terminated its assistance to secondary education.

Further endorsement for basic education includes opinions of educational economists like Mark Blaug who mentions the noneconomic objectives that are vital to the development of the countries:

The arguments in favor of shifting expenditures towards primary education are probably strengthened by introducing the question of 'externalities' and it is certainly strengthened by considering noneconomic objectives for education, such as the quality of educational opportunity, social cohesion and political stability.⁵

The case for Basic Education is further strengthened by the general failure of manpower forecasting techniques that led to an emphasis on secondary and post secondary training without taking into account the reward structure

operating in the country or the nexus between such training and the job market. Mark Blaug cites various studies that indicate higher social rates of return from primary education than other levels of education.⁶

Recent trends thus support the need for the concept of basic education, especially in the form now called non-formal education.

The cause of basic education has been espoused by international agencies such as the International Commission on Educational Development which, in its report Learning To Be, stipulates: "Universal basic education, in a variety of forms depending on the possibilities and needs, should be the top priority for educational policies in the 1970s."⁷ Following on the steps of this recommendation, the World Bank recently turned its attention to the distributive aspects of economic growth and have identified the elementary part of the primary cycle in education for special efforts. Generally, this has meant four years of continued enrollment in school.⁸

The Gandhian scheme for Basic Education was a response to a situation familiar in most developing countries. Burdened with an inherited colonial education system that catered only to a privileged few for the purpose of producing men and women who could service a subservient economy as clerks, these nations needed a system that took into account the vast majority of their people who were rural dwellers.

Not only was education to be made available to these masses, but the total national resources were meager, and such education as was envisaged had also to meet the needs of national development. Into concerns such as these, Gandhi injected a philosophy of craft-oriented education. All learning, he held, must be conducted through the medium of a craft. In spite of this atypical emphasis, his prognosis and prescription is remarkably similar to the analysis and advice tendered to developing countries by international agencies.

When development agencies turned the searchlight of inquiry into the hitherto no-man's land of nonformal education, an entire world of learning and training was revealed. The study of these learning opportunities has highlighted the conceptual, organizational and methodological richness of this previously neglected field. The lessons gleaned from a decade of investigation are now available for reformulating the Gandhian strategy.

Nonformal education is a broader category than Basic Education and subsumes all kinds of learning and training that serves an educative function. The target for both areas overlaps in that they concentrate on those usually bypassed by formal education, and the focus on immediately relevant skills makes nonformal strategies applicable to the more limited concept of Basic Education. The Unicef study, New Paths to Learning, similarly undertook an analysis of non-formal projects in a search for general principles applicable

to training and educational programs for children and youth. The central question to be pursued here is in many ways identical to the focus of the Unicef study which posed the question: "What might be done through nonformal education--in addition to strengthening the formal schools--to help meet the minimum essential learning needs of millions of educationally deprived rural children and adolescents and to help accelerate social economic development in rural areas?"⁹

The Study

The Problem

Concerns of Gandhi are re-emerging in NFE. The Basic Education model identified with his name has been abandoned by his country in a hurry to modernize and industrialize. Compromises in both educational ideas as well as development goals were made. However, such deviations from the earlier goals did not reduce poverty, alleviate unemployment, or facilitate social equality. Indeed, the disparities in these areas seem to have been accentuated rather than redressed. However, Basic Education was not given up without a serious attempt to implement it. It failed to meet the challenge posed by educators and parents who could not be convinced of its merits when compared with traditional education, nor were the curricular methods of correlating all learning through the medium of a craft practical.

The principle that underlies Gandhi's educational ideas is that the whole personality of the child should be educated and this is best done by subordinating all subjects to be taught to the demands of productive work. Such training necessarily involves intelligent application of scientific principles as in weaving and spinning, respect for manual skills, and the acquisition of a possible means of employment in later years. Gandhi also sought to remove those factors in traditional education that alienated the learner from his culture, society and environment that made schooling an exclusively intellectual exercise.

NFE is not unlike the Gandhian strategy in seeking to address the problems of rural poverty, in making education functional and related to actual learning needs, and the use of unconventional methods in the teaching-learning process. By linking these approaches to national development, nonformal educators faced problems similar to those that Gandhi confronted. However, the values that inform and guide many of these programs are different, and this imposes the need to look at both the concepts of development as well as the educational means devised to achieve them. Hence, a review of educational strategies calls for an examination of both the macro (societal) goals as well as micro (implementation-al) issues.

Any attempt to adapt NFE techniques to the more formal Gandhian scheme must take into account the raison d'etre

of its formulation. Due recognition must be given to the fact that Gandhi's system is politically centered on decentralized village republics, economically based on social justice and labor-intensive methods of production, and socially based on non-violence and cooperative relationships. An expanded view of education and a review of the nexus of society and education from the vantage point of other thinkers should point up deficiencies in the original analysis and illumine the problem more fully.

It was not only in analysis and prescription, but in implementation as well, that Basic Education met its severest challenge and to which it succumbed. The key implementation variables chosen for study are educational strategies, organization and personnel.

The Purpose

The purpose of this study is to seek general principles that can be applied to the Gandhian Basic Education scheme in two related areas--conceptualization of education in relation to societal development, and implementation through teaching-learning processes, organization and personnel. All these are viewed in the context of limited resources available for education in the Third World countries.

Hence, the primary question that will guide the study is--"What is suggested by contemporary schools of thought about NFE that could be useful in solving problems

encountered by Gandhian Basic Education and that could be considered in recasting it?"

In examining the above, the following implementing questions are dealt with:

1. What was the Gandhian approach to selected aspects of Basic Education, and what problems were encountered in carrying out these aspects? (Chapter I)
2. In the general field of NFE, what is suggested as possible approaches to these problems? (Chapter II)
3. What do the models of Freire, Coombs and Nyerere suggest as to possible approaches to these problems? (Chapters III, IV and V).
4. What do these cases suggest that should/could be considered in recasting Gandhian Basic Education? What else needs to be known or researched? (Chapter VI)

Significance of the Study

Basic education has received an impetus in its recognition as a human right by many nations. Consider the promotion of "minimum essential learning needs" concept by the World Bank, Unicef and Unesco. Consider also the growing belief that some form of education is necessary for development activities, leading to a focus on "literacy, numeracy, some measures for understanding the economic and social environment and health and nutrition, rather than the more academic studies for progression to secondary education."¹⁰ Again, in

the field of family planning, evidence indicates that as education of individuals increases, they tend to have fewer children and space their births better.¹¹ Similar benefits apply in population education, agriculture, health and other fields.¹²

Alongside these concerns appears a trend among Indian educators to cast about for new patterns "to reformulate a blueprint of the national system of education, and to launch a nation-wide movement of its realization over the next decade (1976-1986)."¹³ The last mentioned source also suggests a blend of Gandhi, Marx and Nehru in any such formulation. This points to a need for synthesis, since any one approach by itself cannot but be only a partial attack on the problem of education, and there are merits to any planning that is based on a broad spectrum of analysis, viewing the subject from many angles. Such a synthesis of the mainstreams of thought and practice is proposed in this study.

Remarkably, Basic Education objectives are reappearing in Indian Five Year Plans with a new label--"nonformal education." The implication is obvious.¹⁴

Review of Literature

A search for principles in the conceptualization and implementation of education in its relationship to national plans of development is necessarily wide ranging and extensive rather than intensive in its treatment. The review of

literature is thus extensive, but not exhaustive, and is intended to present overviews of ideas and trends in development, nonformal education, the Gandhian system through which the problem is viewed, and materials published on the three approaches of Coombs, Nyerere and Freire sufficient to provide the basics of their framework, and selected cases of implementation recorded as case studies in NFE literature.

Use was made of the Resource Center at the Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, as it houses extensive and current materials and documents on NFE. Materials on Gandhian Basic Education were researched mainly in the University of Massachusetts library and also in India. The limitedness of the material available is balanced by the present writer's personal acquaintance, exposure to and interest in this system for more than a decade, seven years of which were spent in India.

Clarification and Delimitation

Assumptions. The following assumptions underlie this study:

a. Basic Education, as conceived by Gandhi, is relevant for today. The rationale offered for NFE as a way out of present difficulties in providing universal education in the less developed countries does not differ from the Gandhian scheme in the underlying principles.

b. In the areas of conceptualizing the relationship

between educational and societal goals, recent studies in NFE have brought to light many new approaches to the question of societal and economic development and the implementational issues that flow from them. These insights may help reconstruct Gandhi's scheme.

c. The conditions in the developing countries are sufficiently alike to warrant the applicability and generalizability of NFE strategies to India, since most of these strategies studied in NFE literature are drawn from developing countries.

d. Recent trends and awareness of development issues validate Gandhi's assumptions regarding the need for a rural and agricultural emphasis to the problems of development in heavily populated Third World countries.

e. The different approaches taken by Coombs, Freire and Nyerere to the question of development, and the role of education in it, are complementary to one another, offering a more balanced view together than when they are viewed as mutually exclusive positions.

f. NFE offers a wide variety of strategies for education without an explicit organizing purpose, which are likely to remain isolated and assorted attempts, confined to small numbers of people. Basic Education, on the other hand, offers a large organizing purpose and a conceptual umbrella to integrate these various strategies into a unified system for educational development.

g. The current popularity and greater knowledge-base of NFE make a strong case for reworking the Gandhian concepts in the light of new knowledge to fulfill the promise of its formulation.

h. The strategies proposed in NFE assume a scarcity of resources and funds. Hence they are relevant to Basic Education schools.

Exclusions. The study restricts itself to identifying issues in the conceptualization and implementation of Gandhian Basic Education that led to its abandonment as a national policy in India, and with this as a lens, focuses on three major approaches to nonformal education. In so doing, an exhaustive study of the reasons for the failure of the Basic system or a review of the entire range of NFE models is not intended. What is intended is a conceptual study in a comparative manner so that a basis can be established for a system of basic education that moves away from book-centeredness to activities related to real life and production.

Although Gandhi once described the Basic Education school's ability to support itself by its own activities as the "acid test" of its success, self-support is not an aspect considered in this study. The various commissions that applied themselves to questions of Basic Education diluted this aspect and eventually did away with it altogether. Even

during Gandhi's own life-time, there was little evidence that this proposition received much support, nor was he insistent on this principle as a pre-condition.

The problem of resources for imparting such education is implicit in both Basic Education as well as NFE. Therefore it is assumed that the means proposed are within the context of relatively impoverished countries and circumstances, and the problem of Basic Education did not arise because of a lack of financial support alone. Thus, the aspect of resources as a separate variable has not been introduced in this study.

Design of the study. Chapter I outlines Gandhian Basic Education, its philosophy and objectives. The problems it faced are considered under four heading: (a) the view of the role of education in social development, (b) approach to the teaching-learning process, (c) organizational approaches, and (d) the use of personnel.

Chapter II focuses on strategies found in the general field of NFE and which have a bearing on the problems of Basic Education. A review of NFE discloses varying approaches to these problems in a variety of settings around the world. The approaches advocated by three seminal thinkers are viewed in Chapters III, IV, and V. The systems approach of Coombs, Nyerere's socialist path of Ujamaa and the psycho-social process of Freire that operates outside the

framework of formal schools are examined. Conclusions are drawn against the Gandhian experience with educational reform and reconstruction in four areas--societal goals, strategies, organization and personnel. The crucial factor of resources is held to be a constant, as all these models address a special condition obtaining in economically underdeveloped countries.

Definition of terms.

Nonformal Education: The most widely accepted definition in the field is that of Philip Coombs, and is used in this study: "Nonformal education . . . is any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population, adults as well as children."

Basic Education: Referred to in this study is the Gandhian model and the initial letters are capitalized to indicate this. It refers to the eight year compulsory primary education that sought to inculcate a value system oriented to democracy and egalitarianism through a curriculum that emphasized socially useful productive work. The curriculum was based on a "core" craft and all subjects were ideally taught in relation to the chosen craft.

Development: Refers to the economic and social changes intended to reduce poverty by raising the levels of productivity and to improve the physical well-being as well as enhance the cultural and political life of the people.

Conceptualization: Refers to the way societal ends are defined as in the concept of development, unless the word occurs in a different context. It relates education as a means to achieve the aims of development, and also refers to the way an educational scheme is imaged or planned in a systematic manner.

Gandhian Basic Education

In this section, the fundamentals of the Gandhian approach are stated and explained. Selected aspects of its conceptualization and implementation are then examined under four headings: (a) the view of the role of education in social development, (b) approach to teaching-learning process, (c) organizational factors, and (d) use of personnel. The problems encountered by the approach are then summarized.

Basic Education: Objectives

Gandhi's system was a nationalist re-action to an essentially alienating colonial traditional education that presented the child's own culture as something to be despised. In a predominantly agricultural country, instruction was imparted through a foreign language and book-learning while manual skills were neglected. Needless to add, such education was alienating to children who grew up to be contemptuous of manual labor while not being good at much else either. A subject-centered instruction artificially divided the curriculum into compartments of unrelated areas of knowledge while in real life knowledge had to be utilized in an integrated whole. Again, the traditional pattern emphasized competition rather than cooperation. Such were the objections raised against the traditional system that in Gandhi's view produced "intellectual and moral cripples all over the

country."

Against this state of affairs, Gandhi set out the fundamentals of an indigenous approach--seven years of free and compulsory education, instruction in the mother tongue, the integration of all subjects taught through the medium of a chosen craft, and self-supporting schools that paid wholly or in part their upkeep through sale of the school's produce.

These concepts underwent refinement, and changes were made to the original proposals until they resembled a proper mix of academic and practical subjects in a progressive school curriculum. Basic Education, after successive reformulations, kept to the spirit of the original proposals while diluting those aspects that were found to be impractical.

In later form, its principal features were:

1. The interpretation of Basic Education as education for life (All Indian Education Conference, 1945)
 - a. Adult Education of men and women, including the care of expectant and nursing mothers;
 - b. Pre-Basic Education for children under seven;
 - c. Basic Education of children from seven to fourteen;
 - d. Post-Basic Education of those who complete Basic Education.
2. Free and compulsory education for eight years (five years of Junior Basic and three years of Senior

Basic Education);

3. Mother tongue as the medium of instruction;
4. Education should be self-supporting to the extent of meeting the salary of teachers. However, the self-supporting aspect was dropped after considerable dilution. As early as 1938, a resolution passed at the Indian National Congress at Haripura referred to "some form of manual and productive work" and left out mention of self-support.
5. Instruction imparted through the medium of a craft. (This aspect, although central to Gandhian philosophy, faced severe problems in implementation. The "correlation" of all subjects to the why and wherefore of the craft process was conceptually elegant but unworkable in practice.) At first, certain cultural subjects were exempted from the need to be correlated. The Kher Committee (1938) removed the requirement for the lowest classes, and suggested an activity curriculum for these classes. The Kothari Commission (1964-66) reduced the concept further to "work experience" based on scientific and technological processes rather than on primitive craft.

In its evolution, Basic Education lost its original rigidity in the light of experiences gathered in its implementation as a national system, but in the process it also

lost the original thrust of the idea of genuine craft-centered education.

View of the Role of Education in Social Development

Gandhi's scheme was based on non-violence as an ideology. In order to grasp the significance of his proposals, the historical and philosophical basis from which they proceed should be understood. As one Gandhian educator pointed out, "It is the application of the law of non-violence in the training of the child as a prospective citizen of the world."¹⁵

The Historical Roots of the Approach

The history of India provides a perspective with which to view the Gandhian scheme for independence and social reconstruction. Of this larger version, his educational ideas form a part. He, like millions of his countrymen, was aware of the destruction of the traditional and closely-knit village system and its indigenous crafts through foreign dominance and by the induction of the village economy into a world market system.

Each village in India before the advent of colonization and modernization resembled a miniature republic with a highly developed social, economic and political order. Judicial and executive functions were vested in the village head

and the council of five elders called the Panchayat. Artisans and the landless laborers received a share from the community harvest and they were accorded certain rights to food, shelter, clothing and services in return. These self-sufficient villages with their own social and political order remained independent in all matters except for the payment of taxes and providing soldiery to external authorities like the king or the overlord in the region.

The strength of these villages which exercised complete social and economic autarchy is described by Klaus Billerbeck:

When the closely-knit social and economic structure of the ancient Indian village is properly appreciated it is not surprising that the village community remained the one stable center of existence and orientation throughout the countless wars and disturbances that swept across the sub-continent. . . . It was this integrated form of communal existence alone that enabled the people of India to maintain a relatively high standard of economic and social life in spite of strife and natural disasters.¹⁶

European conquest had a disastrous effect on these villages. The old order and stability was shattered as tax gatherers assumed the role of landlords, inventing arbitrary taxes for every conceivable form of economic activity, such that the reciprocal arrangements by which artisans and laborers who had a certain right conferred by custom to things and services lost them. The right to the skin of dead animals, for example, belonged to the menial caste, but under the tax system of the British Raj, tax collectors de-

manded payment for these. All services were monetized.

Hardest hit by this turn of affairs were the village craft industries that made the community self-sufficient. Under the new arrangement, weavers were to sell their cloth only to the East Indian Company representatives. As the British textile industry expanded, India became the dumping ground of manufactured cloth from Britain, thus crippling one of the most important village industries--the weaving of cloth. Billerbeck summarizes the resultant effect on the social/political fabric of the villages:

As the political and military subjection of the Indian subcontinent proceeded toward its completion, the government of vast areas came to be subordinated to principles that robbed the village unit of its former social and administrative independence. In the course of increasing centralization of rule the Panchayat system lost its importance and later practically disappeared.¹⁷

Against this backdrop, Gandhi's call for self-reliant village republics, and training in a craft as a means to self-reliance and dignity for both the individual and the community, take on a historical meaning.

Non-Violence--The Philosophical Basis

Gandhi derived his theory of development and education from a wider ethical and social philosophy--a view of society based on the principle of non-violence. Gandhi found exploitation rampant in society--the weak dominated by the strong, the poor by the rich, and the village by the

city. The principle of non-violence is aimed at breaking this exploitative pattern. Gandhi harkened to the earlier era of village republics, or autonomous and self-sufficient villages whose economic and social equilibrium could not be disrupted by the market economy. Such an ideal society of independent and autonomous system of village polity was later called Sarvodaya Samaj. Although cities had a role to play, this approach enhanced the self-reliant character of the villages and Gandhi hoped that they would cease to exist solely to feed the cities and to be tied completely to the vagaries of an external economy.

Non-violence or Ahimsa thus became in Gandhi's hands a social and economic (and therefore political) weapon aimed at ending exploitation. He held that an individual, an economy or a social group that was controlled from the outside was being subjected to violence. On the other hand, non-violence always moved in the direction of the smaller to the bigger, as in the case of voluntary actions performed by individuals from a sense of duty rather than coercion by force. In organizational terms, a social order that evolved from the base, from the first levels of the village to the district, the province, the nation and the world was non-violent. When the city dictated the economy of the village and sapped its independence, it practiced violence; and so also the domination of one individual by another, the village by the city or nation constituted violence.

Hence, Gandhi insisted that a votary of non-violence should moderate his freedom by his sense of duty. The requirement that all should work is a necessary corollary of this, since exploitation and oppression in society can be traced to a few casting the burden of labor on many. Work, or bread labor as Gandhi termed it, was a key concept--not only was it good in and of itself, to Gandhi it was a means toward equality and self-reliance.

Based on this view of self-reliance, Gandhi's approach to development is village oriented. The approach stressed labor-intensive techniques. Heavy industries and mass production based in the cities robbed people of work. The means of livelihood, he argued, were taken away from the masses by the huge industrial output of the cities. For the teeming masses of workless villagers, Gandhi wanted the establishment of village industries--small, labor-intensive, and productive. The ability to earn one's living through a skill reduced dependence and exploitation. Self-support, therefore, is an important aspect of non-violence.

The form of society that best incarnated the ideals of Gandhi was an economy that was village-based, non-exploitative, and one which provided work for all. This necessitated decentralization of production, and labor-intensive "appropriate technology." Such an economy called for a political order that could be described as a federation of village republics that maximized individual autonomy and minimized co-

ercion in a cooperative and independent community. Self-sufficiency was to be attained by individuals through work in a self-sufficient community.

Education--The Means

The role of education, in this scheme of things, was a means to train children to be independent and autonomous individuals whose actions would be motivated by an inner spring of volition in the path of duty and service. Such individuals needed to be taught a craft or trade so that they might be economically self-reliant. In their education, cooperation rather than competition, was encouraged. The educational ramifications of his philosophy are evident in Gandhi's suggestions of (1) learning through a craft, (2) productive labor, (3) self-supporting education, and (4) the training of character.

Gandhi spoke of education as a means of ushering in the non-violent society. At the Wardha Conference (1937), he said:

The idea of self-supporting education cannot be divorced from the ideological background of non-violence and unless we bear in mind that the new scheme is intended to bring into being a new age from which class and communal hatred is eliminated and exploitation is eschewed, we cannot make a success out of it.¹⁸

Again, he stressed his purpose on another occasion:

If India has resolved to eschew violence, this system of education becomes an integral part of the discipline she has to go through.¹⁹

Problems Faced--Reality vs. Rhetoric

It was only when the proposals of Gandhi were accepted as a national system of education that the lack of conceptual clarity as well as implementational problems became clear. The divergence between the national planners of India's economic development and the goal of a non-violent social order expounded by Gandhi points to a lack of fit between educational policy and national development.

The social directions indicated by Gandhi, and the divergent path that Jawaharlal Nehru chartered for India with an emphasis on industrial progress, illustrate for educators the futility of trying to change society through a change in the curriculum. Nehru referred to the Gandhian movement for a ruralized economy as a "remedy that might well be worse than the disease."²⁰

K.S. Acharlu, a prominent advocate of Gandhian education, writes of the divergent directions taken by the country:

Gandhiji's warning against the modern cult of mere material prosperity and want, this mad rush for wealth, this unlimited expansion of the wheels of industry, that it is going to be a curse for mankind, that it inevitably depends on our capacity to exploit peoples and nations and that if India chooses the path of modern industrialization, she 'will be a curse for other nations, a menace to the world' was respectfully heard but with profound regret went unheeded. . . . Pandit Nehru, who was the prophet of the economy of technology and abundance in New India, committed the nation to the modern way of life.²¹

However, Acharlu acknowledged that the country did attain a

measure of material wealth and technical expertise.

Industrialization demanded "a new model of clerks, literate workers, managers and administrators."²² The disparity between the national goal of an industrialized economy and the rurally oriented basic education is brought out by another writer on Indian education thus:

The Second Five Year Plan and the policy of the Government of India as a whole are concerned with the industrialization of the country. It is not necessary to labour the point that Basic Education is a concept which runs counter to such a policy. As ours is a system of education which claims to produce an integrated individual, the emphasis on craft is out of place in a community which has its face turned towards developing its economy to the full. So far discussions on Basic Education have failed to relate to the economic policy of the State. But if this point is ignored, we shall find ourselves burdened with an educational system which turns out misfits even more rapidly than the one with which we are so dissatisfied.²³

The reward system of the country in terms of employment in the modern sector operated to favor the children of the regular schools modeled on those of the colonial period. Parental pressure for such schools mounted high since the main reason for investing long years of schooling was financial security through jobs. India allowed a dual system to exist side by side--one based on Gandhi's ideas, and another stream which trained the youth for success in the modern sector "to man the political, social, administrative, managerial, technical and professional jobs associated with administration and technology."²⁴ Public pressure from both parents and teachers is reflected in the Fourth Five Year Plan which

leaves out mention of Gandhian Basic Education. This tragic demise of a much praised system of "relevant" education is due to the unequal status given to the graduates of the Basic schools. The point made by a prominent Gandhian educator, Asha Devi, explains the result of the dual system of education that was allowed to function:

The true picture of our national education today is that of class education: one set of schools supported or aided by national funds for the children of the privileged; and basic schools for the children of the underprivileged in villages and towns. Under these circumstances Basic Schools cease to be national schools and become 'poor schools,' and basic education which was envisaged by the originator as the salient spearhead for a juster social order in which there is no unnatural division between 'haves' and 'have-nots' loses all significance.²⁵

The dichotomy in national planning of the economy and the direction of education was not the only reason for the demise of the scheme. A recent landmark survey of basic education schemes, including the Gandhian, by Christopher Colclough,²⁶ drew conclusions which suggest that the true motivation for schooling is tied to the opportunity to find a job, and to find it in the urban areas. For parents and children alike, the real purpose served by schooling is the access, however slim, that it provided for modern sector jobs. Colclough further presents evidence that the financial and status rewards for the few who make it are comparatively so great vis-a-vis the rest of the population, that parents will fight for the opportunity for this type of elitist education.

Secondly, Colclough points out that dual systems of education (one for rich and another for the poor) institutionalize inequality, and for that reason successive attempts to introduce these schools have failed in the face of popular resistance.

Thirdly, he draws the conclusion that Basic Education does not reduce costs. Reduction in cost could be achieved only if teacher salaries are cut, resulting in inferior quality of teachers available to these schools. Cheaper costs, then, are related to inferior services.

Colclough's conclusions seem to hold true for Gandhian education since it was opposed on the same grounds. If a dual system had not been allowed to function, and if the economy had been based on the principles advocated by Gandhi, the results might have been far different. The fit between the social policies and educational plans just did not occur, and the Indian case is illustrative of a divergence of policies between educational goals and development strategies as well as between student motivation and the societal reward system.

Teaching-Learning Strategies

Foremost among the considerations of innovative educational thinkers like Gandhi is the didactic and mindless drudgery of a book-oriented instruction in traditional schools. An equally important consideration of Gandhi

was practical craft-training for a possible means of livelihood. Additionally, such an education inculcated manual skills that made for a balanced personality. Another consideration was character formation in the sense of self-reliance. Basic Education needed to address all these concerns; otherwise it would simply mean a change of labels but no different from the traditional education.

In the Indian situation, Basic Schools are often single-teacher institutions in the villages. They operate on a very low resource base. Any effective change in the teaching-learning process can be brought about only by effecting changes in teacher-behaviors. This proves to be a most difficult undertaking with custom and culture reinforcing rote learning methods and authoritarian styles of functioning. The ideology of Basic Education by itself has not effected any changes. In order to train the teachers, and to structure learning in a way that places the learner in charge of his own learning, alternative processes and technologies are indicated. Such processes and technologies need to meet the requirements of low cost, easily made materials as well as processes that the teachers can master.

The concern for imparting a skill through a craft--to serve attitudinal and skill training functions--has proved to be the bug bear of Basic Education. The Kothari Commission suggested that work experience aimed at technological and scientific skills rather than a primitive craft was suit-

able. Whatever form craft training took it needed to consider its utility in terms of gainful employment for the learner.

Manipulating curriculum variables to generate employment has been a fascination among educational planners for the last two decades. Harbison and Myers could be named as the chief apostles of the manpower approach to development through educational training. The study of Gandhian Basic Education is instructive in this regard. The reasons are not completely economic in the Gandhi strategy, for he regarded productive employment as contributing to the development of the intellectual, physical and spiritual faculties of the child--"A proper and all round development of the mind . . . can take place only when it proceeds pari passu with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child."²⁷

The form of training was activity and work-centered instruction. It carried the social and economic implications of a social order based on cooperation rather than competition, and therefore was attractive. As Humayun Kabir writes,

The activity chosen for the training of the child is a purposive, creative and socially useful activity. The theory behind the approach is similar to the emphasis that Froebel placed on play and Dewey on the project method. It was never intended to be mindless drudgery.²⁸

Gandhi went a step further than these educators and made craft the center of all instruction, and this posed tre-

mendous problems.

The principal idea is to impart the whole education of the body and the mind and the soul through the handicraft that is taught to the children. You have to draw out all that is in the child through teaching all the processes of the handicraft and all your lessons in history, geography and arithmetic will be related to the craft.²⁹

The validity of "cooperative endeavor, planning, accuracy, initiative and individual responsibility in learning" cannot easily be questioned, but when craft is made the hub of all other subjects, it becomes an artificial exercise.

Even without making a special virtue of manual and physical work as Gandhi did, the training of pupils in a skill that could lead to employment brings to the fore many problems, as the Indian experience testifies:

1. The need for specially trained personnel;
2. The choice of a craft suited to the socio-economic environment;
3. Relating subjects in the curriculum to a craft;
4. Lack of equipment and supplies;
5. Little dexterity in craft attained after years of work;
6. Undue attention to spinning even when it was unrelated to the environment;
7. Techniques were traditional classroom methods, whether craft formed the core of the curriculum or not;
8. Craft-centered schools were more expensive because of the equipment needed.

Considerations such as these led to protests that productive labor was best learned outside the schools and in

real settings. Severe critics called the scheme variously a "farce, a fad, a fallacy and a fraud" visited upon the people by those in power.³⁰

The failures could not be attributed to a lack of clarity in the minds of planners. Methodologically and conceptually, there is a certain elegance in defining steps and proceeding scientifically and logically in problem-solving. Work activity was conceptualized by Dr. Zakir Hussain, eminent educator and later President of India, as having four stages--

1. Problem definition--a clear consciousness of the problem;
2. Formulation of a work plan involving the choice of means and deciding upon the various steps in execution;
3. Executing the work itself;
4. Evaluating the finished product against step (1), i.e., problem specification.³¹

But when the actual implementation was considered, a planned and phased curriculum was almost too much to handle because of the requirement to "correlate" everything taught to the craft chosen.

By 1966, the failings of the effort to introduce a craft-centered curriculum were apparent. In that year, the Fourth Five Year Plan barely made mention of Basic Education, acknowledging the difficulties in practice. The Education Commission of 1964-1966 wanted the principles of craft-centered education retained, but avoided programmatic and practical suggestions:

The essential principles of basic education, namely, productive activity, correlation of curriculum with productive activity and the environment, and contact with the local community are so important that they should guide and shape the essence of the proposals made in this report. No single stage of education need be designated as basic education.³²

Obviously, this was an academic and polite way of closing the chapter on the national experiment. What were the special difficulties that could be overcome by a reformulation of the strategy? The Commission did not want to examine any further the idea except to endorse the principles for which the concept stood.

In summary, craft or activity-based education became problematic when there was an insistence on centering the entire curriculum on a particular craft. There is no support in literature that such an education enabled children to gain employment. Again, such education was expensive for the State as it required special equipment and trained teachers who could impart skills. There is much complaint that the teachers could not organize their subjects around a craft, and that they followed, in the main, traditional practices. Hence, there is no guarantee that a match could be achieved among the variables of trained staff, a craft that was related to the economy of the area, a meaningful integration of activities, practical activities, and theoretical learning through a correlation of school subjects with a craft chosen as the medium.

It can be reasonably held that there are some sub-

jects such as reading that are best taught in the traditional manner, especially when student motivation demands it, while undertaking projects in the Dewey fashion that involved the use of planning and manual skills. Such an approach will not make the mistake of teaching everything through a passive process of information transmission by the teacher, while allowing a curriculum that fosters creativity and skills.

Although the concept of productive labor formed a part of the educational ideology to train the "whole man," it was nevertheless seriously intended to provide a skill for self-employment or wage earning. It is debatable whether the fostering of skills in some chosen vocations can create jobs in the real world.

The central problem of education for productive employment is to provide a mix of personnel, equipment and employment opportunity. Can NFE indicate some directions?

Organization and Personnel Factors

The administration of Basic Education within the Gandhian context of decentralization and local control, productive work and community relevance should show distinguishing features that set it apart from traditional school organization. That in actuality these schools were not very different from their traditional counterparts can be traced to a lack of innovative behavior, and resistance from educators generally. Basic Education, with an inferior status and

a low resource base, could not generate the enthusiasm and innovation so vital to the success of its goals. In this section, the factors of parallel streams of education, a school-bound organization of the curriculum and personnel will be considered.

A Dual System of Education

The coexistence of two streams of schools, the regular and the Basic, had unforeseen negative consequences. It led to parental opposition and professional prejudice among regular school staff. Sinclair describes the consequences:

The co-existence of two streams of education, one predominantly rural and underfinanced and vernacular (Junior Basic, Senior Basic and Post-Basic) and the other urban oriented, often better financed, and with more emphasis on the teaching of English (primary, middle and high schools, leading to the established school and matriculation examinations) thus led to discontent. The doors of colleges and modern sector employers tended to be closed to young persons from the former stream. . . .

Transfers from the Basic to the academic streams were difficult as the latter schools were prejudiced against the non-academic emphasis of the former.³³

Thus, the organization of the Basic Schools was inherently discriminating, and ran counter to the motivations of pupils and parents alike. Their motivations were related to job and status.

Education was seen by the well-to-do as a means of ensuring that their children would have access to remunerative employment and by the rural people as an escape route from poverty and insecurity. To families

living in poverty, the income levels associated with even minor government posts seemed prodigious.³⁴

In India, education is the responsibility of individual States of the Union. The National Government made available 50% of the funds for the running of Basic Schools. The State department has district offices and at the local level there are school boards in the municipalities and the villages. When the teacher is paid out of State funds, and where the villagers can provide little else, decentralization does not make much sense. The motivation for participation in educational decisions does not exist in the rural areas.

The decentralization of organization is offset by the control of resources by the education department. In most cases, this amounted to paying the salaries of the teacher only. This leads one to question whether decentralization can be effective if the local resources are inconsequential, and educational provisions are seen as something that the Government does for everybody.

Personnel

There are two levels of personnel to be considered in the effect they have on Basic Education. At one end are the planners and influential officials who shape the policies and the curriculum. At the other end is the teacher, often in a single teacher situation and who regards his assignment to village schools as nothing short of a banishment from the

city.

The planners remained skeptical of the practical education inspired by the national movement for independence, and once the fires of nationalism faded after independence and the passing of Gandhi, enthusiasm for the ideals was hard to sustain. Even during Gandhi's lifetime, there was subtle subversion in the curriculum that provided opportunities for the teacher to revert to the usual school curriculum. The Zakir Hussain Committee prescribed a curriculum that was weighted in favor of general science and social studies. This provides teachers with an excuse to be relieved of applied and discovery learning activities in the guise of studying "related" subjects. The educators were pulling in a different direction, and craft became one more subject in an overloaded curriculum. Sinclair offers a valuable insight into the minds of the planners:

A personal interpretation is that the professional educators were unconsciously attempting to introduce the full model of progressive or activity-based education accepted in contemporary educational discussion under the auspices of Gandhi's craft-centered programme. . . . Had they followed Gandhi and kept craft as the prime focus of attention, the idea of developing genuine craft skills and the ideal of pupils' earnings helping the spread of education might have been more viable.³⁵

The unpopularity of Basic Education with teachers can also be traced to the conditions of their entry and training for service in schools. Salamatullah, an eminent authority on Basic Education, offers the following reasons for the poor

performance of teachers:

1. A poor general education in High Schools;
2. Training colleges offered a 'nominal substitute for a liberal education.' The content of these courses were 'formal, unrealistic and outdated.'
3. Many of the rural schools were single-teacher institutions, and the teacher had to cope with many subjects. Added to the burden was the need to teach a craft, at which the teacher was him/herself poorly and hastily trained.³⁶

One possibility was the in-service training of these teachers and the use of traditional craftsmen. The Assessment Committee on Basic Education appointed in 1956 made such recommendations,³⁷ but then, by the 'sixties, the system itself was being reconsidered.

Recently, however, J.P. Naik, a leading educational planner with great influence in decision-making circles of Indian education, introduced the idea of non-professional manpower for reducing teacher costs by mobilizing skilled persons in the community as resource persons through NFE programs, thus supplementing the personnel available through the formal system.³⁸ What this confirms, for the writer, is that Gandhi's articulation of India's problems, and his suggestions, remain as valid today as they were forty years ago, and need to be readdressed with the new insights generated since then.

Summary

A national system of education was proposed by Gandhi on the assumption that it would lead to a self-reliant, self-

directing, and cooperative individual in independent India which he had envisioned as a non-violent society composed of village republics. Education for such a society meant a revamping of the existing elitist traditional system of schools--a system that fostered competition and disdain of manual work. In the new system he proposed, Gandhi identified work as a vital principle, and the process of learning was to embody that principle. He chose craft training as a means not only to emphasize creative work but also to relate all learning which was divided into artificial subject compartments. Traditional education had alienated children from work as well as the rural society and Gandhi's scheme was to effect an attitudinal change in the youth who removed themselves from productive work and remained parasitical for long years to get preparatory education.

The most important part of the educational system was the primary cycle, the largest and the one most affected by dropouts. The nature, process and content of this cycle was dictated by the needs of entry to secondary and tertiary education. Gandhi proposed to cut out the subservience of the primary cycle from entry requirements of higher education, and made it into a complete general education based on work, craft and academic learning. This system was modified and implemented for many years before it was discarded as unworkable because of inherent problems in "correlating" craft with other subjects and in providing craft training in educa-

tion itself.

Meanwhile, opposition to the Basic system grew among parents and educators. The existence, side by side, of an elitist education system whose graduates were favored in jobs and entry to higher education, tended to create an impression that Basic Education was for the poor, and the opposition of academically oriented educators reinforced it.

Within the system, the most intractable of all problems was "correlation"--the ways and means of imparting a craft-centered education. Teacher competence, the relevance of a particular craft to the needs of children, and the ordering of learning all subjects to the processes of mastering the craft were factors leading to the final disillusionment and abandonment of the system. Albeit, the social and economic relevance of Gandhi's approach forces a reconsideration of his ideas towards implementation in an updated and practicable form.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER I

¹M.E. Sinclair, Gandhian Basic Education (Paris: Unesco, 1976), pp. 8-9.

²In this study, the Gandhian form of basic education is distinguished by capitalizing the initial letters, whereas the general form is meant by the non-capitalized version.

³H.M. Philips, Educational Cooperation Between Developed and Developing Countries (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1976), p. 42.

⁴Ibid., p. 109.

⁵Mark Blaug, Educational and Employment Problems in Developing Countries (Geneva: ILO, 1973).

⁶See references to studies by Samuel Bowles, Archibald Callaway, and Philip J. Foster, in Ibid.

⁷Edgar Faure et al., Learning To Be (Paris: Unesco, 1972), p. 192.

⁸Philips, Educational Cooperation, p. 42.

⁹Philip H. Coombs, with Roy C. Prosser and Manzoor Ahmed, New Paths to Learning (New York: ICED, 1973), p. 2.

¹⁰Philips, Educational Cooperation, p. 109.

¹¹Ibid., p. 115.

¹²Ibid.

¹³J.P. Naik, "The Search for a National System of Education--The Indian Experience," Prospects VI:2 (1976): 196-208.

¹⁴The Directorate of NFE (Adult), Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India, in a recent (1976) pamphlet "Nonformal Education," states: "The Fifth Five Year Plan's educational strategy is also based on the assumption that nonformal ways of imparting and acquiring

education will be developed for all categories of learners, and on all levels of education: for children, youths, and adults, from elementary to higher education."

¹⁵K.G. Moshruwala, quoted in N.N. Nanda and P.S. Gill, Basic Education (Ludhiana, India: Sharda Brothers), p. 28.

¹⁶Klaus Billerbeck, Mobilization of Manpower Potential in Asia and Africa (Hamburg: Hamburg Archives of World Economy, 1961), p. 31.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁸M.K. Gandhi, quoted in Nanda and Gill, Basic Education, p. 73.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Wayne A.R. Leys and P.S.S. Rama Rao, Gandhi and America's Educational Future (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), p. 53.

²¹K.S. Acharlu, Education for Today and Tomorrow (Bombay: Indian Council of Basic Education, Gandhi Shikshan Bhavan, 1975), pp. 161-62.

²²Ibid., p. 14.

²³S. Natarajan, cited in J.C. Aggarwal, The Progress of Education in Free India (New Delhi: Arya Book Depot, 1966), p. 85.

²⁴Acharlu, Education for Today, p. 15.

²⁵Asha Devi, quoted in Salamatullah, Thoughts on Basic Education (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 4.

²⁶Christopher Colclough, "Basic Education--Samson or Delilah?", Convergence IX:2 (1976):48-61.

²⁷M.K. Gandhi, Basic Education (Ahmedabad: Navjivan Press, 1951), p. 12.

²⁸Humayun Kabir, Education in New India (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1961), p. 24.

²⁹Gandhi, Basic Education, pp. 11-12.

³⁰Aggarwal, The Progress of Education in Free India, p. 86.

33. ³¹Salamatullah, Thoughts on Basic Education, pp. 32-
- ³²Indian Education Commission, India, Report of the Indian Education Commission (1964-1966) (New Delhi), 1.31, p. 32.
- ³³Sinclair, Gandhian Basic Education, p. 15.
- ³⁴Ibid., p. 16.
- ³⁵Ibid., pp. 6-7.
89. ³⁶Salamatullah, Thoughts on Basic Education, pp. 85-
- ³⁷Refer to the recommendations of the Assessment Committee on Basic Education, in J.C. Aggarwal, The Progress of Education in Free India, pp. 86-98.
- ³⁸J.P. Naik, in his Elementary Education in India--A Promise to Keep (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1975), p. 98, makes a number of suggestions summarized in Education in Asia--Reviews, Reports and Notes 8 (September 1975) (Bangkok: Unesco Regional Office for Education in Asia), pp. 16-25.

C H A P T E R I I
TRENDS IN NONFORMAL EDUCATION TO PROBLEMS
FACED IN BASIC EDUCATION

In this chapter, the problems faced by Gandhian Basic Education are viewed against concepts and experiences found in the general field of nonformal education. The problem posed here is to provide an updated basis for assessing the Gandhian approach that might make it a more viable alternative. The chapter is divided into four sections, dealing with the NFE perspectives on the role of education in social development, educational strategy, organization and use of personnel. A summary is offered at the end of each section on the insights that is shed on the Gandhian problem.

Role of Education in Social Development

The Costs of Providing Education

When Basic Education was first put forward as a self-supporting system of education, it was done so because of Gandhi's objection to the use of liquor tax that supported public education in British India. A different situation existed after independence when a rising demand for schooling and an expanding population combined to pose a resource problem for most developing countries in meeting educational

needs.

Philip Coombs first raised the alarm in 1966 and underlined the anxieties of Less Developed Countries that while the popular social demand for education was rising to the extent that education ranked as the highest budgetary item for national expenditures, the resources available could not match the demand. (Gandhi's proposal of self-supporting education to meet the costs of providing free and compulsory education to all children did not convince even his close followers.) The solutions advanced to meet the situation are explained later.

Statistically, the increase in school enrollment and the much slower rise in national income illustrate a gap between demand and supply, usually referred to as the resource allocation problem.

The post-War expansion in education reached almost unmanageable proportions, as reflected in World Bank statistics (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1

School Enrollments in Developing Countries*
(millions)

	1970	1975	1980	1985
5-14 age group	481	550	630	725
In school	212	260	300	350
Out of school	269	290	330	375

TABLE 2

Public Expenditure in Education per Student*
(US \$)

COUNTRIES GROUPED BY PER CAPITA GNP	1960	1965	1970	NET CHANGE 1960-70
I. Up to \$120	16	21	18	13%
II. \$121 - 250	33	40	49	49%
III. \$251 - 750	43	58	57	33%
IV. \$751 - 1,500	114	165	179	57%
V. Over \$1,500	338	504	749	121%
Group V amount as a multiple of Group I	21	24	42	--

*Source: World Bank, Education Sector Working Paper (December 1974), p. 2.

Further evidence of the crisis as a resource allocation problem can be gauged from the educational projections for India, computed for the years 1965-1985 which requires a six-fold increase in expenditures--a rise from 2.9 percent to 6 percent of the Gross National Product.¹

Yet another factor in the increased demand for education is the phenomenon that education generates its own demand (Coombs, 1966). Parents exposed to education want more education for their children. This is borne out by many studies and needs no further amplification.

The constraints on resources identified heretofore focused attention on the performance of existing educational institutions themselves and resulted in the highlighting of an enormous amount of educational wastage, labeled as the

'dropout' and failure rates. The cost to society was not only in terms of wasted investment but also in the serious psychological effects of failure resulting in the lack of self-confidence often observed in those who failed or dropped out. Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, former Minister in the erstwhile Government of India writes:

Another significant fact about Indian education in relation to economic development in India is the huge amount of wastage that is seen at all stages of Indian education. In primary education, out of 100 pupils in the first class only about 45 reach the fifth class. Unless a child has education for four to five years, he very soon slips back into illiteracy. Again there is a very large percentage of failures both at the secondary and the university stages. The wastage and stagnation that prevails in Indian education is large by any standard. It becomes almost intolerable when viewed in the light of the country's meager resources and the many non-educational demands that have remained unsatisfied. The amount of wastage in Indian education is something which needs identification, discussion, and analysis.²

The NFE response to the problem of providing universal primary education is given in the initial conclusions made by the Unicef study. The more applicable ones are gleaned here:

1. A comprehensive and coherent rural learning system which will provide children and adults alike with convenient educational options relevant to their needs and interests. Such a system should include a combination of formal, nonformal and informal educational components, effectively linked with local development needs and activities.
2. National development plans should take a functional view of education, treating it as an integral part of the total plan.
3. 'A thorough redesign and reorientation of formal schools' and a blending of nonformal innovations

- and informal learning opportunities with the school into a coherent whole.
4. Education must be viewed as 'learning and not simply as schooling, and come to recognize what the real values reside in what is learned, not how it is learned.' . . .³

Such an expanded view of education, using educational learning opportunities both inside and outside the school, and linked to activities that are described as "development" provides for Basic Education an alternative to the self-support concept, and a way of attempting free and compulsory education for the rural poor.

New Perspectives in Development

The Encyclopedia of Education refers to the Gandhian system as a symbol, rather than a practical proposition: "His basic education concept, however, has proven more symbolic than functional in modernizing India, and some Indian educators have conceded that Gandhi romanticized poverty and promoted a non-development oriented form of education."⁴

However, Gandhi's vision of rural republics, and a development policy that aimed to build society from the village upwards, using labor-intensive strategies and maximizing self-reliance receives considerable support from the perspectives that are emerging in recent approaches to rural development--approaches that first spawned the idea of NFE. The reasons are eminently practical--the search for alternatives to formal schooling coincided with the emergence of new per-

spectives in development planning. The economic imperative to find inexpensive means of imparting education, and the critical appraisal of the role of schools in development of rural areas resulted in a "functional" approach to education, linking it with basic human needs. Experiences of the Development Decades of the 'sixties and the 'seventies re-oriented development from a GNP approach to a selective attack on the worst forms of poverty. Figure 1 summarizes a change in emphases on the part of development agencies.

The First Development Decade of the United Nations, according to Adiseshiah, had been

. . . an expression of faith, not a programme of action. It has been a plethora of inoperative recommendations, not a framework of commitments. It has provided seemingly simple targets, not a system of reference for consistent programming. Even the few simplistic targets that it set for itself have not been attained.⁵

Although the disparity between the developed and developing countries increased rather than narrowed during the decade, and despite the fact that military expenditure rose significantly, and the general failure to attain the projected 5 percent growth in annual economic growth rate, there have been significant lessons learned from the experience. A 'spectacular expansion' of education, and the linking of education to the development and the acceptance of the 'machinery of planning' can be mentioned from an educational angle. The concept of education underwent a revolutionary change "as a life-long, permanent, learning process."

FIGURE 1
 MOVEMENTS TOWARDS NEWER CONCEPTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT:
 CHANGED EMPHASES

FROM	TOWARDS
<p>1. <u>Transfer of Technology and 'hard' aid.</u> Based on the notion that mechanization and industrialization are answers to problems of backwardness.</p>	<p>Realization that economic development cannot succeed without social and political development. Understanding of hidden social costs including dislocation of populations, creation of urban slums, break-up of extended families. Doubts whether these imported models are viable in local context of culture and economy.* Beginning of 'self aid' (education, training, etc.).</p>
<p>2. Gross National Product as a measure of development. Economic planning increased average per capita income. Based on the assumption that the new technology will promote economic growth so that the country's gross national product will increase--thereby everybody's slice of the economic cake will get bigger.</p>	<p>Realization that although GNP grew, poverty remained or worsened. The <u>paradox of static change</u> was illustrated. Development proposed to cater for <u>minimum essential needs</u>. A "selective attack on the worst form of poverty--elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, squalor, unemployment, inequalities. . . ."** GNP argument seen as excuse for not cutting up the cake equitably.</p>
<p>3. <u>Capital formation</u> was held to be important in the <u>stages of growth theory</u>. Basically, this approach stipulated conditions for a take-off in development and stressed entrepreneurial factors.</p>	<p>Social structures were seen as barriers and that the long identified need for transforming socio-political structures--e.g., agrarian reform, redistribution of wealth and means of production, urban reforms, etc.*** Decentralization of political and economic decision-making power for democratization of the process and curbing bureaucratization.</p>

FIGURE 1--Continued

FROM	TOWARDS
<p>4. <u>Advanced countries as models.</u> The assumption that the experience of the developed nations will help solve poverty and make for progress.</p>	<p>Movement towards endogenous and self-reliant methods. Indigenous forms of political and social ideals meant there were different routes to development. Contrast the "busy-bee" route to development of Kenya with the Ujamaa model of Tanzania.</p>

*J.P. Naik, "The Search for a National System of Education--the Indian Experience," Prospects VI:2 (1976).

**Mahbubu'l-Huq, The Poverty Curtain (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

***What Now? Another Development (Uppsala, Sweden: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975).

The lessons of the first decade served to highlight the bottlenecks and unanticipated difficulties in development, and valuable experience was gained by international cooperation. Mahbub'ul Huq summarized the lessons learned:

- Growth in GNP does not filter down. What is needed is a direct attack on poverty.
- Institutional reforms must go hand in hand with development strategies.
- Development must begin with the satisfaction of human needs, rather than market demands.
- Increase the productivity of the poor by investing in the poorest sections of society.
- A restructuring of political and economic power is required if development is to spread to the vast majority of the people.⁶

The Second Development Decade built upon the experiences in the first, and due notice was taken of the fact that preoccupation with GNP growth led to ignoring the social issues of development--maldistribution of income, malnutrition and other forms of poverty.

A reexamination of the assumptions on which the first decade was based led to new perspectives (see Figure 1). The objectives of development were refocused as a selective attack on the worst forms of poverty. This meant the reduction and eventual elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, squalor, unemployment and inequalities. This was the formulation of the now well-known minimum essential needs strategy--minimum standards of nutrition, education, health and housing.

The direct attack on poverty, or as the World Bank terms it, the poverty-oriented development strategy, meant

programs is the rural population, for the most part.

The Gandhian approach to problems of poverty was to base development on increasing the self-sufficiency of the village, and to remove the elements of a captive economy with controls operated in the city. Except for the more radical countries such as China, Cuba and Tanzania, most NFE programs are based on efforts to increase the efficiency of the system. Thus, the efforts in these programs are aimed at marginal increases in employment opportunity and adapting the village to the process of modernization. The poverty-oriented strategy of the IBRD, while moving away from the earlier emphasis of increasing the GNP of the country, concentrated on the "minimum essential needs" concept, leaving the structure of the economy intact. But their realization that "a restructuring of political and economic power is required if development is to spread to the vast majority of the people," and that "institutional reforms must go hand in hand with development strategies" holds significance for Gandhian planning. It is the failure to base political reforms on a well-conceived strategy that led to divergent directions upon the attainment of independence. It is apparent that the goals set out in development and education cannot be achieved unless changes in political and administrative set-up involving a distribution of power and resources occur simultaneously in all sectors. The reaction by Francis J. Method to the anomalies in policy and practice

the following policy directives:

- A shift to the poorest section (40-50%) in society;
- Planning on the basis of basic minimum needs;
- Problem of development redefined as a selective attack on the worst form of poverty;
- More production and better distribution.⁷

In educational terms, since this sector consumed a disproportionate share of the national cake of scarce resources, the strategy such as outlined above posed two problems to planners and decision makers:

1. Cost: How can education be provided without a quantitative expansion of schools and facilities? What are the alternatives? Are they effective?
2. Relevance: How can education be an effective agent of development?

Two factors influence planning in development--the large majority of the LDC population are in absolute poverty--hence the poverty-oriented strategy is apropos:

Approximately 85% of the 750 million poor in the developing world are considered to be in absolute poverty--based on the arbitrary criterion of an annual per capita income equivalent to \$50 or less. The remaining 15% are judged to be in relative poverty--having incomes above the equivalent of \$50, a bit below one-third of the national average per capita income.⁸

The second factor is the location of the poor in the LDCs:

Of the population in developing countries considered to be in either absolute or relative poverty, more than 80% are estimated to live in rural areas.⁹

The World Bank estimates that despite high rates of migration to urban areas, the rural population is growing by approximately 2% a year. Hence the target of development

of governments is apt:

The injustices, structural imbalances, content irrelevancies, and learning obstacles of the educational system are often distorted mirror images of problems in the larger society. Consequently we must consider that the possibilities of educational reform are limited by whether or not complementary reform is likely or concurrent in the larger social, economic, and political systems--unless we are willing to argue that children should be educated to fit into unjust, discriminatory, and mean future, reform must do more than refine the pedagogy, improve the management and substitute one content for another.

What point is there in even a good agricultural education when the child has little prospect of obtaining land or can't make an adequate living if land is obtained? What point is there in literacy when there are no books or newspapers in the villages? What point is there in teaching a child a language that is scorned in the 'modern' sector? What point is there in preparing a child for eventual professional training when access to the university is closed to all but the wealthy and privileged? What point is there in more humanistic teaching when employment is governed by certificates and examination passes?¹⁰

Concerns such as these have come forty years too late, for they are the same ones that caused the Gandhian scheme to fold up. But Gandhi could not have anticipated the direction the country took after independence. The divergence of educational policy and the economic/political structure doomed the enterprise before it could be established.

Employment and Education

The relationship between education and employment has not always been clear. LaBelle, Riske and Rust of UCLA studied the influence of formal and nonformal education on

income and occupational status and conclude that "encouraging individuals to pursue out-of-school education in the hope that they will achieve income benefits approaching those who have attended formal schools is unrealistic and that few salary rewards are apparent as a result of out-of-school education participation."¹¹

In a study of office and manual workers, LaBelle found that formal schooling made considerable impact on income while NFE made little or none because of the reward structure operating in the industries he studied.¹²

NFE seems to be at its best in in-service training within industry or as apprenticeship practice both of which offer excellent prospects of future employment.

Since Basic Education caters to the age range 6-14, the strategies for employment-oriented in-service training will not apply to its clientele in the same measure that it fits older youths' needs. But the values of work, cooperation and the foundation for later acquisition of productive skills can be laid at the Basic Education stage. Since many children drop out of school to help in the farm and other forms of work connected with their livelihood, a sufficiently localized analysis of the social and economic situation of the locality or sub-region needs to be done.

Sven Grabe and Clifford Gilpin studied the Nigerian experiences with Village Improvement Centers and Industrial Development Centers for training entrepreneurs and industrial

workers; they concluded that:

. . . in the indigenous apprenticeship and other on-the-job training can provide much of the learning required for indigenous enterprises to grow, if the economic climate is right. But data are insufficient for determining properly what additional training may yield the greatest benefits at the lowest cost; who should receive additional training; at what stage or stages additional training efforts may be the most beneficial to future entrepreneurs in industry and independent craftsmen in trades.¹³

Callaway found the existence of "often highly efficient networks of nonformal indigenous training systems (apprenticeships)." These were of craft and artisan types. Coombs suggests that these processes should be investigated for strengthening and reprogramming them if necessary.

Indigenous and locally available training opportunities as well as the existence of factories which may undertake educational assistance to school-going children again calls for on-the-spot studies and realistic estimations of what may actually be worthwhile experiences.

It seems defensible to conclude that nonformal opportunities for training in job-oriented skills exist, some in crafts and factories, but that such opportunities need to be planned on a local basis. This has implications for the organization of Basic Education, and points to a devolution of planning responsibilities to smaller geographical units.

Education for Rural Development

Past efforts at using educational strategies have not

been particularly successful. In an effort to provide 'middle-level' manpower, technical schools were instituted in many LDCs. Mark Blaug calls this the "Vocational School Fallacy." He cites the review of evidence from Ghana made in an article by Philip Foster (1966) in which the latter argues that vocational training provided within the formal schools could not accelerate economic development; further, he denies that vocational schools could substitute for formal education, "the former being on the contrary a necessary foundation for the latter, and the latter being generally more efficiently provided on the job rather than inside schools."¹⁴

A number of lessons have been learned from experience, especially after projects in 'Green Revolution' and 'trade schools.' Philip Coombs emphasized to the World Conference on Agricultural Education and Training (Copenhagen, 1970) the lessons of the past in this regard:

1. The content of education was irrelevant as it did not fit the needs of the learners and circumstances. A curriculum transplanted from outside the social milieu of those for whom it is intended cannot serve the cause of development. The success of Green Revolution in one part of the world did not ensure its applicability elsewhere.
2. The process of teaching-learning may be, and usually is, inefficient. The economy may be unable to supply critical inputs such as texts and materials.
3. There may be little demand in the job market for the type of skills produced by the educational system. Conversely, the incentive structure may draw graduates into jobs not critical to development needs. Another possibility is the proven inability of many societies to absorb the type of skills created into their economies.¹⁵

Present efforts in using education for development began with the realization that resources will remain scarce and that demands will continue to grow with the burgeoning population. Increasingly, the three criteria purposed by Coombs is being advocated for education in rural development. Accordingly, education is good investment:

- when it is the right kind of education to fit the particular needs and the particular learners in a given situation;
- when education is provided with reasonable efficiency;
- when the necessary preconditions and complementary components (job availability, etc.) are present to ensure the effective utilization of the educational result.¹⁶

Education at the point of use satisfies the criteria above such that on-the-job training and situation-specific content for health, agriculture and literacy takes the educative function outside the regular school and redefines itself as nonformal education--"any organized educational activity outside the formal educational system . . . that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives."¹⁷

In the spirit of the second development decade, an overall plan or comprehensive approach is increasingly being adopted by national planners at the behest of international assistance agencies that emphasize education as a key component of rural development. This makes education, or more correctly, nonformal education, an integral part of many other rural projects, and defines it as learning in all its

myriad forms. Particular beneficiaries of this approach are the out-of-school youth and adults. Training for farm and occupation are accorded a place in educational planning along with 'minimum essential learning needs' including 'functional literacy and numeracy, and knowledge and skills required for earning a living, operating a household (including family health, child care, nutrition and sanitation) and civic participation.'

In further support of the trend linking education with development aimed at the poorest sections of the society with non-traditional approaches, the influence of the human resource expert Frederick Harbison (1973), Coombs and Ahmed (1974) and the Edgar Faure Commission Report (1972) must be mentioned. Taken together, all these trends can be said to provide the basis for the establishment and expansion of non-formal education in a systematic manner.

Concerns and Issues Highlighted by NFE Programs

When NFE is postulated as a "means" to development "ends," serious differences arise among educators and planners. Development is a normative concept. When the target population is defined as the rural poor of the Third World, ethical and value issues surface, giving rise to questions such as:

- Who defines the problem?
- Who selects the target population?

- Who decides on the means?
- Who assesses the consequences?

These questions are not purely academic. They reflect a deeper concern that where the poor are concerned, NFE should not become a subtle means of socializing the poor into accepting their lot passively or fobbing them off with an education that does not lead to economic and status gains. Gandhian insistence on craft-based education needs to take into account the danger that exists of the graduates of Basic Education becoming "second class" citizens in terms of social mobility or job opportunity. A recent study by John C. Bock of aspiration levels among Malaysian students shows that education produces a heightened aspiration level in the pupils. But when they meet head-on the reality of adult political and occupational structure, they are forced to revise downward their expectations. Such disappointment in legitimate aspirations, the author avers, leads to a high potential for alienation, ethnic distrust (Malays are politically favored for jobs and promotion) and violence. Bock contends that:

. . . further expansion of elite education may be viewed with apprehension by the incumbent, and by now relatively stabilized, elite, in that the creation of an excess of legitimate contenders may not only serve to intensify the scramble for elite access, but may act to dilute, or devalue, schooling as the single most powerful prerequisite for elite membership.¹⁸

By itself, this study and its findings are not exceptional. But in analyzing the differences between elite and

vocational pupils, Bock infers that NFE may produce graduates with lowered aspiration levels while at the same time it increases allegiance to the State and decreases feelings of alienation that might lead to political agitation. Bock's conclusion is as disturbing as it is inevitable:

In brief, these nonformal education participants and graduates have been socialized to the qualities which are consistent with the 'charter' of nonformal education--those traits which have been described as comprising 'subject citizenship.' As a consequence, and this is undoubtedly appealing to the State, these citizens are far less likely than school graduates to be supportive of, or participate in, marginally legal, illegal or violent political protest.¹⁹

In this context, Dudley Seers' criteria for development assume central significance. Development must reduce poverty, unemployment and inequality.²⁰ It is not clear whether NFE does any of these things.

Apart from the danger of Basic Education being discriminatory in the absence of safeguards such as equality of opportunity for social and status mobility, there is the special difficulty about the nature of programs decided upon by change agents who are external to the target population and hence carry perspectives and values of an outside agency. It is important to realize that such programs rarely change the status quo, and it is inconceivable that a change agent will adopt a position that in the long run will threaten the privileges of his own group. Usually, the change agent represents the established, affluent and educated segment of society while the target group comprises the poor, the

less educated, the minority and the dependent.

The foregoing illustrates the dilemma of social intervention by outsiders in a community that is socially, politically and economically vulnerable because of poverty and lack of education. The Indian situation is particularly remarkable because of caste discriminations and the danger exists that any real advancement will bypass these sections of the population. The principle of local decision making implied in the social philosophy of village republics must also take into account the distribution of power.

A further consequence and unintended result of craft-based education that must be considered is the likelihood of perpetuating the ties of the children to the parents' traditional trade, craft or occupation. Indirectly, it reinforces the caste system that is based on hereditary occupations. It cannot be that one part of the Gandhian philosophy is the eradication of caste while some other means toward a just society tend to perpetuate the same system. This is a peculiar problem that applies only to the sub-continent.

The foregoing points to the great need for local participation in the shaping of educational policy. Ignoring issues of power and control will obviously subvert those hopes placed on education as an instrument for egalitarian reform.

The Chinese method of 'work study' combines workshop practice and theory for half-a-day a week in school with work

at a regular factory. This is explained in the following terms:

In the factory it is easier for the students to learn from the working class who open their eyes to the realities of society and industry. But the big machines cannot be stopped and production halted. Here the school's own workshop has the advantage since with their own machines the teachers can strip them down to give explanations of working parts and there is time to go into production methods more fully, as well as to demonstrate the use of callipers, micro-meters and so forth. And, since these factory workshops have in many cases been set up either by adapting old and redundant machinery or by the students making the machines themselves (therefore without cost to the State), the students receive a useful lesson in self-reliance and in converting the equipment to their specific requirements. 'This,' say the Chinese, 'is our method of walking on two legs.'²¹

When the above statement is read in terms of the finding of Philip Foster, that general education and vocational training could not be substitutes for each other, "the former being on the contrary a necessary foundation for the latter, and the latter being generally more efficiently provided on the job rather than inside the schools,"²² the argument for complementary employment training to school-going youth in real work settings becomes almost axiomatic for manpower planning.

Criticism of Schooling and the Search for Alternatives

Parallel with the concern for providing some form of schooling to children deprived of it in the developing countries, a movement to find alternatives to the practices of formal schools gathered force in the 'sixties. Faced with

the problems of pupil apathy, dropout rates, and an alienating curriculum, an entire movement was born to found alternative schools as well as to change formal school curriculum in a way to humanize it and extend the range of choices provided within its walls.

Nonformal education benefited from student criticism and indictment of the formal schools by such social critics as Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire and Everett Rheimer.

Illich saw the function of present day formal schools as alienating to the learner, intended to produce a consumer society. Such an education was founded on whetting the appetite for more of the same. The pupil, according to Illich, was schooled to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence and fluency with the ability to say something new. He saw the same process by which the medical profession socialized the public into needing expensive medical care which could be supplied by only the limited medical corps of doctors and their support services. Just as the medical doctors convinced the public into needing services that could be easily met by para-professionals at a cheaper cost but which were controlled by the professionals as their exclusive preserve, education was intended to be consumed by the public by a professionalized educational corps. So Illich proposed that society should be "deschooled" from such myths.

He advocated a durable goods economy, that is, goods

must be produced to last, and which would allow people to do things with them--to repair, assemble, re-use by self-help methods. Occupational education should be given by the industries and farms as part of their staff training.

Having described the primary function of schooling as that of certification, entitlement and indoctrination, Illich proposed methods of education that would allow (1) individual choice and responsibility for learning; (2) a process of personal interaction between people to achieve a peer-match of those who want to learn a skill and those competent to teach it; (3) a technological retrieval potential that makes learning resources institutionalized and available to all; and (4) the end of discrimination against the unschooled.

J.P. Naik, the eminent educationist and scholar closely associated with the programs and policies of the Government of India, writes of the similarities between Gandhi and Illich in their criticism of the traditional school:

It is interesting to note the great similarities between the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Ivan Illich. Both are dissatisfied with the industrial society and seek an alternative which is very similar. In education, Mahatma Gandhi was of the view that the formal system should not be supported by the State and should maintain itself through the earnings of the teachers and students or through the voluntary contributions of the people. This idea comes nearest to 'de-schooling.' Although we have tried to implement the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi on mass education through the program of basic education, we never accepted his concept of self-sufficiency which he described as its 'acid test.'²³

The contribution of many educators like Charles Silberman (Crisis in the Classroom, 1970), Jonathan Kozol, Paul Goodman, and Mario Fantini contributed an awareness about alternatives that in the minds of many removed the idea of the school as the sole dispenser of education. Sociological criticism by Christopher Jenks (Inequality), and the Coleman Report further explicated the function of schools as reflecting the class and economic configurations of society. Further support for this thesis came from radical economists like Sam Bowles and Herbert Gintis.

The result of the criticism of formal schools makes a contribution to the ideas of social development advocated by Gandhi--the location of the educative function both in and out of school, deprofessionalizing education of its connotation of schooling, and deprofessionalizing the 'teacher' concept.

Summary

The review and discussion of the role of education in social development is summarized under four headings:

Institutional and structural reforms. A system of education for development must be a coherent system with institutional and structural changes with powers commensurate with the proposed reform. The availability of development services without any change in the social system does little to sustain it. Basic Education, to be successful, needed

the support of new institutions and the mechanisms to help it sustain the ideals of a practical education. A fundamental break with the past called for an organizational and administrative set-up that would maintain the changes.

Accent on learning, not schooling. In order to accomplish the tasks of a craft or trade oriented education, and to make such education meaningful, a redesign of formal school is indicated. In such a redesign, the emphasis will be on learning, rather than schooling. The learning system, then, has to incorporate learning opportunities, in craft and trade for example, by a close study of its potentials and re-programming to strengthen them. Such a course would bring into the arena of education non-professionals and master craftsmen and skilled artisans. The school will then operate as one vital part of an education that is formal, while it is complemented by organized educational activities outside the school (nonformal) and the enrichment of informal (unorganized) learning.

Status and value considerations. The problem of discrimination against an education for work (or trade or craft) always exists. Basic Education graduates have suffered this already in inferior status vis-a-vis students who passed out of traditional schools. They must not become 'second class' citizens whose aspirations are toned down because of ascribed low status. In India, there is the particular problem of

caste following occupational status. Rather than exterminating caste, the use of hereditary patterns of skill transfer might strengthen it. The control of education or the prescription for a community by outsiders may carry with it class or caste discrimination. Participation and control of one's own destiny is best safeguarded by real local participation.

Local programming. The educational configurations are best studied by creating local mechanisms, which then can count on the enthusiasm and support of local people in organizing a coherent system of learning. The failings of manpower planning should not be repeated.

Approach to Teaching-Learning Process

Basic Education, as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi, is essentially an education for life, and what is more, an education through life.

--The Concept of Basic Education, Government of India, 1956.

This section deals with the problem of changing teaching-learning behaviors in the Basic School, and briefly states the nature of NFE learning concepts. Further, the need for interaction of students with the learning environment outside the formal school is stated, and in that context, the teaching-learning strategies and curriculum innovations that are eminent examples of NFE are illustrated by the

Khit-Pen approach in Thailand and the learner-centered strategies evolved by the University of Massachusetts team in Ecuador. The conclusions for Basic Education are then summarized.

The difficulties encountered by the basic school teacher included his own inability to change from the lecture and rote-learning methods, the lack of equipment, the multiple tasks carried on in a single teacher school and the artificiality of teaching everything through a craft. The Kothari Commission (1964-1966) replaced the craft concept with "work experience" and recommended that they be based on scientific and technological processes rather than on primitive craft. This suggestion inducts into Basic Education a whole range of alternatives. To be in a position to use such opportunities, the teachers have to undergo a thorough re-orientation towards the process of teaching and learning as well as the concept of education itself.

Nonformal Education--The Concept

NFE unfreezes the common mind-set that equates learning with schooling, and makes learning the key objective, not where or how it is accomplished. Nonformal education is thus a set of alternatives open to learners of all ages with no predetermined entry or exit qualifications, sequence or certification process. In place of the professional teacher, in NFE anyone can teach. The learner is free to choose what he

wants to learn, how much, when, where and how. Hence the element of flexibility and the freedom that goes with it enables the learner to choose his goals and to seek instruction from any source--in and out of school. However, NFE is not aimless learning, it is organized around some purpose, usually the acquisition of some level of competence for immediate use.

The range of alternatives in NFE moves from the highly structured instructions in technical skills to very informal settings such as entertainment and sports pursuits. Some adult education programs use very formal methods, while family planning programs are more innovative in their use of traditional folk art like the puppet theater, song, drama, film, etc. The UMass Ecuador Project used games and simulations as well as indigenous channels of communication networks among Andean peasants to distribute literacy, numeracy, and other self-instructional material into villages.

Evans,²⁴ in his excellent essay on the state of the art in NFE, mentions a factor at issue among NFE enthusiasts--some identify a learning experience as NFE when it facilitates complete learner control of the process of learning. Many programs, however, involve transfer of information and directed learning. The "Learning Exchange" concept exemplifies an approach that remains the ultimate in self-selection and self-direction in organized learning. Based on Illich's advocacy of convivial learning, the learning exchange

brings together persons interested in a skill and others who would like to share the skill. The ideal match is one in which each learns from the other in an educational trade-off.

The diversity of methods is best described as a cafeteria approach--a spread of many possibilities. However, it is a snack and not a meal--NFE does not replace schooling.

Writing on Human Resource Development, Frederick Harbison defined a general set of functions for NFE in relation to those of formal schools:

First, (nonformal education) provides a wide range of learning services which lie beyond the scope of formal education. . . .

Second, nonformal training and education may be an alternative or substitute for formal education. . . .

Third, nonformal education is a means of extending skills and knowledge gained in formal education. . . .

Fourth, nonformal education in many countries may be the only available learning opportunity for large proportions of the population. . . .

Fifth, nonformal education may be one means of counterbalancing some of the distortion created by formal education. . . . Achievement oriented, nonformal education may provide the means for growing numbers of competent but 'uncredentialed' people to higher-level jobs in the economy. . . .

Nonformal education provides greater opportunity for innovation than centralized formal-education bureaucracies do.²⁵

The following dimensions on which formal education (schooling) differs from NFE was developed on the assumption that NFE is completely learner-controlled, but is illustrative of the flexibility it offers (see Table 3).

TABLE 3
 DIMENSIONS FOR NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY*

VARIABLES	NON-FORMAL	SCHOOL
Concept	Approach varied	Institution
Age Level	All ages: voluntary	Age specific: compulsory
Instructors	Non-professional facilitator	Teacher
Design	Convivial tool	Industrial Institution
Resources	Inexpensive (local)	Expensive
Dependence	Strives to be self-sufficient	National : regional hierarchy
Curriculum	Learner-oriented; diffuse; "cafeteria"; self-generated	Subject-oriented; sequential; compartmentalized
Learners	Active; self-motivated; enjoying	Passive; work
Objectives	Individual; changing	Institutional; outside
Content	Popular culture; immediate relevance	Foreign culture; relevance questionable
Social Role	Conscientization	Socialization
Relationships	Horizontal	Vertical
Decision locus	Local level; learners	Elites; higher ups
Evaluation	Competencies; skills; attitudes; behaviors	Tests; grades
Control	Uncoordinated control	Coordinated control
Organization Tie	Voluntary organizations predominant	National; regional bureaucracies

*Developed by Arlen Etling, Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA (1974).

Learning Concepts Relevant to
Nonformal Education

The search for alternatives to schooling also coincided with the emergence of concepts in learning that deformed the learning-teaching process. Among these are such concepts as the Learning Society, Life-long Education, Experiential Learning, Participative/Competency-Based Training. These are described briefly:

The Learning Society is a concept that underlies a belief that everybody in society must be educated, and that education can be carried on in many ways outside the school. This approach envisages part-time education for everybody at every stage in life. As the physical labor and time-consuming activity of making a living is increasingly aided by machines in a technological society, leisure affords everyone an opportunity to learn. A variety of learning options are provided, and enable people to learn what they want to, at their own pace.²⁶

Life-long Education is the same concept as the above, but is widely publicized through Unesco. Paul Lengrand further elucidated the principle of learning throughout one's life and that preparatory education provides "a set of technical and intellectual luggage" that cannot last the individual's life-time needs. The concept seeks structures and methods that will assist a human being "throughout his life-span to maintain the continuity of his apprenticeship and

training." Learning how to learn is the essence of both approaches "to equip each individual to become . . . the object and the instrument of his own development through the many forms of self-education."²⁷

Competency-Based Training is goal-referenced and allows greater flexibility of training in that the importance is attached to whether the trainee knows or is able to perform according to program standards. Thus the trainee is free to get knowledge or skills from whatever source and in whatever learning style that best suits her/him.

Experiential Learning departs from information-transmission approaches and focuses on information seeking by the learner--on the process of learning and preparation for continued learning. It is trainee centered rather than subject-centered and structured in such a way that it calls for active rather than passive trainee responsibility and involvement in the learning process.

NFE as Complementing Formal Education

Activity, relevance and character-training were some of the values identified with craft training. It was also a reaction to the traditional system that emphasized and exalted academic learning to the detriment of manual work. Such attitudes toward work reinforced caste and class prejudices and served to alienate the learner from his social

milieu. The difficulties of implementing craft training in the school, and the subsequent decision to relate this aspect of the curriculum to productive work and link it with science and technology was stated previously. NFE, we have seen, could complement formal schools by organized learning experiences outside the classroom and in the real world. Archibald Callaway points out that "Successful innovations within out-of-school education processes could be taken up within formal schools."²⁸ He also mentions that out-of-school education may contribute directly to school lessons, such as in the case of agricultural extension officers giving instruction on local farming practices, and the potential for mobilizing educated persons (voluntary, or paid, part-time) to bring out-of-school education to large numbers of people at low cost (for example, literacy campaigns).

The Government of India paper on the "Concept of Basic Education" states:

In Basic Education, as indeed in any good scheme of education, knowledge must be related to activity, practical experience and observation. To ensure this, basic education rightly postulates that the study of the curricular content should be intelligently related to the three main centers of correlation viz., craft work, the natural environment and the social environment.²⁹

By reinterpreting craft work, and linking school education with NFE, it will be seen that the objectives of Basic Education are fulfilled.

Cole Brembeck writes:

. . . when the arena of action is outside the formal school I begin to suspect that the school is a poor site for specific training. If, on the other hand, the school's detachment can be overcome by integrating it with the world of work, the results may be surprisingly good.³⁰

It is against this suggestion that two examples of NFE innovation are presented--the Knit-Pen method in Thailand and the innovations of the UMass Ecuador Project. The curricular, teaching aid and learning strategies used are illustrative of NFE teaching-learning processes applicable to the problem at hand.

Innovations in NFE: Thailand's Problem Solving Approach

One of the innovative responses to the question of a basic education that also incorporates productive skills and work is that of Thailand.³¹ In an effort to provide education to larger numbers of unschooled children and adults as well as dropouts, the Ministry of Education's Adult Educators devised programs that catered to three specific objectives:

- Programs designed to provide general education;
- Programs designed to provide skills training; and
- Programs designed to provide general knowledge and information.

General Education Programs

These are evening classes, mostly housed in regular schools, that provide education to those who are either employed during the day or who are not regular day students in

schools. The content of education from pre-literacy to the end of the secondary school is collapsed into four levels-- functional literacy and family life education, level 1-2 (grades 1-4 equivalent), level 3 (grades 5-7 equivalent), level 4 (grades 8-10 equivalent), and level 5 (grades 11-12 equivalent). Certificates equivalent to formal schools are given to completers of the various levels.

The concern about teaching-learning processes in the General Education programs has been teacher behaviors. Special pre-service courses of one week's duration are held, followed by in-service training to change teaching patterns to conform to learner-centered approaches. This concern for retraining teachers to change their styles is important if they are to be truly learner-centered. In the Gandhian system, attention was focused more on craft-correlation than transferring the locus of control in learning to the learner.

The attempts to change teacher behaviors is summarized by Lyra Srinivasan:

To improve teacher competence in Thailand and to emphasize the teacher's role as facilitator rather than dispenser of learning, training is designed in a series of short sessions. The first is a one-week preservice workshop, which includes a variety of loosening-up games, sensitizing exercises, case studies, role playing, and self-evaluation or feedback activities. Since particular emphasis is placed on learning from peers, every training session includes some analysis by the group of its own experience of interaction. After a discussion, for example, they analyze how they discussed the topic, what happened in the discussion, why it happened, and how they could change it by modifying their action.³²

The implications of this for Basic Education lie in the use of short courses that should help teachers move from a content-centered approach to teaching-learning as a process.

The central problem of Basic Education was in many ways the requirement of "correlation," or relating everything learned to a craft. There were three centers of correlation in later versions of the scheme--craft, social and physical environments. The Thai khit-pen approach to literacy and curriculum/materials development appears to have achieved such a correlation in each lesson unit.

Khit-pen. The philosophy behind the approach is the Buddhist teachings on suffering. Life is one of endless suffering, and the remedy lies in the search for the causes of suffering. Once the cause is identified, correct solutions will be found. The conceptual framework for khit-pen was derived from this base, and it is used not only as a systematized teaching method but also as a framework for identifying and producing curriculum materials. The teaching process is based on the following steps of a problem-solving model:

1. Identifying a problem
2. Establishing the relevance of the problem to self
3. Fact finding
4. Identifying and evaluating alternative solutions
5. Determining priorities
6. Deciding on a course of action. ³³

The method attempts to teach rational problem-solving

skills to village populations normally resigned to accept the inevitability of suffering and problems. The paradigm--examining the cause of the problem, gathering a wide range of information on possible solutions, and choosing among alternative courses of action--has been used as a curriculum device to generate discussion topics through pictorial representation of a social problem, facts regarding the problem in simple outline, and the possible solution.

Materials include a picture that is used to provoke discussion, as the picture is an encoding of a problematical situation in a village. The existing condition is commented upon and a discussion ensues, resulting in its identification as a problem. Similar situations in one's own life are brought out, relating the problem to personal life. Possible solutions are then discussed. A short reading exercise on the problem is given on the back of the picture page. After reading, the key words are written down. The discussion, reading and writing serve to synthesize or "correlate" information, understanding, creative solution and learning to write. Since the problems are taken from environments similar to their own, the exercise correlates any problem to the physical and social environments through the medium of a literacy dialogue.

Skill Training Programs

There are three variations of skill training. First,

the Mobile Adult Vocational Units with 3-5 permanent instructors, are equipped to provide training in agriculture, dress making and mechanics. The mobile unit remains in one village for three months and moves to another upon request. The length of stay may be extended if there is sufficient demand.

Secondly, extension of facilities to train in trade skills are organized through Mobile Trade Training Schools. The objective of the MTTs is to promote occupational skills of the rural population. Each unit is equipped with 7-14 permanent instructors and a principal. Three hundred hour courses are offered in programs covering mostly light industry.

Thirdly, use is made of existing facilities through Adult Vocational Schools. Courses are offered in the evenings in regular vocational schools, and courses range from auto mechanics to accounting. This program presupposes the existence of expensive vocational schools, but is noteworthy for its use of part-time instructors who are regular vocational teachers, government officials, shop-owners and merchants.

The question arises whether such training formats can satisfy the requirements for on-going craft/trade training in Basic Schools where such processes are a philosophical requirement. The Thai experiment does indicate the possible use of mobile teams of expert craftsmen and mechanics working in close collaboration with Basic Schools or the extension of

existing facilities within a compact geographical area to schools.

Programs to Disseminate General
Knowledge and Information

The intention in these programs is to keep the public informed about the latest information, and incidentally, it serves also as post-literacy follow-up devised so that the neo-literates do not relapse into illiteracy. Two sources of effective education are strengthened--newspapers and libraries. In many villages, a newspaper reading center is built with local help, and the Government makes available a number of leading newspapers free.

The Thai model indicates the possible use of the problem-solving method to link school learning with actual problems faced by the community, and it acts also as a device to promote active learning in place of simple memorization and text book orientation of the traditional school.

The use of mobile teams for instruction in craft and trade suggests for Basic Education a solution to the need for well-trained craft teachers and skilled artisans, but such a solution must be seen in relation to cost.

In teacher training, the use of process-oriented short courses for re-orienting teachers is relevant to Basic Education teachers. Although in-service courses are a feature familiar to departments of education, the real point is

the "process-orientation" of the training programs, in other words it must have elements of experiential training.

Nonformal education programs do not seem to indicate new directions in the actual teaching-learning process of mechanical or craft skills.

If it is to remain true to the philosophy of Gandhi who wanted craft to serve the purpose, not only of skill acquisition, but also the mastery of craft process and respect for manual work and completion of tasks, then the division of skill training and academic learning will not serve the purpose. A unifying philosophy that bridges school-learning with out-of-school training is needed. The principles of Sarvodaya might be such a framework and it could form a regular subject in the curriculum.

Learner-Centered Processes: Ecuador Project

The concept of Freire, and the related ideas of Illich, speak of a vision of education that restores control of learning to the individual through active inquiry, takes oppression and external control out of the educative process, and "humanizes" the relationship between teacher and student. Freire describes educational projects outside the system, and Illich refers to convivial tools of learning and learning networks. The University of Massachusetts' NFE project in Ecuador is an attempt at operationalizing these and other ideas to achieve learner-controlled strategies.

A survey carried out in 1971 in Ecuador by a team from the University of Massachusetts covered many local institutions, both private and government-sponsored, involved in out-of-school educational efforts.³⁴ They included community development agencies, cooperative organizations, religious and military efforts in training, as well as the Adult Education system of the Ministry of Education. The survey revealed:

- a. The non-traditional sector in education employed a narrow range of training techniques of low motivational appeal;
- b. The need for a process to create, test and implement new techniques of learning; and
- c. The need to discover ways of efficiently distributing these materials.

The report of the survey team led to a contact with USAID that specified:

- a. The creation and testing of nonformal techniques that could be implemented by local institutions in the field;
- b. The development of methodologies for use by Ecuadoreans already doing such work in the area;
- c. The development of training procedures in the use of the methodologies and to test them in field situations;
- d. The evaluation of program impact both formatively and summatively; and
- e. The extension of technical assistance in NFE to the Ministry of Education and help other institutions to develop such projects.

Ecuador Project: Learning
Concepts Operationalized

The Ecuador Project brings out all the excitement of an unusual effort aimed at transforming the learners from passive listeners to an alienating classroom experience to intense involvement and participation. To view this extraordinary project, three lenses are proposed: the learning process, how it was facilitated; the organizational framework or delivery system through which the process was made available to the participants in the villages; and the personnel who acted as leaders for this process to take place.

The enumeration of goals in the previous section provides the set of alternatives to formal schooling that this project attempted to implement. They are best described against the elements of a formal school:

Instead of a school, the goal was to make use of networks; instead of classrooms, the goal was to make use of situations, groups and gatherings; instead of books, the goal was to make use of games and materials; instead of teachers, the goal was to make use of facilitators or local group leaders.

The content, instead of being centrally decided upon at the national capital, was to come from the participants (the peasants) themselves. The real life situations of the peasants were to be represented to in games and simulations. The words they were to learn to write in literacy were to come from their own choice, reflecting individual concerns.

Learning was to happen by activity and participation in a non-threatening atmosphere of informal groups. The authority figure of a teacher was to be replaced by collegial relationships with the facilitator and the rest of the group.

The project set up an office in Quito, and in an open door policy, invited anyone interested in the exploration of ideas, and began to develop games and materials for literacy, numeracy and those designed to promote intense discussions about the participants' community problems and how they may be solved by cooperative action and problem-solving. Since these materials embodied an entire approach to learning, a discussion of the Project's approach to learning and curriculum begins with the production of these aids.

The Learning Process

The materials were designed to achieve the following objectives: they must involve the learners and emphasize participation; they must be self-motivating; the participants should learn by enjoying the fun of using skills or concepts taught by the game or material; they should be self-explanatory and form a part of self-generating curriculum, rather than a finished product.

The environment in which these activities took place could be a classroom, a verandah or in the streets of the villages--wherever the participants gathered to try them out.

The principle underlying the games and processes that were developed were aimed at placing the locus of control in the hands of the learner. Thus the learner was completely in charge of what he wanted to learn, how much, when and where. A significant portion of learning occurs in in-

teraction with others, and hence many of these games included role play, simulation, as well as socio-dramas.

An example of how directed one-way communication can be made responsive and relevant is the Project's use of tape recorders. The machines and cassettes were given to the peasants to record whatever they wished. These recordings were then edited into half-hour segments and broadcast over the local radio. The result was most gratifying--not only was it in the peasant medium of dialect, the content was expressive of their lives and problems, and served to enhance their self-image.

A University of Massachusetts slides program commentary summarized the ideas behind the methodologies:

The criteria established for these materials included that they be self-motivating, that whatever curriculum is taught by these materials be generated in some way through the students themselves; that these materials may be used by para-professionals as well as professional teachers; that they may be made of materials which are reproducible in local communities; that they spring in part from local popular culture; that they be economical on an absolute as well as relative basis; and that they provide practical skills and information.³⁵

A Learning Paradigm

As in the case of the khit-pen concept, the Ecuador Project adopted a theory of learning modeled after the ideas of Freire, and referred to as the experiential learning cycle. Based on the sequence experience/reflection/action, it aimed to heighten the critical consciousness of the learner re-

flecting on experience.³⁶

Experience
 Reflection
 Conceptualization
 Practice action
 Internalization

The activities and materials followed the above sequence. The games and materials represented actual problems and social situations in the community of Andean Indians. The program of alphabetization (literacy) also related words and writing to a reflection of their social reality. The games on math skills apart, the process forced the participants to deal with issues of their life, and the discussion that followed led to a keener sense of their problems. Such heightened awareness (or conscientization) led to action. One such action borne of these programs in a village led to the villagers venturing to see the Governor of the province, and it dramatized the change in the participants who used to be abject and servile members of an oppressed rural class. As the rationale behind these programs will be highlighted in the chapter on Freire, it is sufficient to state the outline of the concept of training here.

Organization

The various ideas proposed in the educational strategy, of expanding the concept of education to include all learning, and to include significant out-of-school components to it in carrying out the concept of "productive labor," will

make little meaning unless, of course, an organizational channel is built to deliver the educational services. The school is a social unit, with a coherent pattern of its own. When such a system is combined with the world of nonformal education with its diverse elements, sponsorships, aims and methods without an orderly pattern in time and space, the immediate need is for organizing centers. An organizing center may be a concept or a device that bridges the two areas of education, the formal and the nonformal. A system of examination, for example, is an organizing point in that it leaves free the learner to get his skills from wherever he/she may find them. The examination tests the independent learners as well as those in the formal system by the same criteria. Similarly, some organizational concepts are necessary to forge a link between the school and the educational experiences and services sought outside it.

Identifying the Resources

If it is assumed that the needs of the learners in the Basic Education schools are known, that is, the number of children and the type of services that are needed but which cannot be satisfied by the present school, as well as the need for schools themselves or the expansion of the present number, then such a needs list guides the search for relevant resources. Put simply, this means taking an inventory of existing inputs, and measuring them against identi-

fied needs. Based on this stock-taking, (1) all resources, human and material, "all significant nonformal education activities, both private and public, their objectives, organization, methodology, and funding"³⁷ are identified. (2) The identification of "maximizers," that is, those factors that will enhance the productivity of the system, comes next. This is what Coombs means when he refers to the need for achieving a relationship among the input factors and the right "mix" of these factors to get the desired performance. In this category should be included special individuals, the "intangibles" of tradition and motivation that, if tapped, bring in the services and financial resources needed by the system. Among these intangibles are leadership, the ability to mobilize support among the public, planning skills, and dedication or commitment. Another example of "maximizing" is commonly referred to as "piggy-backing" on other programs and facilities. The Philippines Barrio High Schools use the facilities of the elementary school in the after school hours to organize secondary education. Many adult education programs use the staff and premises of schools to conduct their classes.

In identifying resources, the advice of John F. Hilliard is apt: the "important step is to design an overall education program and relate present or potential resources to it in a rational way."³⁸

Demarcation of a Viable Area Unit

The concern for "decentralization" expressed in non-formal education literature is expressed in different terms by Gandhi and Nyerere. The need for small communities is first and foremost a requisite condition for participation. This democratic ideal also has administrative advantages because flexibility is a characteristic of small organizations while rigidity creeps into large programs. However, when the area unit is small, the chances are that the inventory of resources will also be limited. Ahmed and Coombs recommend multi-purpose rural development centers:

The integration of planning and of operations in specific rural areas and the attainment of important economies can be greatly facilitated by bringing major training programs and the field headquarters of various rural programs into closer physical proximity, so that they can share common facilities, services, ideas and information. With this in view, we recommend the creation wherever feasible of multi-purpose rural development centers connected to networks of modest local development and learning centers.³⁹

The same arguments for "regional" approaches to development apply to education. There is no arbitrary criterion for selecting an area unit. Schumacher presents variable conditions:

Much depends on geography and local circumstances. A few thousand people, no doubt, would be too few to constitute a 'district' for economic development; but a few hundred thousand people, even if fairly widely scattered, may well deserve to be treated as such.⁴⁰

Educational arrangements need smaller units than the

foregoing example provided in the context of development. The essential point is cohesion. Schumacher adds, "Each 'district,' ideally speaking, would have some sort of inner cohesion and identity and possess at least one town to serve as a district center."⁴¹

The Peruvian Educational reform that achieved decentralization on the basis of Freirean philosophy is the best example that can be provided by this writer of the organizational center that draws together various elements in a nuclear system. It is "the basic community organization for the coordination and management of the education services and other services used by education, within a specific geographical area, for the promotion of community life."⁴²

At the heart of the Peruvian system is the centro base, the local educational center, chosen because of its "geographical situation in relation to the other centers, its level of equipment in terms of libraries, laboratories and workshops, and its capacity to provide a reasonably complete basic course."⁴³

These centers are assisted by an educational promotion team, specializing in curriculum, extension work, programming and student welfare.

The promotion team undertakes a 'situational diagnosis' and an 'educational map' which furnishes data on the social, economic, demographic and geographic factors. Armed with these data, the current conditions in the locality

(nucleus), the causes of their educational difficulties, and suggested alternatives to overcome them are analyzed. In order to do this, and get accurate quantitative and qualitative data, the help of the community is required. Through a process of Freirean dialogue and the participation of key members of the community, a "participatory survey," this is achieved, much to the surprise of the Peruvian experts who had wanted a team of sociologists to undertake the task.⁴⁴

It is significant that this is the first time the Freirean method has been adopted and an organizational reform achieved under its inspiration: for the Freirean method is eminently suited for participatory approaches.

Integration of Formal and Nonformal Education

The separation of the classroom learning from the practical and economically productive activities has made it possible to provide training in real settings and away from the school to students. The problem is how this can be integrated into a unified curriculum. Since the school is in full control of the quality and amount of instruction it provides, the problem becomes one of deciding which activities will constitute legitimate pursuits for the students in obtaining an occupational craft skill.

Experiential training and competency based skill development offer a unique way to enable instruction and

evaluation to take place. The 'district' planners, in consultation with the local community, must decide on those institutions and workplaces as well as individuals, technicians, artists, etc. who will provide the necessary instructional practice. Sometimes the skill can be learned from within the family, if the parents or brothers/sisters are themselves practitioners. Certification by competency based testing procedures can then be arranged. Such individuals and institutions that can offer training must be part of inventory listing.

Certification serves many purposes. First, it gives a feeling of accomplishment in a technical or farming skill acquired by the student. Secondly, it is a means of quality control and evaluation of the training received. Thirdly, it is necessary for job entry in a new place or for further training in a different factory, farm or workplace.

The Peruvian reform of the educational system has much to recommend it, for it brings together various learning opportunities under one umbrella, and exemplifies the bridge-building between formal and nonformal education. A summary of the report by the Educational Reform Commission is excerpted:

. . . the nuclear system could be expected to prove superior to the traditional school system, looking towards a future which is already becoming a present reality. The haphazard use of inadequate facilities which prevailed under the old system is, as the Commission foresaw, making way for the rational collective utilization of all the improved equipment avail-

able in the community; education limited to formal schooling for children and young people has been supplanted by a pattern of both formal and nonformal education available to the whole population without regard to age; in place of scattered and isolated schools with, all too often, an unacceptable low standard of education, the NECs constitute a network of closely interconnected centers of a continually rising standard; the poorly trained teachers of the past, with little if any mobility and the most limited career prospects, are being replaced by well-trained men and women whose social function is valued at its real worth by themselves and by the community, whose careers offer a variety of possibilities and who benefit from all the advantages of communication with other teachers; instead of schools whose action was held within the confines of a rigid educational system, the NECs are made up of centers directly involved in the total integration process and linked to every sector of national life; communal indifference, fostered by an oppressive centralism, is being eliminated through the support which the center now extends to every form of participation and to the assumption of participation by the community as a necessary step on the way to self-management; an obsolete, ill-adapted and financially burdensome system is being replaced by one which has a vast potential for expansion which, moreover, is significantly less costly.⁴⁵

The Use of Personnel

Non-Professionals

Most NFE programs have been initiated and sustained by motivated persons who are not professional educators themselves. In a nonformal learning system, many craftsmen, extension workers, persons with literacy skills and many others serve the teaching function. Indeed, the ability to draw upon these para-professionals is one of the great strengths of NFE. With minimum training, these non-profes-

sionals can form the nucleus of a learning system. The World Bank study, Attacking Rural Poverty, mentions these advantages of using volunteers:

1. The impact of resources and personnel devoted to a program can be multiplied by using volunteers from a local community as model farmers, monitors of radio listening groups or as organizers of youth and women's groups.
2. The local community has a sense of being involved in the program when some of its members are closely associated with it.
3. The acceptability of educational 'messages' is more when local 'opinion leaders' are promoters of the program.
4. The use of local personnel can help reduce the number of professionals in the program and provide them with better salaries.⁴⁶

Facilitators

The ability to draw out the motivations of people and to act in non-authoritarian and non-directive manners is necessary in those who will work with out-of-school populations. The institutional authority of the teacher in teaching styles will repel rather than attract. Evans and Etling mention three skill areas as they comment upon the Ecuadorean NFE program for training facilitators:

Training for NFE must focus on the skills and behaviors which will be demanded of a facilitator. The facilitator role seems to consist of a mixture of community development agent, discussion leader, counselor, and some of the behaviors of teachers--particularly those who work in open classrooms. The skills can be roughly grouped into three areas: (1) relating to the community and its resources, (2) organizing learning settings and facilitating them, and (3) developing and managing an ongoing nonformal education process.⁴⁷

Teachers

In most adult NFE programs, particularly those for literacy and school equivalency courses, regular school teachers are inducted to staff the evening courses. The problem with this practice is that teachers carry classroom practices used with children in situations involving adults and those dropouts who could not get used to the classroom atmosphere and practice. As in the case of the Thai adult education practice, these teachers have to be retrained in this respect.

Volunteers

In almost any community one finds voluntary organizations for gathering some sort of services. These informal systems are comprised of volunteers acting on self-motivation and display leadership qualities. Tapping this reservoir of public-spirited persons depends on local conditions. Voluntary service also exerts a powerful attraction to idealistic youth and people of all ages. Of special note are the wonderful services rendered in remote places and in the utmost poverty conditions by members of the Peace Corps. Very often they render services although not knowing the local language or customs, leaving a much more materially advanced and comfortable circumstance at home.

Indigenous Teachers

Indigenous learning systems, particularly in rural societies, exist to the extent that traditional knowledge is passed on. In this category are the religious teachers of the Coptic School (Ethiopia), the monks of the Wat (Thailand), and teachers of the Quranic schools. In India, teachers of ayurvedic medicine, musicians, dance exponents and craftsmen train students by apprenticeship methods. Even the village midwife has been pressed into service by Family Planning teams to dispense family planning devices, and also to act as agents of the health extension workers for maternal and child care.

Application to Basic Education

Involving students in productive labor activities necessitates the tapping of learning opportunities outside the school. It also involves organization and leadership outside the school. Two kinds of personnel seem to be indicated: (1) those who can impart a skill, and (2) those who can act as motivators and organizers. The school, together with local leaders and volunteers, have to evolve a shadow system of skill learning parallel to the school. So far, the examples have been mainly of NFE programs, but the need of Basic Education is the organization of NFE as a complementary system to that of the regular school.

Summary

Education Is Learning in All Its Forms

NFE unfreezes the mind-set that education equals schooling and thus points to out-of-school opportunities to realize the goals of Basic Education, goals that could not be met by the limitations of Basic Education schools that most instances are single-teacher, poorly equipped rural institutions.

Learning Society

NFE also facilitates a concept of education that makes real life experiences the center of education. It provides for self-directed activity for the learners, increasing the options for study and skill training. The strengthening of these opportunities that lie outside the school is likely to fulfill the requirements of productive, self-directed individuals well adjusted to their society.

Linkage with the World of Work

The linking of the Basic School with the world of work and training helps fulfill one of the fundamental directions of Gandhian education--learning to respect work, and manual work in particular, towards self-reliance.

Problem-Solving and Learner-Centered Approaches

The Thai and UMass models offer conceptual bases for evolving learning-teaching strategies that emphasize the problem-solving method. They also help focus learning on matters most relevant to the learners.

The Thai planning of NFE suggests the bifurcation of the craft centered curriculum into formal and nonformal components. Formal teaching in classroom needs to be learner-centered while skill training is provided in the community, even organizing special centers of training like the Mobile Trade Training School. In the Indian context, this would indicate a regionally based unit supplying training needs and backstopping services to communities within a specified area that is not large.

It is no use expecting teachers trained in the traditional method to be creative in the classroom without enabling them to change their styles by actual materials and training in process oriented education. The simulation, learning games and materials of the UMass variety will enhance and create the settings for learner-centered activity. Self-direction in learning, and the taking of responsibility for one's own learning, are in consonance with the Gandhian principles.

Such games and materials should be adapted to the cultural and motivational patterns of the Indian learners.

In this respect, it is instructive to note that the UMass experiment also points to the traditional entertainment media--dance, drama, puppet theater and song as educational vehicles to attain specific objectives (in this case, the creative aspects of teaching in Basic Schools).

Need for a Unifying Philosophy

The separation of craft/trade/work experience activities from other subjects essentially vitiates the principles of learning through a craft-mediated curriculum. However, the important principle being the realization of the aims of self-reliant, creative and productive individuals, this separation of vocational and academic training need not mean the giving up of the values involved. The learning and applying of an integrating philosophy will be seen as bridging the twin aspects. Such an objective is served by Gandhi's Sarvodaya philosophy which must become an essential part of the curriculum, infusing in all its activities the spirit of cooperation and work.

Facilitators

The training formats and directions of facilitator training suggest the development of in-service courses for teachers and para-professionals who will work for Basic Education. The characteristics of such a facilitator are brought out in the chapter on Freire. The use of non-profes-

sionals, in-service training and the concept of learners-as-teachers and teachers-as-learners offer new insights into expanding as well as enriching personnel resources.

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C H A P T E R I I I

PHILIP H. COOMBS--A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS APPROACH

The approach of Philip Coombs sharply contrasts with that of Mahatma Gandhi in the analysis of the role of education in social development and the means by which education is implemented. In this chapter, the analysis of the educational crisis that Coombs foresaw is described along with the development philosophy that forms the conscious or unconscious basis for his proposals. His ideas relevant to teaching-learning processes, organizational set-up, and personnel are then dealt with in separate sections. Each section is summarized for possible contributions to a reworking of the Gandhian strategy.

Coombs--An Introduction

Reform and modernization within the existing social and political frameworks is the focus of Philip Coombs who in his approach exemplifies the views of a majority of educational planners. He was the director of the Institute of Educational Planning (IIEP), an institute of Unesco in Paris from 1963 to 1968. Later he headed research teams for Unicef and the World Bank in his capacity as the vice chairman and director of Strategy Studies for the International Council

for Educational Development. He has also served as a consultant with the Ford Foundation, the State Department, and as a consultant to the World Bank.

Among educational technocrats, Coombs was the first to raise an awareness of the possibilities of nonformal education, and his insights and studies have exercised a powerful impact on the educational practitioners and decision-makers throughout the world. He was also the first to call attention to the serious problems faced by educational institutions and governments in meeting the greatly increased demands for public education.¹ From his position as director of IIEP, he had a clear view of the challenges besetting the educational world, and he seems to have conceived his task as a professional in analyzing the performances of various systems in meeting the post-War challenge.

The position of planners such as Coombs is management oriented, and they view the various components of systems and programs in an input-output analysis. They are essentially systems engineers who diagnose and treat dysfunctions in educational systems.

The Systems Analysis Approach

Coombs was the first to apply systems analysis to educational problems. He viewed the "organized process by which a society pursues education, and whether the process and its results can be made more relevant, efficient and ef-

fective within the context of the particular society."²

He defined the educational system to include not only all levels and types of formal education but "all those programs and processes of education and training" outside the formal system including "worker and farmer training, functional literacy training, on-the-job and in-service training, university extension (extramural), professional refresher courses, and special youth programs."³

Viewing education as a system provided Coombs the analytic framework to describe its workings as having "a set of inputs, which are subject to a process, designed to attain certain outputs, which are intended to satisfy the system's objectives."⁴

Such an analysis shows that an educational system has internal parts that are interdependent--aims and priorities, students, management, content, staff, equipment, facilities, technology, cost, etc. Relationships are also seen in terms of internal parts and between the system and its environment. For example, a national manpower shortage (the environment) will draw away qualified teachers if salary structures are low. This will lead to a dip in the quality of the system's outputs. But this situation may lead to a deployment in the use of resources and technology to meet such conditions in order to improve the quantity and quality of the system's outputs.

This approach to educational planning allows for

flexible responses to problems and the use of a wide variety of alternatives in meeting challenges to the system's capabilities. Figure 2 describes the conceptual framework of Coombs' systems approach in nonformal education.

The special demands on education that Coombs is concerned about reflects the alarm with which development planners view the growing disparity between the rural and urban populations of developing countries, for such gross inequalities threaten the practical and social frameworks of these nations. He also reflects in his analysis the need to change institutional and organizational arrangements as well as policies that had hitherto ignored the rural poor.

Having established his analytic framework, Coombs viewed the modern educational scene and identified a worldwide crisis precipitated by four factors:

1. The sharp increase in the popular demand for education in all countries;
2. The acute scarcity of resources which limits the education system's capacity to respond to the popular demand;
3. The inherent inertia of the educational system that resists needed change; and
4. The inertia of societies themselves which include attitudes, customs, as well as the institutional/organizational structure that militates against the 'optimum use of educational and of educated manpower to foster national development.'⁵

The dysfunctions of the system thus noted, he concentrated on improved performance by appraising the input components--teachers, students, cost, etc. (the internal parts of the system). His diagnosis revealed that the vast

FIGURE 2

CONCEPTUAL VIEW OF AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*
(OR SUBSYSTEM)

(1) OBJECTIVES

(2) INTERNAL PROCESS

Organization and Logistics

-Learners

-Teachers

-Technology

-Content

-Quality Controls

-Equipment and Materials

INPUTS

(Economic and
Non-economic)

OUTPUTS

(immediate)

BENEFITS

(cumulative)

Internal Efficiency = Ratio of Outputs to Inputs

External Productivity = Ratio of Benefits to Inputs

*Philip Coombs, Report of the World Conference on Agricultural Education and Training, Volume I, p. 154.

educational apparatus in most countries were out of tune with the needs of the environment and technological progress. The dysfunctions he identified need to be elaborated--the growing gap between demand and supply in education; the disparity between resources and requirements; the relationship between educational output and the world of work; and the "obsolescence and irrelevance of educational content and methods," to which must be added the imbalance in resource allocation between formal and nonformal education. These are expanded for a fuller explanation.

Demand and Supply

Coombs stipulates a key indicator for diagnosing any educational system--the crucial relationship between social demand and an educational system's capacity to satisfy it.⁶ The signs are that such demands will increase for the foreseeable future, and he rightly points to the serious political consequences of the phenomenon:

The encouraging fact that their (the developing countries') people are enthusiastically demanding education is offset by the nerve-wracking fact that grave political and social consequences can ensue if that demand is not met.⁷

The disparity between demand and supply is worse compounded by the rise in school-age population. In an effort at meeting the requirements for increased educational facilities, the developing countries had to spread thin their meager resources, thereby affecting the quality of the educa-

tion dispensed by the now suddenly enlarged system.

This situation is not helped by the fact that education is self-generating--parents exposed to a little education want more for their children; increases in primary school enrollments result in the demand for secondary education for primary school leavers. The demand spirals ever upwards reaching professional and university levels. Nor is this process without the ever-present problems of educational wastage on the way--the dropouts and failures who represent an investment loss.

Coombs cried halt to the linear expansion which he believed had "outlived its usefulness and must be replaced." Such continued expansion would deplete the quality and relevance of the system. A change from quantitative preoccupation to qualitative aspects is advocated by Coombs who then goes on to outline proposals for renovating the system.

Response to the Demand-Supply Gap

In an effort to break out of the vicious circle of continued expansion and growing ineffectiveness of the educational system due to scarce resources, Coombs boldly suggested a major overhauling of the traditional administrative frameworks and procedures through innovative management. Although innovation is very much location and culture specific, he mentions those components to be addressed that are common to all systems. These include: (a) more effective recruit-

ment and professional training of management teams including educational planners; (b) the development of indicators to monitor, plan and evaluate the educational system's performance; (c) facilitating "information flows" to service the indicators; and (d) improved techniques of educational planning for a rational and effective charting of the educational course.

It is clear that Coombs had omitted a key dimension in advocating these changes, namely, the political environment that may be averse to accommodating the changes indicated by the analysis. Educational changes need tremendous power and political sanction before the "inertia" that Coombs referred to in the educational system as well as in the society can be overcome.⁸ The course suggested by him includes the modernization of the management and the use of technology for instructional purposes. He described present-day education as a "mass production, labor-intensive industry, still tied to a handicraft technology."⁹

In addition to better management and systems planning, Coombs identifies the out-of-school education (NFE) as having great potential for "contributing quickly and substantially to individual and national development."¹⁰

The Gap Between Resources and Requirements

It has become patently clear that continued demand for a disproportionate share of public expenditure for educa-

tion could not be met. As proof, Coombs cited evidence that most nations show a leveling-off or a slow-down in educational expenditure. The future expansion of educational expenditure rested solely on economic growth. Inflation would further erode the budgetary allocation already made. In short, education, as a major industry, was headed for trouble. He addressed the issue of manpower, pointing out that as a labor-intensive industry, it is bound to lose in competition for highly trained manpower. Wage increases in other sectors were bound to push up teacher and staff costs.

The results of this mismatch between scarce resources and expanding demands were not only unqualified staff, but also unacceptable teacher-pupil ratios and a lack of basic school equipment. Thus he concludes that education stops being a potentially fruitful social investment and becomes a costly "disinvestment."¹¹

Response to the Resource Problem

The only way to respond to the resource problem, according to Coombs, was through raising the efficiency and productivity of the system within available resource limits. Here, he suggests that a review should be undertaken of structure, methods, content and management needed to make it function more efficiently, effectively, and equitably.

He proposed that practical ways must be found to upgrade teachers, materials and classroom instruction on a

continuing basis to catch up with the moving frontiers of knowledge and technology. He further proposed changing the "logistics" of educational systems (structures, timetables, and "channels") to meet individual needs of children.

The various inputs are assessed, including curriculum and methods, and he suggested that these could be improved without incurring additional cost. Again, in doing so, Coombs looked for diagnostic tools for analyzing costs and effectiveness of various alternatives to detect various opportunities and malfunctions within the system.

Curricular Content and Methods

Here, the analysis centered on the qualitative factor--the teaching-learning process. The problem is in part historical--as in the case of colonial education that has no relevance to politically independent nations, but which is nevertheless continued. It is in part attitudinal--the retention of an elitist education designed for a select group, but used for the purposes of mass education because the concept of education had come to mean certain traditions long followed. What is Coombs' point? It is that education is backward in content and method when it lagged behind rapidly advancing knowledge and the changing nature of real educational needs.

Teachers and Equipment

At the heart of the teaching process is the teacher, and Coombs can only suggest more and improved innovative teacher training. The costliest aspect of the educational endeavor is teacher salaries, and it would seem logical to redefine who a "teacher" is, just as Coombs defines education as learning in all its forms wherever and whenever it takes place. The ICED studies focus on these opportunities.

In Attacking Rural Poverty, Coombs looked to the grossly underutilized 'diversified inventory of technologies' already available to education and concluded that in rural settings the "most overworked technology and the chief bottleneck to expanding and improving rural learning is traditional teacher-to-student, face-to-face oral instruction."¹² He mentions print materials, radio broadcasting and self-instruction and other low cost media including indigenous folk entertainment such as the puppet theater and drama.

Relationship to the World of Work

In considering education in its relationship to jobs, Coombs shares the assumption that it is a form of investment in national development--the output of the system must fit with the environment's needs. Does education produce the right kind of human resources needed by the economy? Can the economy provide employment for those trained in schools?

On the basis of manpower studies, Coombs concludes that large discrepancies exist "between the pattern of educational output and the pattern of manpower needed for economic growth."¹³

He provides examples of the disparity between education and manpower needs.

- a. An overabundance of secondary school graduates in the classic mold (art, law, etc.).
- b. Shortage of middle-level technicians, and specialized manpower in health, agriculture, and other types of specialized manpower--'mostly in the Maths-science based fields.'
- c. Training in skills not relevant to the economy of the country in such large numbers that they are redundant.
- d. Universities in developing countries have less than 4 percent of their graduates trained in the field of agriculture--and these become only administrators.
- e. The imbalance between the output of professionals and subprofessionals (Coombs cites one study in Chile that disclosed three doctors for each nurse!).
- f. The educational preparation of most students is oriented to urban values and needs, even though some 70-95 percent of the people in LDCs live in the rural areas. The modern urban sector cannot absorb these school leavers.¹⁴

This examination of school output in relation to available jobs is crucial since past experience points out two factors in considering manpower training: (a) that general education is a good foundation for acquiring vocational skills on the job; and (b) that training for jobs is best given at the point of use.

The goodness-of-fit between educational output and jobs is not the sole responsibility of education. Coombs asks whether enough jobs of the right sort can be found for the newly educated.

Critical Dimensions

The issue for Coombs is system performance. He puts forward, as a result of his analysis, four dimensions of his responses to the educational crisis.¹⁵

Out-of-School Activities

Measured against the output criteria of development needs and the existing job market, the definition of education as equaling schooling leaves out significant out-of-school activities. Many of the learning and training activities taking place outside the school curriculum had educational components relevant to the immediate needs of the population. Coombs' plea for liberating education from "parochial institutional jurisdictions" is in relation to the NFE learning opportunities outside schools.

Change and Innovation

A preoccupation with a quantitative and linear expansion of schools has led to a neglect of the qualitative changes necessary. Hence, Coombs proposes a review of all inputs and recommends change and innovation through strategies based on such an examination of structure, methods, management, etc.

A Detailed Planning Process

National plans must be translated into action plans-- a planning that reduces "broad aggregates to specific action plans for each sub-sector of education, each geographic sub-area, and ultimately each institution and program." He emphasized greater participation by professional planners at all levels of the planning process.

To translate a macro plan into a series of micro-action plans requires not only competent central planning but a planning process that runs from the bottom up as well as from the top down. This in turn requires competent planners and planning machinery throughout the system, right down to each individual school and classroom.¹⁶

Relationship to National Development

Not only does Coombs analyze the system components, but also the system's exchange with the environment. He remarks on the failure of the educational system to serve the needs of social and economic development of the country. His studies for the World Bank highlighted the potential of non-formal education for rural development, and outlined some recommendations for planners.

Having established the conceptual and analytical bases of Coombs' approach, his main ideas on the relationship between education and social development are discussed below.

Education and Development

Coombs adopts the goals of the United Nations Second Development Decade that holds rural development to be synonymous with a balanced social as well as economic development.¹⁷ It also emphasizes equitable distribution of income coupled with improvements in health, housing and participative decision-making in matters concerning their lives.

The World Bank strategy follows the same premise. Some of the principles guiding its educational policy have salient features that are of interest to Basic Education:

- a. Minimum basic education for all within available resources;
- b. Further education beyond the basic level should be selectively provided to improve the knowledge and skills necessary for economic, social and other development roles;
- c. A national education system embracing formal, nonformal and informal education, all working with maximum internal and external efficiency;
- d. Equal educational opportunities as fully as possible.¹⁸

The assumptions of this approach are that the social system is basically sound, and hence underdevelopment is identified as a dysfunction in the system due to a breakdown among component parts. The problems of underdevelopment are therefore attributable to a social pathology that must be corrected. Individuals must perform their social roles for the maintenance of the system, and any individual who does not adjust to its needs is considered deviant. The dominant system in this case is usually the Western industrial system

against which the underdeveloped economies are compared. The cause of their backwardness is traced to customs, the behavior of individuals and the level of technology used.

The basis of this approach is the "dual economy" theory which Griffin identifies as dividing the economy into two parts:¹⁹ the one is "capitalist," "modern," "industrial," which is progressive. The other is "non-capitalist," "enclave," "hinterland," and "agricultural," which is stagnant. The modern capitalist/industrial sector is "receptive to change, is market oriented and exhibits profit maximizing behavior." Output in this sector is a function of capital and labor. The traditional sector produces for subsistence, is not market-oriented, and is not profit maximizing. There is no accumulation of capital and "output of the traditional sector is a function of land and labor alone." The two sectors are linked by the flow of labor from the rural to the urban modern sector. When in the course of reinvesting profits, the modern sector uses up available manpower (labor), the traditional agricultural sector is faced with insufficient labor and is forced to modernize. Griffin challenges these assumptions and others in a critique of the dual theory.

For the purposes of this section, it is sufficient to point out that the dual theory has been the source of modernizing, capital-intensive ventures that caused the sprouting of industrial towns and migration from the vil-

lages. The workings of the dual economy and the problems of urban slums, migration from rural areas and the fact that jobs created by heavy industry are not commensurate with the labor it employs together with the vagaries of international trade that negatively affect domestic production are sufficiently recognized.²⁰ The strategy of development implicit in Coombs' approach is the dual theory which underlines the need for capital accumulation that generates growth in the economy through reinvestment. The classical pattern in support of this is found in the writings of W.W. Rostow, who formulated the stages of growth theory, patterned after the historical experience of the Western industrial societies.

Rostow, an economic historian and influential theorist, distilled from this history of progress in industrial societies, a theory of stages of economic growth. These stages are essential, he postulated, if the underdeveloped countries are to take off into self-sustained growth. The stages begin with: (1) the traditional society which undergoes (2) a "preconditioning," after which comes a (3) take-off into self-sustained growth leading to (4) maturity which ushers in an age of (5) high mass consumption.

The stage theory, translated into policy, will mean that the traditional (underdeveloped) societies are caught up in a vicious circle of poverty--i.e., the productivity and savings is so low that there is little investment. The tautology is that it takes wealth to produce more wealth.

Breaking the vicious circle of poverty takes a liberal infusion of foreign assistance or external financing. Secondly, in order to raise the productivity of the traditional economy and recoup investment, there must be efficiency brought about by modern methods and technology. In one word, this spells "modernization." Further, this also calls for social engineering to alter the social/psychological makeup of the individual to conform to the behavior patterns of entrepreneurial societies.²¹ Dysfunctional behaviors and traditions undermine growth potential and market-orientation. The people need to be "rationalized" for a new, competitive economy based on technology, since individual motivation and competition will generate production. The creation of an infrastructure of market needs to be built up, and all goods and services should be economically based on a demand-supply basis. Thirdly, the stage of 'self-sustained growth' is reached as the result of stage one and two, i.e., foreign investment and technical skill transfer. Aid becomes redundant, earning its disqualifier "self-liquidating." The fourth stage of "maturity" is reached when "an economy demonstrates that it has the technological and entrepreneurial skills to produce not everything, but anything it wants." Thus readied, the economy ushers in the age of mass consumption to keep the wheels of production moving--reducing working hours, promoting the needs of leisure and wants. Such a system is complicated and big; therefore it needs entrepreneurs

and a trained elite of professionals who can monitor the intricate workings of the economy--in other words, system planners who will reduce uncertainty by imaging the future.

A comparison of the strategy of Coombs will disclose the similarity of the approach with the "stage" theory. He seems to hold the same framework, drawing his principles from the same paradigm. He too sees the traditional system (in education) which he diagnoses as having lost its power to see itself clearly. The "inertia" and inefficiency of traditional education must be cured by innovation. Planners are needed who can monitor the workings of the educational system. His prescriptions have a familiar Rostowian ring-- "education is a mass production, labor-intensive industry, still tied to a handicraft technology."²² He decries the traditional "care-taker" and "supervisory" concept of Government in contrast to the "activist" concept needed to spur development:

. . . a modernizing economy gradually moves from being a low-wage, low-productivity, labor-intensive economy, toward being a higher-productivity, labor-intensive economy with a better qualified manpower.²³

The "pre-conditioning" aspect of Rostow's theory follows next. Citing evidence from common practice in school systems that managerial arrangements are inadequate ("they have neither the spirit, nor the tools, nor the personnel"), he proceeds:

One root of the difficulty is the absence in most educational systems of strong institutional provi-

sions for doing creative research problems of educational management, and for continuous development of personnel to serve the various managerial functions in the system.²⁴

The provision of international cooperation (paralleling Rostow's investment) is a key suggestion of Coombs--a new sort of partnership between the educational systems of rich and poor countries.²⁵ He proposes that industrial countries must give substantially in terms of educational aid. These suggestions correspond to the conditions stipulated by Rostow for creating a self-sustained economy. Self-sustaining, education cannot be, for it needs to be supported by the State. It is now possible to see Coombs' suggestion that education should meet the basic minimum learning needs of children, youth and adults, through, among other things, nonformal education. It can be conceded that the goal of mass consumption in education is the ultimate aim since it is increasingly accepted as a basic human right.

Although he improves upon the myopic "dual economy" theory in the sense that he takes into account the problems that the heavy industry approach created, the main thrust of his arguments are Rostowian in character.

In a review in the Harvard Educational Review, Martin Carnoy, a radical economist, argues that Coombs' plea for aligning the school and the economy so that there are more jobs available and more appropriate training in schools to fill the jobs, is naive. This position assumes, says Carnoy,

that "the economy in question is organized or can be organized to provide full employment without radical restructuring."²⁶

Implications for Reconceptualizing Education's Role

The strategy of development implied in the stages of growth theory, it was shown, constituted the basis of Coombs' analysis and recommendations. The basic thrust of the approach favored industrialization and modernization, with a special concern for alleviating the extreme poverty of the poorest sections of the population. It should be noted that the argument for institutional and structural changes were for sustaining the reforms taken in this regard. The Gandhian approach, on the other hand, is fundamentally different in the way it conceptualized development and the role of education. As opposed to industrialization through capital accumulation, he chose a form of public ownership; the changes he envisioned pointed, not to an age of mass consumption, but a self-sufficient economy based on labor-intensive and small-machine approaches. Gandhi did not isolate the "worst forms of poverty" for eradication. He saw beyond the "trickle effect" implicitly promoted by Coombs and sought to make individuals independent through attitudinal training and job skills. When seen against the "minimum essential needs" concept, Basic Education is a much more complete form

of education for all sections of the people.

So far, Basic Education has been seen primarily in its role as the elementary education for children between six and fourteen years of age. The systems view enables the viewing of education as a life-long process, and points to post-Basic and adult education as effective instruments for employment training. Basic Education itself, conceived differently, could be made available to large sections of youths and adults in different forms and settings. The systems view forces an examination of all possible means towards the objective of a literate community trained in the ethics of productive work and democratic participation.

A Systems Approach

Development as seen by Coombs follows improved skills and production through modern planning, innovation and technology. He views society as a system capable of achieving the desired end products or outputs if the correct inputs are fed in. A good relationship among input factors is thus the key consideration.

A village in the less developed countries is located in an economically and technologically impoverished environment with primitive human skills. The inputs are therefore very poor in quality. The qualitative changes in the inputs, it can be agreed, are necessary. Innovation, planning and technology could be used to break out of the poverty cycle

for a needed planning and technology that fundamental differences arise between the Gandhian and the "stages" approach. The ends are not the same.

But this is no fault of the systems analysis. While Coombs stresses productivity and modernization, B.F. Schumacher, using the same analytic framework, comes up with Gandhian objectives of increasing human welfare by introducing a new set of inputs--"intermediate technology"; research and innovation are aimed at making labor-intensive work more productive.

Schumacher identifies three factors that remain "latent, untapped potential": "Development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organization, and discipline."²⁷

There are inputs, but they must be applied in appropriate ways:

If new economic activities are introduced which depend on special education, special organization, and special discipline, such as are in no way inherent in the recipient society, the activity will not promote healthy development but will be more likely to hinder it.²⁸

Human resources is also a concern of Schumacher: "The lack of capital can explain a low level of productivity, but it cannot explain a lack of opportunities."²⁹

He suggests therefore the creation of millions of work places in rural areas. The work places are not modern heavy industries which require large capital investments that

provide only limited employment. He quotes approvingly a recent study:

Within manufacturing, there should be imaginative exploration of small scale, more decentralized, more labor-using forms of organization such as have persisted in the Japanese economy to the present day and have contributed materially to its vigorous growth.³⁰

Schumacher's innovation and technology are the needs of an impoverished labor-intensive economy. Arguing that a non-modern sector should be made the object of special development efforts, he proposes international cooperation to create a technology that can be within the means of the poor to promote full employment.

The systems approach, thus used, meets the Gandhian concern for unemployed rural masses. Since it seeks to remove the economic domination of the village by the city, of the poor by the rich, of agriculture by industry, the concerns of Freire and Nyerere over exploitative relationships are also addressed.

As Schumacher has shown, a retreat from modern technology does not solve the problems of unemployment, but an adaptation of technology must be used so that the benefits of science are available without the human cost in terms of slums, poverty and unemployment. "Intermediate technology" must replace the handicraft approach.

When examined carefully, many of the pitfalls of Gandhian development appear to have occurred because of a

rigid adherence to procedures and instrumental suggestions such as the use of the spinning wheel in education. The principles behind these suggestions, being valid, must be adapted to the realities and concerns of today.

This is different from the human resources approach favored by planners like Coombs who seek a qualitative change in the labor force through education and training. The plentiful supply of labor force in poor countries is seen by these planners as underutilized. Their skills and knowledge can be developed greatly but at present they are not. Even if capital and natural resources are lacking, "the less developed countries can prosper by maximizing the productive utilization and effective development of their labor forces."³¹

In conclusion, the systems perspective of Coombs is useful to a restructuring of education's role in development. However, the questions of equality and the need to restructure the political and social institutions that foster ignorance and poverty do not engage his analytic mind, and his value position remains that of a technocrat. The objectives of the Gandhian "system" will avail themselves of modernization to enhance employment and to update primitive technology, emphasize self-sufficiency rather than mass consumption and undertake the reforming of structures to increase local autonomy more than administrative efficiency. Dysfunctional behaviors in the Gandhian view will be those that

increase violence and those that favor competition rather than cooperation.

Teaching-Learning Process

Coombs identifies formal and nonformal modes of learning as parts of the total learning system serving the needs of society. In so doing, his interest seems to lie in those factors that create the context for efficient learning, rather than the process by which one learns. Hence, he lays emphasis on "learning opportunities." Of particular interest to this study are those approaches related to productive employment, and those that increase the effectiveness of school teaching without adding to the costs.

A systems approach discloses both school as well as out-of-school programs. A survey of such programs with productive potential reveals many employment oriented strategies:

- a. Indigenous skill training systems that include traditional apprenticeships, hereditary trade/craft skills learned from parents as well as cultural/religious training.
- b. Modern institutionalized vocational training that includes vocational secondary schools, polytechnics, technical training centers, accelerated skill training programs, on-the-job training, etc.
- c. Practical studies in schools are well handled if they are of the nature and type of commercial skills (typing, shorthand and bookkeeping) while agricultural, mechanical and construction skills are unsuccessful in schools because of high costs, teacher shortages, and the lack of integration with the local economy and employment market.

They are best organized outside the school.

- d. Ruralized curriculum in schools was another strategy tried out in many places. ICED studies show that even if the curriculum is based on agricultural skills, the tendency for students is to seek urban and non-agricultural jobs.
- e. Youth programs. When training is linked to cash rewards in such projects as egg production, fish cultivation, etc., they are attractive to youth who run these enterprises themselves.
- f. Rural residential schools offering full time programs from one to two years are more successful in training for productive skills. The characteristics of these schools are:
- A full time residential program;
 - Occupational training is combined with cultural and recreational activities;
 - Older youths as trainees;
 - Small enrollments;
 - Partially self-supporting.
- The trainees usually sought urban employment after training.
- g. Rural Training Centers in Senegal provide four features that bear relevance to a possible re-orientation of the Basic School around an industry like agriculture:
- Content is geared to the crop patterns and ecological conditions of the participants' home area;
 - The whole course is organized around a full crop cycle;
 - Related classroom work puts heavy emphasis on small group discussions rather than didactic lectures.
- Coombs and Ahmed comment on the Senegalese program: "These pedagogical methods are in sharp contrast to the highly academic and didactic instructional approach of the formal programs of agricultural education in Senegal (and most other developing nations). Short courses are offered in an ad hoc basis."³²
- h. Rural artisan training in Senegal provides insights into a method for training rural craftsmen, relating it to actual production. Craftsmen of all grades and types are given skill training in short periods of three month dura-

tion for different levels of expertise. The first stage is one of skill upgrading in a chosen craft. The second stage enables them to manufacture a set of tools for their own use and to learn to use them efficiently. The third stage simulates an actual job, the manufacture of and repair of implements and tools, construction of houses, etc.

The partial list³³ is illustrative of the range of learning delivery systems and each locality and region may be enabled to produce an inventory of such possibilities.

Programs that were initially successful, such as the Village Polytechnics of Kenya and the Young Farmers Clubs in Dahomey had in common these factors that also point to Basic Schools:

They were:

- Versatile and highly adaptable;
- Had direct utility in the local economy;
- Used local artisans and farmers as instructors;
- Emphasized learning by doing;
- Operating costs were low;
- Emphasized cooperative group work.

The range of options as well as the elements that compose these strategies may be combined in a formal and non-formal "total learning system" in a reformulated Basic School, depending on the local factors.

Inputs to Increase Learning-Teaching Effectiveness

Coombs pleads the case for a new combination of inputs for evolving a system of learning and teaching that can achieve better results without costing more. He identifies communications technology as a significant means to improve

the learning and teaching that can achieve better results without costing more. He identifies communications technology as a significant means to improve the learning process, especially to make possible self-learning by students. A single teacher or teachers cannot provide answers to the questions of children in a rapidly changing society. "New techniques are bound to be introduced as the new tools of technology become available to the educational process,"³⁴ writes Coombs. Demonstration schools to train teachers in their use are advocated.

Research is another factor to improve learning strategies--for "education can no longer afford the luxury of being one of the last handicraft industries."³⁵

Teachers of high quality, who will be prepared to assume significant out-of-school roles and whose salaries will be based on performance and productivity must be recruited with attractive remuneration.

Evolving Educational Systems

Coombs suggests that delivery systems must be designed on the spot, tailored to fit particular conditions. Coombs calls this a micro planning job that takes into account the pedagogical, psychological and sociological factors of the population.

Such a learning system should be designed around existing facilities and processes. An example of the kind

of system is a center that can house major training programs conducted in that area, so that they can share common facilities. Such multi-purpose training (rural development) centers should be connected to local development work and act as learning centers.

Implications for Basic Education

The vision of a rural learning system suggested by components such as are described above shows relevance to the needs of Basic Schools whose needs are a combination of learner-centered teaching processes as well as training in craft/trade skills that promote the values of manual work and self-sufficiency. Coombs describes such a system:

It should combine formal and nonformal components, allowing for easy transfer from one to the other, and provide alternative routes to advancement, starting from elementary learning and culminating in an open-ended rural university with socially oriented objectives. It should be relevant to the realities of its participants' lives and needs, flexible and adaptive to changing needs, and accessible to motivated learners of any age or sex. It should not be intellectually second-class; it should have its own standards of excellence geared to its different purposes and clientele and to the circumstances of its society. It should aspire to teach all children and as many adults as possible to read materials pertinent to their lives, at a functionally effective level. But such a rural education system should also turn out first rate agronomists, economists, sociologists, public health specialists and development planners and administrators, all professionally and psychologically equipped to apply their talents in rural settings. It should also produce people with those technical skills that can directly improve the quality of life in the village--people who can direct the building of roads and bridges, assure a safe water supply, keep the

electric water pump in steady operation, teach how to clean teeth to avoid gum damage, provide simple medical services, and so forth.³⁶

The system envisaged for Basic Education is one that can effectively fulfill the needs of work experience related to productivity, while improving the quality of the instructional performance. The possibility of evolving a system of formal and nonformal components as a viable unit is the concern of the next section that explores the suggestions of Coombs for organizational formats.

Organization of Learning

If the Basic School were to add an NFE dimension of out-of-school complementary activities, what administrative and organizational arrangements are indicated by Coombs?

It is clear that new forms of administrative and organizational approaches are indicated by bridging the school and the world of work in the community. Coombs suggests some administrative devices subject to his repeated admonition that they must be flexible, locally based to the extent possible and incorporate all forms of training and production current in the community.

A Coherent System

The following characteristics are mentioned by Coombs and these may be combined in ways that the local situation may require:

- An over-arching national policy on education that is translated at the local level by mechanisms created for the purpose;³⁷
- A devolution of authority to such mechanisms at the district and sub-district level must be structured, with a large measure of financial control;
- Such a devolution will make it possible for local mechanisms to create plans tailor-made for each area, adapted to its particular potentialities and constraints;
- Such mechanisms (councils) should be aided by a team of professionals who are competent administratively, including experts in different fields. This category includes the development officials of the various Ministries/departments concerned with such aspects as agriculture, health, etc.;
- Participation of local people must be a part of the arrangements; participatory mechanisms must be an integral part of the new structures that include local people in the whole process of planning, decision-making and implementation;
- Such planning must be flexible, localized and integrated with other development activities.

Elucidating the theme of decentralization further,

Coombs states:

Closely linked with program flexibility is the degree of decentralization of authority and responsibility that can be permitted to ensure that large programs are adapted to local needs and can harness local support. But political constraints often dictate the degree of autonomy that can be devolved onto local governments, regional boards and councils. Yet it would appear that without such a devolution of authority, including a larger measure of financial control, the essential need for local adaptation of large programs would be impossible to fulfill.³⁸

Support for Coombs' ideas on local arrangements comes from a study by John D. Montgomery of twenty-five land reform programs.³⁹ He divides the arrangements in the programs as

centralized, decentralized, and devolved. In centralized arrangements, decisions from the center may not fit with local conditions. Delays often block progress of programs. In decentralized arrangements, there is better program information, and when each agency develops programs and knowledge more rapidly and economically. Yet there is duplication of information-gathering activities, confusion and conflict over authority, and dispersion of responsibility. Accountability and control are problems. However, in a devolved arrangement,

. . . greater efficiency and effectiveness in decision making occurs when those with knowledge of local conditions are given responsibility for implementing the program. There are obvious increases in the rapidity of decision-making when knowledge which is locally available is used by local authorities to make decisions of local concern.⁴⁰

Planning

Specific steps are indicated by Coombs in planning and diagnosis for the local team comprising professionals and volunteers. Integration is a central theme in these proposals--"the need (is) for better integration at all levels, between different rural education activities and services." The steps he proposes are:

1. Diagnosis: the general features, potentialities and present state of development in the area; the special characteristics and realistic needs and interests of potential educational audiences.
2. Definition of objectives, clientele and priorities;
3. Identification of development activities planned

- or under way with which the new programs should be related; identification of 'non-educational factors, services and broader development services' to relate to new programs;
4. Identification of social, economic or other factors that might help or hamper the activities;
 5. Identification of national policies that bear on the program's performance;
 6. Alternatives are examined; short or long term viability is examined; a design is chosen;
 7. Continuous evaluation with feedback of prompt signals if anything goes wrong.⁴¹

These steps are useful for the professional/lay teams for situational planning. Coombs is the richest source in NFE literature for practical suggestions. The suggestions outlined above indicate directions under which Basic Education may be reorganized administratively. It is also suggestive of an organization based on the lines of local, block and district level Panchayat councils.

Personnel--Developing Human Resources

The most important element of the multi-pronged strategy suggested by Coombs is the variety and category of personnel whose motivations and talents need to be inducted into the development process. These provide a range of skills and aptitudes for planning and implementing educational strategies.

Planners

The first task indicated by Coombs is the creation of cadres of "broad-visioned, analytically minded people

capable of taking a wide-angle view of the spectrum of development factors in any situation and of assessing nonformal and formal educational needs and provisions in this broad context."⁴² One of the problems that educational planning faces in India is the unimaginative responses of high level personnel who are bound by hierarchical administrative practices, structures and financial procedures inherited from colonial days. This, coupled with the authoritarianism that goes with it, is judged by an eminent Indian educator to severely curb participatory decision-making, and "stubbornly defies attempts at injecting into the structure any degree of flexibility or dynamism."⁴³ Hence, the suggestion of Coombs for a new breed of planners is to the point.

Such cadres will be found in disciplines other than education as well, and a mix of interdisciplinary personnel will facilitate inter-agency and inter-Ministerial collaboration. The quality they bring should be one of system planning--an ability to transcend their own specialty.

Professional and Part-Time Workers

Along with the skilled and professional personnel, Coombs suggests part-time workers and volunteers whose contributions will make possible a system of learning networks.

Training

In order to use them effectively as education person-

nel, training programs should be organized.

Regular staff members should be periodically re-trained through in-service programs.

The professionals from other fields should be trained in methods of teaching so that they can effectively impart instruction.

Such workers need back-stopping centers and staff development services in order to function well over a period of time.

Flexibility in Staff Recruitment

If a program of craft training is included in Basic Schools, the use of master craftsmen in the community is indicated. Such personnel, if available to the program, should solve one of the important problems of skill training for Basic Schools. Programs should be launched, writes Coombs, to "train, efficiently utilize and retain able and enthusiastic personnel."⁴⁴

In a systems view, the end result is important, and it is attained by a proper mix of inputs that interact to produce the result. Coombs argues in his writings for the relaxation of rules to allow more flexible recruitment of good talent. With this approach, the entire concept of "teacher" must somewhat change in relation to the question, "Who can teach?"

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER III

¹Jonathan F. Gunter, in Television for Nonformal Education (Amherst, Mass.: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, 1975), mentions some of Coombs' successes in raising the consciousness of the public to the problems confronting the educational world: "It was Coombs who first disseminated to a broad professional audience the dimensions of the world's educational problems. It was Coombs who pointed out the interrelationships between them. It was Coombs who pointed out that parents everywhere were demanding ever more formal education for their children while the economies of nations were unable to employ even the existing number of youths. It was he who pointed out that formal education was often producing graduates with knowledge irrelevant to their situation and useless to employers. It was Coombs who linked these phenomena to the rising costs of education and stagnant productivity of teachers."

²Coombs, World Educational Crisis, p. 9.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 4.

⁶Philip H. Coombs, "A New Strategy for Educational Development," in International Targets for Development, edited by Richard Symonds (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

⁷Coombs, World Educational Crisis, p. 24.

⁸Ibid., p. 182.

⁹Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 135.

¹¹Ibid., p. 51.

¹²Philip Coombs with Manzoor Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 245.

- 13 Coombs, World Educational Crisis, p. 75.
- 14 Ibid., pp. 75-97.
- 15 Philip Coombs, "How Shall We Plan Nonformal Education?", in New Strategies for Educational Development, edited by Brembeck and Thompson (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1973), pp. 145-157.
- 16 Ibid., p. 148.
- 17 Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, p. 13.
- 18 See World Bank, "Education Sector Paper, 1974," in The Assault on World Poverty (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).
- 19 Keith Griffin, "Underdevelopment in Theory," in The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment, edited by Charles K. Wilber (New York: Random House, Inc., 1973), pp. 15-25.
- 20 The characteristics of this policy are an emphasis on a capital inflow from abroad; neglect of agriculture in favor of industry; and within agriculture, concentration on large, modern farms rather than on the poor primitive peasant holdings.
- 21 See David McClelland and David G. Winter, Motivating Economic Achievement (New York: The Free Press, 1971).
- 22 Coombs, World Educational Crisis, p. 34.
- 23 Ibid., p. 86.
- 24 Ibid., p. 122.
- 25 Ibid., p. 172.
- 26 Martin Carnoy, "The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis: A Review," Harvard Educational Review (February 1974):178-187.
- 27 B.F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), p. 159.
- 28 Ibid., p. 160.
- 29 Ibid., p. 162.

³⁰L.G. Reynolds, "Wages and Employment in the Labour Surplus Economy," American Economic Review (1965), quoted in Ibid., p. 165.

³¹Frederick Harbison, Human Resources as Wealth of Nations, p. 115.

³²Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, p. 42.

³³In making up this list, the case study analyses of Coombs and Ahmed (1974) were relied upon.

³⁴Coombs, World Educational Crisis, p. 180.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, p. 216.

³⁷See "Nonformal Education for Rural Development" (Essex, Conn.: ICED, 1973), pp. 91-92.

³⁸Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, p. 213.

³⁹Paul J. Cunningham, PASITAM--Design Notes (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana, 1976), 4pp.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 4. See also John D. Montgomery, Values in Development, Appraising the Asian Experience (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1976).

⁴¹Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, p. 250.

⁴²ICED, "Nonformal Education for Rural Development--An Interim Report on a Research Study for Unicef" (Essex, Conn.: ICED, January 1973), p. 121.

⁴³Chitra Naik, Educational Innovations in India (Paris: Unesco Press, 1974), p. 1.

⁴⁴Coombs and Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty, p. 250.

C H A P T E R I V
FREIRE: RADICAL CHANGE FROM OUTSIDE
THE SYSTEM

This chapter examines Freire's ideas on education in its relation to oppression and liberation, to dependency and underdevelopment and his method of "conscientization." An appraisal of his ideas reveals that his method works outside the formal system to raise consciousness among the oppressed. The components of his educational strategy in terms of method, organization, and personnel are then stated.

Education and Oppression

Societal goals are implied in the analysis that Freire makes of the oppressed. He sees oppression in the sociological as well as psychological terms, within societies as in the dichotomy between urban and rural economies as well as between nations, the dependent and metropolitan countries. He begins, as an educator, with the individual in order to prepare him to become what he potentially is capable of, a free and critically aware person who can create his own future and who has the capacity to make decisions based upon a critical perception. Hence, when the individual is not able to realize what Freire calls his "ontological

vocation of being more fully human,"¹ he means that he is dehumanized or oppressed. Such a condition is made to occur because of the myths about the oppressed, myths which they have come to believe about themselves, internalizing a self-diminishing view of themselves. Such an internal (psychological) condition should be corrected by a process of "conscientization"--a process which helps the oppressed to view the world and observe the contradictions as well as the forces that keep them subordinated socially and economically.

Banking Education

There are structures in society which help maintain the oppressor-oppressed condition, and a central institution in this respect is the socializing process in schools. Freire sees the traditional teaching-learning process as placing the locus of control in the teacher, in textbooks, and outside the creative and liberating faculties of the learner. Such an education is simple information transfer by which bits of information are deposited in the learner, aptly termed by Freire as banking education. For Freire, this is not just a simple matter of stifling the creative faculties in the child, but a reflection of the society in a socializing process of dominating the individual. Freeing the process of the oppressive features to him is to invent a completely new way of pedagogy--a process that takes the learner from a stage of immersion in his existential situa-

tion, a stage of unquestioning acceptance of everything that happens to him, to a stage of critical perception that leads him to cooperative action.

To people who for generations have been concerned with only the immediate survival needs of food and shelter, this means that they should acquire deeper insights into the causes of their poverty, overcome the feelings of self-inadequacy that they have been conditioned into, and perceive the way social structures are arranged so that they can act to change oppressive conditions. The transition to such democratic participation is not easy, and involves a process of moving the oppressed from a tame acceptance of circumstances to a questioning of the conditions of their life. Otherwise the result is a continuation of submission to the dictates of those in power, open to manipulation, and unable to understand the dynamics of those structures that keep the status quo.

An education for the oppressed, then, must be liberating and leading to a critical perception of social reality. Such an education for democracy is different from a domesticating instruction. This is implied in the title of one of Freire's books--Education as a Practice of Freedom. The oppressed of the Third World, according to Freire, have lost the ability to decide for themselves politically as well as culturally and psychologically. In his way of expression, they have lost the ability to "name" their reality. It im-

plies that such people cannot organize, analyze, or act upon a problem situation that they can define. They have lost the natural endowment of human beings to reflect upon their material and social environment in order to modify and change it. This is the difference between animals and human beings, that animals adapt to nature while humans adapt and humanize their environment. This concept needs further elaboration as found in Freire's writings.

Humanization

The reflective faculty that helps man to transform his world to suit his needs is "consciousness." This faculty enables man to reflect upon and question his relationship with the world. There are many evidences that distinguish man's ability to transform reality, in sharp contrast to mere animal existence--"His domain of existence is the domain of work, values, of history, of culture--the domain in which men experience the dialectic between determinism and freedom."²

Further, men know that they can know. They are aware of the conditioning effect of their society. They can thus rise above their own existential situations and transform their society. "They can exercise a profoundly transforming action upon reality," says Freire, "for men, as beings of praxis, to transform the world is to humanize it."³

Another characteristic of man is purposeful activity,

or intentionality. Unlike the animal, he is conscious of his own effort, the possibility of programming action, of creating tools, and using them to mediate between himself and the object of his action, of having purposes, of anticipating results. Men's actions are not just for survival only, as animals adapt to the world for survival--"men modify the world to be more." But in the process of transforming the world, man can lead to "his humanization as well as dehumanization, to his growth or diminution."⁴

Problem-Posing Education

The distinguishing feature and special merit of Freire is not the foregoing analysis which is self-apparent, but the use he makes of reflection to achieve cooperative action by formerly passive people who because of the powerlessness of their situation had lost their identity and right to equality and full participation. Upon the idea of reflection and action, he builds an educational theory. He supplies the analytical tools, the stages of conscientization. A process of this type does not have a readymade curriculum, neither does it have for its chief actor a teacher who knows and students who don't. Such is the "problem-posing education" that Freire evolved, that, even if shorn of the social-political arguments he attaches to it, has a validity of its own. Freire gave to the world a method of open-ended education that would motivate the learners to be

independent investigators of what they want to learn--a deconditioning and demythification of a people who should pass from the feudalistic stage to the modern democratic participation. Not naively, not for the appearance of participation, but for critical and responsible citizenship. Such a competency calls for an understanding of the underlying structural causes of their condition embodied in their political, social, and cultural institutions, and not a superficial appraisal of the problems. Only then can they be said to be critically aware.

Dependency and Underdevelopment

In the case of societies as for individuals, the same problem is reflected in the dependency of some countries which are directed from outside. Political and economic decisions are taken by metropolitan powers to their own advantage, and to the subservience of the dependent economy. Internally, within the country, the same process works in favor of the urban to the detriment of the rural economy, replicating the exploitative nature of the transaction. There is an absence of internal decision-making in their "closed societies," a lack of perception of external domination.⁵

From the above, it is clear that Freire argues for a society that would be helped to independence at two levels, a freedom from external imperialism and the freedom within the society from class control.

Integral development is not possible in a class society. In this sense development is, on the one hand, liberation of the dependent society as a whole, in relation to imperialism, and, on the other, liberation of the oppressed social classes in relation to the oppressor social classes.⁶

The dependency that Freire refers to as "closed societies" are nations or parts of nations that "find themselves dependent upon central manipulating societies." In illustrating this dependency and its effects both internationally and intranationally, Freire refers to the experience of Brazil.

In Cultural Action and Conscientization (1970), Freire says:

Latin American societies are closed societies characterized by a rigid hierarchical structure; by the lack of internal markets, since their economy is controlled from outside; by the exportation of raw materials and the importation of manufactured goods, without a voice in either process; by a precarious and selective educational system where schools are an instrument for maintaining the status quo; by high percentages of illiteracy and disease, including the naively named 'tropical diseases' which are really diseases of underdevelopment and dependence; by alarming rates of infant mortality; by malnutrition, often with irreparable effects on mental faculties; by a low life expectancy; and by a high rate of crime.⁷

However, the economic interests of the metropolitan societies indicate the need for wider markets and they force their counterparts in the dependent societies to undertake reforms. This reformist process does not alter the relationship of dependency, as the political, economic, and cultural decisions will still be made in the master society. To Freire, this fundamental contradiction of dependence must be resolved for true development.

Societies in Transition

Urged by necessity, reforms are undertaken in the dependent countries and this transition to a more developed, industrialized society partially paves the way for democratic practices such as elections. This is the stage for "populism"--a stage above that of the "culture of silence" but in a transitive stage. The people are still naive--they perceive the sources of oppression but are still tied to myths and the naivete of their former conditioning. This is the stage of "massification," a stage still removed from critical consciousness.

A massified society, Harmon writes, is "one manipulated by its leaders, given answers rather than stirred to question, and which accepts slogans and propaganda."⁸

The critical stage is the open society of participatory democracy, a stage characterized by a more equal distribution of property, by a healthy demystification of authority; by a depth of perception of social problems, and not simple superficiality. When compared to societies that are "closed," one observes in the denizens of the open society a deeper perception, the giving of causal explanations as opposed to "magical" ones, and critical awareness opposed to manipulation.

The foregoing is explained by Freire with yet another reference to the history of Latin America:

The history of Latin America shows that the new position begins to emerge when modernizing elements replace the traditional structures of society. The masses of people, previously almost completely submerged in the historical process, now begin to emerge in response to industrialization. Society also changes. New challenges are presented to the dominating classes, demanding different answers. The imperialist interests which condition this transition become more and more aggressive. They use various means of penetration into and control over the dependent society. At a given moment the emphasis on industrialist ideology of development which makes a case for, among other things, a pact between the national bourgeoisie and the emerging proletariat.⁹

At such historic periods of change as industrialization and the introduction of modernization processes, opportunities present themselves for change and liberation. Society, like everything else, is in a process of change. To be masters of destiny, and not fall victims to this process of change, a critical understanding becomes necessary on the part of man. Edwin A. Burtt summarizes this dialectical process:

Everything in the universe is changing; there are no static realities. But there are laws of change which can be scientifically grasped; those who understand them are able to guide the changes toward humanly desirable ends. The fundamental laws are dialectical--that is they reveal that the universe is a ceaseless process of generation, interplay, and resolution of antagonisms between opposing forces.¹⁰

There are certain themes that are dominant in every epoch in the process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. We can easily recognize the theme of independence of newly emerging countries of Asia/Africa. The theme of women--a recognition accorded to them politically--has manifested itself internationally as the Decade of Women. Freire's posi-

tion is that in order to exercise control over life, people must have the critical ability to understand the themes dominant in the age they live. Using the dialectical approach, man must perceive the contradictions in his life, and act to resolve them. If he does not act he becomes a victim of a reality created by others--an alienated reality. Freire calls these junctions of history epochs. Development for economic and social ends is now a world-wide trend, is a conscious and planned act of change that has revolutionized the world within the last century. Certainly, educators should seize this opportunity to effect desirable changes, but the definition of the goals of change is a value position, and a political act. The implications of this will be explored later. In the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, he refers to the epochal themes:

An epoch is characterized by a complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites, striving toward fulfillment. The concrete representation of many of these ideas, values, concepts, and hopes, as well as the obstacles which impede man's full humanization, constitute the themes of that epoch. These themes imply others which are opposing or even antithetical; they also indicate tasks to be carried out and fulfilled. Thus historical themes are never isolated, independent, disconnected, or static; they are always interacting dialectically with their opposites.¹¹

Education for Liberation

To summarize the Freirean position described thus far, the analysis of man and society by Freire suggests that

man loses his humanity when he cannot be his true authentic self. He is dehumanized and oppresses as well as is oppressed by his fellow man. This oppressive condition is imbedded in his consciousness, be he an oppressor or an oppressed. The way society is structured, the "system" carries this element of oppression and injustice. Freire opposes an education that liberates and not one that domesticates as the present banking concept of teaching-learning. Changing consciousness alone will not remove the oppression; the structure, as well as the social arrangements, must be changed too.

Stages of Consciousness

Magical. Freire's educational objective is to help the learner progress from "magical" consciousness to critical consciousness. Intervening in the middle is the "naive" consciousness. At the "magical" stage, the learners exhibit certain characteristics of fatalism, and their interests center around survival. The oppressed are oblivious to the fact that they have the power to transform their life through action. They also attribute magical or "superhuman" superiority to their oppressors. A psychological dependence on their oppressors is referred to by Freire as "playing host to the oppressor." Also noticeable is a sense of impotence in them that prevents their correctly identifying problems or formulating objectives for overcoming them.

Naive. At the "naive" stage, the people believe that the "system" under which they live is basically sound, but that there are specific violations by evil or ignorant individuals who should be reformed. This stage is characterized by an oversimplification of problems. A romantic idealization of the past that things used to be better and less complicated suggests escapism. In this stage, the oppressed imitate the oppressor, since he represents their ideal of manhood, and they aspire to be like him in his ways and deportments. Another phenomenon is the violence (intra-punitiveness) that the oppressed direct against their family, friends, and neighbors or any of their own class. An explanation given by Freire is that the oppressed hates the very dehumanization in himself that he sees reflected in his fellows. This violence portrays and is a symptom of his despair.

Between the stages of naive consciousness and critical consciousness, a possibility is irrationality. A person acts more out of emotion than reason, and he cannot exhibit true commitment. Such extreme emotionality and fanaticism produce a condition of disengagement from reality. A person refuses or is unable to see causal relations clearly in this stage.

Critical. Critical consciousness is suggested if we visualize a rational, balanced, and active person who is not

fooled by mere appearance of people and things. He has penetrating insight. It is easy to see how necessary such individuals would be to act as a "core" in a democratic society, as part of a responsible group which would caution against extremes and guard against false perceptions. Transitional societies (developing countries) adopting the democratic method, and making the changeover need this vital element in their leadership, and it comes as no surprise that Freire should want such citizens developed through the educative process. He describes the critically aware person:

The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's findings and by openness to revision; by the attempts to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid preconceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to new reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old; by accepting what is valid in both the old and the new.¹²

The Method of Freire

First, it is necessary to examine the "domesticating" education that Freire condemns, and by contrast explain liberating education that he advocates. In the former,

. . . the process is prescriptive, in the latter, it is dialogical. Education for domesticating is an act of transferring knowledge; but education for liberation is an act of knowing in which educator and educatee together become cognitive subjects, mediated by the knowable object they are seeking to know.¹³

The process of dialogue, reflection, and action implies a new kind of educator who establishes a "dialogue" with the learners and among the learners. To make for effective dialogue, a team of Freirean "facilitators" observe the life and problems of their educatees and from their observation "code" certain themes that have special significance for them. In an urban ghetto, for example, the theme may be joblessness. Such themes are verified by further observation and interviews. These are then coded as key words with emotional and existential significance. These codified representations of reality are then used in small circles of discussion. The role of the facilitator is not to teach but to mediate the process, not to transfer knowledge but to stimulate critical reflection. The educatees realize that they are in control of what they are focusing on. The dialogue leads them to realize and examine the deeper reasons for unemployment, sickness, and such themes of immediate relevance to their lives.

Freire used the method of "cultural circles" to teach literacy, and he was demonstrably successful in teaching people to read in a remarkably short time. However, the process is now used for consciousness raising political groups, students, teachers, and women's groups, to mention a few. Because it uses the dialogue as a method of teaching, the "liberating" education is also called the dialogical method. Freire is now a familiar educational theorist to

most educators, and his exile from his native land of Brazil because of his cultural circles and his emphatic assertion that all education is political in nature, he is viewed with caution in many countries. Brazil and present-day Chile saw fit to clamp down upon his method because of a perceived threat of civil "order."

Among the various approaches to education, Freire's is startlingly fresh and requires a great leap of faith in the capacity of people to be responsible learners. His approach emphasizes the transformative role of the learner rather than his adaptive function. He also supplies the tools and methods. The content of such education is taken from the life of the students, codified, and posed to the same group. The institution can be anywhere, under a tree or a verandah or the home of one of the students. All it requires is a regularly meeting group.

An Appraisal of Freire

The genuine contribution of Freire to nonformal education centers on conscientization. But it is also a process that is linked to the liberation of individuals and societies. It carries with it an entire philosophy of education and world view. This process was evolved among the people who belonged to the culture of silence. In Cultural Action for Freedom, Freire says: "At a time when the culture of silence was being exposed for what it is, I began, as a

man of the Third World, to elaborate not a mechanical method for adult literacy learning, but an educational theory generated in the womb of silence itself."¹⁴ Such an education carries far greater implications than a theory of instruction, for learning in Freirean interpretation is linked to the development of a new society.

It is abundantly clear that the clientele Freire refers to lies outside the "system" of formal education, and requires special education projects in the process of organizing them. He confirms this repeatedly: "While only a revolutionary society can carry out this education in systematic terms, the revolutionary leaders need not take full power before they can employ the method."¹⁵ He also states that the "dialogical" educator has difficulty in functioning coherently in a structure that rejects dialogue.

Such an education is necessarily political. It calls for far-reaching structural changes in the society to accommodate it. In the attempt to use his method piecemeal, and there have been many, lies the separation of his method from its political and social function. It is primarily an educational weapon fashioned for the dispossessed to help them become aware of their situation and to make them aware of their own capacity to shape their environment. David Milwood describes this new conception of development:

Development is seen as something that people do for themselves, with or without outside help, a process of liberation from domination and dependence, its aims being social justice, self-reliance, the par-

ticipation of people in decisions affecting their lives, a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth. The achievement of these aims implies political action at all levels to change the structures of power and the systems that support them.¹⁶

Systematically organized and government sponsored programs of development must deal with a peculiar dilemma-- that the very nature of institutionalized attempts to modernize communities, however informal their approach may be, require stable environments to function effectively. Such attempts as organizing the peasants or marginal people are always seen as elements of resistance to the orderly process of development and extension of the modernization of the country. This is an inevitable outgrowth of the view that when the cake of the national economy gets bigger, everyone will have his share increased as well. It comes as no surprise that the conservative programs of development that employ the Freirean strategy feel the need to detach the political content from the programmatic approach. In evidence, the experience of Chile can be offered. Under President Frei, the Freirean education was adopted as a matter of national policy. With the onset of the military rule, many of the literacy workers were imprisoned and the system itself became anathema. The same became true of Brazil which exiled Freire from his homeland.

The situation in countries other than Latin America presents other difficulties which are mainly cultural differences in the perception of the world. The division and

dichotomy between the oppressed and the oppressor groups is exceeded by other divisions that carry immediate emotional import. In India, for instance, religion and caste affiliation must first be overcome before the dichotomous view of the haves and the have-nots can be effectively used as a strategy. The rural people are so divided on the basis of caste, that a precondition of castelessness must obtain before solidarity can be brought about among the oppressed. In Malaysia, where racial divisions apply, the perception of the people does not allow the labeling of one's own race as an oppressor. It is far more meaningful to tag the racially different as oppressors--an unfortunate occurrence and an easy political ploy for dividing any opposition to grassroots action to bring about meaningful change.

Internal security and freedom from external threat are preconditions for development in any Third World country if it were to embark on development. In the first years of independence, the prime task indicated is political consolidation of the nation state. The nascent institutions of self-government must simply have time to grow and take root. Undoubtedly these countries replicate the exploitative structure of economy that makes them more "closed" than "open" societies. The choice of independence along with internal contradictions and economic dependence upon metropolitan states was inevitable, for the longer independence was delayed, the less likely was internal development and egali-

tarian practices to be achieved. Given these considerations, any attempt to organize the oppressed cannot but be interpreted by the authorities as subversive and as "destabilizing."

The organizing of discussion groups along Freirean lines for government-sponsored programs, therefore, are dependent upon divorcing political action from program content in nations such as described above, unless such education is public policy. Otherwise, some groups that aim to bring about fundamental change in the makeup of these societies will use the method to organize interest groups and political action platforms.

Such considerations as the above lead to a much discussed but seldom enforced requirement--that there must be meaningful institutional and political structure that would enhance and not work against the principle of mass participation in development. It is the institutional framework that is missing in the Freirean analysis. Recent efforts in Peru, for example, show the use of the Freirean approach with a decentralized institutional arrangement called "nuclearization" that fills the need for administrative support.

The Freirean Educational Strategy:
Characteristics and Components

Paulo Freire's method and process of education, as we have noted earlier, is primarily addressed to the politi-

cally and socially disadvantaged, the "marginal" people of society. It is unique in that it is a form of social and political process that emphasizes learner control, for the clientele need to be nursed out of a psychological dependence born of cultural and economic oppression. As a model, it works outside the system to create the necessary attitudes for participation in the decision-making processes of society. Thus this strategy is particularly apt for the socially and culturally disadvantaged--an educational therapy for a social pathology.

The theory presents an analysis of the problem of the oppressed, and provides a liberating pedagogy. The elements of this pedagogy include a method for a curriculum based on the participants' existential concerns and predicaments, a process for teaching-learning to move the learners from one level of passive consciousness to a critical perception of reality and action orientation. For the leader of this process, it prescribes a horizontal relationship that, unlike traditional classroom teaching, removes the dominance of the teacher in the learning process.

The Target Population--The Oppressed

The process envisions the regeneration of marginal peoples who are characterized by their poverty and remoteness from decision-making processes of their country or region. They are those who are politically, culturally, and

economically dominated by other groups or classes. These people have had their personality distorted because of social discrimination and loss of dignity, in other words, "dehumanized."

Alienated from their own creative and transformative nature as human beings, they are denied their "ontological and historical vocation" to be human, the oppressed exhibit certain characteristics of the helpless and the powerless. A fear of freedom to shape their own destiny is internalized by the social victims who wait for others to prescribe what he should do. This condition is described by Freire as:

The conflict [that] lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world.¹⁷

Self-depreciation or self-contempt is another feature of their personality--an internalized view held of them by their oppressors:

So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything--that they are sick, lazy, and unproductive--that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness. The peasant feels inferior to the boss because the boss seems to be the only one who knows things and is able to run things.¹⁸

The Goal

Such mutilation of the personalities of the powerless

and the marginal provides the basis for a new pedagogy aimed at what Erickson calls the "identity recovery." Freire's is a process that catalyzes change among such individuals in a short span of time for a major paradigm shift in perception. The objectives he proposes, therefore, are that the oppressed

Should be 'conscientized' to be aware of their innate potential as human beings to transform their lives through a critical change;

Should be enabled to take collective/collaborative action by articulating accurately their social reality, 'to name the world' so that they can objectively perceive their condition. Then ways must be proposed by themselves to overcome these 'limiting situation';

Should be assisted to achieve this growth through a rational, dialogical (collaborative) method, and not through sloganeering or manipulation by leaders who take advantage of a growing awareness that is still at the 'naive stage.'

This process calls for "conscientization" or dialogue by which the oppressed are slowly awakened out of fatalism--"submerged reality"--and emotional dependency, lowered self-image, and their fear of freedom to act. Obviously, this implies a circular process or tautology--social conditions shape the dependency mentality, and to change the dependency, a personal transformation is needed to break out of the crippling poverty and alienation. This strategy to correct the social/psychological pathology is the special contribution that Freire makes to society, particularly to adult education.

The components of such an education include: (1)

teaching-learning through dialogue; (2) a coded feedback of real life situations by a facilitator which the learners analyze so that they perceive the way rules, institutions, and laws work in a structure of oppression (in Freirean terms, this is an "unveiling of reality"); and (3) praxis, or the combination of action and reflection as a continuing life-long process.

Since education and training are the central processes by which man becomes his true self or actualizes his potential, the educative process must be examined whether it enhances or impairs the essentially creative nature of man to transform his environment (world). Education conditions human consciousness in the way men perceive themselves and the world. When they are conditioned to have others decide for them, when the locus of control is not the self, but others, they learn dependency and fear of freedom.

The Liberating Process Compared With Traditional Teaching

Oppression is defined by Freire as anything that obstructs a human being's becoming his creative and transformative self. An examination of the traditional teaching-learning process exposes the oppressive assumptions and structures that underlie it--the teacher teaches, the student learns what is taught; teacher knows, student is ignorant; teacher selects--student memorizes. Freire calls this an act

of "depositing" pieces of information and the assumptions of an ignorant person who must be passive in learning violates the process of becoming. Hence, it is oppressive. "An act is oppressive only when it prevents men from being more human."¹⁹

A basic element in the traditional teacher-student relationship is prescription.

Every prescription represents the imposition of one man's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to into one that conforms to the prescriber's consciousness.²⁰

In opposition to the oppressive teaching-learning process (banking education), Freire defines the elements of a liberating education and knowledge as an active process of inquiry, not a transmission of information. This requires a problem-posing education in which the teacher and student are both learning from each other. Sometimes Freire refers to this as "co-intentional education" when the teacher and taught are both examining reality together and both learn from each other's perceptions. This relationship is horizontal, not vertical:

The teacher is no longer the one who merely is the one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn while being taught also teach.²¹

Liberating education is an active process of reflection and dialogue in which a problem is defined as something that must be critically analyzed and resolved. Action without reflection is mere activism, and reflection without ac-

tion is verbalism, comments Freire. The assumption here is that awareness leads to action.

To surmount the situation of oppression, men must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation--one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity.²²

Curriculum

The leader of the process (often referred to as a "facilitator"), does not arbitrarily choose the program content. That arises from the "views, doubts, hopes, or hopelessness" expressed by the oppressed which form the basis of a teaching-learning process. The method calls for identifying certain contradictions in the actual life of the students around which dialogue is initiated.

The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people. Utilizing certain contradictions, we must pose this existential, concrete, present situation to the people as a problem which challenges them and requires a response--not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action.²³

This means that there will be no top-down planning of the curriculum. The program content is chosen by participant observation of dialogue-stimulating situations. Such situations or themes (e.g., unemployment) are graphically encoded in a picture or a slide. This theme, if it is an accurate portrayal of the concerns and reality of the participants, generates intense discussion. The analysis of the causes

of, say, unemployment, follows in an effort to understand the structural causes of the problem. "Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world."²⁴

Literacy, or the teaching of reading and writing, is more than just the ability to read in the Freirean method. It is a wider social and political awareness. The teaching of reading begins with a word that is pregnant with meaning for the participants. In the case of the jobless peasants or factory workers, a NO VACANCY sign under a picture showing people milling outside the closed gates of a factory, immediately evokes the poignancy of their real life situation, and the participants relate to it immediately. Once such a meaningful experience or concern is identified and named, a process of reflection is begun with a dialogue. Naming a problem enables the participants to analyze it objectively. "Once names, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new meaning. Men are not built in silence, but in word, work, and in action-reflection."²⁵

Stages of the Conscientization Process

There are three "stages" through which learners' consciousness progresses in reaching the critical consciousness state: conforming, reforming, and transforming.

1. Conforming to the situation. The level of perception at this primary stage is 'submerged in reality.' In an analysis of life problems, the participants name survival issues such as poor health and lack of money. The causes of these problems are 'magical'--fate, chance, luck, etc. There is no move to change the situation; acceptance and resignation characterize their attitudes.
2. Reforming individuals. The system is held to be basically good, while the causes of problems are attributed on individuals who are not performing their role-assigned duties. They need to be reformed to function well. Participants analyze the cause of their problems by blaming individuals; they are not able to trace the structural basis of society's problems.
3. Transforming the system. The individuals at this stage see the problem as caused by the way rules and roles are set up in the social system. At this deeper level of perception, they are able to identify policies, institutions and rules that need to be changed. Such perceptions should lead to a collaborative effort at changing the structures that are oppressive.

Progress from one stage to another is facilitated by naming, analyzing, and solving problems.²⁶ As the perceptions of the participants deepen, they make the transition from the magical (conforming) to the naive (reforming) and critical (transforming) consciousness. This is conceptualized in the training process evolved by the University of Massachusetts team in the Ecuador Project that depicts the experiential learning cycle as a continuous spiral (see Figure 3).

Four Training Steps

Freire suggests four steps in the training process

FIGURE 3
EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING CYCLE

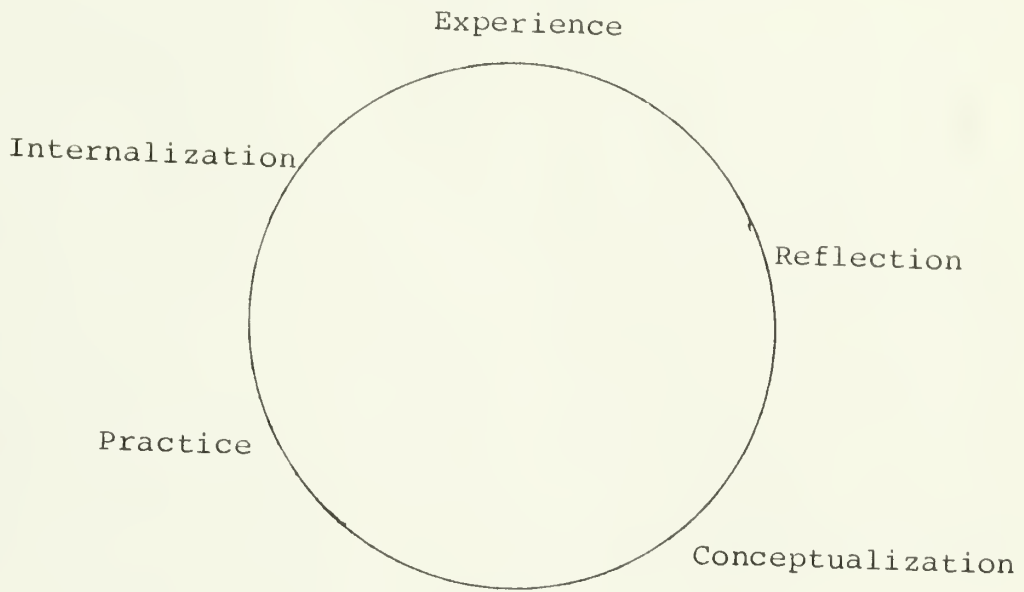


FIGURE 4
STAGES OF CONSCIENTIZATION

I. ENTRY (Participant Observation of the population)			
	NAMING	REFLECTING	ACTING
II. Magical			
III. Naive			
IV. Critical			

leading to conscientization (see Figure 4):

- A. Entry: A team of interdisciplinary scholars observe and study the target people's thought and language, concerns, problems, and actions (participant observation);
- B. Naming: The central conflict in the situation or generative theme is identified;
- C. Analyzing: The causes of the conflict are analyzed, leading, over time, to an understanding of the system causes; and
- D. Solving: The participants, it is assumed, will be moved to undertake collaborative action when they perceive the systemic causes of their problems.²⁷

Organization

Pedagogically, the organization is that of a discussion group, a circle. Consciousness raising lends itself to small group processes. Unlike the school method of vertical information transmission that assumes the students do not know, the locus of control in the group is with each participant, and since the subject matter is drawn from their own lives, they are in control of the subject matter. The circle best represents the horizontal relationship among the learners-teachers.

Administratively and organizationally, the Freirean method works as "projects" outside the mainstream of the educational system. Since the oppressed have no power to implement this education scheme, Freire makes the distinction between "systematic education which can only be changed by political power, and educational projects which should be carried out with the oppressed in the process of organ-

izing them."²⁸

The Social Literacy Project carried out by the University of Massachusetts team in Springfield and Hartford school systems works as projects (short term--two weeks in summer) and by regular meetings with staff and students with the system in order to isolate the causes of student delinquency and dropoutism, and to raise the ability of staff and students to undertake meaningful changes in roles and rules in the school. Again, a recent study carried out in Chicago on consciousness raising groups among women in the United States showed that most participants were middle class women with jobs and their concerns were not political, but emotional support from their colleagues. Hence, it is quite safe to conclude that the system is in no way threatened by undertaking some changes through consciousness raising as a technique, much in the sense of organizational development technologies that seek to increase communication among individuals in an organization. Freire refers to mobilizing groups for political action against an oppressive system which precludes conscientization from being practiced--an organization or system will not work against itself.

Personnel

The profile of a facilitator or teacher-student required to mediate the process is not the traditional educator. The participants are not used to freedom and are easily

subjugated to follow. Since they need to be weaned from a "magical" state (uncritical, primitive attitude), these qualities are essential for the liberating educator.

1. A desire not to dominate others, and a commitment to work collaboratively.

2. Humility: Freire asks, "How can I enter into a dialogue if I always project ignorance on to others and never perceive my own?"²⁹ Dialogue requires trust--

To achieve this . . . [it is] necessary to trust in the oppressed and in their ability to reason. Whoever lacks this trust will fail to bring about (or will abandon) dialogue, reflection, and communication, and will fall into using slogans, communiques, monologues, and instructions. Superficial conversions to the cause of liberation carries this danger.³⁰

3. Patience: "An intense faith in man, faith in his power to make and remake, to create and recreate, faith in his vocation to be more fully human."³¹ This calls for patience, since men "may be impaired in the use of that power." The facilitator is to bring about a transformation through a long process. He acts as a "midwife."

4. A horizontal relationship and mutuality of trust.

5. The leader or facilitator should always ensure hope in the process of dialogue. Cynicism has no place in this process. When a situation is perceived to be hopeless, it loses the power to motivate and transform.

6. The facilitator should also be challenging at the appropriate time--a passive role is not intended because

of the horizontal relationship.

During the decoding process, the coordinator must not only listen to the individuals but must challenge them, posing as problems both the codified existential situation and their own answers. Due to the carthartic force of the methodology, the participants of the thematic investigation circles externalize a series of sentiments and opinions about themselves, the world, and others, that perhaps they would not express under different circumstances.³²

Implications for Basic Education

The Role of Education in Social Development

Freire sets forth the nature of oppression in society, how that oppression is internalized by sections of society so that individuals who comprise them lose the ability to be free. The serious consequence of this condition is that they are not able to decide for themselves, to create their own futures and control their destiny. The inherent ability of human beings to shape their environment, physical, social and economical, according to their own purposes is lost in an oppressive situation. Such people must regain their humanity; re-learn to be free through an education that leads to a critical perception of reality; and then take action to change their oppressive condition. Education, then, must become the practice of freedom.

Traditional education is like a banking system, with the learner passively accepting pieces of information. Such education places the locus of control outside the learner,

and is prescriptive. It reflects the social reality of oppression and control. Schools are instruments of society which according to its particular structure, shapes education in relation to the needs and interests of those who control power in that society. Therefore,

. . . a radical transformation of the educational system is contingent upon a radical transformation of society. Education is both an expression and an instrument of society.³³

What does this perspective hold for Gandhian Basic Education? The oppression defined by Freire is parallel to the concept of violence implies in Gandhi's philosophy of Ahimsa (non-violence). Both Gandhi and Freire seek a change in the internal structures of perception in individuals, but while Gandhi prescribes "passive resistance" and "civil disobedience" to meet oppression, Freire offers an open-ended process of learning that purports to lead the learner to a state of critical consciousness.

Class and caste are two evils afflicting the Indian body politic. Thus, development itself needs to be reconceptualized so that the forces that keep the society divided and sub-divided can be defeated. The internal contradictions can be removed only after a direct attack on those structures that support and foster such oppression. The implications of the Freirean approach are that the internalized belief and value structure must be changed through education, albeit a special form of education. It can be concluded that the

conditions of Indian society warrant a form of conscientization.

The role of education for Freire means the development of individuals in society who will not propagate and continue the myths that support inequality and oppression. Education should produce liberated individuals who will act to change oppressive features of the social system, not just aim at reforms that belie a naive understanding that the system is basically good if the individuals who run it can be transformed into good individuals.

Teaching-Learning Processes

Freire provides a conceptual basis for identifying the practices of "banking education" and the elements of a "liberating" education. Learner-centeredness is the essence of a liberating education, while traditional practices domesticate the learner who ceases to be questioning and critical. It means that the curriculum should be drawn from the learners, and the function of the teacher changes from that of a prescribing authority to one who facilitates joint discovery of knowledge. The elements of such an approach have tremendous implications for the content and process of learning in Basic schools. Some of these major elements are briefly restated below.

Dialogue

The role of the teacher becomes one of facilitating discussion and stimulating critical reflection. To achieve such a dialogue, the facilitator needs to feed back to the learner the subject matter of learning in a problem-posing method. The process is one of dialogue, reflection and action which leads to the internalization of competence. For Basic Education teachers, this calls for a change in the understanding of their role, as well as the adoption of a method of discussion and small group process.

Thematic Presentations

From the social and economic environment, some themes of deep concern to the learners needs to be identified. These themes then become the subject matter of a dialogue. This process of drawing out the theme involves the study of the learner's society and life by researchers. When the theme is re-presented to the learners, the themes will evoke deep interest and release energies for learning and involvement, because the themes constitute their central concerns in life. Rather than attempt "correlation" with social and physical environments, Basic Education personnel will find this method more relevant to the life of the learners.

Experiential Curriculum

The Freirean cycle of experience-reflection-action provides a method of structuring training programs, as stated earlier. This also helps in focusing on the children's out-of-school experiences, as they are encouraged to sort out their experiences and learn from them. A deeper understanding of the craft/technical problem can also be attempted in this manner.

Facilitator

There are many implications for teacher training and staff preparation in the non-directive approach aimed at full learner participation. As seen in the experience of the Ecuador Project, such training can be undertaken in short courses of about two to three weeks to train both professional as well as non-professional staff.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER IV

- ¹Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 79.
- ²Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1975), p. 52.
- ³Ibid., p. 55.
- ⁴Ibid.
- ⁵Mary Ellen Harmon, "Freire: An Exegesis of Three Works," unpublished dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1975, p. 37.
- ⁶Paulo Freire, Las Iglesias en America Latina: su Papel Educativo en Educacion para el Camtío Social, 1st edition (Buenos Aires, 1974), p. 148 (translated).
- ⁷Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 61.
- ⁸Harmon, p. 37.
- ⁹Paulo Freire, "Education, Liberation and the Church," Study Encounter 9:1 (1973).
- ¹⁰Edwin A. Burt, In Search of Philosophic Understanding (New York: New American Library, 1967), p. 114.
- ¹¹Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 91.
- ¹²Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), p. 18.
- ¹³Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed.
- ¹⁴Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 17.
- ¹⁵Ibid., p. 74.
- ¹⁶David Milwood, "Conscientization--What It's All About?", New Internationalist 18 (June 1974).
- ¹⁷Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, pp. 32-33.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

²¹ Ibid., p. 67.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p. 85.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ William Smith, in his study of the stages of consciousness among the peasants in Ecuador, asked these questions in naming, reflecting, and acting:

Naming: "What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are now? How should they be?"

Reflecting: "Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?"

Acting: "What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?"

²⁷ Alfred Alschuler, "Social Literacy Training," Social Literacy Project, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass. (March 1976).

²⁸ Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 40.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., p. 110.

³³ Paulo Freire, "Are Adult Literacy Programmes Neutral?", delivered at the International Symposium for Literacy held in Persepolis, Iran, from 3-8 September 1975. Reference: SIPA/10; original in Portuguese.

C H A P T E R V

NYERERE: EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISM

The contribution of Julius K. Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanzania, represents an articulate expression of societal goals, envisaged on the basis of tradition but reinterpreted for nation-building.¹ In this, Nyerere is the African equivalent of Gandhi, for they both harked back to the ethos of tradition to find a suitable vehicle for making the transition to the modern age. Such a transition meant a revival of the spirit of the people, a revitalization strategy. Decolonization, in this sense, did not refer to the transfer of power in political terms. It meant a revamping of the institutions and a resocialization of the masses as well. The philosophy that formed the basis for such a revitalization was "Ujamaa" or African socialism.

Nyerere put forward, explained, expanded and then applied this concept of Ujamaa in a series of documents which have been hailed for their originality of thought.² Three published documents of Nyerere provide the basis for his philosophy and are the blueprints for social and educational restructuring. They represent a sequential development of the concepts that stand identified with his name: Ujamaa--
The Basis of African Socialism, published in April 1962; the

Arusha Declaration, a policy document adopted on 5 February 1967; and Education for Self-Reliance, published in March 1967, and derived from the Declaration. In September of the same year, Socialism and Rural Development appeared, signaling the implementation of the policies by a call for the establishment of Ujamaa villages. These communities were to be formed voluntarily, and were to be self-sufficient and self-governing. The role of the Government and the party were defined as that of counseling and advising.

This chapter will examine the concept of Ujamaa development and the role of education in it, the education system devised to meet its goals, organization, and personnel arrangements. Each section will be concluded with a summary of the implications of these factors when viewed from the angle of restructuring the Gandhian Basic Education concept and practice.

The Concept of Ujamaa

As a model, Ujamaa represents many unique and exciting features, not the least of which is its intellectual appeal as an explicit and articulate educational philosophy and design--an unusual occurrence among planners of national development. It represents an indigenous social philosophy, and a commitment to self-reliance through cooperative village communities. It is thus an ideologically based development model.³

Nyerere refers to Ujamaa as incarnating African socialism, the social and political arrangements within the tribal economy. In discussing the African socialism concept, two African writers maintain that "the expression 'democratic African Socialism' is actually meant to convey the African roots of a system that is itself African in its characteristics . . . the whole system is based on African traditions."⁴ Ujamaa thus carries an indigenous heritage, modified and adapted to meet national and modern development requirements.

Nyerere traces inequality and exploitation to the colonial heritage, and recalls the cooperation and consensual decision-making that characterized the tribal society. But the years of colonial rule had left their mark on the minds as well as the social system by which people lived. Competition replaced cooperation. Land, which was regarded as the property of the whole tribe, became a marketable commodity in the competitive colonialism that came with the colonial powers. In further elucidating this, Nyerere says:

'Ujamaa' then, or 'Familyhood,' describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.⁵

He rejects class conflict, explaining that modern Socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of 'society' as an expression of the basic family unit.

The goals of Ujamaa are self-reliance, equality of all men and the ending of exploitation within the framework of a cooperative society. The ideology provided directives for remaking society in a new image:

To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all men can live at peace with their neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury.⁶

Self-sufficiency Through Agriculture

Parker argues that the very approach evolved in Ujamaa is necessitated by the conditions of Tanzanian population and resources. More than ninety percent of the people live in rural villages; trade represented less than a quarter of the national income, and export earnings came from a small number of primary products such as coffee, cotton, cloves, diamonds, etc. The country could not afford foreign exchange problems of importing consumer goods or supporting capital-intensive industrial projects. These had to come later. On achieving independence, it was also short of trained manpower.

Hence Tanzania had to rely on the strength of her economy (which was land and people), and chartered a course of self-sufficiency. Necessarily, this meant developing rural areas where the vast majority of people lived, and a special concentration on agriculture. Nyerere said,

Our future lies in the development of our agriculture, and in the development of our rural areas. But because we are seeking to grow from our own roots and to preserve that which is valuable in our traditional past, we have also to stop thinking in terms of massive agricultural mechanization and the proletarianization of our rural population.⁷

Self-Reliance and Ujamaa

Just as Gandhi postulated self-reliance for his ideal Sarvodaya society, so also did Nyerere make it a central concept of the Ujamaa policy. Since this concept is also crucial to the educational ideas of Nyerere, it is necessary to state what he means by it for the individual, the community and the nation. For the individual, it essentially means that he does not depend upon anyone for his bare necessities of food, clothing and shelter. However, he is one who is able to help and be helped by others in mutual cooperation. His living does not exceed his means which he gets by work. Such a person is not dependent, he is self-reliant. For a community this concept implies the use of local resources and skills in promoting their own development. Self-reliant communities direct their own development and do not wait upon government assistance. For the nation, self-reliance means deciding upon the path of development by itself within its national resources. National development priorities do not depend upon foreign assistance, but is primarily dependent upon the effort of the nation.

The Arusha Declaration summarizes the position on self-reliance:

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is the people and their hard work, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance.

Our emphasis should therefore be on:

- (a) The Land and Agriculture;
- (b) The People;
- (c) The Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance; and
- (d) Good Leadership.⁸

Ujamaa development does not depend on money, rather it seeks to build an economic base upon which further development can take place, developments involving capital-intensive industries which Tanzania could not afford at present. This also reflects a desire and a determination not to allow dependence on foreign assistance to influence social priorities at home. Nyerere writes:

The only group of people we will rely upon is ourselves; we will not organize our country and our life in such a way that there will be no development unless we get foreign money. And most of all, we have said very firmly that we shall not bend our political, social or economic policies in the hope of getting overseas aid as a result. But if we get outside assistance to carry our purposes decided by us, then we shall welcome that assistance.⁹

Self-reliance, then, is the maximum use of resources available, building the economy upon a strong foundation of rural development, modernizing within national means and avoiding the danger of compromising national goals of egalitarianism and non-exploitation. The policy veers away from a dependence upon money, concentrating instead on the

development of the skills of its predominantly rural people.

It is evident that self-reliance begins with the individual who is self-supporting through work; such individuals comprise cooperative villages with full responsibility for directing their own affairs with some guidance from the government and the party. This is facilitated by a devolution of decision-making power by political and administrative decentralization. The government machinery is patterned on a regional, district level to provide support services. Mobilization of the people for the programs of the government is done by the party that has as its basic building block a group of ten families. Self-reliance as a concept in practice is fostered and buttressed by the twin institutions of political ideology and administration of services.

Ujamaa Villages

The chief agency for realizing the ideal of Ujamaa is the village unit sufficiently large enough to benefit from modern advancement and technology.¹⁰

The Ujamaa village is autonomous--the local people decide on all matters affecting their lives, and exercise control over projects, work and economic transactions. The objectives are those of the villagers and not of the provincial or national government. The administration of the government is involved in the life of the Ujamaa village to the extent the decisions of the community and its plans re-

quires. Nyerere describes the process of decision-making and control:

Such villages could also be organized together for social, political and educational purposes, so as to bring to all members in their rural area some of the opportunities which can come from living in communities. But all these things would depend upon the democratic decisions of the members themselves. The Government or local authority would become involved only where a decision involved them in responsibilities.¹¹

Summary

Ujamaa policy calls for the development of a society free from exploitation and inequality. It also seeks to decolonize the people from the effects of a competitive colonial capitalism where a few benefited from the work of many. The means towards Ujamaa socialism is identified by Nyerere as land and people, coupled with good leadership and hard work. Self-reliance is translated into political and economic self-determination, starting with the Ujamaa village which is a self-governing cooperative. It also means that all individuals must work, educate themselves and help others less fortunate than themselves to be trained at least to the point of basic literacy. Since most Tanzanians live in villages, the policy of rural development, and the goals of development, can succeed only if the people are educated to understand and internalize the principles of Ujamaa socialism.

Fundamentally, the goals of Ujamaa and the Gandhian

ideals are the same. The African socialism of Nyerere, and the non-violence theory of Gandhi, seek to achieve the same goal of independence, self-sufficiency and self-reliance for the individual and society. Both refer to traditions in their country that support egalitarian concepts. Whereas Gandhi could only visualize the Panchayat-based Sarvodaya society during the days of the independence struggle, Nyerere built the Ujamaa cooperative villages in a 'revolution from the top.'

The internal logic of the Ujamaa philosophy, and the consistency with which it has been applied to a restructured political and economic framework, and the use of education as an instrument in the training of citizens to understand, participate and build that society anticipated by it, is an object lesson for planners and politicians in India, although the vastness and the heterogeneity of Indian population precludes a tidy and neat solution. But it could not be forgotten that Gandhi had a philosophy that attracted a great number of his countrymen. That this philosophy did not reflect itself in a coherent development strategy is a historical fact. The role of education, it is seen, is defined and made relevant only when the directions of the society, and its social and political objectives, are clearly set forth by the national leadership.

The Role of Education for a
Self-Reliant Society

Education for the new society called for a fundamental restructuring of the inherited colonial pattern. The purpose that animated such education was service to the country while colonial education was meant to train the individual for the colonial state. It called for a cooperative rather than a competitive individual. The former is necessary for Ujamaa society while the latter is a product of a competitive market economy. Nyerere identified three principles for restructuring the educational system: (1) equality and respect for human dignity; (2) collective sharing and use of resources; and (3) work by all and exploitation by none.

The Arusha Declaration and subsequent statements by Nyerere provide a conceptual framework for education in Tanzania. Before the hierarchical pyramid of schooling was arranged so that the content of school education served the needs of high school entry which in turn was conditioned by University and professional training requirements. This obviously served the function of a selection screen, making possible an educated elite. This had no relevance in the Ujamaa system because it provided an increasingly exclusive education of the few at the expense of the many. A reconceptualization of primary education took place, delinking it from higher education, and making it complete in itself.

The reliance on human as opposed to capital/material resources in the predominantly rural society defined the context for a general and complete education for the masses--towards a learning society.

Following are the functions of education as they were conceived to be.

Self-Reliance

Like Gandhi, Nyerere regarded learning not as preparatory to life but as life itself. Self-sufficiency must be learned by living it, combining learning with productive work. The artificiality of removing able-bodied youth from work and production is described by Nyerere as "taking out of productive work some of (the) healthiest and strongest young men and women."¹² He adds that they not only fail to contribute to the output urgently needed, but they consume the output of the older and often weaker people.

D. Mbunda explains this principle of Ujamaa education:

Work is a socialist duty; work-oriented education then is also a socialist obligation. Since work is a life-long duty for any socialist, logically, work-oriented education is also a life-long duty. Education, in the traditional African society, was not an activity one did for a short time of one's life and then stop for the rest.¹³

Participation

The pattern of society that Tanzania chose for itself

implies the need for people to know of the plans, participate in decision-making and implement their decisions through intelligent activity. Such a course calls for political education and a measure of literacy to function. Hence, in addition to primary education, adult education was seriously promoted. In the words of a Tanzanian adult educator,

. . . we have a political challenge to meet. How are the masses to be introduced to the true meaning of our independence. The new social order needs to be explained to them for full discussion, its values must be analyzed, thrashed, selected, accepted and set as bases for action in building our nation. This surely calls for mass education. To weld the 120 tribes into one cohesive political unit calls for a planned ideological orientation on a national level. Socialism cannot be imposed, it must be accepted and lived by the enlightened and committed citizenry.¹⁴

Rural Emphasis

The system of education must serve the majority of the people, ninety percent of whom live in the villages. Hence general education must be slanted to the needs of agriculture. The previous system had catered for the few who would reach the secondary and university stage, subordinating primary education to the needs of entry to the higher levels of education.

Citizenship Skills and Critical Judgment

Freedom and non-exploitation are only possible in a society whose members are conscious and aware of the rights

and responsibilities. Critical awareness is one of the goals, and in Tanzania this is a mass undertaking, through the organizations of the party and the State. Nyerere cautions against producing unquestioning and obedient robots, and the citizen needs an education that will develop in him

. . . an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains.¹⁵

Cooperation as a Value

In place of the competitive individual, Ujamaa society needs the new education to produce a cooperative individual. This is in line with moving from a competitive to a socialist economy.

Summary

The new-won freedom and the goals of socialism called for individuals who will be able to participate in the processes of self-government. Added to the skills of citizenship alive to its responsibilities and rights, education is needed to produce leaders for the restructured political system, and others with skills to make a living in the rural environment.

Comparison with the Basic Education proposals points up the non-provision or lack of emphasis in the Indian plan for a critical understanding of the social-political environ-

ment. The relationship between the individual and the State, a critical consciousness of the social and political reality leading to action is not articulated as a specific goal to be achieved by education.

The implication would appear to be that the national directions and philosophy of development should be clearly stated. In the case of Basic Education, the gap between educational objectives and national direction, as stated earlier, diverged.

A program of popular education and training on the new Panchayat system and the role of the people in it were seldom undertaken in post independent India. Much of it is probably traceable to a dilution of such objectives because of the diversity of opinion and conditions in a vast sub-continent. By the same token, it could be argued that the same diversity calls for a greater effort at national integration through planned programs and political education.

Teaching-Learning Process

The insights that Nyerere's paper on education as well as the evolving system of education provide on the actual process of teaching-learning are limited. More than describe any one set of teaching process, they emphasize certain principles that affect the teaching-learning process.

Experiential Learning

The stress on productive activity in Tanzanian education, as well as functional nature of their adult programs in literacy underlies a basic belief in experiential learning, or learning by doing.

In relating educational process to the needs of daily life as well as productive skills, Tanzania has been able to provide programs free from the kind of conceptual and implementational difficulties that Basic Education met with in craft-oriented education. In Basic Education, the craft is the center for integrating all subjects, the take-off point for maths, social science, etc. The integrator in Ujamaa education is the community need, and this has led to a heavy emphasis on practical work.

Four factors are apparent in the Tanzanian education that bear on teaching-learning process:

First, as a general principle, experiential learning is endorsed in Education for Self-Reliance.

Second, productive work is an essential part of primary education.

Third, examinations are devalued. This is a structural change and effects changes in the attitudes and methods of the teaching staff. Learning behaviors change when the need for reproducing information as a major consideration is removed.

Fourth, primary education is integrated with the life of the community as children participate in work for the village and adults use the schools in the evenings for adult classes and meetings, and assist in repairs and construction of school buildings.

Training

Many of Tanzania's centralized institutions like the cooperatives, prepare learning materials which are used in training personnel in groups. Print materials, correspondence courses, radio and mass media are used in supporting the learning by groups of skills that include bookkeeping, cooperatives management, and principles. Such training prescribes a certain amount of competency to be attained by participants before they are sent to cooperative colleges for further advanced work.

A method used to educate the public in the principles and practice of cooperatives has been that of campaigns. These campaigns have the effect of releasing intended activity and interest during selected short periods.

The meeting mobilizes people who are identified as the key learners who will run the cooperative system. The materials consist of magazine articles, posters, information sheets supported by broadcasts. These are highly motivating in the sense of shared experiences in large groups.

Similarly, agricultural training, usually based at a

farmer center, is also moving out to convenient locations in the villages. The teaching-learning process used here is that of large group process for disseminating knowledge about principles and information. Small group processes are useful for more detailed work in mastering the content of materials received through correspondence courses.

Summary

Tanzania places importance on experiential learning and training. This is helped by devaluing exams and integrating such learning with the needs of the community. The need for extension work using centrally prepared materials with a local coordinator points to the possible use of personnel for Basic Education who will use small and large group processes with a variety of print materials, job sheets as well as correspondence courses for intensive learning of an academic nature related to productive work, be it commercial and management skills or agricultural mechanics.

Of particular interest are the use of centralized training institutions that support local learning groups with a variety of materials and regular visits by trainers. Periodic campaigns can be undertaken to revitalize these learning networks.

Organization

An education based on work as well as academic learn-

ing, such as the one Nyerere proposed, coupled with a strong emphasis on community service, should serve well as a model for reshaping Gandhian educational practice. Nyerere did not indicate specifics for educational organization, but he provided examples of integration with work and community life. Like Gandhi, he proposed income producing activities that go to meet part of the educational cost. Although Ujamaa is a nationwide learning system that blurs the distinctions between the formal and nonformal education, and incorporates many types of organizations, only two models seem to be particularly relevant for Basic Education.

The School-with-Farm Model

. . . especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have, as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community, and makes some contribution to the total national income.¹⁶

This suggestion is compatible with another idea of Nyerere--that schools must become self-reliant communities. Such a school should consist of people who are "both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers."¹⁷ He also suggests that the school farms be part of the school life.

The urban schools are to put their emphasis on other productive activities. It is also possible, according to Nyerere, that the urban students spend part of their time in

a farm during the school year in an organizational model similar to Cuba's "Schools-to-the-Countryside."

Community School Model

In this arrangement, children assume responsibilities in the community and the community is involved in school activities such as building classrooms, etc. The separation of study from work, and the school from the community, is removed by this integration of school and community. The earnings from the work done by children accrue to the school.

Adult Education Networks

Most adult education programs in Tanzania are oriented towards literacy and those skills needed in the farm or factory. Yet another agenda is suffused in all these programs--the mobilization of the masses to the policy and programs of the Government, a form of ideological training.

Of particular interest to productive skill training needs of Basic Education is the identification of simple training in agricultural techniques and craftsmanship, health education, housecraft, simple economics and accounting, and education in politics and the responsibilities of the citizen, through Adult Education.¹⁸

Actual training in factories, government industries and departments, parastatal organizations, industries and public institutions have been mandated by the Government (not

less than one hour a day).¹⁹

Rural centers for training form another network: Rural Training Centers, Folk Development Colleges, etc., provide the organizing centers of nonformal education.

Personnel

The unique factor in Tanzanian education, from the point of view of use of personnel, is the involvement of the largest possible number of volunteers who undertake adult education or literacy classes. In 1972, it was reported that over 33,000 volunteer teachers were involved in adult education classes. Since 1971, through a resolution of the ruling TANU party, all employers were duty-bound to make their employees attend adult education classes without loss of pay and during normal working time. Such an expansion was not possible without voluntary help. Daniel Mbunda writes: "To ensure a sufficient number of teachers, socialism depends on the principle that he who knows more should teach he who knows less . . . students in all education institutions, as well as school leavers, are all potential teachers in adult education."²⁰

School teachers also double as adult education personnel, in addition to participating in field work in the farms.

Tanzania has a cadre of political/social workers through TANU, the national party. The ten-house cells elect

a leader who performs a linkage function with the village council and the District party organization. Along with its leaders of the cells, TANU has a number of affiliated organizations who provide a cadre of progressive leaders.

To these voluntary personnel at the village level and above, are added the extension officers and other development workers whose services are utilized by the Village Development Committee (VDC). These are staff specialists of the civil service seconded to the village by the District Council.

Added to the manpower described above are the services of national institutions of training. Some of them are the National Institute of Productivity which concentrates on workers education and management through research, consultancy and training; the National Industrial Training Programme that provides excellent training in electricity, building, automechanics, fitting, welding and plumbing. Middle and upper level technicians are trained in Technical College at Dar es Salaam. There are 1,700 primary cooperative societies that are responsible for some educational activity in their locality through their education secretaries. Kivukoni College trains leaders for the party, civil servants, teachers and responsible officers at every level. Hence it is safe to project three categories of personnel: the executive personnel (mainly the civil service); the corps of highly trained personnel of national training institutions; and

the organized cadres of the TANU from the ten-house cell upwards. Roughly, they can be classed into the political and elected leaders, and the appointed personnel of the bureaucracy.

The conclusions from the above for Basic Education are: (1) the effectiveness of local participation, and the fact that opportunities exist for motivated personnel to serve the cause of education. Again, (2) the two wings of elective and appointive institutions support the framework of development activities. The pattern seems to be working, though with many teething troubles, according to the case studies of the University of Dar es Salaam on Ujamaa villages (1971).

The recommendations of Coombs that local talent should be used is borne out by this statement of Hall and Mhaiki:

The experience of two years has shown quite clearly that the involvement of the local people in planning and implementation of adult education programs is extremely important. The use of local leadership cannot be dispensed with. Directives and schemes from above have very little chance of success. These facts have revealed the importance of grass root adult education committees, run by local leadership.²¹

Relevance to Basic School

The similarity of the Ujamaa concepts with those enunciated by Gandhi are remarkable, and it seems possible to adopt both models in operationalizing the objectives of

Basic Education through such strategies. The difficulties in the Indian context present themselves easily if such models are contemplated, and only when action is taken to solve them will the strategies be applicable. First, land is a scarce factor in most villages, and the school-in-a-farm is not possible in most villages. It is also true that by tradition, rich farmers are willing to donate land for purposes such as these. A project initiated with local involvement for such acquisition of land must be undertaken. As a Governmental proposition, the model will have only limited relevance since the costs would make it prohibitive.

The community school model depends for its effectiveness on leadership factors, since caste is a consideration and untouchability has not been removed. The assumption in these models is that the community is a cooperative based on the egalitarian lines of Ujamaa. In the traditional Indian village with caste and economic hierarchy, human factors and leadership, the commitment of the personnel is important.

The extension to school children of training in productive skills can be undertaken by the methods adopted in Tanzanian Adult Education. Out-of-school centers of such training are also identifiable in the factories, development centers, offices and Block Development offices. The challenge lies in evolving a workable and coherent system out of these opportunities.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER V

¹Nyerere distinguishes his approach from Western Socialism, basing it on the pattern of the tribal society which owned its properties in common.

²A.A. Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia," Transition 31 pp. 20-25. "Of all the top political figures in English-speaking Africa as a whole, Nyerere is perhaps the most original thinker of them all."

³The following characteristics are attributed to an effective ideology by Ian C. Parker: (1) a teleology--a vision of the ends or objectives of the society; (2) a mythology--an analysis of the society in relation to its environment; (3) a general program of action, indicating the direction the society must take in order to realize its objectives; (4) communication of the ideological core; and (5) the guidelines for the implementation of the program. (Ian C. Parker, "Ideological and Economic Development in Tanzania," African Studies Review 15:1 (April 1972).)

⁴A. Auma-Osolo and Ng'weno Osolo-Nasubo, "Democratic African Socialism: An Account of African Communal Philosophy," African Studies Review 16:2 (September 1971).

⁵Julius K. Nyerere, Ujamaa--Essays on Socialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 12.

⁶Ibid., p. 110.

⁷Ibid., p. 97.

⁸Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁹Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁰See case studies of Ujamaa villages in J.H. Proctor, Building Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1971).

¹¹Nyerere, Ujamaa--Essays on Socialism, p. 129.

¹²Ibid., p. 59.

¹³Daniel Mbunda, "Adult Education in Tanzania--Life-long Process for National Development," conference paper (Paris: Unesco, 1972) (mimeograph).

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Julius K. Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," in Ujamaa--Essays on Socialism, p. 53.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸See Paul J. Mhaiki and Budd Hall, "The Integration of Adult Education in Tanzania" (Dar-es-Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1972) (mimeograph).

¹⁹Yusef Kasem, "The Relationship Between Formal and Nonformal Education--A Tanzanian Case Study" (Dar-es-Salaam: Department of Education, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1975) (mimeograph).

²⁰Mbunda, "Adult Education in Tanzania," p. 5.

²¹Mhaiki and Hall, "The Integration of Adult Education in Tanzania," p. 39.

C H A P T E R V I

TOWARDS RECASTING BASIC EDUCATION

The review of nonformal education and the contribution to education of three seminal thinkers on the role of education in society, educational strategy, organization and personnel offers new insights into the performance of Gandhian Basic Education and provides a basis for recasting the approach. In this chapter, the various strands of thought as well as practical examples are sought to be assessed, selected and unified in relation to their applicability to the needs of Basic Education. Recommendations follow a recapitulation and summary under separate headings, and finally, the future of Basic Education is reflected upon.

Reconceptualizing the Role of Education

Five aspects of the relationship of education to society, arising out of the discussions in the previous chapters, will be considered in reconceptualizing the role of education in social development: (1) the goals of development, (2) political and social structures, (3) reward structures, (4) linkage with development activities, and (5) oppressed groups.

Goals of Development

The following introductory passage from an article on change agent roles by Crowfoot and Chesler indicates the need for a careful examination of the value positions in planned change:

All planned change efforts imply a commitment to certain ends, adherence to a certain view of reality, and acceptance of certain modes of realizing those ends. Those assumptions constitute the conscious or unconscious bases for selecting specific courses of action and thus precede all tactical decisions. To the extent that change agents cannot identify those basic assumptions and their implications, they cannot explore the full range of effective strategies of change.¹

The problem of underdevelopment has been viewed, as described in Chapters III and IV, from different perspectives, resulting in divergent strategies. Paulo Freire, adopting the view of dependency theorists, sounds a warning that must precede, in the writer's view, any consideration of the relationship between social development and education. He warns against attributing to the educational system a power which it lacks, namely, of creating a society. He argues that "a radical transformation of the educational system is contingent upon the transformation of society."²

Against this backdrop, it can be seen that Gandhi had formulated the basics of a system that had no correspondence to the reality of the power structure operating in his country, before or after independence. That system of education was sought to be implemented in a political and eco-

conomic environment that ran counter to its basic assumptions. The contradictory paths followed by the planners of the national economy on the one hand, and the Gandhian education system on the other, constituted an important reason for the failure of the Basic Education approach.

The pattern of industrialization followed by the State demanded a new type of entrepreneur, manager and worker for whose training the traditional schools were eminently suited. This gave rise to the dual systems of education with unequal rewards attached to them. Basic Education, under the circumstances, was the wrong approach, and was probably accepted by the Government because of political reasons associated with peoples' venerated memory of Gandhi and its own inability to take over all educational institutions in the country.

A decision had to be taken whether the chosen path of development emphasized the quality of human relationships and the maximization of individual participation in the political process, or to subordinate this consideration to increasing the total wealth of the nation through a competitive modern economy. An ambivalence is easily detected in the concept of "mixed economy" adopted by the Indian planners in which the private and public sectors exist side by side. The recent move toward Gandhian planning in India augurs well for Basic Education, if that move will be attended by the necessary restructuring of the reward system in terms of em-

ployment and status.

A unifying philosophy of development that integrates various sectors like education in the total national planning, and aimed at producing a restructured society, such as the Ujamaa approach, is needed if Basic Education is to flourish in India. The political and economic environment that will foster Gandhi's system is a form of development that will maximize employment as well as self-reliance and which lays an emphasis on small industries. It will be rurally based with a concentration on agriculture.

However, the thrust of Indian development towards modernization has taken the country far toward building an infrastructure for industrial growth. And despite a belated emphasis on agriculture and small industry, the reality of the industrial presence and its needs will continue to demand students who could fill positions in the modern sector. It does not seem feasible or desirable, in this state of things, to have an exclusively handicraft technology. It was posited that Schumacher's intermediate technology fulfills the Gandhian objectives while maintaining scientific and technological expertise on a high level (Chapter II). Craft-training thus needs to be re-interpreted to include technology and scientific processes, besides agriculture which offers the greatest possibilities for training in rural India.

It is also possible to abolish any form of parallel

school systems at the primary level between the ages of six and fourteen, excepting the Basic Education model. Entry to higher education could be totally divorced from Basic school performance except that each student must have successfully completed the course in order to appear for further education. It is also true that most children at the age of fifteen are not in the job market. A relaxation of age limits and an emphasis on competencies (different for different courses of study) enables the students to enter the world of work, acquire experience, and then decide on the courses of study for a career of their choice. Thus, at the first level of education, the need to orient the school towards the entry requirements of higher education can be obviated. The system could then concentrate on achieving the moral, intellectual and physical competence that Gandhi desired for the young.

A Rural Bias

In any form of skill training, there will exist a wide disparity in performance standards, especially in schools with low resource levels. Rural schools are bound to produce inferior standards in terms of technical skills, but perform significantly better in areas related to agriculture. Given the emphasis on rural uplift and development recently evidenced in India, it is possible to increase the opportunities available in the rural areas for absorbing

Basic school graduates from the villages. Coombs suggests that rural candidates should be given priority consideration for jobs that occur in the expanding rural sector.

The recommendation contained in the report of the University Education Commission (1948-1949) on rural education, if implemented on a scale commensurate with development needs, will increase the prestige of the training given in rural areas. The recommendation indicated "an increasing range of quality, skill and training supplied through a system of rural colleges and universities."³

Social and Political Structures

Participation is identified by all three educators reviewed in the study as a vital element in development. Such participation is possible only when administrative and consultative mechanisms are established at the lower levels. This also means a devolution of power, with control over financial resources. Participation, to be genuine and effective, calls for local autonomy.

The value of participation is inherent in any democracy. Further, the success of any development effort ultimately rests on participation in decision-making--which is to state that development cannot be forced. The goal of decentralization is defeated if legislative enactments result only in administrative devices but no devolution of power or increase in the number of people sharing decision-

making power.

The creation of social and political structures cannot by itself bring about meaningful change. The two criteria mentioned by Stacy Churchill by which a true innovation is distinguished, is appropriate in this context:

First, no account should be taken of changes involving the simple displacement of individuals if the functions they vacate are not changed; similarly, the renaming of functions (or organizational units) without change of content cannot be considered. Secondly, the change should have as its objective the accomplishment of some goal that, independently of the change, constitutes an innovation in an educational sense; this excludes innovations resulting in simple increases in organizational efficiency measured in financial terms. . . .⁴

Linkage with Development

The systems view takes into account all activities within an area likely to contribute to development. Education forms an important component of an overall effort in an integrated development approach. Basic Education, by its very nature, involves training in the elements referred to as "minimum essential needs."

Linkage with development agencies accrues to Basic Education the expert services of trained personnel, equipment, organization and resources that until now have remained isolated from it. On the other hand, such an approach provides development agencies a direct access to children, and through them, their families. The views of the Assessment Committee on Basic Education (1956) of the Government of

India endorse the argument for linking education with other agencies operating in the rural areas:

The various official and non-official agencies engaged in village reconstruction have to be brought together, so that these and the Education Departments can cooperate in the development of Basic Education.⁵

The report mentions a number of such agencies, and states, "basic education and village reconstruction are one and the same to a considerable extent in our country."⁶

Oppressed Groups

The consideration of underdevelopment in Chapter IV highlighted dependency conditions of communities and nations directed from outside. Development, as was seen, must be man-centered as much as it is production-centered. It calls for the development of qualities of self-determination and the ability to identify problems critically and undertake organized action to overcome them. On the other hand, prescribed development from outside carries with it the value perspectives of the outside agencies, and does not endow the local population or sections of the population with the capacity to be self-directive. The danger is that external perspectives and group or class considerations might harmfully affect the interests of the target population.

The possibilities for misuse of education in prescribing NFE (or craft and trade training) also exists if such training is interpreted to mean the continuation of

these trades associated with caste occupations hereditarily handed down from father to son. Unwittingly, planners may decide on courses of action that affirm rather than dispel disparities and oppression. As Gandhi had himself waged a national campaign against caste discrimination, his system of education should reflect in its long-term consequences the benefits of freedom from such oppression.

Salamatullah, the Indian educator recognized as an authority on Basic Education, wrote:

Educationally we have one more obstacle in the path of democracy in our country. Those who belong to the lower castes and are called untouchables have, for long, been deprived of educational facilities. Their children have been discriminated against socially, if not legally, in the matter of receiving education along with the so-called upper caste children. Basic Education aims at doing away with this injustice by insisting upon admitting all children irrespective of their caste or creed.⁷

The true safety lies, it might be argued, not so much in guaranteed admission to schools, but in the ability of these groups to decide for themselves.

Caste is an internalized oppressive condition peculiar to India, and is compounded by class considerations. In an apparently sincere effort at raising the status of the much abused, long-suffering "harijans," the Indian Constitution conferred special privileges on them by allocating seats in the legislature, and reservations of places in public appointments and universities. That this has not helped by itself is evident today. Only when the oppressed learn to be

critically aware can they exercise their human and political rights. Freire's concept of massification is illustrated in the manipulation of the Harijans by leaders from their own ranks. An example is provided by a recent reference to their conditions in India Today:

At the time of the framing of the Indian Constitution an argument advanced in favor of reserving jobs for scheduled castes and tribes was that if even a small number from these sections got into positions of power, they would in turn work for the betterment of the oppressed sections of their own people. If not in Government jobs, at least in the legislatures they have been fully represented because of reserved quotas. Many have carved out powerful positions for themselves in the hierarchy of the country's complex political system. The extent to which this has helped their less fortunate brethren is open to question.⁸

The kind of development implicit in Gandhi's approach--the enhancement of human dignity, self-reliance and cooperation, non-violence and pursuit of truth--cannot be achieved by legislative action. It calls for the development of citizenship skills and critical perceptions on the part of the oppressed. Education's role is defined by the need of the people to be educated out of this internalized oppression, to endow them with the capacity to objectively analyze their own situations and then to take cooperative action on their own behalf. Social development should raise the quality of human relationships as much as its economic productivity.

Teaching-Learning Process

The instructional problems of Gandhian Basic Education, and the insights afforded by the review of nonformal education and its chief protagonists, can be stated under three headings: (1) didactic teaching methods; (2) impoverished learning environments; and (3) the principle of "correlation" in craft learning. Implicit in the craft-based approach were the Gandhian values of self-reliance, self-direction, and cooperation. It must also be stated that craft centered education was seen as a vehicle for integrating aspects of mental, physical and social development of the child.

The salient features of the learning strategies and approaches in Chapters II-V are assessed and presented in this section as possible bases for restructuring the process of teaching-learning in Gandhian schools. The insights afforded by the review are brought to bear on the pedagogical problems summarized above. The overall curricular organization is considered first, since it provides the framework for integrating the various elements of alternative strategies.

Integrating Formal and Nonformal Components

The integration of formal and nonformal components essentially means a division of the curriculum into a basic

"core" component provided in the classroom setting and an experiential component of out-of-school training. This enables educators to recast Gandhian Basic Education into a two-part system with preparatory intellectual training supplemented by occupational skills. Such a division resolves the tension created by the insistence that the schools achieve a level of mastery in craft or trade training when it is most suited to produce academic skills, and can only attempt to train children in crafts in a rudimentary fashion.

The needs of a practical (occupational) training are met from a range of learning experiences organized outside the school, drawing on the various development services and vocational pursuits. This integrated approach fulfills the goal of evolving (a) coherent learning systems, (b) a functional approach to education, and (c) a blending of formal and nonformal education.

Such an approach recognizes the need for teaching some subjects in a sequential manner, since progress depends on mastering basic skills and concepts. The development of skills in some disciplines presupposes an orderly progression, and any effort to impose a forced unity by subordinating the learning of these skills to the understanding of the why's and wherefore's of a craft is bound to fail. The history of Basic Education in India abundantly testifies to this.

The interdependence of the formal and nonformal as-

pects of education is recognized in this approach. It is now possible to look at the teaching-learning process in the classroom in order to effect changes in the rote-learning and textbook oriented approach.

Changing Didactical Teaching Methods--Process Orientation

The review of nonformal strategies and the contributions of Coombs, Freire and Nyerere has disclosed a number of processes and concepts for effecting changes in the teaching-learning behaviors of the Basic school.

Learner-centeredness. A significant departure from the traditional approaches to teaching is the emphasis placed in NFE on learning rather than schooling or even teaching. The movement towards process oriented methods in the concept of the "open classroom" lights the way for Basic schools.

The chief characteristic of this approach is the learner's increased control of his own learning process. The teacher becomes a resource person and a guide rather than his role as the sole dispenser of knowledge. Content-orientation, reflected in the teacher-and-textbook, must give way to a process orientation that emphasizes learning how to learn.

The change in emphasis from teaching to learning defines the role of the teacher as one who arranges the learning environment and guides the interaction of the learner

with it. The teacher's role becomes one of facilitating the process.

Training for teacher-facilitators. As demonstrated by the Ecuador Project (Chapter II), it is possible to train teachers, evolve materials and processes in an impoverished educational environment such as the Andean rural settlements. Further, the process of training does not rely on expensive materials.

The strategies for training ordinary villagers to assume the role of facilitators are of short duration, lasting from two to three weeks. Such training requires follow-up services with trainees establishing a close relationship with the training center. Lack of resources and modesty of means is thus no barrier to the retraining of teachers for a process-oriented approach.

Conscientization. The purposes to which conscientization can be put in the Indian schools are fundamentally different from the organization of the oppressed to undertake action for their liberation. Basically, conscientization is an educational method that can be effectively employed in changing teacher behaviors. The authoritarian pattern of teacher behaviors in India are reinforced by the culture of a paternalistic, hierarchical society. Changes in attitudes and behaviors on the part of students and teachers thus call for a fundamental transformation of their perception of the

educational process. The psycho-social method of Freire seems to achieve critical changes as a result of changed perceptions of the self and social reality. Although this raises the fundamental question of whether the conscientization process can be transferred across cultures, the pedagogical process itself acts to heighten awareness, learner participation, and to evolve learner-derived curriculums. Thus it is possible to train a new type of teacher-facilitator for students to effect changes in the classroom practice. Gandhi's statement that the schools had produced moral and intellectual cripples all over the country sprang from the mindless drudgery of traditional rote learning in the classroom. The process of conscientization redirects the role of the teacher and students to a critical understanding of reality. In the primary school, the effect of this process is to increase student curiosity, initiative and inquiry.

Increasing the range of alternatives. Most NFE offerings examined in the study consist of short courses and learning modules presented through a variety of training programs. Generally, these were out-of-school experiences. However, the Basic school could be the place where many of these training programs could be conducted if special equipment was not required. The extension services and the programs for literacy, cooperatives, and health services are

examples of short term educational programs that could be tailored for the Basic school. Indeed, in the Ujamaa villages the school acts as the center from which many such programs are disseminated.

In order to absorb such a variety of programs, the curriculum of the school must be flexible, losing some of the rigidity enforced by strict adherence to State syllabus requirements. Again, each of these programs needs to be assessed, selected and filtered for their relevance, content and style. Hence it is necessary that the agencies that operate in villages and cities coordinate an organized program in schools. The lone teacher in the village school cannot be expected to organize a systematic program involving many agencies and organizations.

Varying teaching approaches. The problem-solving approaches using locally prepared materials and related to the problems and concerns of the community (as in Thailand's functional literacy program) are seen to move away from the content irrelevancies and rigidities of traditional methods. Such an approach calls for regionalization of the curriculum planning process, a factor that will be considered under 'organization.'

The use of simulation games, especially as developed by the University of Massachusetts' Ecuador Project (Chapter II) promises to make the learning-teaching process not only

learner-centered, but highly motivating to learners who are easily involved as participants. Since the process is learner-controlled, it fulfills the goal of learner participation and active learning as opposed to the passive rote learning methods. The introduction of games and simulations into schools in India needs study, analysis and development so that it accords with the culture and needs of Basic school students.

The out-of-school science clubs promoted by Unesco have been found to be remarkably successful in India, and the inquiry method (or problem posing) is found to release immense self-motivated enthusiasm. The advantages of the science club approach is that it teaches a scientific method, and secondly, it is something done, not just read, and thirdly, it can be guided to result in a finished product or conclusion. Allied to small-scale technology, the science process can meet the criteria of Gandhi that education should involve the mind, body and attitudes. Such scientific projects could be linked to agriculture, health and rudimentary technology.

Enhancing Impoverished Learning Environments

Lack of educational resources, especially in the rural Basic schools, must be held as one of the chief reasons for low performance standards. The review of NFE programs

and the ideas of Coombs point to three factors that need to be considered in order to achieve realistic changes within the available resources: innovation, research, and identification of all possible learning opportunities in an educational inventory.

Innovation. The crucial factor in the improvement of learning in Basic schools is cost. It was seen in the study that within this limitation it is possible to innovate processes and materials (Ecuador Project, Chapter II). Among the innovations that need to be accomplished are:

1. Low cost learning materials, preferably produced on a regional basis;
2. Use of media, which in India invariably means the radio. Broadcasts supplemented by print materials (ACPO in Columbia) or posters (Tanzania) greatly enhance instructional quality. The educational radio services that now exist must be qualitatively developed and expanded to provide a service integral to the Basic school's curriculum.

Innovations create resources where none existed before. Since it is highly situation-specific, teachers and educational administrators need to be trained in innovative approaches through regular contact with a regional center for education.

Research. Coombs identifies research as one of the tools in modernizing the learning process. Pre-eminent among the needs of the Basic school is to effectively supplement the "talk and chalk" oral instruction with individualized

learning strategies. This calls for "action research" to test various learning packages, visual aids and radio software. Coombs also refers to the possible use of communication technology in overcoming the total reliance on the face-to-face oral teaching methods.

A systems view of learning opportunities. The redefinition of education as learning in all its aspects, and freeing it from the concept of education as schooling, has enabled NFE to identify numerous programs with educational components. It is possible to identify all resources within a community, as well as the services rendered by public and voluntary agencies to provide a range of learning options for children.

Although many of such programs have been reviewed by ICED for the Unicef study (1973) for the purpose of providing some form of education for those who have had no schooling, the value of NFE programs chiefly resides in the fact that they are short-term, unstructured for the most part, and non-traditional. The structure provided by the Basic school make of NFE activities valuable supplementary education. These activities must be assessed, sorted out, selected and organized for fulfilling fundamental objectives of the Basic curriculum.

Correlation and Craft Training

The problem of "correlation," it was observed, could be resolved by a two-part curriculum that met the objectives of intellectual as well as occupational training. Some disciplines are best learned by sequential development of skills, and progress in a subject like math presupposes the mastering of basic concepts and computation. Correlation is possible only in related areas such as the relating of geography with the history and development of a culture. It is in such areas that correlation may be achieved. Since it was originally put forward as a device to integrate various subject matters that were taught in water-tight compartments, it is appropriate to cite a few examples from this study where such integration is possible.

Freirean programs offer a conceptual mechanism in their program development--experience-reflection-action--which can be used in bridging the experience provided in a work setting with reflective discussion and follow-up in the classroom, thus providing the theoretical basis and understanding of a problem worked on earlier.

In the Rural Training Centers of Senegal, agricultural education is geared to the crop patterns and ecological conditions of the participants' home area, and the whole course is organized around a full crop cycle. The classroom work stresses discussion in place of lectures. In the Gand-

hian sense, this program is perfectly correlated, but poses difficulties in the Basic school where teaching requires some form of structure and sequence. Hence, a bifurcation of the intellectual and practical aspects of the curriculum was proposed earlier.

The values of craft-based education. In any reorganization of Basic Education, due recognition must be accorded to the underlying values of the approach. Gandhi postulated the training of children in the values of cooperation and self-reliance, not unlike the approach of Nyerere. Additionally, Gandhi also wanted to counter the educated person's disdain and contempt for manual work. The vehicle that Gandhi chose was correlated craft training. It is possible now to analyze the 'hidden curriculum' of schools to determine whether the process of 'structural socialization' actually transmits these values. It appears simplistic to express a hope that training in craft skills will lead to the development of traits such as self-reliance and cooperation.

Freirean process helps analyze the "system" and its actual workings rather than the symptoms. In the case of the school it needs to be analyzed whether the rules and roles favor a competitive, arbitrary exercise of power or whether the structure rewards and fosters a cooperative personality. Similarly, the environment of the school needs to

be analyzed to determine whether it engenders self-reliance and independence.

NFE approaches have also stressed these values in programs such as the Khit-pen and the Freirean programs. Both aim to develop a critical consciousness in learners that hopefully results in an objective appraisal of a problem, determining choices among alternatives, and initiating a course of action. It is to the system or structure of socialization patterns in schools that we must turn our attention for transmission of values, in addition to the occupational skills.

Training in productive skills. To be true to Gandhian goals of education, children need to be trained in a productive skill that could be potentially useful in the economic sense. Self-reliance springs from economic independence, and the learning of a craft or trade skill should be related to acquiring the means of livelihood. Incidentally it also fulfills the goal of exposure to manual work.

Organizational Framework

The evolution of a system based on the complementarity of formal and nonformal education calls for organizational innovations that are different in their workings from the previous setup that administered formal institutions. In this section, the three organizational concepts of Coombs, Peru-

vian educational re-organization and that of Nyerere are restated as possible patterns for recasting the administrative delivery system for Basic Education.

Coombs

The general outlines of his suggestions are the evolution of a national policy, the setting up of local mechanisms, and situational planning which he terms as 'micro planning jobs.' The need for a uniform national policy, one that did not discriminate the Basic Education system by allowing dual systems of schooling, is evident. Another reason for a national policy is the poor assistance and recognition given to nonformal educational activities. The organizing of a shadow system of NFE training for children needs the active involvement and support of all Government agencies and voluntary organizations, and a clearly articulated national policy on education provides the directive principles under which assistance will flow to educators and institutions of learning.

His argument that local councils should be set up is followed up by suggestions that there should be a devolution of authority and resources to these local councils. Further, they should have an in-built mechanism for local participation. These councils are to be assisted in their performance by a professional cadre of trained educational planners.

The local councils, commanding authority and re-

sources, are at the district or sub-district level and they must be helped to create plans taking into consideration particular potentialities and constraints of its area. These plans are dove-tailed with national or regional development plans since these generate opportunities for training and resources. Continuous evaluation and feedback for monitoring progress or the lack of it is stressed.

The Peruvian System

This pattern (Chapter II) adopted for the entire country by Peru reflects many of Coombs' suggestions. Again, the Peruvian educational reform has combined the formal and nonformal elements in its approach.

In spite of its close resemblance to the methodology set forth by Coombs, the Peruvian innovation is Freirean in its inspiration and workings. Its principal features are given in point form for emphasis and restatement:

- a. An area is designated as an educational planning unit. The area unit is defined with a view to the resources and distance necessary to form a nucleus.
- b. A community organization is then formed with representatives from teachers, workers, parents, et al.
- c. A central or pivotal education center is established. This base is chosen for its level of resources (equipment, laboratories, workshops, etc.). The centers are assisted by a team of four specialists.
- d. The specialists (educational promotion team) gather demographic and economic data. They then

begin a process of Freirean dialogue armed with this 'educational map' with the key members of the local community. This 'participatory survey' identifies present difficulties and analyzes ways of overcoming them.

A recent Unesco study by Stacy Churchill⁹ highly commends the results as well as the methodology used by the Peruvian educators. The Peruvian system was also a basic education course supplemented by NFE training.

Nyerere

Two elements stand out in the survey of Ujamaa schools--the school-with-a-farm approach and the use of the school as a multi-purpose center by various agencies concerned with development. The importance of this model to Indian villages is obvious. Where physical distance and other problems arise that prevent an effective organization of NFE learning opportunities, the school can rely on the farm as a demonstration plot, and supplement this training with short courses presented by Government agencies. The Ujamaa schools are also assisted by community participation in many of its undertakings.

In summary, the organizational features most likely to support a complementary system of formal and nonformal education are summarized and restated from the study. These suggestions will be presented in the form of recommendations and conclusions.

These organizational arrangements, involving as they

do significant decentralization and devolution of power and resources, must not be subverted to be meaningless in the actual exercise of their functions. In discussing the role of local units as centers of administration, L. Mukherjee traces the history of local administration in India thus:

At first there were no adequate arrangements for their guidance and supervision, and later when these were introduced, they were more to safeguard the interests of the ruling power than serve the real interests of the people. They were also inadequately financed. The way in which the committees were composed, did not attract suitable talents in them. And lastly, the district boards were units which were too large as to call for effective popular participation. The control was dual, a part of the authority being vested in the committees and another part of the control rested with the government inspecting authorities.¹⁰

It can be readily seen that the suggestions of Coombs as well as the other two examples from Peru and Tanzania that they constitute a true innovation in the sense that they are not simple renaming of functions without a real change of content or power. To be effective, the devolution of power must be accompanied by adequate resources, and as the observation of Mukherjee shows, the local control and participation must not be subject to indirect external control in such ways that it nullifies the effects of participation and decentralization.

Such arrangements as are implied in decentralized units of educational subdistricts has far-reaching implications for curriculum development. The present arrangement is a highly centralized State-wide syllabus for all schools

with guidelines on craft education. In an integrated formal and nonformal arrangement, curriculum planning is dependent on situation-specific factors. Local units in the examples of Coombs as well as the Peruvian educational innovation, it must be reiterated, are assisted by a professional cadre of educational planners in this respect.

Personnel

It was stated in Chapter I that one of the key problems that beset the implementation of Basic Education was the quality and training of teachers. In this category we must also include the educational administrator who had the same orientation as teachers in their resistance to innovation and a tendency towards bureaucratic behavior. The study revealed strategies of training as well as new sources of personnel to effectively implement the goals of an educational program that sought to lend dynamism to the classroom process as well as to impart productive skills. In this section, the various factors will be summarized under headings.

The Problem of Traditional Teachers

As stated earlier, the teachers of Basic schools were unmotivated persons who tended to reproduce the methods to which they themselves were subjected as children. A background of poor general education was not compensated by the training they received in teacher training colleges whose

content and methods were formal and outdated. The salary levels of teachers were not such as to attract the best to the profession. What does the study indicate as possible answers to this problem?

Given the paucity of funds, a perennial problem of developing countries, NFE strategies of short term, process-oriented courses seem to be appropriate. Many of these courses are recurrent, and take the form of in-service training. Different levels of courses are offered at regular intervals--a method that has been found to be especially productive in fields other than education as well.

It was also seen in the study that the movement is towards process-oriented teachers or facilitators who adopt a learner-centered approach to their teaching. The NFE field is particularly rich in training strategems and has been found to be effective, as witnessed by the Ecuador project personnel. The new training methodologies owe their inspiration to Freire and the invention of small and large group processes developed for communication technologies.

The emerging factors in the study clearly indicate the need for taking advantage of the rationale, the processes and techniques evolved in a movement towards humanizing the teaching-learning process of traditional schools. That a transformation can be achieved in the teaching behaviors is a conclusion reinforced by recent developments in the field.

Skill Training Personnel

In addition to his/her other teaching duties, the teacher in the Basic school was also expected to train children in the processes of a craft. The short duration of the teacher's own exposure to craft skills, the lack of supplies, and the fact that many schools were single teacher institutions eventually forced the authorities to abandon craft-centered education in Basic schools. The approach of educational critics who chartered alternative strategies to the formal classroom methods as well as that of the practitioners of NFE, the review reveals, is two-fold: firstly, many options are provided in a cafeteria approach, using networks of indigenous and modern apprenticeships as well as centralized community training in selected skills. The more enterprising among them are linked to a market which absorbs their produce and skills (as in Swaneng Hill, Botswana); secondly, non-professional staff constitute a resource that until recently has not been tapped for the purposes of instruction in schools. Traditional craftsmen, mechanics and factory hands and people with skills, have been used in training programs. Coombs suggests that these skilled people must be brought into education to perform essential services. One of his suggestions is the use of volunteers by specially training them in pedagogical methods so that they can effectively teach their skills.

Essentially, the NFE approach employs certified as well as non-certified personnel on the basis of their expertise to supplement or complement the training facilities available in the area. The need for backstopping services to integrate these resource people is also underlined.

Systems Planners

A cadre of planners who can take a systems view of learning needs and opportunities to achieve a coherent system of education with formal and nonformal components is integral to a re-organized, decentralized approach. Such persons need to have evaluation skills and a broad vision to be able to innovate. It is clear that many of the local bodies need expert services of these planners/innovators to identify, assess and integrate various opportunities into a systematic educational service that achieves the goal of providing intellectual and occupational skills.

Recommendations

Reconceptualizing Educational Goals in Social Development

1. In so far as the basic motivation for schooling is related to employment opportunities, the actual direction of the growth of the economy must indicate the objectives of Basic Education. The priorities of national development and that of Basic Education must achieve a fit. Craft

education can no longer fit the needs of a modernizing economy that has already absorbed substantial technical advances.

2. Education for self-reliance essentially refers to the ability of the learner to equip him/herself with skills for economic activity. Therefore, the whole range of technical, agricultural and other occupational skills must gradually replace the concept of craft education.

3. Educational planners concerned with Basic Education must shed the platitudinal assumptions and references that a new society can be created by a new approach in the curriculum of schools. A systemic analysis needs to be undertaken to lay bare the reward structure operating in the economy and society at large. The error of evolving objectives for Basic Education that ran counter to the motivations of the parents and children must be given up.

4. A uniform system of education for children, including a competency-based examination that certifies successful candidates regardless of whether they were regular students, members of adult and nonformal education groups or self-learners needs to be introduced for the entire country. Thus at least in the primary stage of education, a measure of equalized opportunity will be realized. (It should be remembered that Basic Education was accused of constituting a class education for the economically weaker sections of the population.)

5. The rewards in the form of job opportunity in the

rural sector should be increased, with a preference for candidates from rural areas.

6. Along with the emphasis on rural and agricultural development, the number and quality of educational institutions in rural areas must increase, thereby increasing the prestige of the training received in rural institutions.

7. The form of development such as Gandhi envisaged calls for the creation of autonomous local councils with authority and power. Self-reliance and self-governance must be reflected in participatory mechanisms that ensure the representation of more and varied sections of the population.

8. As in the Ujamaa model, the work of the local councils need to be aided and guided by the civil service in such ways that they reinforce local decision-making.

9. Basic Education should be an integral part of all development efforts. Responsibility for aspects of the Basic Education program, for both school children as well as adults, needs to be assigned to various departments and agencies. Such an arrangement calls for the creation of educational councils on which teachers must be represented along with local leaders and development officials.

10. The existence of oppressed groups, and particularly the all-pervasive caste system, bespeak of a condition that affects both the oppressor and the oppressed. This problem needs to be confronted rather than avoided in education--an education that should enable the learners to free themselves

of deep-seated prejudices and assumptions by a clear apprehension of the nature of this internalized "oppression." (It will be noted that the Freirean consciousness-raising is used to create an awareness of racism in the United States.) Concomitantly, the oppressed need to be educated out of a dehumanizing self-image of themselves and a fatalism born of caste beliefs so that they can be able to organize themselves and act on their citizenship rights in the democratic system.

Teaching-Learning Strategies

1. Accommodating productive activities is best achieved by evolving a complementary nonformal out-of-school system. This calls for a two-part curriculum consisting of a "core" intellectual component and nonformal skill training. This model recognizes the interdependence of the formal and the nonformal aspects of a total education system. A structured "core" curriculum and a flexible experiential curriculum should co-exist as two wings of Basic Education.

2. Teachers of Basic schools should be trained/re-trained for transforming teacher behaviors. Given the similarities of a lack of resources and a rural environment, the model of training developed by the Ecuador Project (1971-1975) is recommended. It is a cost-benefit, effective change strategy for training teachers towards a process-oriented approach.

3. The "conscientization" process of Freire should be adapted to Indian conditions for changing the role perceptions of teachers. Further research is necessary in determining the elements of the process that are suited for Indian conditions.

4. In place of the rigid, centrally evolved syllabus, flexibility must be allowed for each school and educational district to take advantage of learning opportunities created by development activities and unplanned events such as the presence in the area of skilled personnel for brief periods of time. Some funds need to be allocated for such "extra-curricular" activities.

5. The development of resources and trying out of processes should be conducted by a regional education development center that combines action-research with materials development. These regional centers for innovation will be able to identify problems and assist in evolving or adapting materials and processes. The adaptation of communication technologies to modernize the teaching process within the context of resource limitations should act as backstopping services to spread educational innovations and sustain learner-centered approaches in schools.

6. The values of self-reliance and cooperation should be an integral part of the school's structure in terms of its rules, roles of individuals within it, and reward systems. In particular, group efforts that emphasize collabora-

tion and sharing should be emphasized. Research should be undertaken on the adaptation of group processes that encourage learner-orientation, initiative on the part of the learners, and cooperation. Although the area of group processes is well researched, its adaptation and implementation according to the environmental and cultural characteristics needs to be undertaken.

7. While recognizing the need for structure in the teaching and learning of certain disciplines, the concept of "correlation" could be undertaken in those areas in which the theoretical discussions/class work have a direct bearing with productive work or training. In such instances, class teaching will reinforce practical experience and the learning of concepts.

8. The acquisition of a productive skill should be made compulsory for children, while the how and where could be left to parents if they chose to provide such training on their own. However, as the out-of-school component of the school will be organized on a community-wide basis, some form of competency-based recognition system--certification, medals (as in the award of badges for Boy Scouts) could be gradually evolved. The reason for this is that without such a requirement for skill training, parents and the community indifference may dilute this aspect of education altogether, as had happened in the past.

9. In a country largely rural and agricultural such

as India, the linking of productive skills taught in the school to scientific farming and agricultural pursuits is important. Even if the organization of the out-of-school component provides problems, the school-with-farm model (Tanzania) provides the greatest potential for scientific and productive work. In this undertaking, the role of the agricultural departments and colleges of agriculture will be greatly increased. The value of such an approach is that it is at once practical and meets immediate needs of the village communities.

Organizational Aspects

1. The decentralization of educational decision-making at the level of the sub-district or below is essential for evolving local plans and collaboration of various agencies in the reorganization of Basic Education. Small, manageable and "compact" areas need to be designated as area planning units.

2. Local participation in planning the components of an experiential education (especially productive activities related to the economy), should be an integral part of the planning process. Teachers should be represented on such councils along with key individuals in the community/area.

3. The local planning councils of area planning units should be assisted by a team of specialists (broad-gauged planners as Coombs calls them).

4. The integration of development services with the Basic school curriculum must form an essential activity of the local education councils. The maintenance of a demonstration farm in the vicinity of school by the agricultural extension service is one example of the possibilities.

5. Wherever possible, mobile teams for training learners in selected occupational skills or for training teachers and providing backstopping services in the organization of skill training could be arranged.

6. Local councils should adopt "situational planning" methods described in Chapter II. The experience of Peru should be studied carefully with a view to adopting that approach. A key component of such planning is needs analysis--which is best done through the participatory approach.

Personnel

1. Retraining of traditional teachers in learner-centered approaches as facilitators and resource persons must be undertaken on a regional basis. Such training could be provided in regional centers as in-service courses.

2. Non-professional staff need to be involved in the teaching of productive work skills. Master craftsmen, model farmers, mechanics, electricians, et al., could act as part-time instructors or train students in their places of work.

3. Volunteers who are the source of innumerable ac-

tivities in every country, could be used in a reconstituted educational system. Many voluntary organizations utilize service motives of people. Retired persons, women and unemployed or partially employed people with skills could be used in schools. These volunteers could be given brief training in methods of teaching.

4. A corps of educational planners to undertake "situational planning" to provide leadership and innovation should be selected. Following the suggestion of Coombs (1973) these planners should be selected from various disciplines and Ministries/departments for their ability to evolve a coherent system of educational opportunities by taking a broad view of education.

5. Teacher-training colleges should introduce concepts of nonformal education planning and organization to train a new type of teacher, one who will be able to provide a setting in Basic schools for creativity and initiative for children. The implications of a learner-centered approach for the training given at teacher training institutions must result in process-oriented methodologies.

The Future of Gandhian Basic Education

A new lease on life for the Gandhian system is a promise held out by the Government of India's renewed emphasis on Basic Education and the tenets of Gandhi. The new forms it will take, and the compromises with the early ap-

proaches to significant aspects such as craft training, will make of it a more practical proposition. The experiences of the past, the difficulties and opposition encountered since its inception, will make a reformulated strategy less oriented to achieving fundamental changes in the character of learners and society, and more inclined to grappling with problems of achieving a qualitative change in the teaching-learning behaviors, organizational features and the caliber of its personnel.

Nonformal education as a complementary shadow system to achieve outside the school what proved impractical within its walls is in itself a complicated proposition, dependent on highly situation-specific factors. But hopes for its adoption and eventual full-scale implementation are based on the realities of today, namely, that no school can fully serve the learning needs of a rapidly changing society and an unprecedented explosion of knowledge.

Gandhi's articulation of an education for non-violence, self-reliance and cooperation has retained its inspirational quality for educators despite the vicissitudes of Basic Education's checkered past. Many reformulations of the approach will undoubtedly be attempted in the future. The trying out of nonformal education to supplement and complement classroom learning could well be a significant part of its evolution.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER VI

¹James E. Crowfoot and Mark A. Chesler, "Contemporary Perspectives on Planned Change: A Comparison," Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences 10:3 (1974):278.

²Paulo Freire, "Are Adult Literacy Programmes Neutral?", Symposium (3-8 September 1975).

³B.D. Bhatt and J.C. Aggarwal, Educational Documents in India (New Delhi: Arya Book Depot, 1969), p. 119.

⁴Stacey Churchil, The Peruvian Educational Reform (Paris: Unesco, 1976).

⁵Bhatt and Aggarwal, p. 176.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Salamatullah, Thoughts on Basic Education (New York: Allied Publishers, 1963), p. 6.

⁸News Item in India Today, New Delhi (1-15 December 1977), p. 81.

⁹Stacey Churchil.

¹⁰L. Mukherjee, Problems of Administration of Education in India (Lucknow, India: Lucknow Publishing House, 1970), p. 95.

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