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Crucial elements for nonformal and formal educational planning in developing countries.

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CRUCIAL ELEMENTS FOR NONFORMAL AND FORMAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

A Dissertation Presented

By

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To all those "ignorant peasants" who grew corn while I attended school.

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ABSTRACT

Crucial Elements for Nonformal and Formal Educational Planning in Developing Countries

(February 1982)

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Since the Second World War, and especially since the sixties, the development of the educational system has been one of the top priorities in the agenda of Third World countries. The diagnosis of the situation of the so called "backward countries" pinpointed the lack of education as one of the important factors explaining the countless problems of underdevelopment. This interpretation of the problem was the rationale for the massive expansion of the formal education model at the national and international level.

The basic assumption was that the pressing need for economic development on the part of the underdeveloped countries hardly could be achieved unless great portions of their population were exposed to the type of knowledge, attitudes and skills offered by the formal education system.

By the end of the sixties decade, the limitations of this educational model and of its planning techniques had already emerged, despite the great economic efforts made by developing countries, and

the financial and technical assistance of bilateral and multilateral organizations.

In this context, nonformal education emerges as an educational strategy for development, aimed at helping to solve socio-economic problems, mainly in rural areas, that cannot be addressed by the formal education system. The widespread use of a number of educational activities enhances the suitability of this approach to the specific needs of developing countries, while at the same time raises a number of questions about the relationship between this type of education and the formal model.

The present work deals with the relationship of these two educational approaches and their role in the development process. This work shows that the question about how these two approaches can be better developed and planned cannot be correctly addressed from the mere technical point of view nor from a sectoral perspective, but rather this issue has to be analyzed from the broader perspetive of a suitable and feasible national development model.

Thus, within the historical context of the last three decades, this study deals with a) the description and assumptions of formal education planning, as well as the most common approaches in nonformal education, b) the problems still faced by developing countries, in light of these educational practices, c) the type of contextual variables that have to be taken into account for defining the type of relationship between formal and nonformal education, d) the way

in which four developing countries have tried to implement both educational models as a part of their national strategy for development.

This research brings us to the conclusion that the type of education as well as the best ways to plan it must derive from a redefinition of the development model appropriate to each developing country. An analytical framework is proposed to point out the whole range of variables to be considered in such an effort.

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SOCIAL PLANNING AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

General Introduction

Statement of the problem. When the United Nations launched the First and Second Development Decades, in 1960 and 1970 respectively, the urgent goal to be achieved for overcoming Third World problems was social and economic growth. Socioeconomic indicators and targets were elaborately defined, and massive financial and technical help was promised by the already "developed" countries. And yet today, the situation in the Third World remains largely unchanged. This is so in spite of some successes in a few "developing" countries, demonstrated by increase in gross national product. In others, the situation has worsened, due to population increase, unfair trade patterns and national debt, among other problems.

The international effort for development of the Third World gave education a key role. The connection between education and development was seen as so close that the question of which was responsible for which still remains a matter of debate. The development strategy as defined at the time, and which is still largely supported, had two objectives: a) to increase economic output by diversifying economic activity towards "modernization" patterns,

and b) to increase the number of people exposed to school. It was believed that the more the economy grew and diversified, the more there was need for education to provide an adequate supply of qualified people for the economic sector--who, in turn, would contribute to growth and diversification.

Based on these premises, considerable amounts of money were poured into the educational sector, mostly at the secondary and higher educational levels. The increasing number of educational facilities was regarded as a clear sign of "progress". The role of schooling was to promote and legitimize social mobility.

This triggered an unprecedent demand for educational services. Thus, educational planning, in terms of forecasting demand and resource allocation at the different education levels, was seen as a necessary step to cope with the problems originating in an increasing demand for schooling, and in the limited availability of resources for this cause.

Despite the undeniable change that this educational strategy has brought to many people in developing countries in terms of type of work, consumption patterns and health conditions, several factors are putting a great deal of pressure on the traditional formal education system: for example, the nation's financial constraints, population growth, the high unemployment rate even among "educated" people, rural migration to the cities where most economic and educational opportunities are available, complex social structures, etc. Therefore, schooling can no longer be regarded as the only

feasible delivery system to cope with the total educational needs of the developing countries.

As a result of this situation, a new set of issues and problems have arisen as to what kind of education is needed, how and by whom it must be delivered, and what the implications are for a new approach in educational planning.

Nonformal education is a generic name for all those educational efforts outside the formal system that increasingly have been implemented in response to the above mentioned problems. Some of the appealing characteristics of this approach are its flexible methodology, its suitability to specific educational needs, its short-term attainments, its supposedly relative low cost, etc. So, if this new educational thrust is appropriate, as it now seems, for developing countries, serious and valid questions arise as to its relation to formal education. Is it possible that these two models can together fulfill the educational needs, not just those needs related to a nation's socio-economic structure, but also the felt needs of the people themselves? What elements must be analyzed to better understand the potential relationship between these two educational modes?

If planning encompasses coordination between these two models, what important variables will shape that relationship?

Where should one look for those elements which will define the nature of this relationship? Can they be found in the pedagogical and structural particularities of the two models? In their curriculum

content? In the social reward system? Are they be to found in the relevance of the type of training produced by each model to national priorities? And if so, by whom are these priorities defined? Are they dependent upon whether a specific socio-economic structure has to be reinforced or, on the contrary, whether a new one has to be created? In short, is the nature of this relationship primarily financial, technical and administrative, or does it require substantial political decisions?

Of course, correct and undebatable answers for these questions are far beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless an exploratory step seems possible and necessary in light of the current contradictions faced by the two models and the urgent need to find suitable formulas for educational problems. A serious attempt towards development can hardly exist without clear coordination of purpose among the different ways in which knowledge, skills and new attitudes are provided in the name of education.

Purpose and significance of the study. The purpose of this study is to explore those elements that must be taken into consideration in whatever planning effort aimed at coordinating formal and nonformal education in the context of developing countries.

Given the fact that the nature and characteristics of the formal and nonformal education approaches are in many ways different and apparently in some instances even contradictory, it is very important to analyze in depth those conditions and assumptions which might help us to understand the nature of the relationship between

these two approaches and their implications for the field of educational planning.

Knowing more about the possibilities and constraints in trying to relate these two approaches will help to sooner reach the solutions for the great problems caused by the rigidity of the formal system and the lack of participation of an increasing number of people in the development task as a result of that situation.

It is also very important to make explicit the assumptions on which educational planning has been based and to point out the new set of assumptions on which the relationship between formal and nonformal education might be optimized for development purposes. Those whose responsibility it is to define educational policies in developing countries will be able to carry on their task in a more realistic and efficient way when the nature of the relationship between these two approaches is better understood.

Hopefully, this study will also broaden the concept of planning beyond the common concept of a mere "number game", since social planning in whatever instance is basically a political action by which social priorities and courses of action are defined and implemented.

Approach and organization of the study. This research is based upon written material about theoretical positions, descriptive analysis and practical experience that are related to the issue of educational planning for development.

As documentary research, the study is basically focused on the analysis of the roles given to formal and nonformal education for the purpose of fostering the development of Third World countries, during the last twenty five years. We have reviewed the way in which formal education has been planned as well as some examples of serious attempts to coordinate the formal and nonformal education models. This study addresses the way these activities have been carried out, their underlying assumptions and the results of such practices. This has been done by examining theory and practical experience as described in the literature on educational planning.

This study has used as historical background the two "United Nations Development Decades", since from the rationale and objectives of these strategies for international development, the emphasis and roles given to the educational models in those two decades can easily be understood.

The approach of this study assumes that objective analysis, valid conclusions and meaningful suggestions are perfectly possible when examining world-wide educational strategies, despite the lack of specificity which might be found, for instance, in a case-study on a particular country. Developing countries must consider the broad implications and complex problems of the relationship between education and development, so as to avoid simplistic and short-sighted solutions. Thus, the study purposely investigates a great variety of issues about the role, aims and implications of the educational activity.

Hopefully this analytical-historical review of the way in which formal educational planning and the practice of nonformal education have been carried out and the issues raised as a result of these practices will provide insights and hypotheses about the future of education in developing countries, as one of the major inputs for the development endeavor.

The study is organized in six chapters. Some deal with factual elements of the educational development in Third World countries, while others are focused on the analysis of the issues raised by such practices.

The remainder of this Chapter One addresses, first, issues about the nature of planning in general and its role in the broadest social context, and, second, issues and definitions about educational planning in particular.

Chapter Two focuses on the rationale and assumptions of the formal education planning and the practice of nonformal education, in the historical context of the last twenty five years. This provides us with a general overview of the main approaches that have been used in the area of educational development in developing countries.

Chapter Three deals with a number of problems still faced by developing countries, in light of the educational planning practices of the last two decades. It briefly suggests different analytical frameworks that might be used by researchers to approach the results of the educational development of that period. The study assesses the results of such development from the perspective of economic

and social problems, some of which can be explained by the nature of the formal education model itself, and some by the characteristics of the broader social context.

Chapter Four emphasizes the need for a new agenda for educational planning if current educational problems in developing countries are to be overcome. Some essential premises for this endeavor are discussed. The chapter, however, is mainly centered around some issues that necessarily have to be first addressed if meaningful national educational planning that includes formal and nonformal education is to be attempted. These issues are analyzed from the point of view of five variables: economic, social, political, psychological and cultural.

Chapter Five is intended to provide four examples of how formal and nonformal education have been related in a national educational strategy. The intention in presenting these four cases is in part to illustrate how such strategy has necessarily to deal with major aspects of the societal structure; and in part, to demonstrate how seriously some countries have considered nonformal education as a feasible educational model.

Chapter Six summarizes some of the major lessons that can be learned from recent practices in educational development, and concludes that the coordination of formal and nonformal education requires a redefinition and implementation of a development model suitable to the specific characteristics of each developing country. An analytical framework is presented with the main purpose of

suggesting the whole range of aspects that have to be dealt with, if meaningful development is to be achieved.

Conceptual Framework

This chapter approaches the issue of planning within the perspective of the broad social context. This perspective provides the conceptual framework for better understanding the nature of this activity, before a given plan is implemented in whatever specific field. It also may help to make explicit the relationship between the social project of whatever nation and the role played by education in the fulfillment of such a project, by means of educational planning.

Secondly, we will address some basic concepts about educational planning in general, and about formal and nonformal education in particular. This will provide the necessary conceptual tools to better understand the issues raised in this study.

A Definition of Planning

Finding a definition of planning is not a speculative exercise, nor an attempt to limit a complex activity within a few phrases. Rather our purpose is to arrive at some operational concepts, so we can delimit our discussion. This delimitation is very important in the case of planning because of the variety of instances in which this concept is used. Eugene V. Rostow states that planning is "one of the most ambiguous and misleading words in the vocabulary of our

times", widely applied to such different areas as, for example, the proposed activities of a welfare state, the zoning of a city, the means of increasing economic production, etc.[1] It is clear that the definition of planning will vary according to the different programmatic goals of this activity. In this sense, it is accurate to say that the purposes of any action are key elements of its definition.

The very notion of planning implies the concept of "rationality". In simple words, rationality is the mental capacity of making relations. Thus, the need for planning might come as a result of the different challenges faced by the human mind in a social context. Such challenges are, for example

a) complexity. When different social units increase and multiply, the need for understanding and interpreting such a dynamic increases.

b) organization. Once the multiple elements of a given social complex are known, there arises the need for coordinating its dynamic and, by doing so, for taking advantage of its potentialities.

c) cohesion. This concept expresses the need for creating those elements that make possible the organization of the social complex to be maintained and developed in accordance with its own nature and the ongoing flux of new needs.

d) purpose. This is the axiomatic need for a common orientation and sense of direction of any social complex.

At a more pragmatic level, planning is a response to specific needs, namely, decision-making, problem-solving, and the forecast of trends and events. From this perspective, social planning activity

can be seen as a process of applied reasoning aimed at determining and implementing social policies, and also oriented to the production and distribution of social goods and services.

Historically, at least in the immediate past, the concept of planning has been intimately related to elements such as state intervention in the affairs of social well-being, models of production and models of urbanization. In a critical review of the origins of planning in the U.S.A., Harvey Goldstein explains the relationship between state intervention and the consolidation of the industrial-capitalistic development model, as well as its role in trying to solve the social problems caused in the big cities by such a model. He puts it this way: "Planning as both an instrument of the state and private interests has assumed different historical roles according to the changing role of the state which is dependent upon the changing mode of social production."[2]

For Gunnar Myrdal, the phenomenon of social planning as it is known today had its immediate antecedent in the state intervention in the market forces, to become later the most important tool of the democratic welfare state, "with fairly explicit commitments to the broad goals of economic development, full employment, equality of opportunity for the young, social security and protected minimum standards as regards not only income, but nutrition, housing, health, and education, for people of all regions and social groups." State intervention in solving isolated social problems resulted in the need for a more global planning activity because of the increasing social

and economic problems that had to be met.[3]

For Robert Wilson, social utilitarianism has also been a rationale for planning, since modern urbanization, as a phenomenon reflecting the need of the industrial economic model for keeping the "social order through physical order", was the main concern of the founders of the American City Planning Institute in 1917.[4] Others have seen the intentions of the city planners as less self-interested: by planning the city, the wealth could be redistributed from some groups to other groups.[5]

At least among western industrial societies, it seems evident that state intervention in their development consisted, on the one hand, in implementing a number of policies to protect the accumulation of economic surplus, and, on the other hand, in implementing another set of policies to solve disfunctionalities created by such strategy.

The influence of the state regulatory function in the creation of current social models and the need for continuing to do so is self-evident. The question remaining is the way and the extent to which such intervention has to take place.

In the modern liberal-capitalistic societies, while the issue of ideology still remains implicit, the emphasis is on creating what is called the "rational society". This position assumes a basic agreement by society on the foundations of the social structure. In this case, the function of planning would be limited exclusively to resolving structural disfunctionalities in the most technical, efficient and "rational" way. H. Goldstein points out that in

advanced capitalistic societies, domination is rationalized thus: "Technologics such as systems analysis and decision theory rationalize choice by means of semi-automatic procedures and controls; their use, based upon the planning application of a concept of objective rationality, yields results which are often seen as objective necessities for the society".[6] He adds that "the potential for achieving a cybernetically planned society which, through complete domination and control (the "total" rationalization of society), would be able to sustain the capitalist order despite the ever-deepening crisis tendencies, is both very frightening and very real".[7]

All these considerations about some of the intentions of social planning are useful for the purpose of finding some operational concepts of planning activity. By the same token, let us now review a sample of definitions:

"Planning is the process of preparing a set of decisions for action in the future".[8]

Planning ". . . is, in essence, an organized, conscious and continual attempt to select the best available alternatives to achieve specific goals".[9]

"Planning may be defined as the control and guidance exerted upon the socio-economic system by the politically organized community in order to fulfill objectives considered desirable".[10]

"Planning is policy choice and programming in the light of facts, projections and application of values".[11]

Planning reflects the ". . . conscious attempts by a government of a

country--usually with the participation of other collective bodies--to coordinate public policies more rationally in order to reach more fully and rapidly the desirable ends for future development which are determined by the political process as it evolves."[12]

According to these definitions, there are several chief concepts implied about the nature and purpose of planning:

a) goal-oriented activity. The element of rationality implied in planning, in terms of causal relationship, requires that the planning action be oriented towards a given goal external to the process, or at least towards finding such a goal through the process.

b) elaboration of action policies resulting from a choice taken among multiple alternatives. Choosing specific policies among different alternatives implies, as a previous condition, both diagnosis of the reality wherein planning is to be implemented, and assessment and evaluation of the different choices, in light of a specific values scheme.

c) practical exercise of programming. The action policies have to be transformed into specific and operative programs in order to be implemented. For this to be possible, the assumptions upon which the working hypothesis is based have to be made explicit, along with the new social mechanisms that have to be created in order to make the program possible.

d) forecasting exercise. Planning assumes the feasibility of the desired outcome. Both the knowledge of the field in which planning is implemented and the prefixed goals serve as the framework by which

trends and new inputs are assessed, during the implementation stage.

e) scientific and technical activity. Collecting information, analyzing results, programming, implementing and evaluating all require a number of practical skills and well-elaborated technical-administrative instruments.

f) political exercise. The number of value judgments always implied in the planning process, plus the use and interpretation of the information needed for developing such process, are always influenced by the particular conception of society held by those who make decisions.

g) on-going exercise. If planning is to succeed, all the assumptions preceding the implementation stage have to be continuously tested and modified when necessary. Otherwise, planning becomes a useless exercise.

h) optimization exercise. Its intention is "to coordinate public policies" in a more rational way, so desirable ends will be reached "more fully and rapidly". Likewise, optimization implies the correct mobilization of social resources, both physical and human.

In short, planning as a rational exercise may be simply defined as "the process of determining goals and designing means by which the goals may be achieved".[13] However, this activity is not that simple when applied in the social realm.

Political and Technical Aspects of Planning

Social planning is an activity that implies both political and technical perspectives. Although requiring a different set of judgments, these perspectives are not opposite, but complementary. They must be balanced to avoid useless efforts and disappointing results.

From the political perspective, planning is tied to social values and priorities, concepts of common well-being, social goals, etc., in other words, the "why" of planning. On the other hand, from the technical point of view, planning focuses on "how" social goals and social policies are to be transformed into a programmatic level, according to specific areas.

Meaningful planning takes place within this political-technical dialectic. Planning is neither a matter of bureaucratic decree, nor of mere statistical exercise and computer print outs.

The success of planning depends both on a clear sense of direction and on the committed work by those involved.

Societal Planning Vis a Vis Social Programs

The degree of feasibility and complexity of planning is related to what Robert C. Young calls the "perimeter of concern" or "the bounds of the area of an actor's responsibility plus the area that will be affected by the carrying out of this responsibility."[14]

These concepts refer to two chief aspects in planning, namely, who is going to plan and what is going to be planned. To give a

right answer to these questions is not possible unless previous issues be addressed and defined, such as:

a) the planner's profile: skills, social awareness, moral authority, social role (technician or politician), professional credibility, legal authority, etc.

b) characteristics of what is to be planned: levels and extension of planning, needs analysis, goals setting, secondary effects forecast, etc.

In this same vein, John W. Dyckman, commenting on an unpublished work of Herbert Gans, states that societal planning "is much more difficult to treat since it entails some specifications of the goals of the society", while social programs "are farther along in the 'means' end of the means-ends continuum".[15]

This distinction is very important since it responds to "the need for a true social planning framework, in which to evaluate the social consequences of individual programs". Dyckman goes further on this matter by distinguishing "three operational meanings" of social planning:

a) At the societal planning level, it means selecting the social goals of the nation or state, and "setting of targets for their achievement".

b) At other levels, it means "the application of social values and action criteria to the assessment of programs undertaken in the pursuit of economic and political goals".

c) Finally, it means "social" programming or the traditional welfare activities carried on by public and private agencies. According to Dyckman, most social planning is framed in this last level, "without an adequately specified set of objectives at the first and second levels".[16]

Educational Planning

Determining the degree of necessity and feasibility of educational planning within a society greatly depends on the operational definition given to the "education" concept, for "education" is merely a general concept that certainly represents a number of different philosophies, processes, institutions, pedagogical theories, activities, etc. Therefore, educational planning as both concept and practice is a derivation of the chosen operational level and its delimitations.

In general, education implies the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes for the incorporation and participation of individuals within the society they live in. It is broadly accepted that through education a number of important national goals can be accomplished, namely, social and political cohesion, sense of nationality, equality of opportunities for success, modernization, economic development, compliance with a human right, etc. All these assumptions explain the positive connotation universally implied in the concept of "education".

These elements seem to be enough to justify the rational exercise of planning aimed to ensure the attainment of such goals in

the optimal way. In fact, the developing countries have been involved in educational planning for the last twenty five years, under a number of approaches and assumptions.

The broad question, however, is that of knowing what are those things that may be subject to planning and how the planning goal can be better attained. It seems reasonable to believe that the feasibility of educational planning depends to a great extent on the possibility of bridging the level of principles and objectives and the level of what is pragmatic and operational. It depends as well as on the clarification of major assumptions about the role of education. For instance:

a) If education is conceived as a continuous process through which individuals redefine and implement social objectives of interaction and conviviality, how does this happen? How does a society interpret itself? What kind of mechanisms make it possible for a society as a whole to have an objective understanding of its nature and of the things going on within it? How can it be assured that the inputs of each individual will be put into practice?

b) On the other hand, if education is conceived as being a sectoral activity that "produces" individuals with the necessary characteristics to reinforce a social system whose objectives have already been defined, how and by whom were such objectives defined? In what ways are they adapted to the ever-changing social reality? What kind of rules regulate the different sectors of the society (economic, political, social, etc.)? What are the most influential elements

which operationally define the type of individual "produced" by the educational sector?

c) Finally, if education is regarded as a compulsory welfare program provided by the Government, whose main purpose is to meet a universally accepted human right regardless of the future impact upon the individual, what are the criteria determining the amount of education provided? What are the conditions that create that "welfare approach" to education? Does it make any sense to provide an education unable to ensure real and meaningful individual participation within the society? How are these welfare type educational programs organized and evaluated? What type of criteria are used in selecting the target population? Who defines the educational content of these programs?

In any case, comprehensive educational planning has to deal with the following basic elements:

a) content. This concerns the type of knowledge important and relevant for the social group in order to enhance understanding of the social reality and to improve social interaction among the members of the community. This certainly implies the existence of a set of values and the definition of priorities. The question is, how can this be determined?

b) The target population. This concerns the relationship between specific groups of people and specific types of knowledge. Given the impossibility for each individual to know or do everything, the question is what are or should be the factors which define the role

a person has to play in the society as a result of knowledge and skills acquired through education?

c) pedagogy. This concerns the most effective and appropriate ways to learn, requiring knowledge of both the characteristics of the learner and of the subject matter to be learned. How are these determined, and how are those "ways to learn" to be organized? Further, how can it be assured that everybody have the real opportunity to be exposed to the number of ways to learn?

d) the reward system. This concerns the relationship between the type of education and economic and social rewards. This element is a key one since its characteristics have a considerable impact upon individual motivation, social demand for education and the use of personal and social/economic resources. Therefore it is important to make clear the relation among educational attainments, social roles and the rewards offered by the social system.

Thus, educational planning is a complex activity if it is seen within the broader context of meaningful and participative social planning. There should be at least two major steps in the educational planning activity. First, the definition of values, goals and priorities which may be called the "external dimension of planning" since they have to be in accordance with the broader societal goals, and second, the programmatic and operational level or the "internal dimension of planning" which defines the "how" of the activity, once the general direction has been established. The first step places

educational planning in an instrumental role for the achievement of the broader societal goals. This means that a sound social planning strategy necessarily must include an educational plan appropriate to the nature of such goals.

The second step concerns the issue of how different educational models or approaches can be better organized and implemented so as to reach those educational objectives which are relevant to overall societal goals. For this to be possible, in-depth understanding of the nature of formal and nonformal education is necessary.

Conceptual Analysis of Formal and Nonformal Education

Education, in its broadest sense, involves the sharing of knowledge both theoretical and applied. Although the concept of education is equivocal in terms of methodology, intention and setting, the concern for education has been present throughout the history of mankind. It originated in people's need for survival, both by overcoming natural forces as well as by defining social and economic roles within a given society.

> Locked (man) in a permanent struggle against environmental conditions, he organized his existence and little by little created his society for group endeavour. Beginning with the family unit and the primitive tribe, concentrating on vital material tasks, he progressively acquired knowledge and experience, learned how to know and express his desires and aspirations and so defined and fashioned his intellectual faculties.[17]

Thus, education well might be considered a continuing process of finding means to fulfill a whole range of needs. Since the needs

faced by the individual and by society are of quite a different sort, the ways of satisfying them are also dissimilar. Educational activities, then, will be influenced variously by such elements as the type of needs, the characteristics of the social group, and the quality of available resources.

Current classification divides the different kinds of educational activities into three modes: formal, nonformal and informal.

Formal education, the most commonly known mode, is an organized effort to influence students within a school setting. "Formal education as used here is, of course, the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of university."[18]

Nonformal education (NFE) is also an organized effort to influence a given client population, but done in an out-of-school setting.

Finally, informal, or incidental, education comprises all of the unorganized and unintentional knowledge we get from such different sources as friends, neighbors, newspapers, travels and the like. "Incidental learning reflects many direct opposites to the schooling model. There are no particular learning goals, no guide or trained teacher, no curriculum, no external structure providing beginning or end points, and, of course, no schedule, facilities or equipment."[19]

In modernization-oriented societies there is somehow a general consensus implying the existence of two ways of becoming educated: one is "official" through the formal education system, and the other

one is "unofficial", through a number of out-of-school situations generically called nonformal education.

Our analysis will be exclusively on these two types of education, although it is important to bear in mind that it might be difficult in practice to make a radical and clear cut distinction between formal and nonformal education. In fact when regarded as pedagogical approaches, these two models very often overlap and mix in the same educational setting. However the distinction is possible at the conceptual level and certainly necessary when the educational model plays a much broader role than that of a simple pedagogical way of teaching.

Formal Education

Formal education is the model regarded as the most prestigious. Its success can be measured in terms of its widespread development all over the world and of the ever-increasing demand for this model on the part of the people. Probably the main reason for this is that formal education fulfills a number of purposes at once. For instance, Everett Reimer mentions that the schooling institution combines four distinct social functions: custodial care, social role selection, indoctrination, and education as usually understood, namely, development of skills and knowledge.[20]

Main features of the schooling system.

a) institutional. Regarded as an essential component of any well organized society, as the Church or Government might be, the schooling system is officially in charge of transmitting knowledge and skills. Like any institution, it has objectives, administrative apparatus, rules, selection criteria, budget, controls, staff, facilities, rituals, etc.

b) chronologically graded. The formal system is divided in grades of a year of duration and framed in three stages: elementary, secondary and higher education. The system assumes that the population of each grade has a similar age, although exceptions may be found mostly at the latest stage. In theory, by the end of the schooling process, the student will be sufficiently mature to start his/her involvement in productive life.

c) certification as a main control. To progress in the system from one grade to the next requires getting a certificate as proof of having attained the objectives of the previous grade. Evaluation can follow different procedures but basically is designed to measure knowledge, skill and behavior according to a pre-established standard. Certification throughout the schooling process exposes the individual not just to a variety of academic requirements, but also to the administrative and bureaucratic machinery.

d) schooling as a temporary stage. Formal education is not designed to be an end in itself. Spending one's whole life in schooling is something neither desirable nor likely. It is just a temporary stage

in which the acquired knowledge and the assimilated behaviors will supposedly render some fruits in the future.

e) the "Three R's" as the basic schooling tools. Schooling requires the mastering of three basic tools: reading, writing and numeracy. Both the content and the pedagogical style of this system are based upon the assumption that students master these tools. Books, pencil and notebook, along with the teacher's lecture, are the basic pedagogic instruments within the classroom, although methodologies for using them may differ.

f) content. The nature of the educational content is to a large extent theoretical rather than practical. Following mastery of the Three R's, the schooling content moves from elementary, general and superficial knowledge to more in-depth and specific learning in different fields, according to the student's choice.

The Social Meaning of Schooling

Modern societies have given to the formal school system the official role of granting validity and credibility to knowledge. What is learned in the school is regarded as sound and valid. Certification, as an essential outcome of the system, allows the person who gets it to have an officially recognized professional practice. Schooling is seen as the official route to playing a relevant role within the society, and therefore "schooled people" are supposed to be entitled to enjoy the benefits of the socio-economic system.

Any social system has an in-built reward system. The most common rewards are those related to power positions, social prestige

and economic gains. In modernization-oriented societies, schooling is regarded as the means through which people can have a share of the social benefits. This is so, among other reasons, because of the fact that only through schooling can the knowledge and skills relevant to the modern society be acquired. Modern society defines the roles needed for its normal functions, and school prepares individuals to play those roles; therefore, only those people who go through that process are the most likely to have the opportunity to perform the important roles.

Nonformal Education

The problem of definition. NFE investigators have realized the difficulty of finding a totally acceptable definition of NFE. One explanation for this is that NFE frequently is characterized in terms of that which it is not, in opposition to the formal education. Definition is further complicated by the fact that most people consider the NFE approach as at the experimental stage. This makes it possible for a large variety of projects to exist in a variety of contexts worldwide; these differ in goals, methodologies, tactics, funding resources, administration, etc.

Ted Ward and John Dettoni assert that a common definition for NFE will emerge after a deeper study of the educational elements of the activities now called by the name. "Nonformal education"is presently a rather negative descriptor, because it implies something without purpose, form or order. However, they make the point that

underlying such a concept is the fact that education provided by this means does not originate from the schooling process, but rather from a "non-school" setting (nonformal agencies).[21]

Marvin Grandstaff states that NFE is "all education that does not take place in schools", which suggests that one must "allocate the definition of NFE as a contextual or functional issue". For this purpose, he mentions a set of criteria that can be used to make contextual distinctions between formal and nonformal education:

a) administrative affiliation. The point here is to know whether the educational service is delivered by "formally designed educational agencies". The question of sponsorship and administrative affiliation are implied here.

b) pedagogical style. This point makes the distinction between the formal, rigid, teacher-centered and standardized pedagogical approaches, and those that are more flexible and learner-oriented.

c) function. This criterion indicates whether or not the knowledge provided is aimed towards certification required by the social reward system.

d) clients. This point is related to the socio-economic characteristics of the clientele, as to whether or not they are traditionally affiliated with the formal education system.

e) reward systems. There is a distinction between a long-term and generalized reward system, and the one which is more immediate and specific.

f) cultural congruence. This criterion deals with the congruence

of the educational format with the "model learning patterns of the client population".[22]

A more comprehensive approach in trying to find out a major reference framework to define NFE settings has been prepared by Horace Reed and Elizabeth Loughran. In what they call "lifelong learning", eleven educational variables are listed, each as a part of a continuum that goes from more formal to less formal. This "scale" is presented as an analytic instrument for different purposes; some of them include comparison, design, evaluation and planning of educational settings. The educational variables therein mentioned are as follows: objectives, content and sequence, time units, learners, staff, teaching-learning approaches, rewards and evaluation, materials and resources, financial resources, building resources and power, control and administration.[23] (see Table 1)

Obviously the validity of the NFE approach does not depend on the possibility of finding an accurate definition that everybody agrees upon. It would be meaningless and also would narrow the large range of educational options this approach can offer. What is necessary, and has been done, is to establish a working rather than a confining definition. The International Council for Educational Development provides the following:

> Nonformal education refers to all organized, systematic educational activities carried on outside the formal educational system, designed to serve specific learning needs of particular subgroups in the population, either as a supplement of follow-up to formal schooling, or in some instances as an alternative or substitute.[24]

TABLE 1

THE LIFELONG LEARNING SCALE FOR ANALYZING EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Educational Variables	Descriptors					N/A; Comments
Objectives	5	4	3	2	1	
	Building and conservation of knowledge More cognitive				Applying knowledge for personal and community development More psychological and physical More immediate	
Content and Sequence	5	4	3	2	1	
	Abstract; symbol systems Logically organized Scholarly disciplines Predictable sequence Requirements and prerequisits				Concrete; experiential Psychologically organized Interdisciplinary Sequence less ordered Few requirements	
Time Units	5	4	3	2	1	
	Long term Full time Tightly scheduled Preset time periods				Short term Part time Flexible schedule Situational time periods	
Learners	5	4	3	2	1	
	Age Selective Selection criteria predictable and more precise				Age inclusive Selection criteria less predictable and more general	
Staff	5	4	3	2	1	
	Professionals A major life aim Highly trained Distinct roles Credentials				Lay oriented Ancillary life aim Short term training Less distinct roles Noncredentialed	
Teaching-Learning Approaches	5	4	3	2	1	
	Teachers more managerial, directive More teacher dominant Learners more passive				Teachers more facilitating, advising, linking More learner dominant Learners more active	
Rewards and Evaluation	5	4	3	2	1	
	Extrinsic rewards More competitive Lvaluation of knowing Product oriented Quantitative				Intrinsic rewards More cooperative Evaluation of performance Process oriented Qualitative	

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Educational Variable	Descriptor					N/A; Comments
Curriculum Materials and Resources	5	4	3	2	1	
	Complex technology Commercial production Written and spoken media				Simpler technology Local production Multi-media	
Financial Resources	5	4	3	2	1	
	Larger expenditures per learner Long term investment Mostly government sponsored More elaborate accounting procedures Less flexibile allocations				Smaller expenditures per learner Short term investment Varied sponsors Less elaborate accounting procedures More flexible allocations	
Building Resources	5	4	3	2	1	
	Major permanent constructions Specific, set spaces High Maintenance cost Less often user constructed				Minor temporary constructions Flexible spaces less maintenance cost More often user constructed	
Power, Control and Administration	5	4	3	2	1	
	More bureaucratic More hierarchical Power partly a function of status and resources Decision making by role Workers in established organizations Leaders viewed as managers				More personal More horizontal Power largely a function of competency Decision making shared Workers less organized Leaders viewed as coordinators	

Source: Horace B. Reed and Elizabeth Lee Loughran, "Lifelong Learning Scale Training Manual" (Amherst: Resource Center for Community Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1979), (Draft).

This definition encompases the immediate goal of this educational approach, as well as its position regarding the formal system. Others may include more specific characteristics regarding underlying pedagogical theory, administrative style, rewards system, etc. However, whatever working definition we want to use must include in some way an answer to the very basic questions as to what is being taught, who the teachers are, what the learning is for, how and where this takes place.

The learning structure. One of the most valuable features of NFE comes from the learning process attached to it. Cole Bremback summarizes a set of learning elements of NFE:

a) learning takes place in the context of a meaningful action;

b) there is no gap between learning and doing;

c) learning takes place within the normal living environment;

d) there is connection between one aspect of the task and the whole task;

d) "teacher" and "student" are co-workers in the same task;

f) motivation for learning increases because there is not an arbitrary decision as to what has to be learned, there is not a need for external rewards (certification), and there is personal satisfaction in assuming responsibilities.[25]

Several key implications underlie these learning elements. Any theory of knowledge implies a philosophy as to how human beings understand, interact and modify their reality. The ethical value, whatever it might be, of an individual and his/her social behavior is only

possible when there is a prior judgment or comparison between at least two choices. Obviously these choices are only possible if there is a previous knowledge or understanding of reality, at least at a minimum level.

These considerations are important in light of the difference between education and instruction, and the role of so-called "formal" and "nonformal" education.

The capacity for making judgments and ethical behavior are the main descriptors of the human being. Education, in this sense, could be an ever lasting process of understanding, interaction and modifying our self-identity, our society and environment. Therefore, there is education only if one is aware of the process and has control over the process.

Limited information and instruction as to "how" to do things can be labeled as "education", but they are just partial aspects of what education is all about.

Thus, "education", if partially understood, well might turn out to be the simple process by which a person is fitted into a given status quo. In this case, to educate would mean to tame.

Some people who approach the formal-nonformal education issue in a conciliatory way believe that the core of the matter lies in the fact that formal education is asked to do things that it cannot do, but this certainly does not mean that schooling is worthless. This view circumvents the broad social meaning of schooling and its impact that goes far beyond questions of methodology or curriculum content.

On the other hand, it is interesting to notice how the NFE learning elements described previously somehow imply a better quality or more valuable alternative than those within a formal school setting.

If that is true, the formal-nonformal education issue is not just a matter of "different learning methodologies", but rather a critical issue over the meaning and validity of schooling. Let us see why:

a) Learning in a context of meaningful action implies motivation and mental satisfaction. Without these two basic conditions, who would expect learning to exist?

b) When there is not a gap between learning and doing, a more realistic and appropriate understanding of the "world" takes place, so that feedback really increases further knowledge.

c) If learning takes place within the normal living environment, real participation and interaction can be expected and personal identity has less possibility of getting lost.

d) If there is connection between one aspect of the task and the whole task, and specific learning is seen within a broader context, its relation to other aspects is known and, therefore, becomes more meaningful.

e) When "teacher" and "student" are regarded as co-workers, a feeling of solidarity arises and dependency disappears.

f) If what is learned is a personal decision according to real needs, motivation, wishes and capabilities, there are more chances of an integral human development, and society as a whole is expected

to benefit more fully.

If all this is true, one might ask what then is the purpose of schooling? This question, however, can only be correctly addressed from a much broader context. The purpose and usefulness of an educational model has to be assessed in light of the specific characteristics of the development model that each country wants to implement.

Summary

We have tried to depict the contextual and analytical framework upon which this study is based. It is clear that the future of educational planning in developing countries will depend on how well the relation between education and development is reassessed. This means that the question of what type of education for what type of development must be appropriately addressed. This requires a re-definition of such essential concepts as planning, education, and development, and their implications for social and educational planning.

Thus, educational planning on the one hand has to find its place in the social planning strategy, while on the other hand, it has to address the issue of what educational models are most suitable to reach the development goals. That is why it is important to have a clear understanding about the main characteristics of the formal and nonformal education models and their current role in developing countries.

The next chapter will focus on the rationale and main characteristics of the type of educational development proposed and implemented in developing countries in the recent past, as well as on the roles assigned to educational planning in that context.

Footnotes

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[6]Goldstein, p. 30.

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[8]Arnold C. Anderson and Mary J. Bowman, "Theoretical Considerations in Educational Planning", in Educational Planning, ed. Don Adams (Syracuse, N.Y.: Center for Development Education, Syracuse University, 1964), p. 9.

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[21]Ted Ward and John Dettoni, "Non-formal Education Problems and Premises", in NFE Discussion Papers No. 2 (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1973), pp. 8-12.

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[24]International Council for Educational Development, "Nonformal Education for Rural Development" (Essex, CT.: ICED, 1972), p. 4. (Draft of final report)

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C H A P T E R I I

FORMAL EDUCATION PLANNING AND THE PRACTICE OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter examines within the most recent historical context the way in which educational planning came about and the assumptions underlying its major approaches. It deals in the same fashion with the practice of nonformal education as a new factor in the educational strategy of the developing countries. It reviews how during the sixties the educational concern was mainly centered around the expansion of the formal education model; and how during the seventies more attention was paid to the nonformal education alternatives, as the constraints of the formal model became more evident. This will provide us with a general overview about the rationale and characteristics of educational development in general, and educational planning in particular, as they have been implemented in developing countries in the last twenty five years.

The Need for Educational Planning in Developing Countries

Educational planning arose in the less developed countries despite some contradictory elements: on the one hand, the concept of planning itself seems suitable to whatever action undertaken by societies towards realization of their goals; on the other hand, the ideological connotation of social planning for some people implies

government interference in the realm of personal freedom. Several problems faced by developing countries gave the rationale for increased governmental control over the educational sector. These were:

a) the demand for education. Right after World War II, the international community began to organize itself in many ways. The creation of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights were considered essential for keeping the world peace. Education was one of the human rights.[1] "Fundamental Education", as it was called in those days, was aimed to spread among the people ideas about harmony, self-respect and physical health, to develop skills of thinking and communication, and finally to develop attitudes appropriate to living in the modern world.[2] This would be done chiefly by expanding primary education, as well as by offering a number of educational services such as adult literacy campaigns, agricultural and medical training, extension services, community activities, and study circles. In time, the establishment of these policies, along with the population growth in developing countries, increased substantially the demand for educational services.[3] This is reflected in the increasing enrollment for the three levels of education between 1950 and 1960. Almost 80 million people were enrolled in 1950, while by 1960, the figure was close to 147 million, an increase of 84.5%.[4]

b) the need for national cohesion. The great variety of ethnic groups in many of the developing countries, with different languages, religions, racial identification and separatist feelings, made evident

the need to create a sense of nationality by means of an organized educational system to promote a common language and national ideology. This was regarded as an essential policy, if the different social groups were going to work towards common objectives.

c) scarce economic resources. The evident scarcity of human and economic resources faced by developing countries made evident the need for educational planning in order to cope with these limitations. Education would help in the creation of economic surplus and of trained manpower necessary for national development.

The Industrial Development Model

The most influential factor in the development of formal education and the need for planning was probably the development model that Third World countries had to follow, once the problem of underdevelopment was believed to be understood.

While the economic and geo-political adjustments made by the main actors of the second world war were taking place,[5] the problem of the "backward countries" began to be subject of study and analysis. In general, the problem of underdevelopment was considered to be as one of "lack and lag" in economic development by the standards of modern industrialized societies.

With the purpose of overcoming the problems of backward countries, the United Nations started an international "crusade" for development, through what has been called the "development decades". These strategies have been a kind of international contract to foster economic development on a world-wide scale so as to reach development

objectives for the underdeveloped world.

> The strategy which has dominated thinking through the United Nations (UN) first developmental decade (1960-70) and into the early part of the second is often referred to as the "GNP-trickle down" model. Proponents of this model have assumed that development is synonymous with Western, particularly North American, urban societies, and can be achieved through capital investment, industrialization, and GNP growth.[6]

Most third world countries accepted the industrial pattern as a development model. This approach is quite similar to that in the advanced countries in its emphasis on output of industry (capital goods and private consumption goods), mechanical technology and human technical skills.[7]

This interpretation of underdevelopment and its solution through the "economic model" is referred to as the "deprivation-development thesis",[8] and "the linear stage model".[9]

The theory can be explained briefly as follows: underdevelopment problems are due to a number of socio-economic features within the country that hamper any internal effort towards economic development. Therefore, it is necessary to help these countries to overcome such constraints by means of external capital loans and investments as well as technology development. One of the main theories backing this approach is the development process proposed by W. W. Rostow. This theory describes the five stages any "backward" country has to go through from its original stage of traditional society (with limited productivity by virtue of its undeveloped economic techniques) up to the last stage of high mass-consumption wherein leading sectors shift toward consumer goods and services.[10]

The central point of Rostow's theory is "the capital accumulation made possible by an increasing level of savings and investment".[11] This framework stresses the need for rapid economic growth focused on industrialization, modernization and urbanization. Capital accumulation is assisted by foreign capital and technology. The benefits of this model are assumed to come automatically by virtue of the "trickle down" effect. And, finally, it is assumed that material well-being will ensure human happiness.[12]

To implement this strategy, programming included the infusion of capital into the poor countries. The "take off" of these countries should be possible with capital infusion and by meeting the goal of 5% annual increase in the gross national product. Developed countries agreed to transfer to developing countries an equivalent amount of 1% of their gross national product. Bi-lateral and multi-lateral programs and institutions such as USAID, The International Bank of Reconstruction, The Alliance for Progress, United Nations Development Program, etc., were the channels for this money transfer.

Along with this strategy, the "language" of development was born: a number of economic indicators, that were the exclusive property of specialists, were needed to measure the advance of development. Development turned out to be matter of additions and divisions (GNP/Per capita income):

> For many economists development is synonymous with economic growth measured in aggregate terms. A country is developed, they hold, when it can sustain, by its own efforts and after having first reached a per

> capita GNP (Gross National Product) level of $500 (for some observers) or $1000 (for others), an annual rate of growth ranging from 5% to 7%. According to these criteria, certain countries are highly developed, while those on the lowest rungs of the ladder are either underdeveloped or undeveloped.[13]

This interpretation of the underdevelopment problem and the suggested solutions to cope with it certainly had a tremendous influence on the key role given to formal education: if in general, "development" is the way towards a modern economy and towards social and cultural change, then the school is a nation's key tool for that purpose. Formal school is seen as the instrument to shape the minds and behavior of third world people, so they can better fit and reinforce the modern society.

Beginnings in Educational Planning

The Latin American region. Recognition of the need for overall educational planning arose in Latin America as early as 1956, at the Second Inter-American Meeting of Ministers of Education, held in Lima, Peru. A suggestion was made to start planning all levels of the educational system. Two years later, at the Inter-American Seminar on the Overall Planning of Education, held in Washington under the auspices of UNESCO and the Organization of American States, the philosophy and scope of such a need became more explicit. The rationale expressed for this overall planning was that the educational rights consecrated by the U.N. charter, O.E.A. charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights were not being brought into

practice. Some of the rights included equality of educational opportunity, and universal, free and compulsory primary education.

Some of the factors explaining this situation were said to be: the huge problem of illiteracy, the number of out-of-school children, the shortage of schools, teachers without certification, inadequacy of the schools to meet the specific needs of the country, growth of the population, shortcomings in the administration of educational services, limitations of piece-meal plans, poor use of the technical assistance provided by international agencies and nations, etc.[14] These problems all pointed to the need for educational planning based on scientific methods for studying the reality of the country. Educational objectives had to be defined and a realistic assessment of human and economic resources had to be made for the implementation of the plans. The aim was to solve problems affecting education as a factor of social integration, and as a specific delivery system.

In 1963, the Conference of Latin-American Ministers of Education in Chile adopted the Santiago Plan which set up specific quantitative targets for all levels of schooling to be reached by the year 1970; namely, universal primary education and the enrollment in secondary education of one third of the population with age for that level. The estimated total cost of such objectives was 34.5 billion dollars. In 1964, just a year later, at the Bogota Conference, the goal of universal primary education was delayed up to 1975.[15]

The Asian region. Under the auspices of the United Nations, fifteen Asian countries met in Karachi, Pakistan, from December 8th, 1959,

through January 9th, 1960, to define a long-term strategy of educational planning for the Asian region.[16] The main objective of the meeting was to deal with all the issues concerning the desired goal of universal primary education.

The economic value of primary education in terms of social return was demonstrated as well as its impact on spreading attitudes towards modernization. However, there was still a long way to go. It was necessary to determine the financial and administrative requirements to cope with the needs of the next twenty years in terms of educational facilities, teacher training and all the aspects related to educational development. Of paramount importance were the post-primary future requirements. The aim was to set up general guidelines and to let each country arrive at specific plans according to its situation.

The outcome of the meeting was a document called the "Karachi Plan". The plan proposed the target of free and compulsory primary education of seven years by 1980. In terms of enrollments, a jump from 66 million in 1960 to 277 million in 1980 was proposed. This would imply an increase from the 8.5% of the population attending primary school in 1960 to 20% by 1980. The plan also suggested a teacher-student ratio of 1:35. This would require an increase of 268% in the number of teachers, from 1.8 million in 1960 to 6.7 million in 1980. The number of teacher trainers had to rise from 19,000 in 1955 to 142,000 in 1980. The total expenditure of this optimistic plan was estimated at 56 billion U.S. dollars, at 1960 prices.[17]

In April 1962, the ministers of education of the region met again in Tokyo and agreed on extending the educational plan to all levels of education. The objectives intended by such a policy were the following:

a) balanced educational development at all levels, with expansion of secondary and higher levels being determined by personal ability, financial resources and manpower requirements;

b) higher standards in second and third level and prevention of wastage in the first level;

c) diversification of education by enlarging and strengthening vocational and technical education;

d) expansion and improvement of science education at all levels;

e) promotion of programmes of adult, youth and family education.[18]

In Bangkok, November 1965, a set of recommendations reflecting the nature of educational planning proposed in those days was made at the Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers responsible for Economic Planning of members states in Asia. The conference invited all member states:

> a) to identify their educational needs and study the alternative ways of meeting them;
> b) to keep under review continuously the national targets for all types, sectors and levels of education;
> c) to develop, in particular, the technique of assessing manpower requirements and to create or strengthen national machinery for assessing human resources;
> d) to improve the collection and compilation of the statistical data needed for successful educational planning;
> e) to train a larger number of national experts in the use of modern techniques and methods of educational planning, particularly the use of computer techniques.[19]

The African Region. The UNESCO-endorsed Addis Ababa Conference was the frame of reference for long-term educational planning on the African Continent. Meeting from the 15th to the 29th of May 1961, the African Ministers of Education, and the Ministers of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning designed a guideline for the development of education at all levels in Africa.

The main purpose was to ensure a harmonious, effective and accelerated development of education in each state and on the continent as a whole, by means of inter-African cooperation and with the aid of UNESCO and other institutions. The areas to be developed were teacher training, production of text books and reading materials, university and higher education institutions, educational research and information programs, educational planning, reform of the content of education, and instititues for development and research in education.[20]

Thus, a major recommendation was that:

> . . . as the present content of education in Africa is not in line with either existing African conditions, the postulate of political independence, the dominant features of an essentially technological age, or the imperatives of balanced economic development involving rapid industrialization, but is based on a non-African background, allowing no room for the African child's intelligence, powers of observation and creative imagination to develop freely and help him find his bearings in the world--African educational authorities should revise and reform the content of education in the areas of the curricula, textbooks and methods, so as to take account of African environment, child development, cultural heritage and the demands of technological progress and economic development, especially industrialization. . . .[21]

Regarding specific levels of education, the proposed objectives to be met by 1980 were:

> a) primary education shall be universal, compulsory and free;
> b) education at the second level shall be provided to 30% of the children who complete primary school;
> c) higher education shall be provided, mostly in Africa itself, to 20% of those who complete secondary education;
> d) the improvement of the quality of African schools and universities shall be a constant aim.[22]

These objectives were more a reflection of good intentions than the result of careful planning, for "the inadequacy or non existence of national economies in 1961, the absence of economic development plans, manpower surveys and comprehensive statistics and the serious underestimation of demographic phenomena deprived the Addis Ababa targets of precise, quantifiable basis".[23]

Educational Planning and Development

Despite their rather broad content and optimistic projections, the three major regional conferences (Santiago, Karachi and Addis Ababa) represented a threshold in the role assigned to education in the Third World, as well as in the way of planning it. Since then, it has been regular practice to hold periodic regional conferences of that type to deal with educational issues. Thus educational planning emerged as a necessary activity aimed to develop and consolidate the formal education system by means of obtaining technical "know how" for satisfying demand and planning supply, evaluating financial implication, and evaluating human and material resources to meet educational goals.

This step was very important for two reasons: first, educational planning was aimed to implement in a more rational way the idea of education as a human right; and second, it provided a new framework for the role of education in developing countries. Education began to be regarded not as something to be given away for the sole purpose of fulfilling ethical goals, but rather as an essential element to make operational the then emerging philosophy of "development" and "nation building".

With the spread of educational planning in developing countries, formal education was confirmed as the official instrument to "modernize" people and to reinforce a specific model of economic development. It was also clear that long-term educational planning had to be done in coordination with national plans for economic development. In Africa, for instance, in 1962, UNESCO, FAO, ILO, and ECA worked together in the creation of nineteen planning institutions to elaborate educational planning within the frameworks of the Addis Abana plan and of the development plan of each African country. The main purpose of this new trend was clearly pointed out by the Minister of Education of Ghana, A. J. Duwvona, when he stated that the first priority of the Addis Ababa plan was "secondary and higher level education so as to ensure a rapid turn-out of technicians, administrators, teachers, scientists and others to man the machinery of government, formulate and direct the educational programmes and fill positions of responsibility in industry and commerce".[24]

Economic Arguments for Educational Planning

The origins of the economics of education can be explained by three factors:

a) the firm belief that education fosters economic growth;

b) the shortage of skilled manpower as an impediment for economic growth;

c) the need on the part of the economist to know how and how much has been spent on education and what the variations would be over time in prices and outlays.[25]

Education as investment. By the late fifties, several economic studies done in the United States showed unexpected results: the economic output had grown faster than what might be expected given the amount of input of the conventional factors of production, such as physical capital, labor and land. This discrepancy was first attributed to the fact of technological change; however, the work of T. W. Schultz suggested that the explanation of that "residual factor" should be found in the education factor, as a generator of technical change.[26] Schultz wondered: "what is it that we have been doing that has given us a rate of economic growth that is three times as large as the rate of increase of labor and capital? My hypothesis is that the explanation is to be found in the large and rapid accumulation of human wealth that is being excluded from our conventional measures of 'manhours worked' and of tangible capital".[27]

Thus, education began to be regarded as a key element in economic development, for it makes possible the modernization of industry and agriculture. Since this progress could not be expected from illiterate and unskilled people, education "in addition to having high cultural values, is presently also an investment in people to the extent that it improves their capabilities and thereby increases the future earnings of people".[28]

In this context, education was no longer regarded as a consumption good in which money is wasted, but rather as an area of money investment, aimed to increase personal income and economic output. Therefore it was advisable to invest in human capital to realize these benefits. Thus, education became part of the economic realm, and the "human capital theory" provided the rationale for manpower planning in education.

The Harbison and Myers index. One factor that positively confirmed the need for educational planning and influenced the way to do it was a crossectional study done by F. Harbison and C. A. Myers.[29] The study was an international comparison based on a "composite index of human resource development". The basic assumption was that besides capital, natural resources, foreign aid and international trade, the single most important factor for the development of a nation was its manpower.

The study was a crossectional comparison among several countries categorized as underdeveloped, partially developed, semi-advanced and advanced. Two basic types of indicators were used:

a) levels of educational attainment, namely, at the secondary and higher education level, as they show high-level manpower; and
b) the number of persons in relation to the population or labor force who are in high level occupations (scientists, engineers, managers, doctors, etc.).

They slotted seventy five countries into the above-mentioned four categories, based on the composite index of human resources. The index "is simply the arithmetic total of (1) enrollment at the second level of education as a percentage of the age group 15 to 19, adjusted for length of schooling, and (2) enrollment at the third level of education as a percentage of the age group, multiplied by a weight of 5."[30] They also correlated this index with national income and other socio-economic factors.

The conclusion of this study suggested that in order to increase the national income it was necessary to increase the score in the index of human resource development. They finally suggested that in order to formulate a sound strategy of human resources development, there should be analyzed the following: 1) manpower requirements, 2) the system of formal education, 3) the institutions for in-service training and adult education, 4) the structure of incentives and utilization of high level manpower.[31]

The Need for External Assistance and Finance

Since the financial requirements for educational development were out of reach of the poor countries themselves, substantial

technical and financial support was received through bilateral and multilateral institutions. Unesco played a very important role by organizing regional conferences and by providing orientation and capacitation in this new technical approach to education. European ex-colonial governments prepared to assist the newly independent countries, and official and private foundations were also willing to do their share.

The strategy devised for educational assistance was at three levels:

a) ex-colonial powers were asked to help in the rapid expansion of education, under new terms with the newly independent countries;
b) U.N. member states were to provide funds to enable multilateral agencies to create educational assistance programs;
c) countries that had not had dependent territories also were to set up programs of their own.[32]

Thus, the main sources of educational cooperation for development were aid from government to government, aid from inter-governmental agencies, and aid from nongovernmental organizations.

The World Bank, whose reputation and judgment capacity was highly regarded within the international financial community, gave its first loan for schools construction to Tunisia in 1962. The World Bank's involvement in this field was proof that education was being regarded as essential for economic development. Eugene R. Black, then president of the Bank, said: "Nothing, I believe, is more vital to the economic progress of the underdeveloped countries than a

well-rounded spread of education, and the executive directors as well as I myself have become convinced that there is a field in which the Bank might make a useful contribution."[33] The bulk of the World Bank's contribution during the sixties was in the construction of facilities, teacher training and technical education programs.

In the bilateral field, the United States Government alone set up a budget of $170,000,000 exclusively for direct educational assistance.

Some Approaches in Formal Education Planning

The new trend of rationalizing the investment in education to optimize economic development was expressed in the elaboration of several approaches for educational planning.

Social demand approach. The increase in the population and the growing perception that formal education was the appropriate path for participation in the benefits of modernization-oriented society put a great deal of pressure on the formal education system. Moreover, the characteristics of the system itself called for an ever-expanding need for more schooling, given the progression from the elementary level through secondary, up to higher education.

The social demand approach anticipates the demand for education, projecting the number of students who will enroll at the various compulsory levels of the system. These are demographic projections by age. For the non-compulsory stages, it is necessary to estimate figures of several age groups likely to go into the

different branches of the system. These estimations are based on past trends and foreseeable changes in the culture and economics. The results of this analysis are interpreted as the specific needs that a country has for educational personnel, plants, and the whole range of equipment.[34]

This approach is also called the "social method", for it is based on defining educational needs in terms of broad political and cultural objectives (for instance, universal primary education), without making an explicit reference to the social and economic contributions of the school. In a way it is a technical exercise in forecasting long-range educational targets.[35] It lacks linkage between the projected educational expansion and the economic needs of the nation. It also creates the risk of narrowing the concept of "educational needs" by defining these in terms of mere demand for schooling.[36]

The central problem in this approach is on the one hand, to define the limits between "political" criteria for developing education and real social needs and, on the other hand, to solve the possible contradiction between the perception of the benefits offered by a particular type of education (in this case formal education) and the education needed to cope with the real needs of the society.

This approach focuses on the promotion of education based on the philosophy of creating or reinforcing a democratic social system through equality of educational opportunity. This philosophy assumes the possibility of:

a) an equal amount of education for everyone;

b) schooling sufficient to bring every child to a given standard;

c) education sufficient to permit each person to reach his potential;

d) continued opportunities for schooling so long as certain norms can be met.[37]

There are a whole range of value implications underlying these statements which raise problems of practical feasibility. By whom and how are such values to be operationalized? What are the implications for policy? Moreover, offering a certain type of education based on simple social demand might well be in conflict with a national and efficient use of scarce resources.

It is also assumed in this approach that educational demand is autonomous in character, while in fact it depends to a great extent on official educational policies, such as the minimum school-leaving age and the costs of going beyond the compulsory stage. "There is, in other words, a fatal circularity in this approach: demand for places is used to calculate 'needs' for education; but society's 'needs' for education determine policy which conditions demand for places."[38]

Manpower approach. This approach to educational planning emerged as a technical resource to make more rational the relationship between the needs of economic development and the output of the educational system, for "a nation with plans or aspirations for economic development cannot afford to slight the preparation of its human agents of

production".[39]

The theory of "human capital" sets the premises of such a relationship: people are the main wealth of a country, but it is necessary to transform that "raw material" through education if there is to be a significant impact on the economy. Thus, education and economics can not afford to work separately any longer. They must work together in the development endeavor.

Therefore, it is necessary to study the connections among education, occupation and national income within each country, so that national development plans are feasible, and an appropriate balance in the allocation of limited resources may be reached. "In practical terms, this means that there is no point building modern steel mills and chemical manufacturing plants unless the managers, scientists, engineers, technicians, office personnel and skilled workers are available to operate them. It also, of course, means the converse: that the creation of qualified personnel will be equally fruitless if the capital equipment for which their qualifications are appropriate cannot be obtained."[40]

Thus, the manpower forecast attempts systematically to relate educational plans to foreseeable needs of the economic sector. This concept is more technological than economic because it does not try to foresee the future demand in the market sense, but rather tries to determine the occupational structure required if certain economic goals are to be achieved.[41] Since economic development is not an overnight result, educational forecast has to be parallel with long

term economic requirements. Thus, educational policies implemented now will have impact in ten or twenty years.

Some of the basic steps for the elaboration of the manpower forecasting are the following:

> a) Prepare an "inventory" of manpower for the base year (e.g., 1960) classified by branch of industry and occupation, using an occupational classification system that differentiates as far as possible among occupations requiring different levels of education and, at the highest levels, between "scientific" and "general" education.
> b) Forecast the size of the total labour force for the "target" year (e.g., 1975) and for the intervening period at five-year intervals.
> c) Estimate total employment in each sector and branch for the forecast years.
> d) Within each sector and branch, allocate total employment for the forecast years among the various categories of the occupational classification system. Aggregating the requirements for each occupational category in all sectors and branches gives the total "stock" of manpower required for the forecast years classified by occupational category.
> e) Convert the data on requirements by occupational category into data on requirements by educational qualification. This is necessary because the several broad occupational categories cannot be expected to be homogeneous with respect to required educational qualification.
> f) Estimate the anticipated supply of personnel with each major type of educational qualification for the forecast years on the basis of:
>
> 1. present stocks;
> 2. anticipated outflows from the existing educational system; and
> 3. losses due to death, retirement and withdrawal from the lour force.
>
> g) Compute the change in annual outflow from the various levels and branches of the educational system necessary to create balance in the forecast years between (e) and (f).
> h) Calculate enrolments in each level and branch of the educational system necessary to achieve the required annual outflows.[42]

The objections to this approach range from philosophical to practical. This approach is questionable in terms of its narrow concept of education, regarded as mere economic input instead of as an

integral process for human development. In practical terms, as Psacharopoulos discusses,

a) it assumes a rigid relationship between education and economy, ignoring analytical concepts such as "elasticities of substitution" that have positive effect on the economy with different skill-mix;

b) it fails to consider the cost of producing the extra amount of skills; this can be counter productive in economic terms, where the possibility of skill-mix is ignored;

c) there is evidence that the order of error is rather large in predicting the number of qualified persons for the specific target year.[43]

Despite these limitations, this approach is attractive and popular in educational planning exercises, "because of the easy understanding of the mechanics involved by administrators."[44]

The cost-benefit analysis. While the manpower approach is geared to the definition of educational needs from the perspective of the required occupational profile, the cost-benefit analysis, also known as the rate of return to investment in education, is based on the criteria for developing those educational levels which produce the highest benefit-cost ratio. The lifetime earnings of persons are compared with various educational attainments. The goal is to verify whether there is benefit for "consuming" more schooling, after determining the cost implied in that additional education. This approach analyzes such cost-benefit relation from both the individual and the social perspective.

There are many objections to this approach. In general, it overestimates quantitative economic benefits, ignoring the real impact of education at other levels, and in this respect is a narrow base for educational planning. In particular, the technique itself has some deficiencies, among which are:

a) It assumes that people are solely motivated by economic concerns and ignores non-pecuniary aspects which in fact influence the pursuit of education.

b) Its calculations depend on the projection of future trends from cross-section evidence, without considering that more education for more people may affect current income differentials in the future.

c) Current differences in the income of educated people do not necessarily reflect productive capacity but rather social connections reflected in the labor market.

d) The indirect benefits of education (general improvement in the quality of life from greater exposure of more people to education) can hardly be quantified and certainly cannot be reflected in a social rate of return relating only income differentials before tax to the total cost of education.

e) Educational policies are usually determined for goals other than mere social rates of return.[45]

C. A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman also suggest two shortcomings, among others, of this approach:

a) It is difficult to isolate the education variable from the multiple correlations among the income-determining variables, such as

motivation, social class, personal ability, etc.

b) The approach is impractical because the necessary data are not available.[46]

Econometric models. Another attempt to use analytical tools from the field of economics has been through econometric models. These are intended to forecast scientifically the type of educational structure that would be required to reach economic growth targets, and also to forecast student flow within the educational system. One of the most known of these mathematical models is the Correa-Tinbergen model.[47] Objections to this approach point to a) its assumption of causal relationship between the educational structure of the labor force and the volume of economic growth, and b) its disregard for non-economic criteria.[48]

In general, "the main users of these models have been graduate students in statistics, operational research and economics, rather than actual planners."[49]

Summary of Formal Education Planning

The educational planning approaches described above appeared during the sixties, and since then no new technical instrument of analysis has arisen in this field. They share the following characteristics:

a) Response to the increasing demand for schooling. Basically a political decision, central governments have been willing to cope with the demand for traditional schooling as long as they have

sufficient resources either internally or from external financial aid. Despite the fact that the demand is tempered by a great number of drop-outs and of people who cannot make it into school, nevertheless it is fair to say that governments are trapped by the continuous demand for this educational model whose main characteristic is a built-in need for more of the same. Therefore, educational planning has been an attempt to deal rationally with an apparently irreversible student flow into the system.

b) Expansion of educational services. Educational planning includes the determination of requirements regarding facilities, teachers, administrative staff, educational materials, etc. The need for more quality in education has been often expressed in the official rhetoric, and some attempts have been made in this respect. However, in practice, educational planning has been concerned mainly with the quantitative expansion of the installed educational capacity.

c) Student enrollment projections. The planning technique, applied mainly to elementary school, has often been limited to projecting the number of students who will demand a place in school. Information about percentage of population growth, age cohorts, installed capacity, number of teachers, etc., is analyzed, and the nation's "educational needs" are projected for the next ten or twenty years.

d) Special considerations for secondary and higher education. The widespread idea that sound development towards industrialization and modernization cannot be possible without consolidating secondary and higher education has greatly influenced the practice of educational

planning. Projections of manpower requirements were seen as essential to the success of national development plans. The long-term nature of these projections and their number of assumptions turned this practice into a futile exercise. Nevertheless, the manpower forecast is still widely used probably because of its convenience, since "about 100 divisions and multiplications performed with the aid of an electronic calculator can produce within days a palatable educational plan".[50]

The Practice of Nonformal Education

By the end of the sixties and in the early seventies, the optimistic policies of educational development in Third World countries were experiencing serious disappointments. The almost magic formula of formal education as a condition for stable development and progress for all began to show a number of limitations, some due to the educational model itself and some to the socio-economic and political context in which it had been implemented. Against this background, the nonformal education approach appeared as a new international strategy for deliverying education in developing countries.

If nonformal education as a way of transmitting knowledge and skills can be seen as old as human society itself, a number of recent circumstances turned the attention of some people to the fact that at least some kind of education could and had to be transmitted outside of the formal system. There are a number of significant

factors which promoted re-evaluation and commitment to implementation of this model as suitable educational strategy for development: the United Nations Second Development Decade, "the World Educational Crisis", the "deschooling society" movement, the new patterns of financial support from bilateral and multilateral organizations.

The United Nations Second Development Decade. The results of the First U.N. Development Decade (1960-70), had to be faced by the U.N. itself. After recognizing the success of some countries in reaching the growth targets, it was clear that even these countries "are not much closer than others to the kind of steady advance toward broadly based prosperity and social justice that would meet the hopes invested in the term 'development'."[51] Thus, it appeared necessary to add a new set of indicators to understand to what extent development policies were benefiting the people. The social costs of development had to be determined in order to lessen their impact. Therefore, new efforts were needed to solve social problems in such areas as education, health, housing, clothing, employment, social mobility, etc. The formula for the Second Development Decade became economic growth plus social growth: "The development that is envisaged for the coming decade obviously must include rapid growth in production and rapid expansion in a number of sectors of public social action."[52]

For better measurement of the standard of living of the population, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development identified twenty-four economic and social indicators, among which were, for example, issues regarding population, school

enrollments, housing, nutrition, etc.[53]

Along with the issue of finding more accurate indicators to understand the real social advance of the population, the United Nations expressed deeper concerns as to what kind of social development policy was necessary for what kind of society. The broadly proclaimed efforts for "closing the gap" between rich countries and poor countries, as well as between social levels within a given country itself, proved to have been unsuccessful through implementation of certain development models. So, "different questions will have to be raised in the social as well as the economic sectors: what kind of production? Education for what? How should incomes and social services be distributed? Who shall participate in the formulation and application of social development policy and how?"[54]

The United Nations also pointed out the need for each country to explore its own development goals, since it appeared evident that there was no exclusive path leading to development. It suggested the following requirements for success in this endeavor:

> a) Clearer images of the future societies towards which the striving for development is directed need to be built up through the combined efforts of political leaders, social scientists, planners and the people in general. . . .
> b) National capacity for autonomous policy formulation and application needs to be greatly enhanced, and authentic opportunities for participation in policy by the different population strata need to be widened and equalized. . . .
> c) The need for autonomous national policy-making informed by an image of the future society does not necessarily imply that policy-making should seek a maximum of central control.[55]

Thus, although these suggestions implied that the solutions lie primarily in overcoming economic problems within the country

itself, they verified that development could no longer be thought of as a problem to be determined only by the few.

The U. N. Second Development Decade proposed a new global development strategy that must be based in a joint action by developed and underdeveloped countries in all areas of economic and social life: industry and agriculture, employment and education, science and technology, health and housing, trade and finance, etc. The educational implications of this strategy are well synthesized in these goals:

> -Each developing country should formulate its national employment objectives so as to absorb an increasing proportion of its working population in modern-type activities and to reduce significantly unemployment and underemployment;
>
> -Particular attention should be paid to achieving enrollment of all children of primary school age, improvement in the quality of education at all levels, a substantial reduction in illiteracy, the reorientation of educational programs to serve development needs, and, as appropriate, the establishment and expansion of scientific and technological institutions;
>
> -The full participation of youth in the development process should be ensured;
>
> -The full integration of women in the total development effort should be encouraged.[56]

"The World Educational Crisis". In a well known document, elaborated with the assistance of the UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning staff and agreed upon by an advisory group of educational leaders from eighteen different countries, Philip Coombs analyzed the situation faced by formal education, at the end of the sixties decade.[57] The study attributed the educational crisis in

both developed and underdeveloped countries to five factors:

1) the student flood. This fact is explained by population growth and by the expectations raised by education. This situation is reflected in the concern on the part of the managers of the formal system for "problems of rescue and logistics" rather than for matters of quality and efficiency.

2) acute scarcity of resources. Despite the unprecedented resources allocated to education, the existing serious scarcity of resources will increasingly affect supplies of teachers, buildings, equipment, books, etc.

3) rising costs. The increasing resource limitations will be worsened by the rising real costs per student. This is especially critical because of the labor-intensive nature of the educational industry.

4) unsuitability of output. The outputs of the educational system are ill-fitted to the changing needs of individuals and societies. A major problem is reflected in the inability of the economies of developing countries to absorb the human output of the schools, thereby creating the new phenomenon of the "educated unemployed".

5) inertia and inefficiency. The traditional traits of the educational system in terms of administration, pedagogy, curriculum content, etc. have not shown the flexibility required by the current needs.[58]

Regarding solutions to these problems, the study suggested that the educational system be optimized by means of modernization of

management, teachers, the learning process, financial structure, etc. It also recommended a non-conventional solution; namely, to put more emphasis on nonformal education. Specifically the study suggests that more resources be channeled to adult education related to economic and individual growth.[59]

In another report made by the International Commission on the Development of Education at the request of UNESCO, the authors pointed out the need for broadening the concept of education:

> The concept of education limited in time (to "school age") and confined in space (to school buildings) must be superseded. School education must be regarded not as the end but as the fundamental component of total educational activity, which includes both institutionalized and out-of-school education. A proportion of educational activity should be re-formalized and replaced by flexible, diversified models. Excessive prolongation of compulsory schooling, which is beyond certain countries' capabilities, must be avoided. The extension of continual training will more than compensate for the shorter average duration of initial studies. Briefly, education must be conceived of as an existential continuum as long as life.[60]

The "Deschooling Society" movement. The impact of the anti-schooling movement upon many educators and social change promoters can not be overlooked. This movement severely criticized the role of the formal education system.

Everett Reimer points out that schools in all nations, of all kinds and at all levels,

> . . . combine four distinct social functions: custodial care, social-role selection, indoctrination, and education as usually defined in terms of the development of skills and knowledge. It is the combination of these functions which makes schooling so expensive. It is conflict among these functions which makes schools inefficient. It is also the combination of these functions which tends to make school a total institution, which has made it an

international institution and which makes it such an effective instrument of social control.[61]

Ivan Illich criticizes what he calls the "hidden curriculum" of schooling in which "students learn that education is valuable when it is acquired in the school through a graded process of consumption; that the degree of success the individual will enjoy in society depends on the amount of learning he consumes; and that learning about the world is more valuable than learning from the world."[62] He also mentions that education, within a consumer society plays a role of "consumer training", backing the concept that human happiness depends on the possibility of consumption of the latest products.[63]

From a similar perspective, Paulo Freire expresses his concern about the negative influence on students of the whole schooling system. He coined the concept of "banking education" through which he denounces what he calls the oppressive relationships between teacher and student. Such a relationship fosters the students' passivity and dependence on the teacher. The student is made to think that he or she does not know anything, while the teacher does; the student becomes an object in the learning process, accepting his/her role as an "empty container" to be filled with information provided by the teacher. This educational concept implies that a person is merely an adaptable and manageable being. The passive storing of information hinders the students' ability to develop the "critical consciousness" which would make it possible to transform the world that they are living in.[64]

Obviously, it is difficult to know to what extent this kind of radical critique of formal schooling has influenced Third World policy-makers in redefining educational strategies. However, it is also hard to believe that the widespread diffusion of this literature has not had any effect at all regarding the validity of the formal system. If the various solutions suggested by these authors are less explicit than their diagnoses of the problem, they share a common concern for the necessity of creating new social conditions, favoring educational alternatives aimed at helping people to have control over their own destiny.

New patterns of financial support from bilateral and multilateral organizations. The results of educational development during the sixties have also been evaluated by international institutions dedicated to financing or helping Third World countries.

From the perspective of the World Bank, the most influential institution in setting patterns of financial assistance, it was necessary to change the strategy of aid for education. Its assessment of the situation was very clear:

> Developing countries have greatly expanded their educational systems over the past quarter of a century. But much of the expansion has been misdirected. The results are seen in one of the most disturbing paradoxes of our time: while millions of people from among the educated are unemployed, millions of jobs are waiting to be done because people with the right education, training and skills cannot be found.[65]

The Bank pointed out that the reason for this situation seemed to be in many respects "that educational policies were simply keeping

company with overall development objectives which were themselves irrelevant to the societies and conditions of developing countries."[66] Accordingly, it decided to increase educational support under the following premises:

- that every individual should receive a basic minimum education. . .
- that skills should be developed selectively in response to specific and urgent needs. . . .
- that educational policies should be formulated to respond flexibly to the need to develop educational systems (nonformal, informal, and formal), so that the specific requirements of each society might be met, and
- that opportunities should be extended. . . for those underpriviledged groups who have been thwarted in their desire to enter the mainstream of their country's economic and social life.[67]

This position was reflected in the distribution of education lending by the Bank. For the period 1963-1971, 95% went to intermediate and higher education; by 1974, the actual figure was 89%, and that projected for 1978 was 73%. This reallocation of funds was intended for increasing financial support for primary and basic education. In terms of curricula, the areas with most estimated increase by 1978 were agriculture 10%, and health 24%, showing by this the Bank's increasing concern for the improvement of aspects related to basic needs.[68]

H. M. Philip, in a paper presented at the Bellagio Conference sponsored by the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, expressed very well the new criteria for the redeployment of educational aid from rich to poor countries. It was suggested that more emphasis should be put, among other things, on

> . . . supply of experts in methods of educational change, innovation, and nonformal education; . . . functional literacy related to work environment. . . arrangements for participation of employers in mixed formal and nonformal education to meet local needs. . . unified economic and social criteria of external efficiency. . . .[69]

In terms of investment, it also was suggested to

> . . . examine social equity as well as economic factors, and nonformal as well as formal education possibilities involving industry and the communications services in the community. . . give capital aid for research and development for new educational patterns and risk-taking. . . encourage, and even subsidize, more takeover by employers of technical and vocational training.[70]

Common Models of Nonformal Education

As stated earlier, NFE as a pedagogical approach is older than formal education, as we know it. What is really new is, on the one hand, the great deal of conceptualization given to it in recent years, and, on the other hand, its enhanced strategic value for meeting deficiencies of the formal system. It is now viewed as a viable alternative in meeting a number of economic and social problems in developing countries. The most relevant modalities that have emerged in the practice of NFE have been aimed to foster basic education, productivity and well-being in rural areas, and capacitation of skilled and semi-skilled manpower for industry, mainly in urban settings.

The agricultural extension approach. Certainly this is the most known and widespread approach in the area of adult training for agricultural production. Efforts made in this field in developing countries have been inspired in part by the United States Cooperative Extension

Service originated under the Smith-Lever Act of 1914.[71]

This approach was implemented in a massive way in the Third World during the World War II, to ensure the food supplies and raw material required by those circumstances. In Latin America, for instance, by the early 60's nearly all countries had applied this kind of model.[72] Its basic objectives were to persuade and help farmers to increase productivity by adopting improved technical practices, and at the same time to teach home economics to women and to get young people used to modern cultivation practices. This activity today is supervised by the Agriculture Ministry, which sends extension agents to work with farmers. These technicians are helped by professionals in the field and administrative staff at different levels.

The methodology underlying this model to ensure the adoption of more productive agricultural practices has five stages:

1) To raise awareness of the need for change,
2) to provoke interest,
3) to demonstrate the potential benefits of the new practice,
4) to generate the wish to try,
5) to adopt the new practice.[73]

This model assumes that knowledge alone about how to improve agricultural practice will resolve real problems. It overlooks additional considerations which explain the disadvantaged situations of the agricultural productivity of most rural population in developing countries: namely, plot size, credit availability, lack of irrigation

systems, expensive or scarce fertilizers, adverse commercialization systems, etc.

It is clear that the implementation of this model has in some instances increased productivity, but the beneficiaries usually have been those few who were better-off in the first place.

The community development model. Basically the aim of this model is to promote the participation of a whole community, usually rural, towards tangible and concrete objectives for common benefit. The intention is to generate attitudes of self-help and self-initiative. Specific projects might include for example, road construction, school buildings, latrines, and the like. In doing so, the community benefits not only from the specific service, but from learning the advantages of working together in solving its problems. This model thus promotes the concept of social development while resolving specific economic needs.

The origin of this approach in recent history can be found in the Community Development Program launched in 1952 by India, and in the practice of "welfare offices" in pre-independence British Africa.[74]

The basic assumptions of this model are:

a) the activities engaged in by the community are in response to real needs as perceived by the people;

b) there exists a community committee to lead in the decision of priorities and organization of tasks;

3) the whole community (men, women and children) will participate in the solution of specific problems.[75]

The main objection to this approach seems be its lack of links to the structural context in which lie most of the causes of the specific problems which need to be solved. This may generate disillusionment among community members, for despite the solution of specific problems, the general conditions of the community well might remain the same. And paradoxically, another problem in this model is the frequent dependency on external agents to motivate and maintain local activities.

The integrated development approach. This model appeared largely as an answer to the limitations of the self-help model of community development. Its major characteristics is to go beyond the single-level strategy in the promotion of social change in rural areas. Thus, a combination of factors besides technical knowledge are believed to be the answer for bringing about agricultural change.

Some of the characteristics that seem necessary for the success of this model are:

1) The preparation of an adequate technological package;
2) the delivery of agricultural inputs on time;
3) the existence of adequate crop-specific extension services accountable to local farmer;
4) the presence of favorable markets for products produced, along with the means for getting such products to the market;
5) the involvement of the small farmer in the decision making process and a resource commitment from him to the project;
6) the existence of local organizations controlled by the small farmer; and
7) an emphasis on increasing the small farmer's knowledge, income, self-help and self-sustained capacities.[76]

Thus, the model is based on the idea that rural development is an integrated system. The educational intention consists in making

the target population understand the process of production, distribution and selling of the agricultural output, and also the need to acquire the skills necessary for productive work. A major assumption of this approach is the existence of the economic infrastructure and institutional capability necessary to make possible every stage of the project. This is impossible without substantial technical and financial support on the part of private and public organizations.

Although much broader in scope, this model persists in the assumption that micro-social change is possible without adjustment in the way the macro-system works.

The vocational-technical training model. The objective of this model is to augment the supply of skilled and semi-skilled personnel for some areas of industry, both on the level of machine operators and of administration. It is aimed at the capacitation of people, in relatively short time, to help with the needs of industrialization-oriented countries. An apprenticeship model, it usually combines classroom work and on-the-job training. The sponsors can be both public and private enterprises. International organizations and foreign assistance programs have also established this type of training in developing countries to back up the industrial model of development.

However, there are problems that very often hamper the success of this model, namely, low internal efficiency, lack of jobs after completing the training, runaway costs, etc. Some of the factors explaining this situation are:

(1) reliance on institutionalized training, ignoring on the job and apprenticeship training as viable alternatives;
(2) modeling technical training programs according to the examples of programs existing in the United States or Europe, oriented as much to research as to practical use in factories; and also,
(3) the lack of evaluation and planning of technical education.[77]

This model has also been applied in rural areas, with the purpose of teaching a number of non-farm skills that are complementary to agricultural activity. It is also regarded as a useful instrument to provide new skills for those willing to create small business or to become self-employed entrepreneurs.[78]

Summary of Nonformal Education

Some of the characteristics that might explain the great impetus given to nonformal education in recent years in developing countries are the following:

1) NFE is a remedial measure for solving problems created by or out-of-the reach of formal education, where this model has proven to be unsuitable to many conditions of developing countries.

2) NFE provides a whole range of educational alternatives, although they are often uncoordinated by virtue of the variety of the objectives pursued and of the variety of institutions promoting and implementing them.

3) NFE is suitable to project-oriented activities.

4) NFE is an emergency measure for coping with short term and urgent problems of education and development.

5) NFE is an attractive resource from the financial point of view, since its delivery structure does not require the huge capital investments essential to the formal system. This is a very appealing feature of national governments and international cooperation institutions, as they both work with limited resources.

6) NFE is an educational model which, without questioning the validity of the formal system, helps to reinforce, complement or replace it, according to the circumstances.

7) NFE is a new philosophy in education, asserting the concept that education does not have to be bound to specific time and place, but is rather a long-life task.

8) NFE re-emerges as humanitarian activity but with the new name of "national development".

9) NFE is seen as a new technical solution for the complex problems of underdevelopment.

Conclusion

The unprecedented expansion of the formal education model in developing countries was the result of the assumed socio-economic benefits that would accrue. Factors such as the increasing demand for formal education and the need for manpower able to respond to the requirements of economic modernization made clear the need for planning the educational sector.

By the end of the sixties, the limitations of the formal system, along with awareness of increasing socio-economic problems,

suggested the need for a shift in the educational strategy, by fostering the nonformal education approach for development purposes.

Three major features of these events are a) the acceptance of education as an "economic input" rather than simply as a human right, b) the explicit recognition of the relationship between economic model and educational model, and c) the emerging of nonformal education as a feasible and sometimes exclusive educational option in developing countries.

In the next chapter we will analyze some of the problems still faced by developing countries in relation to the educational policies of the last two decades.

Footnotes

[1]The article is the 26th of December 10th, 1948, United Nations Universal Declaration of the Human Right. See Horace M. Kallen, "The Demand of Education as a Human Right", in The World Year Book of Education 1965, eds. G. Bereday and J. Lauwerys (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1965).

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[31]Ibid., p. 189.

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[41]See Ibid., pp. 17-18.

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[43]See George Psacharopoulos, "Educational Planning: Past and Present", Prospects, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1979):137-139.

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[75]See La Belle, p. 159.

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C H A P T E R I I I

PROBLEMS STILL FACED BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES REGARDING EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight some of the problems faced by developing countries as a result of or despite the educational policies of the recent years. This will give us a clearer understanding concerning the limitations in the way in which educational planning has been approached, and also concerning issues that must be dealt with in the future.

The chapter first suggests four perspectives from which an evaluation of educational planning and educational development might be conducted. Our analysis, however, is focused on the nature of some current educational problems.

Some Analytical Frameworks of Educational Planning

An accurate and in-depth assessment of the role of educational planning in developing countries must be made from different perspectives. It must be recognized that the need for this kind of planning is very recent. Its rationale and implementation are framed in a historical context in which developing countries have had to face vast socio-economic problems, with great limitations of time and financial resources. Thus, the urgency with which developing countries

have implemented educational policies and the demand for dramatic results in a rather short time may suggest as inappropriate any final assessment about such educational policies. This might be especially true in the case of formal education, whose characteristics imply long-term results. However, the sense of urgency and the scarcity of resources have made possible some critical analysis of educational policies, mainly in terms of forecasting future outcomes if current trends continue to be supported. For instance, this critique has already suggested the need for modifying those trends before some present problems get worse and the formal system goes bankrupt.

There are several perspectives from which an evaluation of educational planning could be made, either from a theoretical framework or from empirical research about what and how has been done.

The following discussion describes some aspects that might be relevant for such an evaluation.

Quantitative development of education. It could be argued from this perspective that educational planning has exclusively been focused on programing scientifically the quantitative expansion of a system that already has well defined the necessary inputs for its development. In this context, educational planning is regarded as a practice aimed to calculate in aggregate terms the requirements for absorbing into the educational system a population willing to benefit from this service.

An evaluation from this angle has to question the validity of

two basic assumptions:

a) that it is possible and convenient for all the school age population to be enrolled in the formal system;

b) that there are unlimited human and financial resources to provide this type of education for everybody.

Thus, the central point of this type of evaluation would be to analyze the convenience of the quantitative-lineal-expansion concept as the basis for educational planning.

Qualitative educational goals. This type of evaluation would focus on educational planning as an activity oriented to the achievement of well defined qualitative national goals. This analysis would include the following steps:

a) review of the educational goals as defined by developing countries;

b) review of the way in which those general goals were translated into specific objectives;

c) review of the way in which the attainment of those objectives was tied to specific implementation places (e.g. the formal education system);

d) review of the success indicators;

e) final data gethering and interpretation of results.

It is very likely that this evaluation approach will face the problem of the limited number, if any, of success indicators because of the great difficulty of translating broad educational goals, very often proposed in the official rhetoric, into specific indicators.

Another important issue to be analyzed from this evaluation approach is the almost axiomatic assumption that education, usually understood as formal education, is the answer to the socio-economic imbalance of developing countries. Thus, a superficial evaluation would lead us to believe that the worsening of some problems is to a great extent attributable to an inefficient educational sector, manifested in weak educational planning both in terms of internal inefficiency of the system, and in terms of the unsuitability of educational contents.

Analysis of educational planning techniques. Another perspective evaluates educational planning by assessing the techniques that have been developed for this purpose. This is a very common interpretation of what educational planning is all about, since people who master these techniques work very closely with politicians in charge of policy-making decisions. Thus, educational planning is commonly regarded as a mere technical process aimed to solve technical problems. The manpower approach, for instance, requires technical analysis to figure out the number and profile of people required for the future expansion of various areas of economic development; on the other hand, the rate of return approach also requires economic analytical tools to determine areas of optimal allocation of educational layouts.

The evaluation of educational planning from this perspective would require a detailed analysis of the number of assumptions behind these techniques, to avoid the mistake of expecting what the

techniques cannot offer. For instance, in the case of the manpower approach, the quantity and quality of the data used by the technique have to be assessed, to gauge the likelihood of convergence between educational output and the job market. This evaluation would probably discover the ineffectiveness of the implementation of this type of educational planning, despite its widespread use, because of the number of assumptions implied not just in the educational plan, but also in the economic plan to which the former is tied.

Another important aspect to be analyzed is the way in which the educational needs are perceived from both the perspective of those attending the educational system, and of those technicians planning the education "scientifically".

The formal education system and its national context. Any attempt at educational planning has to consider the broader context of implementation. From this perspective, an evaluation would consist in analyzing the way in which a given educational model has been developed, as well as the suitability of that model to national characteristics. Thus, it would focus on the origins of the model, its objectives and the way in which they are implemented, its specific characteristics in terms of client population, educational contents, pedagogic style, recruitment-selection-and-reward system, financial cost, etc. All these elements would then be analyzed in light of the specific socio-economic, political and cultural characteristics of the nation in which the model is implemented.

For instance, it is well known that the formal education model promotes a number of attitudes towards modernization (urban-industrial society). The question then is to determine the criteria used in deciding the suitability and feasibility of the development model the formal system aims to promote. And for that matter what is the rationale behind many nonformal education projects which spread individualistic and profit-oriented attitudes in social context whose culture is based on community-oriented life and work?

Thus, this approach to evaluation of educational planning implies the analysis of the process by which educational needs are defined.

Obviously there are many other aspects from which an assessment of educational development in developing countries could be made besides the ones mentioned above. Our intention for the remaining of this chapter is to present an overview of several problems that can be regarded as clear indicators of how the formal education system has worked, problems which are implied in the analytical frameworks mentioned earlier. In addressing these problems, an implicit assessment of educational planning is made. Such problems, either as a result of or parallel to the practice of educational planning, raise serious questions concerning not just the way in which the model has been implemented, but also, in some instances, the validity of the model itself.

Some Current Educational Problems

Increasing demand for education. Despite a number of paradoxical situations to be discussed later on, the educational demand factor in developing countries seems to be permanent. There are several reasons for this, all of them powerful; combined, they suggest that the current trend is irreversible. The "democratization" of education was accepted as something convenient and necessary for developing countries. Education for all was regarded, and still is, as the necessary condition for democracy, peace, modernization, national development, productivity, social equality, better personal income and well-being, etc. These arguments in favor of education are strong enough to explain the increasing demand, for they are loaded with values that hardly can be challenged. Furthermore, there is the quantitative factor of ever increasing population demanding education.

Thus, the educational demand issue has to be understood from two perspectives: a) the increasing number of the eligible clientele for the formal education model; b) the widespread perception of the benefits of that educational model.

There has been a considerable flow of students into the formal education system. Nowadays there are more people than ever who have been exposed to schooling in one way or another. The gross enrollment ratios in developing countries by level of education in the period from 1960 to 1975 showed substantial increase. For instance, for the first level, the jump was from 57% to 75%; for the second level, from 14% to 26%; and for the third level, from 1.5% to 4.4%. Although

the net enrollment ratio for the first level was only 47%, and 62%, for the same years, the fact is that, in aggregate terms the number of people going to school has been steadily growing.[1]

Translating these ratios into numbers of people, in 1960 the number of students at all levels in developing countries was 141.8 millions, while by 1975 the figure was 314.9 million, or an aggregate increase of 122%.[2]

Despite this optimistic development, there was a paradox in terms of exposure to schooling, namely, along with an increase in the number of people enrolled, there was also an increase in the number of out-of-school people. This is true for the elementary school age group of low and lower-middle income countries. For instance, for the period 1960-75, in low income countries the number of out-of-school children grew from 70.3 to 82.5 million, and in the lower-middle income countries the increase was from 15.4 to 19.0 million. Where the intermediate-middle and upper-middle income countries are concerned, there was only slight reduction of this problem in the same 1960-75 period: from 20.0 to 16.5 million for the former, and from 3.6 to 2.5 million for the latter.[3] These out-of-school figures for the first level are just a partial indicator of certain educational dysfunctionalities, for the number of those enrolled that actually finish school also has to be taken into account.

Thus, the educational demand issue has policy implications not just in terms of finding the way to provide a place within the formal education system for all those who demand it, but also from

the fact that, despite great efforts, it is likely that the number of people without educational opportunity will grow. This should be a matter of great concern to those in charge of educational policies. This problem necessarily is related to at least two important areas with policy implications: a) the cost of an educational model that seems unable to meet with its demand; b) the issue of quality of education that is affected by the rapid expansion of the model.

The costs of the quantitative expansion. The financial effort made by developing countries for the development of the formal model cannot be minimized, as is eloquently demonstrated in the percentage of the public expenditure for this field in the last two decades. The total expenditure in real terms grew from about 9 billion in 1960 to about 38 billion in 1976. This represents an increase from 2.4% to 4.0% of their collective gross national product.[4] This expenditure increase took place in a time when a number of other issues held priority in those countries (as they still do), and under severe financial limitations, despite financial and technical aid received from outside. There was a need for improving the agricultural output and for creating or reinforcing the industrial infrastructure, all of which require large investment, yet the outlays for education constantly increased.

There is nothing wrong with increasing educational expenditure for the formal education system if a country has unlimited resources, but when these are scarce and the objectives of the educational model

are not satisfactorily achieved, then the need for reformulating policies becomes clear.

The problem of waste in education: drop-outs and repetition. Along with the direct and recurrent costs of the formal system, a related issue is the efficiency of the educational model to make sure that the students complete the process implied in the model itself.

The experience of developing countries in this areas has not been entirely successful. The number of students who either repeat or never finish one of the levels of the formal system is very high. This is called "educational wastage". Of these two situations, "repetition has the greater impact for a number of reasons: (a) Drop-out may not be completely wasteful if it is considered as an intermediary output with incremental benefits in the socialization and mental development of dropouts; (b) Repetition contributes more to the economic inefficiency of an educational system. . . (c) Repetition affects dropout."[5]

In 1970,

> . . .repeaters constituted about 15 percent of total enrollment in primary education in Latin America, 15 percent in Africa and 18 percent in South Asia. In other words, the number of children of primary school age admitted to school could have been increased by some 15-20 percent this year in LDC, without increasing the costs, had there been no repetition.[6]

Aside from the economic dimension, this problem directly affects equality of educational opportunity, since the incidence of repetition is more common among students of low socio-economic background, more in rural areas than in urban settings, and more

among females than among males.[7]

This phenomenon poses some questions for educational planning: a) How effective are the ways in which the formal system is internally designed and operated? In other words, what elements within the system prevent a significant number of its clientele from going through all its stages? b) What factors outside of the system hamper the implicit goal of universal schooling?

The answers to these questions are critical for the developing countries in terms of future educational policies. Experience shows us that this problem is usually faced from within the system and the solutions given are in terms of better teachers, curriculum reforms, student-teacher ratios, instructional materials, etc.

However, it well might be that internal reforms are not sufficient where the causes of educational waste are external to the system. If this is the case, the educational model itself must be assessed in terms of the national context in which it exists.

The educational pyramid. One of the problems related to the internal inefficiency of the formal system is the "educational pyramid" or education completion profile.

As mentioned earlier, developing countries face the problem not just of the number of people who never will have the opportunity at all of attending school, but also of the number of those who are not fortunate enough to complete their schooling through higher education. This is reflected in the survival rates of those entering any of the three levels of the educational system. The enormity of the

problem appears from the very first level. For instance, aggregate data of 54 developing countries showed that "about 50 percent of the 1970 cohort did not reach the fourth grade; in low-income countries, only 37 percent of the cohort reached the fifth grade, the point at which UNESCO assumes that permanent literacy may have been achieved."[8]

The consequences of this educational pyramid in terms of the goal of "equity through education" are obviously negative. One of the assumptions of the formal education model is that everyone can be exposed to it, and that, after going through the whole process, the person will be able to play an active role in the creation of the social wealth, and has the right to enjoy it. If that is so, the prospects of social equality and economic justice in developing countries are rather pessimistic. In realistic terms the question is how much more time and money are needed before at least 50% of the population finish the whole schooling process? Moreover, is it sound to assume that those who finish will have the opportunity to benefit from the goods and services generated by the society?

The educational pyramid, as result of the educational policies of the last decades, raises many questions about the concept of educational development and the role of educational planning. First of all, the concept of "equality of opportunity" has to be redefined. Does it mean equality of opportunity to enter the educational system, or equality of opportunity to be useful within the society, once the person has finished the schooling process? On the other hand, it is assumed that education brings about equity and social justice

by means of income distribution. It is generally accepted that there is a positive correlation between educational attainment and the level of lifetime earnings, and that secondary and higher education are the levels which most account for better economic income. This means that economically disadvantaged people have more need of finishing the schooling process to improve their condition. However, these people in fact face far more difficulty in going through the process, unlike those with affluent background. This well-known situation contradicts the purpose of the formal system, for it broadens economic and social inequities instead of narrowing them.

One important reason explaining this imbalance in educational opportunity between rich and poor is that of the private costs of education. They are of two types: a) direct costs, which include transportation, instructional materials, textbooks, uniforms, small tuition, fee examinations, school building maintenance, teacher salary, etc.; b) indirect costs, which consist of that portion of income not perceived by the student or his/her family by the fact of attending school instead of working in a productive activity. This is also called "opportunity cost".

From this perspective, there is an obvious imbalance among students of different economic backgrounds. Even where education is completely free, the opportunity cost still puts poor students in a disadvantaged situation. This is true even in an urban-industrialized country. In developing countries, however, most of the population live in rural areas with all the limitations characteristics of those

settings. If we consider the fact that the whole formal education system has been basically a urban model and that most educational resources have been channeled to the cities, then the prospects for equality in developing countries are not optimistic.[9]

If developing countries continue to assume that mainly through schooling social and economic justice will become reality, then they have to ask themselves, first, what social conditions must be created so that everybody can finish the schooling process; and, second, what is needed to ensure that those who finish will be able to actively participate in the nation's social and economic life.

In summary, the "educational pyramid" phenomenon well might be the reflection of the failure of the educational model, the failure of the societal model in which the model is implemented, or both.

Educational output and the job market. Unfortunately the problem faced by developing countries in terms of education can not be reduced to those of high costs, unsatisfied demand, early drop out, etc. There are also educational problems that go beyond the schooling process itself. These are of two types: a) those referring to the connections between the education sector and the economic sector, and b) those relating to a broader interpretation of the role of education than as a mere economic function.

The first set of issues fall into the area of educational planning, from the perspective of the manpower approach. The basic principle behind this approach is to match the characteristics of the

educational output with the manpower requirements of the economy. Thus, it is assumed that a) the educational plan and the economic plan are two essential elements of the same process; b) the educational output will have the qualifications required by the job market; c) once a person has been "educated", there will be the opportunity to work and put into practice the learned skills; d) the more schooling one has, the more the opportunities to get into the job market and to increase the economic productivity.

However, in developing countries today, the number of educated people apparently exceeds the number of opportunities in the job market. There is an increasing gap between demand for education and job supply. This imbalance has produced a phenomenon called "educated unemployment".

> In the 1950s, economists in the industrial nations worried that major bottlenecks to economic growth would occur in the developing countries because they lacked high and mid-level manpower. Manpower planning was instituted as a partial solution to the anticipated problem. But now, only twenty years later, many developing countries face an apparent excess of highly educated labor; the average level of education in the labor force has increased, but so too has the average level of education among the unemployed.[10]

One reason that might explain this situation is that employment opportunities are said to be artificially restricted by a) favoring labor-saving methods of production; b) borrowing inappropriate technologies from developed countries; c) over-investing in education instead of diverting some of these funds to more productive labor-intensive investments; d) hiring over-educated people.[11] On the other hand, the demand for education is inflated for several reasons:

a) the income differential between modern and traditional sector employment; b) "perceived employment probabilities may be exaggerated because of the visible success of predecesors in the system and the temporary need to fill vacancies as expatriates are replaced following independence"; c) employers prefer better educated people; d) reduction of the proportion of total costs borne by the individual as he/she moves up the educational ladder.[12]

This imbalance between work and education raises serious questions concerning the function of education in terms of economic development and social equity. Evidently, broadening educational opportunities does not assure the creation of employment outside the educational sector. Likewise, the very fact of being educated does not necessarily increase productivity nor provides better salaries, this being a major indicator of income distribution.

In fact, developing countries are facing the problem of "educational inflation" reflected in the fact that increasingly more education is required to obtain less remunerative jobs. This situation is reinforced by two factors:

> First, in the escalation of qualification requirements, secondary leavers take jobs which formerly went to primary school leavers, and gradually a secondary certificate becomes necessary for the job. What were once secondary leavers' jobs become graduate jobs, and so on. Second, in response to the qualifications spiral and because there is nothing else to do, the unemployed primary leavers redouble their efforts to get into secondary schools, the unemployed secondary leavers press on the university, and the unemployed graduates flock to masters programs. The result has been a near-exponential increase in secondary and tertiary provision.[13]

This situation forces some paradoxical conclusions contradicting basic assumptions about education and work: for instance, that education has little effect on unemployment, and conversely that unemployment does have an impact on the demand for education. One suggested explanation is that a decrease in the unemployment rate could reduce demand for education "because when unemployment decreases, income foregone by remaining in school increases".[14]

The "external efficiency" of the educational sector is measured in terms of the degree to which the characteristics of the educational output match the manpower needs of the economic sector. However, it is not quite clear which one of the two sectors determines to the greater extent the success of this relationship. The educational sector complains about the methods and criteria used by the economic sector in the absorption of educated people; on the other hand, the economic sector very often complains about the scarcity and quality of the educational product. On top of that, both educational and economic planners alike usually think in mechanistic terms about the behavior and motivation of the students and their parents in choosing the type and length of education.

Thus, developing countries face a confusing situation. Huge amounts of financial resources have been invested in education, yet the number of people without appropriate education increases. There are more educated people than ever, yet the problem of "educated unemployment" grows. What are the causes of this paradox? Is it an inefficient formal education system or is it an inefficient economic

development model? The fact is that the situation tends to get worse, and solutions focusing exclusively on the education sector seem unlikely to succeed.

Education and modernization. The second set of issues between education and national development goes beyond the question of matching learned skills and knowledge to the job market. It deals with the changes that the formal system attempts to produce in the way of understanding and interpreting the surrounding reality, as well as in the way of transforming it.

The formal education model in developing countries has been based on the premise that school is an essential institution for effective change from the traditional society towards the modern society. "Modernization" is the cornerstone of the international doctrine of economic and educational development.

In terms of economic development, modernization is generally regarded as the thrust of the productive capacity towards an industrial, urban, and mass-consumption oriented social model, supported by the continuous development of science and technology. As social change, modernization is said to require, among other things transformation of the economy of subsistence into an economy able to produce surplus of capital, this excess to be reinvested in new economic activities and by doing so fostering a complex and varied economic process. For this to be possible, it is necessary to a) build the new social institutions that will develop and administer

the new social model, and b) generate among people the mentality and attitudes that reinforce the new social model.

As one of these institutions, formal education is given the responsibility to train people with attitudes suitable to the implementation of such goals. Thus, notions such as rationalism, scientific thought, individualism, social and economic mobility, etc., are to be introduced, redefined and propagated by the school system in order to shape the modern person for the modern society.[15]

Developing countries face the question of whether it is in fact possible to become developed in the way that industrialized countries have done by imitating that social model. Furthermore, they must ask whether it is worthwhile to pay the price of modernization in terms of the loss of authentic and traditional socio-cultural values which very often make more sense than the ones introduced by the modernization process. The modernization approach is now under revision as the need for a new definition of development and the role of education in it has become more evident.[16] "Thus, many of the less developed nations now advocate 'self-reliant development' and criticize imitative approaches leading to high production/high consumption societies like those found in Western Europe and North America."[17]

The need for adapting education to the specific conditions of each nation was well expressed by Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania:

> This is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past.18

New attempts to redefine the concept and goals of education to make it more meaningful and suitable to national characteristics are not enough if there still remains the idea that education is a panacea for solving the large range of problems which hamper a sound development strategy. The widespread and overly optimistic belief in the causal relation between education and development well might remain, despite redefinition of the concepts. More needs to be done to narrow the gap between the acquisition of knowledge and skills and the opportunity to apply them and make a meaningful living from them.

During the past two decades, formal education has been asked to produce results beyond its real capabilities. Even in the best of the possible scenarios, where the formal education model seems a feasible option for everyone and its internal efficiency beyond question, the control of the economic realm--in terms of the way in which the social wealth is produced and shared--still remains out of its reach.

Summary

The need for an evaluation of the educational development of Third World countries can hardly be underestimated. This analysis can be made from different perspectives and for different purposes. This chapter has reviewed two types of current educational problems: those concerning the internal operation of the formal system and those concerning the relation between what formally results from the system and the "outside world".

Both the internal and external inefficiencies of the formal system must not be minimized, considering the investment and tremendous effort made by developing countries to implement this type of education. The fact is that problems which in theory were to be solved by formal education have become more acute, while new problems such as the "educated unemployed" have arisen.

This situation calls for new approaches to address the educational issue. Old assumptions about the relationship between education and development must also be reviewed. The need for a new educational agenda is evident.

The next chapter will explore some issues that have to be dealt with, before defining the role of formal and nonformal education in a new educational strategy.

Footnotes

[1]See World Bank, Education, Sector Policy Paper (Washington: World Bank, 1980), pp. 104-105.

[2]Ibid., pp. 102-103.

[3]Ibid., p. 106. The data are from the Statistical Division of UNESCO, and were compiled at the World Bank. The definition of groups of countries was based on the annual income per capita in 1975 U.S. Dollars: low income (less than $265), lower-middle income ($265-520), intermediate-middle income ($521-1075), and upper-middle income ($1076-2500).

[4]Ibid., p. 46.

[5]World Bank, Educational and Economic Effects of Promotion and Repetition Practices (Washington: World Bank Staff Working Paper #319, 1979), p. 1.

[6]UNESCO, Development of School Enrollment. World and Regional Statistical Trends and Projections 1960-2000, International Conference on Education, 36th Session. Paris: UNESCO, 1977.

[7]World Bank, Education, Sector Policy Paper, p. 31.

[8]Ibid., p. 30.

[9]For an example of this situation, see Donald R. Winkler, "The Distribution of Educational Resources in Paraguay: Implications for Equality of Opportunity", in Comparative Educational Review, Vol. 24, No. 1 (February 1980): 73-86.

[10]Martin Carnoy, "Can Education Alone Solve the Problem of Unemployment?" in The Education Dilemma, ed. John Simmons (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 153.

[11]Edgar O. Edwards and Michael P. Todaro, "Education and Employment in Developing Countries", in Education and Development Reconsidered, ed. F. Champion Ward (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), p. 4.

[12]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[13]Ronald Dore, "The Future of Formal Education in Developing Countries", in The Education Dilemma, p. 71.

[14]Carnoy, p. 160.

[15]See Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, Becoming Modern (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[16]See, for example, Marc Nerfin, ed., Another Development: Approaches and Strategies (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1977) and Alain Birou et al., eds. Towards a Re-definition of Development (Paris: Pergamon Press, 1977).

[17]Donald K. Adams, "Development Education", Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, Nos. 2-3 (June-October, 1977): 306.

[18]Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (United Republic of Tanzania: Government Printer, 1967), p. 7.

C H A P T E R I V

ELEMENTS FOR THE CONCEPTUALIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FORMAL AND NONFORMAL EDUCATION PLANNING IN THE BROAD CONTEXT

Introduction

The nature and causes of current educational problems in developing countries must be clearly understood if a new educational strategy is to be devised. Diagnosis of these problems is the first step for elaboration of a new educational planning agenda. Since both formal and nonformal education are likely to be the foundation for the new strategy, a number of issues which characterize the relationship between them must be addressed, as these will influence the outcome of this endeavor. This chapter focuses on such issues from a broad societal perspective.

The Need for a New Educational Planning Agenda

Given the situation faced by developing countries, as described earlier, in terms of the characteristics of their educational development, the use of planning techniques and the type of problems that still exist, it is necessary to determine those elements upon which planning for both formal and nonformal education should be based. More than ever, there is a need for leadership on the part of national governments in the coordination of objectives and practices

of educational activities. It seems evident that developing countries have run out of time for experimentation. Acute social-economic problems, disillusionment with current educational planning schemes, and the foreseeable reduction in external aid for education are just some elements that call for a wiser definition and practice of educational planning.

In fact,

> for a variety of reasons, educational planning has in recent years become the target of considerable criticism. For some, it has simply not been effective enough in solving the problems associated with educational development and expansion. Others base their doubts on more fundamental misgivings about the notion of planning a society's future in general, while still others see some of the assumptions and characteristics of the 'classical' notion of educational planning invalidated to the point where a major new departure appears needed.1

According to Hans N. Weiler, educational planning has been harshly criticized for the following reasons:

a) Its conservative bias tends to reproduce the existing system with its failure to redistribute educational opportunity and to reorient qualitative elements of the educational process. Political and economic vested interests in the status quo are reflected in educational planning.

b) The strictly centralized control accounts for its hierarchical nature, its intra-administrative character and top-down operation, thereby preventing the participation of persons and institutions outside of the administrative hierarchy.

c) Its major concern has been the problems of growth in education to the neglect of "the distribution of educational opportunities among

different regional or social subgroups of the population; and the reorientation and reorganization of educational systems in both structural and substantive terms."

d) Educational planning has focused on the elaboration, through different methods and techniques, of a plan that is seldom materialized in reality. Inefficient attention is paid to the problems and limits of plan implementation.

e) Educational planning has been closely linked to economic considerations, limiting its perspective to mere manpower concerns. Such problems as cultural preservation, health, environmental protection, etc., are ignored.

f) The most fundamental weakness of educational planning is the oversimplified assumption underlying its task; namely: "(a) that changes in education will lead to changes in the rest of the social system and most notably to improvement in the individual and collective conditions of economic well being; and (b) that educational systems respond with a certain degree of reliability to the intentions, specifications and forecasts contained in educational plans." Planners generally lack the understanding that "in the relationship between education and economics, education is by and large the dependent rather than the independent variable."[2]

Thus, the need for a new educational planning agenda is evident. However, educational planning must not continue to be regarded as only a technical resource to make operational a series of procedures, and to optimize the allocation of limited financial and human

resources. Rather, it is necessary to review the assumptions on which educational planning is based; that is, to examine the validity of current social objectives, in the attainment of which education plays its part.

Educational diagnosis. To overlook the social context while reformulating the concept of educational planning would lead again to the mistaken and naive view of education as an autonomous and isolated element within a nation whose failures can be explained in terms of mere internal deficiencies in the selection and implementation of organizational techniques. If in fact this were the real problem, the solution simply would be to devise new models of programming and administration; however, the problem is much more complex.

Accordingly it is essential to define the nature of the educational problem: if the problem is believed to be a technical one, then the solution obviously has to be technical in nature; but if the causes of the problem are to be found in the current purpose of education and in the external factors that reinforce it, then the solution has to be of a political nature. This means that the society as a whole must redefine the terms upon which it wants to operate, including the role that education has to play.

The distinction must be understood if developing countries seek an accurate diagnosis of their educational reality. It does not make any sense to reformulate the educational planning practice without diagnosis of the overall context of social objectives; otherwise, more time and resources will be wasted.

Diagnosis is essential since the same fact can be interpreted in different ways, and therefore different solutions are likely to be suggested, with resultant impact on policy and planning decisions. For instance, if the dropout problem in rural areas is believed to be caused by the student's lack of interest in the curriculum or by poor teacher preparation, the policy implications will be completely different from those where the causes of the problem are found to be malnutrition, insufficient personal income, or the need for the student to fulfill an economic function in the family context.

By the same token, the demand for higher levels of formal schooling could be explained by the student's authentic interest in knowing more, or, on the contrary, by his/her need for certification so as to compete in a job market characterized by an "inflation" of schooling requirements.[3] Again, different diagnoses call for different solutions.

Diagnosis as a point of departure towards new educational planning is complex. The first step is to collect the information needed to make future judgments. This necessarily includes both objective and subjective elements. As in clinical diagnosis, the objective elements are those external signals as they are observed, while the subjective elements are the symptoms described by the individual experiencing the problem. This means that the educational situation must be analyzed both in terms of the effects that education produces on the social context and from the viewpoint of those who are directly involved in the task of education.

The diagnosis must be comprehensive. Attempting to solve a

problem with broad implications in the national context by focusing exclusively on isolated elements would be simplistic and ineffective.

A comprehensive diagnosis challenges the most common assumptions about what education is all about and how it really works. The temptation to do only a partial diagnosis is understandable because of the simplification of the task and the minimal commitment of the people involved. However, this is a short-sighted position, since the problem must be faced sooner or later and in some cases, in urgent and unfavorable situations. To attack the problem in extreme situations would limit the number of available options because of the pressure to find quick solutions.

Thus, diagnosing the current educational situation, as the prior step for setting up a new educational planning agenda, requires collection of information and description of facts, both from the general perspective of the relation between education and other sectors, and from the perspective of those closely involved in the area of education.

Educational needs vis a vis educational objectives. The purpose of an in-depth analysis of the educational situation in developing countries is to reformulate educational needs as well as educational objectives. This raises the question of the relation between needs and objectives. Do needs determine objectives, or is it the other way around? This question is relevant for the diagnosis of the educational problem and its implications for planning.

What is the process by which the educational needs of a nation are defined? Is it possible to talk about needs without having a clear idea about the objectives? If this were so, a need would not be that missing element between a current situation and an ideal situation, as defined by those directly affected by the problem. On the contrary, it would be something artificially imposed from outside. Colonial education in Africa provides a typical example. The formal education model was introduced by the colonial powers to meet not the needs of the African people but the need of the colonialist for creating administrative and supervision cadres to serve their interests.[4]

Ideally, an independent nation would define and operationalize its own societal model, and then, according to the different objectives of such a model, determine the nation's educational needs. Obviously, this process would not happen in a vacuum, but in the very specific historical context of the particular country, in which a number of situations were already given and could not be overlooked. Thus, while assessing national educational objectives and needs, a number of factors would necessarily be considered, such as: the relations of production, social structure, production and consumption model, decision-making process, cultural perception of the world and its meaning, etc.

An understanding of these factors is essential for two purposes: first, to know how the nation has been working up to now; second, to know the extent in which existing societal patterns have

been assimilated by different social groups, as this certainly will influence individual and group perceptions about educational needs.

These issues raise again the question about how objectives and needs are defined. To what extent is a process of this nature already biased by the way in which the society has been functioning up to now and by the roles that individuals and groups have been playing in the society? For instance, how likely is it that there will be serious questioning of the rooted idea in developing countries that only through schooling can one be educated, and that only those with formal education can enjoy the social rewards? Or how realistic is it to design a different social model, when the urban-industrial model of developed societies has so long been the pattern to imitate? In fact, the key question is to know to what extent it is possible to challenge the basic assumptions under which the relation "education/society" has been operating, and how and by whom this challenge can be made.

Assuming that this challenge is feasible, the process does not end with the articulation of needs and objectives. The next step is to determine priorities of action, according to the specific historical circumstances of a given nation, both internally and in the international context. To do this, it seems necessary:

a) to have sufficient information, both quantitatively and qualitatively, about the way in which the society operates;

b) to categorize that information so as to make correlations and to determine causal relations; and,

c) to have a value paradigm which allows for judgments concerning the factor being analyzed. This paradigm permits comparison between the current and the ideal status, and also helps to define which problems first have to be solved.

A parallel issue is the question of participation: does this process belong exclusively to the technicians, bureaucrats and politicians? Since it is impossible for each member of a society to have the same type and amount of information, how then is it possible to have the same understanding about the problems and their solutions? How and by whom is the last word said in terms of the articulation of needs and objectives, the priorities of action, and the social changes required to implement the policies decided upon?

Thus, the degree and quality of participation in defining needs and objectives is tied to considerations such as characteristics of the socio-economic structure, individual and social psychology and logistical problems.

Is education subject to planning? Once educational objectives and needs have been articulated and prioritized, the next step is to find out what is needed to achieve the objectives that are subject to planning. What finally makes operational the concept and implementation of educational planning are those things that are subject to planning. A concept of educational planning that could not be put into practice is totally useless. Thus, planning, as a practical activity, must have some kind of control over the elements intervening in the implementation stage, to assure the desired outcome.

The operational concept of educational planning is the result of a double process of thinking, namely, inductively and deductively. The deductive process would consist, first, in delimiting the concept of education and deriving from it its programmatic implications. For instance, if education is defined as the acquisition of specific skills to match the needs of the job market, the programmatic implications are different from those where education is regarded as a process aimed at an integral human development. The inductive process, on the other hand, should first assess those educational elements subject to planning and then arrive at an operational definition.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this study, there is need for establishing links between the area of principles and objectives and the area of programmed actions, whatever the interpretation given to the concept of education. Thus, if developing countries really want to formulate a new agenda for educational planning, they must delimit the concept of education and its purpose, since education can be regarded in at least three different ways: a) as massive mobilization aimed to raise consciousness and participation in the making of a new society; b) as a technocratic sectoral activity; or c) as the delivery of minimum basic skills and knowledge on the part of the public sector to fulfill certain human rights.

These three dimensions do not exclude each other if they are integrated in a single national strategy aimed at common objectives.

Given the complexity of the problems faced by developing countries, the future of educational planning will greatly depend

on: a) the way and the degree in which planning in general is practiced in each country; b) the possibility of balancing the philosophical and the technical aspects of education to deal with all the variables associated with educational planning; c) the imagination to devise a variety of actions, if and when a development model suitable to the people's needs and to the national resources is implemented.

Formal and Nonformal Educational Planning

One of the assumptions of this work is that for a long time to come the structure of formal education in developing countries will largely remain the same, along with an increasing interest and commitment to those activities labeled as nonformal education. In this context, a central challenge is to confront the number of issues and problems that arise when these two approaches are brought together as part of an integrated educational strategy. A number of implications must be addressed if such a connection is to be made. This issue will be analyzed from the perspective of four variables: economic, social, political and cultural. The economic variable deals with aspects of resource allocation in the educational models as well as with the relationship betwen education and the economic sector.

The social variable explores the role played by the educational models in determining social groups in the urban-rural context.

The political variable refers to issues of power and social

control that are likely to be modified, if new roles are assigned to educational models.

The psychological variable deals with widespread perceptions about what is worth learning, when and how, all of which can hamper a sound educational strategy.

The cultural variable focuses on the impact that educational models might have either on preserving national cultural values or in modifying them for the purpose of progress and social change.

Economic variable.

Resource allocation. This important first consideration concerns the criteria for resource allocation. Developing countries in general have scarce financial resources of their own. Although in some instances external aid provides relief for some countries, it is not realistic or advisable to implement educational policies based on the eventuality of such an aid.

Resource allocation must be considered from both the technical and the political perspective.

The technical perspective would suggest a rational use of resources in terms of cost and benefit. To make this technical judgment, it is necessary:

a) to determine the educational models or educational levels that are competing for the resources. This requires not only analysis of the cost-benefit of the allocation among the various levels of formal education, but comparison of such results with those of different

alternatives in the area of nonformal education.

b) to ensure that the prevalent criteria for decision making include consideration of the social cost-benefit. They must be broadened beyond mere mathematical calculations over investments and estimated returns via taxation which are based on mechanistic assumptions. Social needs and priorities well might not be measurable in economic terms, but their realization will render long term social benefits. Such might be the case for instance of a serious and permanent literacy campaign or a feasible and appropriate information network at the national level, to have all the population informed about relevant issues concerning the course of the nation.

c) to include, as much as possible, in the decisions, the criterion of the self-financing of the educational model, not based on the traditional concept of the student's direct cost, but on new formulas which permit educational activities to be economically productive. This element might be called "productive learning".

Regarding political criteria, resource allocation in developing countries is traditionally based not on strictly technical grounds but rather on the social pressure put by various constituencies, or on personal commitments made by those in power.

The political view has usually favored the formal education system, among other reasons, because "politicians are elected to build schools, health clinics and roads".

In a context of harsh political pressures, formal education

and nonformal education come to be regarded as opposite and mutually exclusive options. This situation hampers sound policy making, since those groups most favored by the current status of formal education can oppose reallocation of scarce funds in favor of alternative educational models. They might assume that such reallocation breaks the "equilibrium" in the current process of role selection and skills acquisition on which the structure of labor is based, thus upsetting the existing socio-economic status quo.

Another possible distortion that may result from political pressures, scarce resources and lack of political will, is the privatization of education mostly at the costly higher levels. This fosters an elitist situation in the selection of social roles and in the production, distribution and use of knowledge.

Further, educational resources might be monopolized by the formal education system, while the implementation of important nonformal education alternatives could be taken over by private groups or institutions, national or foreign. These certainly would be more concerned in fulfilling their own agendas, regardless of whether or not they coincided with the national agenda.

Finally, another kind of political pressure is reflected in the type of educational investments made by developing countries, based on priorities set from outside the country by the external donor or funding agencies. These pressures, often disguised in terms of technical reasons,[5] can prevent an authentic and suitable national educational strategy, largely in those cases in which external aid for

education is necessary and comes as part of a whole financial package.

Educational model and productive model. As mentioned earlier in this study, the great boom in the development of formal education was greatly influenced by the idea that such development related directly to economic progress, as was apparently proved in industrialized societies. The expenditure on education was regarded as an investment in the form of economic input essential to building a modern economy. Thus, the relation between educational model and economic model was established, under the assumption that the formal education system produces the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for a modern society oriented towards urbanization, industrialization and mass consumption of manufactured goods.

Disregarding the validity of this reasoning, for the moment, the fact is that this belief is still very strong and still works as a basic principle of the "developmentist doctrine" so widespread in the Third World. In this context, any attempt to give much importance to nonformal education in the national educational strategy well might raise a number of questions, from different perspectives:

a) Nonformal education could be viewed as a step backwards in the current trend towards "development", since it would imply giving up the commitment to enable most of the people for the tasks required by modern society.

b) It could be interpreted as a decision consciously made to officially maintain the national division of labor, thereby re-

nouncing the concept of universal "social mobility". Since it is assumed that it is only through schooling that modern skills can be learned, those involved in nonformal education would be denied those skills and their attached rewards.

c) On the other hand, any substantial change in policy regarding the use of nonformal education well might reflect substantial revision of policy regarding the purposes of and means to achieve development; it also suggests change in the relation of either educational model to the models of production. Thus, if formal education has up to now been given first priority to reinforce an industrial model, the new emphasis of NFE suggests a model based on labor intensive agricultural practices and cottage industry.

Educational model and employment. In the context of a modernization-oriented society, the educational and economic sectors usually are independent of each other, although in theory they are related in terms of supply and demand. This relationship assumes that the needs of the productive sector expressed in terms of supply significantly influence the demand for specific educational skills.[6]

As discussed previously, the economic and educational sectors are in fact autonomous. Acquiring certain knowledge and skills in the formal education system does not mean that students will get jobs at the end of the schooling process. This is proved by the phenomenon of "educated unemployment" and by the trend towards job overqualification by which more schooling is needed to get less and less qualified jobs. Furthermore, very often people who never finished

the schooling process can become qualified for a variety of jobs through the widespread practice of "on-the-job training".

These situations reflect the divorce in practice between the economic and the educational sectors. This problem can hardly be solved solely within the realm of educational planning. It first has to be faced at the level at which important economic decisions are made regarding what to produce, how, and by whom. Given the characteristics of unemployment and inefficiency of formal education in developing countries, it is hard to believe that a policy directed at coordinating education and employment can succeed without first having an effective control over the characteristics of the productive sector.

The question, then, about which skills are better learned through formal and which through nonformal education becomes irrelevant in terms of the education/employment issue, unless other much broader issues be first addressed:

a) If full employment is a real national goal, those variables which determine the creation of employment must be controlled.

b) Priorities regarding productive activity must be defined in accordance with the nation's characteristics.

c) The range of skills and knowledge necessary to meet these priorities must be determined.

Only in light of these broader issues can the suitability of either--or both--educational models be determined. Any such analysis would be based on the assumption that people do not first become

educated and then look for a job that they probably will not find, but rather that they become educated because there is a job that meets the requirements for accomplishing the production goals of the nation.

However, what has to be considered in this scenario is how individuals in fact select the type of productive activity suitable to their own interests and natural capabilities. The full employment policy does not deal at all with such important human aspects as motivation and personal satisfaction, which are essential to productive work.

Another issue to be addressed is the income differential from the perspective of the educational models: how do the type and length of education reflected in a specific productive role affect the amount of personal income? Under what circumstances would it be advisable to support a substantial income differentiation resulting from these educational models?

Education and employment creation. An alternative policy in some instances would be to consider education not as a preparatory stage to fill a post waiting out there, but rather as a process to make people able to create new positions. This scenario would require a definition of production priorities, of required qualifications, and of the best educational model to obtain them. The difference, however, would be that once the individual capacity has been demonstrated, that person should be given the opportunity to create a source of employment in line with the national priorities.

Thus, the creation of employment would not be the exclusive responsibility of the central government, but also of some able private individuals. The government, however, would have to provide the required capital as well as necessary inputs and guidance for the creation and implementation of the employment source. This strategy would address, on the one hand, the problem of an overloaded central government, and, on the other hand, the problem of human waste in terms of initiative, motivation and talent, due to the real lack of opportunities found in the economic system. It would further imply that in selecting one type of education over another individuals would be influenced both by future practical responsibilities and by personal aspirations regarding social roles.

Education and productivity. Traditionally it has been believed by the human capital theorists that there is a direct relation between productivity and educational achievement. This question however, has been debated and criticized.[7]

If nonformal education were given a more relevant role in developing countries in the context of a redefinition of the national development model and of a full employment policy, the traditional concept of productivity would have to be modified. It would have to be applied in much broader terms, since the criterion of producing more output with the least possible input well might be in direct contradiction with the whole range of objectives of a development model in which economic growth is just one variable.

A specific issue to be addressed in this context would be that of a labor-intensive strategy vis a vis the traditional concept of productivity. For instance, if the option of less sophisticated labor-saving technologies is rejected in favor of fostering simpler labor-intensive technologies, such a policy not only would challenge the conventional concept of productivity but also would have an impact on the type of education required for its implementation.

Moreover, since any educational model promotes non-cognitive elements--known as the "hidden curriculum"--which unconsciously shape individual perceptions, attitudes and behaviors, it is natural to expect different attitudes towards work from people who have been exposed to different educational models. This factor is important to be considered since productivity depends not only on financial, administrative, managerial and technological elements, but also on the motivation and general attitude of those directly involved in the productive process.

Social variable. The expansion of the formal education system in developing countries has been viewed as an essential element for a development model oriented towards urbanization. This urban-oriented trend is reflected in the concentration of central government and its bueaucracy in the big cities from where decisions affecting the rest of the country are taken. It is well known that the greater share of the national budget usually goes to the cities, leaving the countryside underinvested, and out of the so-called dynamic of

development and progress.

As a result, most of the expenditure on education has been channeled to the expansion of all levels of the formal system within the cities. This does not mean, however, that all city dwellers have had access to education, nor that the formal model has not been introduced to the countryside. Nevertheless, the development of formal education in rural areas has been less than successful despite some attempts to "ruralize" its content to attract more clientele, to lessen the drop-out ratio, and to foster rural development.[8] The fact of the matter is that formal education has been regarded as the official path towards participation in the benefits of modern society, which are usually found only in the cities.

On the other hand, the recent thrust in the implementation of nonformal education models has been directed in general to the rural areas where formal education is deficient--if there have been some attempts made within cities, mostly in the training of semi-skilled workers.[9] Thus, those who promote nonformal education well might be reinforcing a social dualism.

In effect, social differences become institutionalized where there is a substantial development of the nonformal education model in rural areas, while leaving intact the formal system in the cities, and where those circumstances that account for the imbalance between city and rural areas are left unmodified. Yet, any attempt to establish one educational format for the cities and a different one for the rural areas is surely politically unsound, in light of the

increasing social dysfunction in developing countries. The common assertion that a little education for rural people is better than no education at all only skirts the central problem.

Again, dilemmas such as these that result from theoretical analysis about the possible roles and effects of different educational models cannot be properly resolved or transformed into educational policies if broader questions are not first addressed. It should be necessary, for example, to have answers to questions such as, what is the degree of social homogeneity desirable for the specific country? In fact, what is possible and convenient in this area, not just from the urban-rural perspective, but from the perspective of the diversity of national ethnic groups with their different laws, traditions and social organizations? To what extent is it possible to speak about "unity within diversity" in socially heterogeneous countries? What elements are essential to making possible a national project which involves the different social groups? Such issues must be dealt with for a better assessment of the role that educational models can play in shaping the desired social structure. Furthermore, if substantial changes in educational policies are to be made, policy makers cannot ignore the current role of formal education in the creation of social structures by means of selecting and preparing private professionals, privileged bureaucrats and the clerical staff of modern institutions.

Finally it should be clear that a policy that leaves intact the structure of the formal education system in the cities while

promoting nonformal education in rural areas will have different effect than one which seeks to redefine appropriate social roles and objectives and then implement educational models suitable to them. In the first case, detrimental social differences certainly will increase, whereas in the second case the intention would be to diminish them.

Political variable. Any attempt to modify the current role of formal education through a new educational planning strategy that increases the status of nonformal education will certainly have political implications. It is well known that modernization cannot be achieved without creating a set of new institutions to regulate the social, economic, political and cultural life, according to a predetermined set of rules. The more complex the stage of modernization, the more complex the institutions have to be. Each of these institutions is in charge of specific functions in the area of production, services, culture, etc. They tend to establish a monopoly of the functions they carry which provide them with official credibility and power. Such is the case of the formal education system, which has been given the "monopoly" of knowledge.[10] Therefore, the very fact of suggesting the creation of sound and valid educational alternatives threatens the institution.

Furthermore, it is likely that any attempt to modify an educational structure that legitimizes access to the productive and consumption world, according to certain meritocratic and supply and demand rules, will raise opposition from privileged groups. Clearly,

if new rules for social mobility are set and reinforced, and more elastic policies for obtaining and certifying skills and knowledge are implemented, the mechanisms of legitimation that reproduce the status quo in favor of the few can certainly be eroded.

Political opposition can further increase if, beyond modifications in the role of educational models, changes in the content and orientation of education are also added, for the formal education system is basically a conservative institution whose function is to shape individuals so they can fit into a given type of society. The basic premises of that society are not supposed to be questioned. Nonformal education, on the other hand, can be used for purposes broader than just instruction and training for specific skills in a short period of time. Because of the flexibility of this model, it easily can be used to question basic assumptions about the meaning of education, its purpose and its practice.

Any attempt to reconsider the relationship between education and society has a political impact, not in the limited sense of the political activism that it might generate, but in terms of the possibility of questioning the principle upon which a given societal status quo operates.

Psychological variable.

"First class" and "second class" education. Very often there are discrepancies between the different perceptions people have about the same objective realities. Moreover, perceptions about facts are

usually more powerful than the facts themselves, since they are the ones which influence our behavior. This helps to explain why attempts at promoting nonformal education can fail, regardless of the "objective benefits" promised by the model. If in the people's perception only formal education is "real" education, bringing the only "real" benefits, then it is likely that they will continue to demand that type of service, however subjective their perception.

Thus, the implementation of nonformal education simultaneous with the development of formal education can raise two types of issues:

a) Nonformal education may be perceived as "second class" education since it lacks the impressive characteristics of the formal system such as school buildings, numerous teachers, complex organization, and because it is probably being offered as a last resort for poor and rural people, given the impossibility of extending the formal model to this population. This judgment concerning the quality of nonformal education, however, disregards the relevance of educational content to needs provided by the two models. Much has been said about the irrelevance to the rural areas of the general curriculum of the formal system.

b) Formal education carries social image, symbolizing progress, social mobility and hope for a better life, by the standards of those who are better-off in the society. Simply expanding the non-formal educational model will not change the general trend: in developing countries, people will continue to seek formal schooling,

regardless of its real benefit, unless the social meanings attached to both formal and nonformal education are altered.[11]

Social meanings are reflected in expectations of rewards from exposure to any given educational model. In the case of formal education, the rewards are believed to be social prestige and income. More income is expected because formal education is supposed to teach and train in those skills required by the modern sector in which the nation's economic resources are concentrated. More social prestige is also expected because by participating in the modern sector, people demonstrate their ability to play the prestigious roles of the colonial time, or the roles played within the industrial society that has most influence on a particular developing country. Such roles are promoted by means of selective investments control, propaganda and massive diffusion of the benefits of the lifestyle of the dominant foreign country.

The accessibility of these rewards is demonstrated by the life-style of some nationals, which is similar to that of persons in the developed nations. These people serve as an example of what it is possible to obtain if the new rules of social behavior are followed.

Thus, it seems evident that a national policy of massive expansion of the nonformal educational model must seek to overcome psychological barriers through redefining the social rewards and the rules to obtain them in terms of educational models.

The "I am too old to learn" syndrome. A different type of psychological barrier to be considered is the perception of the

relationship between a learner's age and the educational model. For example, it is commonly thought extraordinary for a fifty year old person to finish higher education or for children between ages seven to eleven to be educated without attending the formal school. The expansion of the formal education system has led us to believe that only within schools is it possible to learn and that only at a certain age. On the other hand, the practice of nonformal education has been directed basically to both young and adult people and by using educational contents different from those taught in the formal system.

This situation has created the basis for a "social division in education by which, according to the people's age, the content, time and place of learning is determined. It is important to overcome such problems of perception concerning age, when and if a coordination of the nonformal and formal models is implemented.

This coordination hardly can be reached if the formal education system continues to prevent its clientele from contact and interaction with the daily social and economic activities of the nation. In this sense, the widespread "drop out" problem in developing countries has much deeper implications than the simple technical interpretation of the "internal inefficiency" of the educational system. The likely lesson learned by a child or youth who leaves school in order to help in the family plot or to get an income-producing job is that to be educated and to be productive are opposite elements, and that to become educated is an exclusive prerogative of those who do not need to work to survive every day.

On the other hand, when a nonformal education project is proposed to an adult group to teach them whatever practical skill, the idea that general and systematic education is not possible beyond a certain age is reinforced.

The mystification of knowledge as something exclusively tied to schools, the complexity of the specialization fields and their derived jargons, and the devaluation of manual work vis a vis intellectual work are to be avoided by developing countries.

The idea that there is no reason to learn, once a certain age has been reached, may be convenient for social control purposes, but is unacceptable in terms of individual growth. On the other hand, to separate formal education from the nation's everyday life can also serve purposes of social control and role selection, but is absurd in terms of human psychology, economic needs, and fair appreciation of manual work.

The acquisition of knowledge must be freed from specific educational models and from age criteria, in order to make it a feasible option for people in developing countries.[12] For this to be possible, it is necessary, first, to modify perceptions about what has to be learned, and when and how that learning has to take place; and, second, to analyze the way in which certain institutions and social mechanisms influence the concept of what is worthwhile to be learned.

To ignore all this while trying to design a strategy including formal and nonformal education will certainly lead to but another

vain attempt at solving the educational problems of developing countries.

Cultural variable. Among the number of concepts used in the jargon of "development", there are two words that are almost interchangeable, namely, education and culture. Although a detailed analysis could demonstrate that these concepts have different meanings, it is widely accepted that there is no culture without education as defined by the schooling monopoly. The real issue, however, is not that of semantics per se, but of the implications for developing countries when educational models not suitable to the specific characteristics of each individual country are implemented.

Social change: modernization versus traditionalism. The economic development model oriented to the modernization of the economic sector in developing countries assumes, as a basic factor, the need for the people to modify their attitudes and behavior about what to produce, how to produce and why to produce. These modifications imply the imitation of certain standards of living that have to be reached through new consumption patterns. Thus, this behavioral and attitudinal change in relation with consumption is regarded as the process of social change.

The transition from a traditional society to a modern society is basically a process of imitation of the lifestyles of industrialized countries. This process ordinarily means a rejection of the traditional values of the country and also reduces the possibility of making the necessary social changes, in accordance with national

characteristics.

This change of mentality in moving towards a modern society is officially fostered in different ways:

a) by the school system through both its formal content and its "hidden curriculum";

b) by the mass media propaganda;

c) by the feedback received from the informal education sector. Daily experience teaches what are those roles and behaviors that pay off and provide the social rewards, as defined by the social system itself.

From among these three sources promoting social change, the school has a very distinctive characteristic, namely, the control factor upon those receiving the modernization message. The school has the advantage of having a captive audience and a great deal of time to influence its clientele. The school defines objectives and expected behaviors, evaluates such behaviors, and, finally, punishes and rewards according to the individual performance. The effects of the school's role must be taken into account if the objectives and characteristics of social change are to be modified in developing countries.

Any attempt on the part of developing countries to build a society based on the traditional values and culture would be very likely in contradiction with the way in which the formal education system has been implemented. Schooling, for instance, promotes such values as competition, individualism, pragmatism, etc. which reflect

the idiosyncrasy of the people from industrialized countries, whereas the values which reflect the culture of many people in developing countries are those enhancing common work, cooperation and, in general, a more indulgent attitude towards change. In this sense, the modernization process well might be something totally strange to traditional cultures, and "education" would be a process by which a native culture is destroyed and a new one is imposed from outside.

This situation is also applicable to many informal education projects whose objective is to train peasant groups to become small entrepreneurs by teaching them managerial and financial skills, when these activities may not reflect their real motivations and objectives.

Thus, implementation of an educational strategy including formal and nonformal education must be based on an understanding of those cultural values that should be reinforced and those new attitudes, values and behaviors that should be promoted to reach the desired social change.

Modern city, science and technology. Probably there are no better indicators to define the place in which a nation or a region within the nation is in the continuum traditionalism-modernization than those of urban development and the use of science and technology. The number and extension of modern cities reflect, among other things, the amount of use of steel, cement and electricity; the administrative and institutional complexity; and the profile of individual skills required by the job market. The development of scientific research indicates the degree of rationality with which a nation faces the

natural phenomena in search of explanation and ultimate control. The development of technology, as applied science, indicates the degree and way in which nature is controlled and transformed, and how this is reflected in the quality of life.

The growth of these three indicators is closely related to the development of the educational model that produces the number of skills necessary to support such growth. This, obviously, has an impact on the traditional culture.

There are, however, two considerations in this respect:

a) It is a common feature in developing countries that the modernization process is based on scientific and technological knowledge brought from outside the country. This factor produces a situation of dependency on developed nations, since these make the decisions concerning what knowledge and what "know how" can be shared with or sold to developing countries. Lack of control over such important elements in the modernization process on the part of developing countries has put them in a very weak and vulnerable position. Dependency is at its most extreme when a country uses scientific and technological advances without having these disciplines included in its formal education system.

b) The formula "modern city, science and technology" is part of a continuum in which there are different degrees of development. This means that there is the possibility to set priorities and consequently decide what areas are worth research, what technologies are appropriate to the overall needs of the country, and what policies

have to be implemented to overcome the polarization between the cities and the rural areas.

Again, the way in which these issues are dealt with will determine the role that educational models have to play in bringing about a social change based on the national culture and aimed at fulfilling the national objectives.

Summary

An accurate diagnosis of the educational problems faced by developing countries has to be the first step in the elaboration of their new educational planning agenda. Equally important is the task of redefining the meaning and content of the educational needs that have to be met. Whatever might be the results of this analysis, it is very likely that formal education will continue to play an important role in the new strategy, while nonformal education will have an increasingly relevant place.

There are, however, a number of considerations that have to be taken into account in relating formal and nonformal education for development purposes. They are of two types: those concerning logistics and those concerning meaning and societal impact, the focus of this chapter. The central idea in this analysis is that whatever the roles given to the two educational modes in a new educational planning strategy, they must derive from serious considerations concerning the desired societal model.

To devise operational models concerning how formal and non-formal education should be coordinated and implemented, without first knowing what factors in the broad social context might hamper that effort and what final goals are to be attained, will not serve any meaningful purpose.

The next chapter will present some examples of how formal and nonformal education models have been implemented at the national level. The rationale and assumptions will be analyzed to show the implications underlying such attempts.

Footnotes

[1]Hans N. Weiler, "Towards a Political Economy of Educational Planning", Prospects, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (1978): 251.

[2]Ibid., pp. 251-255.

[3]See Ronald Dore, The Diploma Disease (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

[4]See Martin Carnoy, Education as a Cultural Imperialism (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974), and Philip J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[5]Such is the case of the manpower approach which fostered the development of secondary and higher education in order to prepare the agents of modernization in the Third World.

[6]This is at least one of the implicit assumptions of the manpower approach in which, after defining the economic areas to be developed and the related skills required, educational planners establish specific educational fields based on those criteria.

[7]See, for instance, Herbert Gintis, "Education, Technology and the Chracteristics of Worker Productivity", American Economic Review, Vol. LXI, No. 2 (May 1971): 266-279.

[8]For a rationale for vocational education in rural areas, see Thomas Balogh, "Contributions of Vocational Education to Economic Growth", in Education and the Development of Nations, eds. John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 160-167.

[9]For a good sample of case studies, see Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs, Education for Rural Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975). See, also, Rolland Paulston, Non-Formal Education: an Annotated Bibliography (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

[10]See Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

[11]See Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning", in Education and Economic Development, eds. C. A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 142-166.

[12]For general criteria in this direction, see William J. Platt, "Vector Planning for the Development of Education", in Education and Development Reconsidered, ed. F. Champion Ward (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp. 150-170.

C H A P T E R V

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF SPECIFIC ATTEMPTS TO RELATE FORMAL AND NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Several countries in the Third World have made major attempts to combine formal and nonformal education in their planning for development. This chapter focuses on the experience of four countries: Cuba, Tanzania, Indonesia and Thailand. It describes main characteristics and variables, as well as the general assumptions underlying these attempts. As discussed previously, a comprehensive educational plan must deal in the first stage with general principles concerning the meaning of societal life, the type of relationships that are to exist among the members of the community, and the structural and institutional mechanisms necessary to regulate such relationships. Thus, our analysis concerns basic correlations and principles upon which the attempts have been made, rather than their implementation on the programmatic level.

The presentation of these four cases is intended to demonstrate how seriously some countries have attempted to relate formal and nonformal education on the national level. The intention is not to draw any comparison as such, although some general comments are made at the end of the chapter. Each case stands on its own merits.

Together, they represent some of the most significant innovations in educational strategy in the three major regions of the Third World: Latin America, Africa and Asia.

The presentation of each case begins with a brief historical introduction and general description of the model and its rationale. This is followed by discussion of its correlation with the national ideology, with the practice and concept of work, and finally with the economy.

Cuba

In 1959, Cuba began to implement substantial economic, political and social changes in which education was to play a key role. The nation-wide literacy campaign that mobilized thousands of people and which took place at the very beginning of the revolutionary regime reflects the importance given to education by the Cuban Government.[1]

As its first priority, the new regime set out to address a number of social problems in the areas of medical care, housing, land distribution, health, etc., because despite the fact that Cuba had a "considerably higher degree of cultural homogeneity and a greater per capita income than most other in Latin America. . . It exhibited marked social inequalities and, in particular, a great gulf between the urban middle and upper classes and the rural peasant."[2] The following are the main objectives of the revolutionary regime which have worked as a frame of reference for the specific educational

strategies that have been implemented:

> 1. To expand and utilize fully the society's productive capacities. . . .
> 2. To eliminate economic, political and cultural dependence on the United States; to achieve national sovereignty within the framework of cooperation and mutual economic benefit among socialist countries.
> 3. To replace the rigid class structure of capitalistic Cuba; . . . to eliminate sexism and racism; to end the city's economic, cultural and political domination over the countryside.
> 4. To transform work into a challenging and creative ability for a new socialist man, motivated by social consciousness and the desire for self-expression. No longer would work be a painful necessity characterized by alienation, the fear of starvation, or the lure of monetary gain.[3]

A number of educational activities aimed at fulfilling these objectives have been implemented in the last two decades. Many of them fall into the area that has been called nonformal education.[4] Our intention, however, is to review a specific educational strategy that was designed to combine the traditional model of formal education with activities usually considered suitable to nonformal education projects. This model has the special characteristic of being thought of as a nation-wide strategy, and has had two stages: the first, known as "schools to the countryside", and the second, "schools in the countryside".

Schools and the countryside. The first stage, or "schools to the countryside", was initiated as an experimental program in the spring of 1966, and in the same year became official policy to be implemented at the secondary level. During the 1966-67 academic year, 140,000 students were involved in the project. The next year, the number

increased to 160,000.[5] The program involved sending 7th to 10th grade students to the countryside, for 45 days each year. During that time, students had to combine school work with productive activities. The model required "a minimum of class work and a maximum of working with state farms, private farmers, and the military in the production of such products as sugar cane, coffee, tobacco, citrus fruits, vegetables and others."[6]

The rationale for this reform is to be found in the ideological realm, that is to say, the creation of the "new socialist man". More specifically, these efforts "were aimed at eliminating the differences between city and country, establishing close bonds between the school and the daily life, and educating the new generation in and for work."[7] The educational model required close interaction between teachers and students as they shared a common chores and lived in the same dormitories. It also emphasized the value of working side by side with rural farmers and peasants. It was clearly intended to close the gap between intellectual and manual work that had characterized prior urban/rural roles and had strongly promoted social class division.

In terms of pedagogical style, the "students were introduced to the mechanics of organization and self-government based on group cooperation and work, thereby developing and understanding collective action";[8] in terms of educational content, the intention was to familiarize the students with the problems of industry and farming. Specific economic needs of the Cuban society were also to be met,

particularly in the area of labor. For instance, in the year 1972-73, about 200,000 students worked on 160,000 hectares of land which meant almost 20 million hours of farm work. They sowed 19,000 hectares of land and harvested 2.5 million quintals of vegetables and small fruit, and 800 million pounds of cane.[9]

However, this educational program faced a number of internal deficiencies which, along with the need for certain adjustments in the nation's economic policy, made clear the necessity to radicalize the program. Critical assessment of the model reveals such problems as: the low productivity of students, who were not used to manual work, insufficient clarity of goals and leadership, the sense that those who would proceed to higher education were wasting time, the feeling of superiority among many urban people in relation to rural people, etc.[10] Furthermore, it was found that students in fact were missing 45 days of school since they spent more time working than studying; and second, that schools were run in the traditional way during the rest of the year, in terms of mode of operation and costs.[11]

Thus, in 1971 the new model of "schools in the countryside" emerged. This was to be an integrated formula for studying and working all year long, rather than an experience limited to 45 days. The population of the program remained the same, namely, junior high school students (seventh to tenth grade). The ideological and pedagogical intentions were also the same. The new emphasis, however, was on the one hand, to reinforce the idea of compatibility between systematic

study and daily work, and, on the other hand, to integrate this educational level with the nation's economic policies.

The relation of this program with the economic policies is reflected in these criteria:

a) The project had to be self-sufficient: the productive activity done as a part of whole program had to cover the initial investment and the recurrent costs of the school. This would allow the reproduction of the model as many times as necessary, without being a fiscal burden.

b) The educational program would play a role in the national agricultural plan in the production of citrus, coffee and vegetables.

c) The model attempted to train urban students as future agricultural workers.[12]

Major correlations in the Cuban model.

Education and ideology. The idea that a systematic educational activity has an impact upon the way in which life in general is perceived is not unusual. This point has been analyzed by the critics of schooling, mainly from the perspective of the effects of the "hidden curriculum" in shaping students' attitudes and behaviors.

In the Cuban case, however, it is interesting to see the clear and explicit way in which the ideological factor is handled. Educational objectives are openly defined in terms of the ideology required for the achievement of the broader societal goals. The creation of the "new socialist man, motivated by social consciousness

and the desire for self-expression", is an outcome resulting from conscious effort and not as a fruit of covert pedagogical manipulations. Similarly the instrumental role of education in the process of building the new society is openly accepted. Education is overtly used by the ideology:

> Throughout the whole history of human society education has been a product of the social classes which dominated at each stage. The content and orientation of education are therefore determined by the social classes which are in power.
>
> In Cuba, those in power are the workers, the peasants, the progressive intellectuals and the middle strata of the population, who are building a democratic society in which group and class privileges are disappearing and in which private ownership of the basic means of production is being eliminated. If anyone wishes to know the aims of our education, they should study the interests of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and the middle strata of the population and they will find their answers. It is these which determine the purpose, the objectives, the orientation, the content and the methods of education in our country.[13]

In the pre-revolutionary years, the educational system was aimed at enabling students to face the world in an individualistic and competitive way. Conversely, the new educational approach promotes the necessity of common effort to reach the social goals. This is reflected in the role of students in the process of education:

> Shortly after the triumph of the Revolution, students were encouraged to study in groups, that is, to pursue collective rather than individual study. The process of expanding knowledge and competence was seen as a group effort, and elements of competition in the classroom were to be minimized. Although recently the importance of individual study has been re-emphasized, the collective spirit is maintained in the monitors program.[14]

Education and work. The relationship between education and work is an essential factor in the Cuban model. Each element can

hardly be understood without the other:

> Schooling is both a complement and a spur to changes taking place directly in the production sphere. The aim is to alter the social relations of production so as to render the work process itself intrinsically rewarding, through either the creative joy in participating in it, or the sense of social fulfillment involved in doing a needed job.[15]

The relation work/education claims to modify two elements simultaneously: a) the attitude that each individual has towards work and its rewards, and b) the role played by work in the social relations of production. Thus, students "must be brought to have a high sense of the duty to work; that is to say, they must be taught the necessity of work."[16] In addition to that, "they must be taught the value of emulative work and the difference between capitalism and socialism as being based on the difference between competition for private gain and emulation for the sake of increasing the output of the community."[17]

An appropriate relation between education and work is important for achieving the goals of socialist education:

> Here we see two basic aims of socialist education: The linking of education with productive labour as a means of developing men in every aspect. Educating in productive labour, making the students familiar with the details of production through practical experience, enabling them to learn its laws and the organization of its processes; that is, educating them in the processes; that is, educating them in the very root of all cultural, technical and scientific progress, and giving them an ideological and moral training leading to an all-round education.[18]

Further, the relation has pedagogical value, for "it has been demonstrated that, when theory is related to practice, instruction is more effective."[19]

Education and the economy. The relation between education and economy is quite evident in the Cuban model. The economic factor plays a key role within the educational model itself, and education is given a key function in the national development plans.

Given the scarcity of resources that have to be used for a number of social and economic purposes, the program of "schools in the countryside" is required to be self-sufficient and productive at the same time. On the other hand, "the contribution of education to the forces of production takes two main forms: first, the development of workers with those technical and scientific capacities needed for efficient production; and second, the inculcation of values, expectations, beliefs, and modes of behavior required for the adequate performance of adult work roles."[20]

Some of the policies applied by Cuba concerning the relationships between education, training and employment are well articulated in these paragraphs:

> . Cuba, as a socialist country, has a State-planned economy which makes it possible to apply a policy of correspondence between education, training and employment. For this reason, from the first years of the Revolutionary Government, the change of the social economic structure made it possible to meet the need of full employment of the population as an essential principle of socialist planning.
> . Consequently, educational planning is part of the overall planning of the country's economy. Thus, the State, in planning its short-and medium-range development, trusts the National System of Education with the training of the new generations according to the requirements for the formation of the new type of man demanded by the new society. The State also stipulates the needs of qualified labor force for the country's economic development in the

different branches of production and social services. The principle of combining education, study and socially useful or productive work is applied throughout the National System of Education, with a twofold objective: the formation of the students, together with their social contribution.[21]

Tanzania

The independence of Tanzania from British rule in 1961 did not bring immediate or substantial change in the goals of education. However, some modifications were implemented to eliminate three main faults of the colonial educational system:

a) Racial and religious distinctions within the official education system were abolished. Previously, three virtually separate education systems had existed, divided on the basis of race, for Africans, Asians and Europeans. "If decidedly separate, however, the systems were far from equal. If only in terms of per-pupil expenditure, European children were most favored, Asians rather less so, and Africans consigned to the poorest schools and taught by the worst paid teachers."[22]

b) While colonial education had been reserved for the very few, educational facilities now were expanded, mainly at the secondary and post-secondary levels. In the period 1961-1967, the primary education enrollment grew from 490,000 to 825,000 students. At the secondary level, in the same period, the jump was from 11,832 to 25,000.

c) Tanzanian culture, history and language were introduced in the school curriculum. They had previously been ignored with the emphasis given to the English language and European history.[23]

These modifications were obviously important in light of the long imposed practices of the colonial power. However, they were not the type of changes needed to solve the problems that hampered the kind of national development required by Tanzania. Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, pointed out some characteristics of the educational system that were contrary to the national goals:

> First, the most central thing about the education we are at present providing is that it is basically an elitist education designed to meet the interest and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system. . . . Equally important is the second point, the fact that Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for. . . . (the school) It is a place children go to and which they and their parents hope will make it unnecessary for them to become farmers and continue living in the villages. . . . The third point is that our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worth while is acquired from books or from "educated people"--meaning those who have been through a formal education. . . . Finally, and in some ways most importantly, our young and poor nation is taking out of productive work some of its healthiest and strongest young men and women. Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume the output of the older and often weaker people. . . . [24]

These considerations made necessary a re-assessment of the role and objectives of education, mainly in light of the development model proposed in 1967 by TANU (Tanganyka African National Union), the political party in power, in what was called "the Arusha Declaration".[25] The new educational philosophy and strategy were proposed by President Nyerere in the policy document called "Education for Self/Reliance".

Educational objectives. Julius Nyerere stated that "only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals."[26]

Tanzania's goal was to become a socialist society based on three principles: "equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none."[27] In order to make possible this new national project, the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the country had to be taken into account. Recognizing that Tanzania was basically a rural society whose main resources were those of land and people, "it is therefore the villages which must be made into places where people live a good life; it is in the rural areas that people must be able to find their material well-being and their satisfactions."[28]

The objectives of the educational system had to be in accordance with the societal goals, as education would play an important role in:

a) disseminating those social values which promote "co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry or in academic pursuits."

b) preparing people for the type of work they will likely do according to the characteristics of Tanzania as rural society. The student has to be able "to learn the basic principles of modern

knowledge in agriculture and then adapt them to solve his own problems."

c) creating people who are free, responsible and able to play a key role in the implementation of rural development programs.[29]

Changes in the educational system. The redefinition of educational objectives also implied modifications in the structure of the educational system. Changes in three areas were considered necessary: entry age into primary school, content of curriculum and organization of the schools.

It was thought best that children going for the first time in primary school should be older than 5 or 6 years. The reason for this was twofold: older children are more mature for learning, and by the time they finished primary school they would be old enough to be incorporated into the productive life. Thus, primary education was conceived as a "complete education in itself", and not just as a pre-requisite for secondary school. This policy was also intended to solve two problems:

a) It is impossible in economic terms to build secondary schools solely to assimilate those coming from the primary level;

b) The problem of school leavers at the end of primary education due to the lack of places in the next level could be diminished by the self-contained character of primary school.

The rationale for offering secondary and higher education was that certain services needed by the community required people with more training. This was the case for teachers, extension officers,

doctors, engineers, etc. On the other hand, the primary school curriculum had to be based not on those elements that might be relevant for the occupations that only few people will obtain, but rather, "we should determine the type of things taught in the primary school by the things which the boy or girl ought to know--that is, the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society. . . ."[30]

Finally, the reorganization of the schools was aimed at incorporating them into the economic and social life. Thus, the school was perceived as a community in which the self-reliance precept had to be practiced. The community of teachers, students and farmers had to work very closely, and, in order to survive, they had to produce wealth by farming or other means. All the schools, and especially secondary and other forms of higher education "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."[31]

The relation between formal and nonformal education. All these changes in educational policy produced a great variety of educational activities. Although formal and nonformal education remained as two different approaches, they were part of the same overall strategy. A new philosophy and new practices were introduced into the formal system, while at the same time mass education programs were undertaken,

mainly directed to the young and adult population.

Primary education was designed as a self-contained program oriented to the agricultural field, although it also functioned as a requisite for going to the secondary level. The same was true of the secondary level in relation to higher education. The mass education programs were oriented to all those people who never were exposed to formal education or who would not go beyond the primary level. These programs have been of various kinds.[32] Among them, it is worth mentioning the adult literacy program, the health campaign and the program for cooperatives.[33]

In a well-documented study about the changes of educational strategy in Tanzania, Arthur L. Gillette pointed out some important features about the relation between the goals of formal and nonformal education:

a) Formal education, as a model, has clearly stated goals; it is important in the new strategy mainly in light of global long-term and medium-term planning.

b) The goals of nonformal education "tend to be stated sectorally" and in the context of short-term and medium-term programs.

c) The changes in the medium and long-term goals of formal education seem to be clearly influenced by the spirit of the nonformal education approach.[34]

Gillette also analyzed this relation in terms of its salient points of divergence and convergence with respect to several other aspects such as, amount and kind of education, resources, financing

organization and foreign influences.[35]

The author noticed clear and even contradictory divergence in some instances between nonformal education generally oriented to reinforce the UJAMAA, or rural community model, and formal education oriented to train for urban roles. Yet, "it appears that formal education has evolved more in the direction of non-formal education than the reverse." This is reflected by the para-school role of some non-formal education projects and by the influence of NFE thinking upon formal education in terms of content, direction and people's participation.[36]

Despite this trend, Gillette asserts that these two forms of education have not fully merged, which "may well reflect broader and deeper ambiguities and contradictions in Tanzanian society, and its revolution-at large."[37]

Major correlations of this model.

Education and ideology. The role of education in building the Tanzanian socialist society is regarded as essential. Its use as an instrument for the development of authentic national values, and for the transmission of skills and knowledge suitable to the national reality is very explicit. The bulk of educational activity is aimed at creating the socialist UJAMAA model in this almost completely rural society.

An outstanding feature of the Tanzanian ideology is that it is not derived from a social theory concerning optimal social and economic relations, but rather from the historical and cultural context

prior to the colonial domination. However, communication of those native values no longer derives from spontaneous and informal interaction, as in the precolonial era. The formal education system, an imported model, changed the concept of education; as an established social institution, it holds special meaning for the people. Therein lies the likelihood of contradiction between the ideology proposed by UJAMAA and the values attached to the formal education model, mainly at the secondary and higher levels.

In terms of educational planning policy, there still remains the question of how to combine in a single strategy two educational models that in practice have produced different expectations and attitudes in the people who are exposed to them.

Education and work. There are at least four considerations regarding the education/work relation in the Tanzanian model:

a) The stated need for providing the type of education most related to the work the students are likely to find is perfectly clear.

b) Education and work have to go together, not just for the pedagogical value of learning by doing, but also for economic self-reliance and the development of socialist attitudes.

c) From the psychological perspective, it is necessary to combat the widespread idea among the boarding school students that the student's role is exclusively to study, and that all manual labor is to be done by others.

d) There is a distinction in the amount of education received according to the student's future activity: primary and vocational

education for agricultural work; and secondary and higher education for the modern professions. This situation well might perpetuate economic and social differences based on the type and amount of educational exposure.

Education and the economy. Two major elements seem to be the essence of the relationship between education and the economy:
a) The acceptance that Tanzania is basically a rural country has influenced the profile of the labor force and the productive activity. Hence the importance given to the development of knowledge and skills relevant to the range of activities performed in a rural context.
b) The implementation of the principle of economic self-reliance is largely the responsibility of each particular community. It is intended that each village have control over what is to be learned in the schools and what is to be produced by the community. This participatory process in defining local needs is designed to determine the village manpower requirements.[38]

Indonesia

After a long 350 year period of colonial dependency on Holland and a short 3 year Japanese occupation during the Second World War, Indonesia finally became an independent nation in 1945. Official recognition by the United Nations came in 1949.

Education during the colonial era was little different from that in other colonized countries: that is to say, education was reserved for the colonizers and the few nationals required for civil

service. However, geographic, religious and other characteristics allowed for certain regional differences as to the kind and purpose of education. For instance, Protestant missionaries built church-related schools in the North Sulawesi region, in which free education was provided to converted people. The Dutch language was taught, which was a useful skill to get jobs in the civil service as well as in the army and the police force. In the West Sumatra area, where there was little control by the colonial government, social mobility was mainly based on trade and commerce activity, whereas education was almost entirely dominated by the Islamic schools. In East Java, the Dutch controlled the schools, whose function was to educate the children of the nobility of the different kingdoms. This was a clear decision to assure political control.[39]

Thus, "when Indonesia won its independence, its education system was poorly developed, clearly reflecting the lack of Dutch concern with the democratization of education; education was provided when and where it served the purposes of the colonial government."[40]

The formal education formula. Educational development in Indonesia, since its independence, has been similar to that of many developing countries, whose main concern has been the quantitative expansion of the formal education system. The number of primary and secondary schools built during the period between 1951 and 1972 represented respectively 66.5% and 84.1% of the existing schools at that time.[41] Yet, despite this effort, the formal education model remained

inadequate for at least two reasons:

a) formal education was not a viable option for all the people, and

b) it persisted in reproducing regional disparities.

To face these problems, some provisions were included in the second five-year development plan (1974-1979): The program called "SD INPRES" (Presidential Instructions for Primary Schools) was oriented to the construction of 21,000 six-room primary schools which would mean a 31% increase over the 66,578 schools existing in 1974. In addition, 10,000 existing schools would receive financial aid to increase their absorptive capacity. To implement the notion of equal distribution of facilities and teachers, each "SD INPRES" school should have four full-time teachers graduated from the teacher training schools. It also was decided to print 138 million text books with improved content. These books, like the schooling, would be free of charge.[42]

These reforms were concentrated at the primary school level, while secondary and higher education were left practically untouched, carrying the traditional deficiencies found in most developing countries: selective and elitist education generated by an educational model whose economic, administrative and manpower characteristics are hardly affordable.

The Indonesian nonformal education strategy. In light of the country's huge educational problems aggravated by geographic and population factors (Indonesia is an archipelago of 3,000 islands, not all of them

inhabited, with a population of 140 million), the Indonesian government decided to implement a large-scale nonformal education program, under the supervision of the Directorate of Community Education (Penmas). The duration of the project would be of 4-1/2 years (1978-1982), at a cost of 33 million U.S. dollars. It would be carried out in 7 of the 27 provinces of Indonesia, in which 70% of the country's total population lives.

Although this program is basically independent of the formal education system, its dimensions and scope make it seem a serious national educational strategy. The project is intended to reinforce the institutional capabilities of Penmas so that it can attain its objectives more efficiently.

Institutional capabilities. The program is aimed at:

a) the renovation and construction of training centers (Balai Penmas) for the Penmas Staff and for the field workers (Peniliks);

b) the development, production and distribution of improved nonformal education materials, through special units;

c) the introduction of a system for continuous evaluation;

d) the creation and administration of a basic learning fund to support village-level activities.[43]

Educational objectives. The educational objectives of the project are inspired by the educational strategy called the "kejar program". The word "kejar" literally means to "catch up"; however, it has symbolic value, being the abbreviation of such words as "work", "learn" and "group".[44]

> This work/study programme,known as The Program Kejar, has been designed to give the out-of-school population a chance to attain the basic knowledge, attitudes and skills relevant to development while they are going about their daily chores. The programme is made up of three components: (1) the development and production of learning packages. . . ; (2) the motivation for and organization of learning in the community; (3) the motivation and training of community leaders and volunteers to serve in the programme.[45]

The target population of the project includes out-of-school youth and young adults, aged 10 to 24, with little or no formal education. This group comprises most of the 3.4 million out-of-school children aged 7 to 12, all of the 14 million youths aged 13 to 18 not attending school, and part of the 23 million adult illiterates over the age of 18. The intention of the project is to reach an average of 850,000 people each year.

The core of the project at the village level is the creation of learning groups. These groups are formed by 10 to 20 members that must

1. Determine their own learning needs.
2. Design a plan for meeting those needs.
3. Arrange for the human and material resources necessary to meet these needs, and
4. Carry out a learning process that fulfills those needs.[46]

The groups are assisted by the field worker (Penilik), the volunteer facilitator and the learning resources.

In support of the learning groups, Penmas is developing three sets of written materials known as learning packages (A, B and C). Each of these includes a number of booklets dealing with different subjects and aimed at specific groups. The content of the material is

largely based on the concept of "minimum essential learning needs."[47] The priority will be given to the development of package A, designed for illiterates and primary school drop-outs. Package B is for those who finished package A, finished primary school, or dropped out of junior high school. Finally, package C is for those who finished package B, finished junior high school or dropped out of senior high school.

Relationship between formal and nonformal education. It is clear that the project, on the one hand, tries to remedy the unfinished work of the formal school at the primary and secondary levels, and, on the other hand, to substitute for formal education in reaching illiterate adults.

However, there is a point at which the two models are brought together. Within the targeted geographic area of the project, there are six teacher training institutions (Ikips), and provisions have been established to assure the cooperation between these and Penmas. The first element is to provide training to the staff of the Ikips in the theory and practice of nonformal education, so that they can do research and consulting work in this field and also introduce NFE techniques into the formal system. Secondly, training for both fieldworkers and middle-level managers is to be provided within the Ikips, in order to take advantage of their institutional capabilities (staff, administrator, facilities, etc.). Thirdly, a national curriculum on NFE has been designed by the six Ikips, to offer a regular four-year degree program (S1), as well as a one-year diploma

program (D1).

The benefits to be obtained from relating these two models are summarized by D. Moulton and K. Cash:

1. Institutional stability: enough institutional stability must be provided to allow for curricular and methodological changes to occur without these changes causing the demise of the nonformal education program.

2. Professionalism, credibility and commitment: the present conception of nonformal education personnel as being inexperienced and unqualified must be replaced with the recognition of the nonformal education educator as a full professional on an equal level with that of educators in the formal system.

3. Uniformity linked with cultural variability: a professional nonformal education program needs to maintain national standards of uniformity and at the same time have the flexibility to adapt to regional and cultural differences.

4. Intersectoral linkages: nonformal educators must be trained to work in a large number of government and private agencies while maintaining a uniform standard of professional competence.

5. Convergence of nonformal and formal educationsystem: the two systems of education should encourage enough flexibility so that participants do not become locked into one without the opportunity to transfer to the other.[48]

Major correlations of this model.

Education and ideology. "In Indonesia, the purpose of education is to develop the 'complete man' and the 'whole Indonesian society'. This means that the government is committed to universal education and to remedy the inequalities in educational provision. The present effort of building thousands of primary schools (10,000 to 15,000 annually!) and the boosting of nonformal education programmes must be seen in that light."[49]

The concept of "whole Indonesian society" can only be understood in light of the Indonesian state philosophy whose five pillars are: belief in God, democracy, nationalism, social welfare and social justice. The educational implications of this philosophy for the development of the "complete man" can be summarized in three objectives:

1. The continuous development in the individual of a capability to respond to the ecological challenges that are faced;
2. to develop the capability of reasoning which may then strengthen religious belief and general behaviour;
3. to develop the professional capability of the individual to perform national development duties.[50]

This philosophy is the official frame of reference for the national development of Indonesia, in which education plays a key role. W. P. Napitupulu explains this point by stating that the main purpose of the Independence was not only political but also socio-economic, and that ignorance is the source of poverty. Thus, ". . . if one agrees that the gap between the haves and the have-nots is essentially educational, the programmes in education, both formal and non-formal, must get the first priority."[51]

Education and work. In the Indonesian model there is no clear attempt to redefine the concept of work and its implications for the educational structure. References do not go beyond the general concept of enabling people to become "productive citizens".

However, there exists in Indonesia the concept and practice of volunteer work, by which formal education students can collaborate in the rural areas. For instance, through the Butsi program, master's and bachelor's degree holders as well as vocational high school

graduates go to work for two years in the villages. The activity is funded by the government, and the students work as "pioneers of modernization and development". In 1979, there were more than 2,000 such people spread in more than 2,000 villages in all provinces, except the national capital.[52] A similar program called "KKN" and run by each state university consists of full-time volunteers working in the villages for periods of 3 to 6 months. "The KKN programme is, indeed, a formal education programme for the participants, a nonformal education to the village people being served, and also to the faculty members, especially those who have not yet left the ivory tower attitude of higher learning."[53]

This type of effort, however, cannot be seen to reflect substantial or far-reaching pedagogical reform.

Education and the economy. The assumptions concerning the relation between education and the economy are different in the context of formal and nonformal education.

The great boost of nonformal education is framed in the idea of broadening educational opportunities for illiterates, drop-outs and school leavers by providing an organizational scheme and supporting educational materials. The emphasis is on assuring basic education, whose purpose is threefold:

> . . . first, imparting knowledge or functional information that can be used to raise the standard of living; second, imparting certain skills which may be used as capital in earning a living; and third, inculcating, nurturing and developing mental attitudes toward innovation and development crucial to social change and economic growth.[54]

In this sense, the basic assumption is that educational input will provide the individual with the necessary elements to get involved in a productive activity that will increase his/her standard of living. The model does not assume that people will learn a number of skills to be used in an economic structure already in need of them. This would not be much of a problem, were it not for the fact that the program is aimed to involve a very significant number of the population.

Regarding formal education, the second five-year development plan (1974-1979) recognized the importance of linking technical and vocational education with productive work. Some of the suggested proposals were: expansion of work opportunities, industrial development specifically in support of agricultural production and in preparation for the foreseen industrial growth, raising the status of the educational sectors of the economy, and, finally, establishment of a better balance between regional and national development.[55]

Thailand

Thailand has the unusual characteristic among Third World countries of never having been ruled by a colonial power. Obviously, this does not mean that Thailand has not been economically and culturally influenced by other countries.

Prior to 1870, the concept of "school" was exclusively tied to the education imparted in Buddhist temples, where reading, occupational skills, writing and the art of self-defense were taught. In the year

1870, King Rama the Fifth initiated the first western-type schools to teach the members of his family and those of the nobility. However, the widespread development of formal education, mainly at the primary level, has been a phenomenon of the last three decades.

In 1973, the need for educational reform was recognized, since "dynamic changes both within and outside Thailand, in conjunction with rapid technological and scientific advances, have made it quite painfully apparent that the present Thai educational method is increasingly neither adequate nor suitable for the present era and in fact is one of the major impediments to modern national economic development."[56]

Main features of the educational reform. The committee for establishing the framework of educational reform was created under the supervision of the Minister of Education and with the obligation to report its findings to the Council of Ministers. The duty of this Committee was "to consider, with the view to making recommendations, the preparation of a framework for educational reform for both formal and non-formal education, as well as other systems of education, to suit the times and to comply with the social and economic development in a democratic society."[57]

This reform had to be based on the idea of education considered both as a system and as a process. To do so, it was necessary to answer four fundamental questions:

1. What is the desirable education for Thailand?
2. For what purpose should education be organized?

3. For whom is education organized?

4. How should education be organized?

The desirable education. Clearly inspired by the Buddhist philosophy, the report defined as the desirable education that which enables the Thai people "to know themselves and their lives, and to understand their own society and environment". This knowledge should be oriented towards the solution of social problems and the betterment of life and society "without conflicting with nature".[58]

The aims of education. The report recognizes the value of education for national development and the solution of social problems; however, it cautions about the risk of considering education as a cure-all:

> The means to help solve problems are partly derivatives of education, both formal and non-formal. However, education alone is not the answer to all sorts of problems. . . Education merely helps man in the decision making process and the application of methods to solve each problem. Methods which are successfully adopted by other countries, especially those well developed, may not necessarily and satisfactorily be applicable to our country. Thus, education must conform to the various environmental factors.[59]

Environmental factors that must be taken into account are: natural factors, population and socio-economic factors, political-governmental, religious and cultural factors, and finally, the mass media.

Thus, the government is asked to organize education in such a way that the following objectives can be attained:

a) To create a sense of unity among the Thai people.

b) To provide the people with a sense of being one of the family of nations.

c) To help develop an understanding of democracy with the king as a head of State.

d) To cultivate and nourish honesty, social equality and justice.

e) To generate knowledge among the people so that they can reach a mutual and better understanding.

f) To strengthen the physical, mental and spiritual health.

g) To encourage initiative, creativity, and understanding of nature, society, art and science.

h) To teach people the love of freedom and the search for truth.[60]

Education for whom? The educational reform is meant to benefit the entire nation under two basic policies:

> 1, That every citizen shall have equal right to compulsory education in accordance with the Constitution. The government has the responsibility to provide equal opportunity to everyone.
> 2. The people shall have equal freedom and opportunity to pre-compulsory as well as post-compulsory education of various types both in the form of formal and non-formal education.[61]

Thus, these policies establish the rights of individuals to have free primary education (Pratom), and the state's duty to make this possible, along with the creation of provisions to implement the concept of long-life education, also called "education for life and society".

With respect to equality in education, three desirable standards are proposed:

a) Equality in basic rights. Primary education is free and compulsory for everybody "regardless of differences in sex, race, religion, economic status and locality". This education level is viewed as the one that will most benefit the nation.

b) Equality in opportunity. Although post-compulsory education is feasible only for few people, the government must make scholarships available to economically disadvantaged people.

c) Equality in governmental support. The state has to work to reduce the great differences in the quality of education among different geographical areas.[62]

Organization. Regarding how educaton should be organized, the report presented these general recommendations, among others:

1) The educational system has to be open and flexible, so there can exist a better relation between formal and nonformal education, in accordance with specific social conditions.

2) Only the government is responsible for providing compulsory education.

3) Policy-making and administration must be decentralized to foster more people's participation.

4) Both private and public resources must be used for education.

5) For all this to be possible, "the principles, system and process must all be reformed--not just one or the other; also, other social systems and institutions must be reformed at the same time."[63]

The Thai nonformal education strategy. The practice of out-of-school education has existed for some time in Thailand. As early as 1940, after a population census revealed that 68.6% of the people were illiterate, the government launched a national literacy campaign. After the second world war, the Adult Education Department was consolidated and its goals broadened. By 1971, there were already about sixty public and private organizations working in out-of-school activities (vocational training, literacy, adult education, etc.). This work, however, faced a number of problems in reaching the people who most needed these services, namely, about 70% of the entire Thai population in a country in which 80% live in rural areas.

Among some of the problems were: the shortage of qualified adult educators and budget; lack of flexibility and responsiveness to the specific needs of different groups in terms of environmental backgrounds and cognitive style; absence of any life-long education system; lack of coordination among the institutions working in the field; and mostly, inaccessibility of the programs to all but a small part of the target population.

In light of these problems, the Ministry of Education elaborated a project called "Nonformal Education for National Harmony and Development", which was incorporated in the national plan for social and economic development (1977-1981).

The project consisted of four elements:

1. The establishment of four Regional Adult Education Research and Development Centers, whose main objectives are to make adult education programs more responsive

to local needs and conditions, and to develop adult education into a more effective means in helping the out-of-school population improve the quality of their lives.

2. The initiation of a radio correspondence project as a means of providing functional school-equivalency education for a large target group of rural youths.
3. The establishment of lifelong learning systems in both villages and in towns to lay foundation for lifelong education whereby out-of-school people can continually acquire relevant knowledge and skills.
4. The establishment of a Central Office to administer, coordinate and promote the activities in the three components mentioned above.[64]

The location of the four regional centers is determined by criteria of regional differences and by the degree of regional socio-economic and cultural homogeneity. Their functions include research and evaluation, curriculum and materials development, materials production and distribution, training, operations promotion, and development of educational radio programming.

The radio correspondence project assumes that, despite the expected success of other adult education projects, a number of young people still will be interested in formal certification. For this reason, prior to a nation-wide implementation of the radio project, a pilot research project for level 3 (fifth to seventh grades of the formal system) and for level 4 (eighth to tenth grades) was suggested.

Since traditionally both formal and nonformal educational activity has been limited to specific times and events, life-long learning centers clearly try to establish education as a permanently available service. The project suggests the establishment of 80

life-long learning centers of different types (20 associated with each regional center). They are intended to serve as resource centers of printed material and small media, and centers for a variety of community activities.

Overall objectives of this project. In summary, this informal education project attempts to improve the relevance of adult education activities to the needs of the people, to promote the idea that education is a life-long process, to decentralize the administration of adult education, to optimize scarce resources, to improve coordination between the Education Ministry and other government and private agencies, and finally, to experiment with innovations and new programs.[65]

Philosophy of the Thai nonformal education. In accordance with the Buddhist religion, which is shared by almost 95% of the Thai population, the philosophy inspiring the nonformal education activities is based in a concept called "Khit Pen". This is in fact a problem-solving strategy resulting from "rational thinking". Thus a person

> . . . who has mastered the process of "Khit Pen" will be able to approach problems in his daily life systematically. He shall be able to gather the widest range of information on alternative courses of action, and he will be able to weigh the merits of each alternative, based on his own values, his own capabilities, his personal situation, and the degree of feasibility of each solution. . . . If, due to outside circumstances or lack of certain necessary knowledge or skills, the solution of his choice cannot be implemented right away, a "Khit Pen" man will not become frustrated. Instead, he will adopt a lesser solution while preparing ways to make the solution of his choice possible. These can range from acquiring certain specific skills or knowledge to creating necessary conditions in the environment. . . . In other words, this philosophy encourages people to change, but not to destroy themselves

physically and mentally in doing so.[66]

There are at least four ways in which the educational programs can develop this philosophy:

1. They can provide learners with the opportunity to study history, to know how people in the past coped with their problems.
2. They can focus on immediate problems encountered by the learners themselves.
3. They can predict the kinds of problems that the learners may encounter themselves in the future and assist them to find solutions to these hypothetical problems.
4. They can use a combination of these three approaches.[67]

The second of these approaches is the one suggested for adult education programs in rural areas.

Major characteristics of the relationship between formal and nonformal education. It is clear that formal and nonformal education are regarded as two different educational strategies, independently run and developed, and aimed at different target populations.

However, in the general education program, some interconnection between the two systems can be found. This program is aimed at out-of-school people and offers education from the pre-literacy level up to the end of secondary school, through five sequential levels. The in-school curriculum is designed in modules. Students can take two of them each semester, until they complete the six modules of each level. Only students older than fifteen years are entitled to the program, and at the end of each level, they receive certificates equivalent to those of the formal system. This model overrides the need to be a full-time student in order to get a school certificate,

and it also provides the opportunity of certification to people of different ages and with different occupations.

This has been the most successful adult education program. The enrollment for level 3 and 4 (fifth to tenth grades) rose from 7,105 students in 1969 to 48,158 in 1972. This situation is attributed, among other things, to the general belief that school credentials are considered important for social mobility. Besides, this program is cheaper than the regular formal system. Finally, the credit system allows the possibility to abandon the program, if necessary, and to return later on to continue it.[68]

With all its success, however, the program has had the limitations of being very academically oriented and serving mainly urban clientele. For this reason, the 1979-1981 educational plan suggested extending this model to the rural areas through the use of educational radio. Thus, the criterion of "flexibility", characteristic of nonformal education, is proposed for obtaining certification, which is characteristic of formal education.

Probably, the best description reflecting the relation between the two models was made by the Ministry of Education in the 1977-1981 educational plan:

> Out-of-school education has not been all that popular so far, despite the fact that the majority of the population has not received proper education in schools. Also, the education given in schools and out-of-school is neither related to one another nor complementary. This makes it difficult for students who have been educated in one or the other type of education to acquire additional knowledge according to their interest or capability.[69]

Major correlations of this model.

Education and ideology. Thailand explicitly assigns to education the role of transmitting the values essential to the Thai people's lives. These values are expressed in concepts such as religion, monarchy, freedom and democracy. Thus, regarding education, the government shall:

> ...consider it a principle duty under the Constitution of the kindgom of Thailand to instil and foster in the pupils, students and public an appreciation of the values and ideals of democracy which embodies the Nation, the Religion and the Monarch, as Head of State. The Government shall also seek to instil a sense of pride in Thai culture, an understanding of rights and liberties within the framework of law and an awareness of the duties and responsibilities of the citizen in a democratic system.[70]

Moreover, in order to ensure that education not be diverted from these purposes, and "for the sake of the maintenance of national security and safety," the government holds that it is the state's responsibility alone to recruit and train the would-be teachers. The government also "shall tolerate academic freedom at the university level insofar as it does not run counter to national policies, plans and intrinsic character of our national education."[71]

Education and economy. Thailand has encountered some of the most common problems experienced by developing countries in terms of the relation between education and the socio-economic realm: social imbalances are in fact perpetuated by the formal education system; there is no equality of educational opportunity between the urban and the rural areas; and there is no clear connection between the generalistic and academically oriented formal education model and

the realities and needs of a predominantly rural society.

In 1975, only 42% of the total number of children of school age were enrolled in elementary school and most of the students in secondary school came from well to do families living in towns. In 1973 only 6% of the university students came from farm and rural families.[72]

The government itself recognized that even the short-term vocational training provided by official institutions failed to produce the people rquired by the job market: "While Thailand is basically an agricultural country with about 80 percent of its population in the agricultural sector, the vocational training programmes organized by various agencies mostly emphasize activities in the industrial and service sectors. . . ."[73]

On the other hand, the evaluation of the Third Development Plan (1972-1976) pointed out the increasing problem of unemployment caused by a number of factors:

a) structural problems in the agricultural production, such as low agricultural prices, lack of inputs, climatic conditions, population expansion, insufficient new cultivable land, and lack of new agricultural technology;

b) the downward trend of industrial investment during 1973-1975 due to political changes, inflation, economic recession and labor unrest;

c) imbalance between the production of and demand for higher level manpower in different fields;

d) the U.S. miltary withdrawal from Thailand, leaving at least 90,000 people unemployed.[74]

In light of all these factors, it was accepted that the formal education system had not fulfilled the nation's socio-economic expectations: "The present education system in Thailand is not totally consistent with the nature of the local economic and social circumstances. As each level of education has not been designed to fulfill any specific objective by itself, students are implicitly urged to proceed to a higher level."[75] Thus, from the formal education perspective, the solutions proposed to solve these problems included the elaboration of accurate manpower projections and curriculum reforms:

> Education and training are to be organized in such a way that manpower is produced in harmony with the requirements of the economy both in terms of quality and quantity. Educational curricula will be improved and revised so that graduates at each level of education acquire sufficient skill and knowledge to take on a productive job. High priority is also given to administrative and management training courses, including employment-oriented training in general.[76]

The emphasis in nonformal education is to ensure that most people be exposed to some kind of education, in the expectation that this will enable them to get involved in a productive activity.

Summary

This chapter has presented four examples of how some developing countries are dealing with formal and nonformal education as a part of their educational strategy.

Although the intention was just to illustrate current trends in this respect and not to make a comparative analysis of these four cases, it is possible, however, to point out some general aspects that characterize differences and similarities.

Concerning the differences, it is clear that the uniqueness of each case can be explained by various factors:

a) They have different histories, whether dominated by colonial powers or not. This might account for variances in the problems to be overcome in implementing educational strategies, regarding values, economic infrastructure, administrative capability, profile of manpower, etc.

b) They currently have different political orientations, with either free market or socialist oriented economies. This might explain the type and degree of government involvement in education.

c) They have different cultural backgrounds in which the religious factor in two cases certainly plays a key role. Different attitudes regarding social change, its purpose and nature, may be explained by such differences.

d) The number of the population in each of these countries differs considerably, Cuba and Indonesia being the extreme cases with 10 and 140 million people respectively.

Where similarities among these four cases is concerned:

a) There is a clear commitment on the part of the governments to play an important role in the development of education.

b) Education is regarded as an instrument to spread and reinforce the national ideology.

c) They all reflect the need for a national educational strategy which includes formal and nonformal education, although the specific ways in which these educational models are correlated are different.

d) They all view the need for providing education as a necessity to improve people's well-being.

e) Nonformal education is considered especially important to reach the vast majority of people that cannot be educated in the conventional formal system.

f) They all express the need for adapting the educational activity to the people's and nation's specific needs and idiosyncrasies.

Footnotes

[1]See, for example, Richard Jolly, "The Literacy Campaign and Adult Education", in Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution, ed. Dudley Seers (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 190-219.

[2]Tim Simkins, Non-Formal Education and Development (Manchester: Department of Adult Education and Higher Education, Monograph No. 8, University of Manchester, 1977), p. 49.

[3]Samuel Bowles, "Cuban Education and the Revolutionary Ideology", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 41, No. 4 (1971): 474.

[4]See Marvin Leiner, "Cuba, Combining Formal Schooling with Practical Experience", in Education for Rural Development, eds. Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), pp. 66-71.

[5]Ibid., p. 73.

[6]Rolland Paulston, "Cuban Rural Education: A Strategy for Revolutionary Development", in The World Yearbook of Education 1974, eds. P. Foster and J. Sheffield (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1973), p. 247.

[7]Martin Carnoy and Jorge Werthein, "Socialist Ideology and the Transformation of Cuban Education", in Power and Ideology in Education, eds. J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 578.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid.

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C H A P T E R V I

CONCLUSION AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING

Introduction

If there is a single conclusion we would like to stress as a result of this work, it is the need for avoiding a naive and simplistic position regarding educational planning in the current context of developing countries. A simplistic position can hardly be prevented if, first, there is no serious examination of the basic assumptions upon which educational development has been pursued, mainly in terms of its objectives and implementation criteria; and, second, if the educational phenomenon continues to be regarded exclusively in sectoral terms, for this idea reduces education to an isolated activity restricted to a specific place, time and to the objective of "processing" people to fit in a given status quo. The narrow view limits the concept and value of education rather than understanding education in its broad promise as a process for "integral human development". Thus, education is deprived of its global and comprehensive dimension by which societal goals and human relations may be generated, questioned, modified and perfected.

No Third World country can afford to avoid the responsibility of asking the right questions about the meaning of education, the role it has played and the role the different educational models should play.

Some Lessons from Past Experience

In general, educational planning in developing countries in recent decades has shown a single-minded approach to education. Furthermore, its implementation has reinforced a development model that for the most part has proven to be unsuitable to the cultural, philosophical, economic, environmental and social needs of the Third World. Because of the lack of critical spirit on the part of national policy makers and because in most cases there has been no real possibility to implement alternative models of development, most Third World countries have been oriented towards a way of life, thinking, production and consumption that benefit more those external countries promoting such strategies for development, than their own.

In this context, education, or rather schooling, has played to a certain extent the role of a "Trojan horse", since the undeniable benefits that it has produced have been accompanied by "hidden messages" that have hindered clear understanding of the complexity of the "development issue". This has been so for a number of reasons.

First, education, as a human phenomenon, has been understood as the mere fact of being exposed to a specific way of delivering knowledge. Education and schooling have become synonymous concepts so that people think that only the school--what is taught therein, and how--can satisfy personal needs for self-esteem and for the identification of a relevant social role. As a result, what should be regarded as just one way of acquiring certain types of knowledge or skills is now seen as the only way to be educated. In other words,

the "part" has become the "whole", and the "content" has been identified with the "container". Moreover, this educational model has been transformed into a whole social process, seen as essential to modernization goals, where the very fact of being exposed to the model is almost more important than what can be learned.

Schooling has been used to shape a new social psychology by defining what knowledge is worth learning and by implying that this only can be learned in the school. Thus, schooling has been given institutional power over the content of knowledge, pedagogy, selection criteria, etc. and by virtue of this, it also has influence over the structure of social roles and social rewards.

Second, the schooling process puts the responsibility of development and success upon individual achievement. This has diverted attention from structural socio-economic disfunctionalities that might well be the causes of inequity and social injustice. Since schooling is seen as the official path to play an active role in modern society and to share its benefits, it is rather easy to conclude that lack of education is the reason for poverty and underdevelopment. Thus, the uneducated individual, not the socio-economic structure, is the one to be blamed for his/her situation, and, therefore, the individual is implicitly deprived of the right to demand a fair share of the social wealth.

Third, schooling development in Third World countries, along with the theory of manpower development, has been presented as a panacea for solving the "problems of underdevelopment". Socio-

economic disfunctionalities, in light of certain development patterns, are attributed to "educational" lags. A causal relationship is established between education and development, education being the independent variable. This inflated view of the importance of schooling prevents looking for explanation of socio-economic problems in the broader national context or in the international mechanisms of ownership, production and market.

Fourth, the schooling model, as educational monopoly, introduces ways of thinking and behavior aimed at modernization in the style of developed societies. The implied purpose is "standardization", for in order to succeed according to the new roles, it is necessary for various social groups to renounce a number of elements of differentiation based on their history, tradition, religion and language. Thus, the great human wealth resulting from the variety and difference of social groups tends to disappear to make room, little by little, for a new kind of society. This "global" society tends to be unidimensional in terms of culture. It is manipulated to think and behave in standard ways primarily to provide consumption patterns suitable to the production profile of developed countries.

Fifth, the emergence of nonformal education, not as educational pedagogy but rather as a complementary strategy of international development, must be regarded as but a different attempt to promote the same view of education, as a sufficient factor for development.

In this view, through nonformal education, individuals alone,

after learning certain knowledge and skills, will be able to solve their own problems. Thus, nonformal education is believed to emerge not so much as proof of the failure of the formal education model, but as a result of the impossibility of the governments to extend the formal model to the whole population. In fact, the schooling model and its "hidden messages" are never questioned as such. The nonformal education alternative is seen as the result of logistical problems and scarce resources. No wonder that this alternative is generally considered as "second class" education.

Bearing all these considerations in mind, discussion of the way in which formal and nonformal education might be coordinated for development purposes seems rather irrelevant, unless issues of major importance are first addressed.

Three Major Considerations for Future Actions

Whatever educational planning is to be done in the future by developing countries must take into account at least three considerations:

a) Both formal and nonformal education have to be considered as mere pedagogical models for the acquisition of knowledge and skills. They must not be regarded as wholistic educational models, but rather as alternative or complementary methodologies. This also means that concepts of prestige and rights to social rewards based solely on exposure to a certain educational model must be discouraged.

b) A given educational model must be selected and developed according

to the type of knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to attain societal objectives. To stress the instrumental nature of the educational model, especially that of the formal model, would greatly help to rescue the broader meaning of education as integral human development. Schooling must not be equated with education. Therefore, the issue is first to determine what is relevant to be learned, and second, what is the best way to learn it.

c) The selection and implementation of the educational models should result from the redefinition of the development model most suitable to each developing country. The expansion of formal and nonformal education per se, without previous critical assessment of the results of the current development model, will certainly lead to more setbacks and will increase an unjustifiable social cost.

Development Model and Educational Model

The relationship between educational models and meaningful development models is the most important issue in devising a new agenda of educational planning.

The experience of the last three decades has made clear that the limitations of educational planning are to a great extent the reflection of the inadequacies of the development model it tried to serve. The sacred rules of economic development through surplus accumulation, with criteria imposed from outside aimed at reproducing the model of developed nations, had their effect on the educational planning, reducing it to a mere exercise in logistics and quantitative

development of the formal education model.

Moreover, the boost of nonformal education as a development strategy has been in fact more an emergency measure to diminish dangerous socio-economic contradictions than a studied alternative based on a redefinition of social objectives and national strategies. Interestingly enough, the earlier basic assumption that formal education would substantially help to solve socio-economic problems in the Third World has not become the rationale for promoting nonformal education. In a way, there has been a transfer of responsibility from formal to nonformal education in the task of building a better society. This situation reflects the persistent idea of explaining socio-economic imbalances in terms of educational deficiencies rather than the broader context. The explanation should lie instead in a development model that fosters a socio-economic structure which benefits the developed nations more than the developing nations themselves.

The current problems faced by the developing nations, in light of educational policies pursued over the last decades, have made clear the inadequacy of a future redefinition of educational planning if it is carried out from the limited sectoral perspective. Problems such as structural and chronic lack of educational opportunities, early dropouts, school leavers, the "educated unemployed", the "diploma disease", etc., reflect the complexities of the relation between education and society. They point up the inadequacy of the formal educational model in conjunction with the imported development

model for resolving major societal problems.

Thus, meaningful educational planning in the future can only result from a wise and sincere revision of the basic assumptions that currently regulate criteria for development, since it seems very clear that technical solutions cannot solve problems whose origins lie in the political and economic realm.

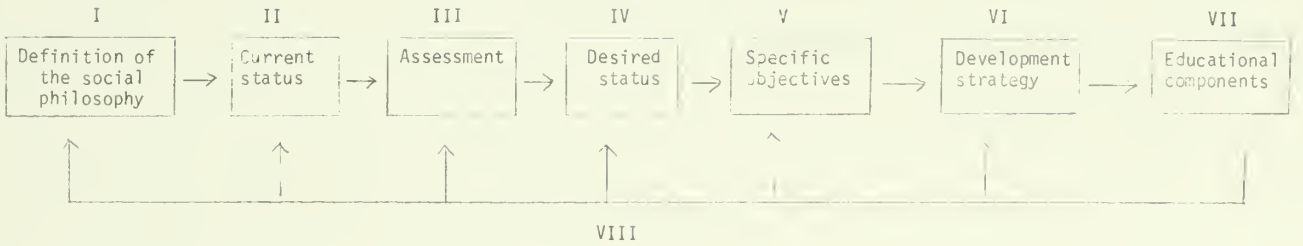
Analytical Framework

Accordingly, each developing country should make an in-depth revision of its social philosophy, which is the central element that characterizes it as a nation. This means that each nation must make explicit its philosophy regarding the rights and duties of individual groups and of the society as a whole, as well as the use and purpose of its natural resources. This is the value frame of reference by which a society is held together and by which relations among its members are defined.

Each country should assess its current situation in the economic, socio-cultural, political and educational arenas, so as to determine how far it still is from its desired status. The deficiencies resulting from this assessment must be translated into specific objectives to be attained and pursued in an integral and simultaneous fashion. This concerted effort would constitute the new development strategy (see Figure 1).

Meaningful educational planning both results from and contributes to an appropriate national development strategy. Thus,

Figure 1: PHASES OF A MEANINGFUL PROCESS IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT



I. Definition of the nation's social philosophy.

II. Analysis of the nation's current economic, socio-cultural and political situation.

III. Assessment of the current situation in light of the value framework.

IV. Establishment of a desired status or direction.

V. Translation of desired status into specific objectives.

VI. Implementation of integrated strategy covering the economic, socio-cultural and political areas in specific actions.

VII. Delimitation of the educational components of the development strategy. Educational planning is implemented both as a result of and as a promoter of the development strategy.

VIII. The process is recurrent. The whole range of educational instances feeds and is fed by the different phases.

educational planning must no longer be naively regarded as a mere exercise in techniques aimed at solving logistical problems and fostering the expansion of the formal education model. Rather it must become a process to redefine and implement a suitable development model in each Third World country. By the same token the question of how formal and nonformal education might be combined for the national development purpose can be adequately answered only in the specific national context and in light of the assessment and implementation of an appropriate development model. This hardly can be done, if developing countries persist in the idea that, on the one hand, the development model of the industrialized nations is the best for themselves and, on the other hand, that in fact it is possible for them to reach the stage of development of those nations without substantial change in the current international economic order.

The following analytical framework shows the variety of elements that should be considered in an effort aimed at matching a development model with an educational strategy. Obviously we do not intend to make an exhaustive outline of such elements, but rather to demonstrate the whole range of implications of a meaningful relation between education and development. This framework assumes that Third World countries are able and willing to design their own development strategy, as well as the educational strategies necessary to accomplish it.

The analytical process consists of three aspects: a) clarification of the development model; b) definition of the educational

implications of such a model; c) and design of the educational strategy.

Clarification of the development model. This aspect requires a reassessment of the nation's social philosophy to be reflected in the role and meaning of the individual, the society and nature. Definition is needed concerning

- the rights and duties of the individual
- the meaning and global objectives of the whole society
- the type of links that hve to be promoted among the different social groups within the nation
- the criteria and rules that have to guide the use of natural resources.

More specifically the current economic, socio-cultural and political characteristics of the nation's life must be assessed, and the desired objectives in those areas defined.

The economic aspect is basically related to production criteria (or what is produced? how is it produced? by whom it is produced? for what purpose is it produced?), and consumption criteria (or concepts of material satisfaction and well-being, criteria of basic needs, nature of consumption patterns).

More specifically the revision of the model requires:

- survey of natural resources as an important element to know the nation's assets
- analysis of the way in which such resources have been used
- analysis of the agricultural sector and its patterns of

ownership and production

- analysis of the manufacturing/industrial sector and its patterns of ownership and production
- analysis of the services sector, its characteristics, extension, variety and its patterns of ownership.

The socio-cultural aspect is related to the whole range of roles, behaviors, customs, and beliefs which determine the kind of interaction among individuals and among the different groups within the society. Thus, the analysis should be more specifically aimed at:

- the ethnic composition of the national groups and their cultural, religious and language characteristics
- the criteria of the desired homogeneity within the different ethnic and social groups
- the source and mechanisms of the social and economic reward system
- the nature of the concepts of social class and social stratification and the kind of factors that determine them, e.g. ethnic origin, type of productive activity, ownership of the means of production, type of educational training, family origin, etc.

The political aspect is related to the origin, purpose and mechanisms of the decision-making process which ultimately define the criteria of order and social stability, the characteristics of the tasks aimed at coordinating and supervising the internal course of the

nation, and the way in which the general objectives of the nation are defended and implemented in the frame of the international relations. More specifically, the analysis should address issues such as:

- the nature of citizen involvement at the national, regional and local levels
- the role of the government in the defense of individuals and social rights
- the nature of the government: representative, participative, etc.
- the process to define national priorities
- the structure of the Public Administration
- the type of interrelation among central, regional and local government
- the role of the informal power structure existing within the different social groups.

Delimitation of the educational components implied in the development model. The implementation of a development model obviously requires the analysis and definition of the educational components necessary to carry out the variety of specific objectives. The type of knowledge, attitudes and skills that are suitable to the new economic, socio-cultural and political objectives of the development model must be defined.

Thus, where knowledge is concerned, there must be definition of:

- the areas or fields of knowledge to be fostered, and the priorities among those fields of knowledge
- the level of that knowledge (basic-advanced), and the quality of that knowledge (theoretical-practical).

In the area of skills, it must be determined what, among other things, is necessary for the production of goods and the delivery of services, and what is necessary for administrative and organization purposes.

In respect to attitudes and behaviors, there should be clarification concerning: the social ethic regarding work, human relations, authority, cooperation, participation, etc.; the characteristics of personal appreciation and self-esteem; and the elements promoting personal motivation and satisfaction.

Once the major educational components have been figured out, the next step is to find the best way to implement them. The organized way to carry out the educational activity is what can be called the educational model. Characteristics of the educational model must be derived from the nature of educational objectives. Whatever the case might be, the educational model has to respond to the following variables:

- time and space in which the learning takes place
- characteristics of the participants (age, sex, motivation, natural aptitudes, background, etc.)
- selection criteria of the participants

- role and personal characteristics of the instructor, guide, or facilitator
- type of learning content
- duration of the instructional process
- instructional materials
- instructional ways: mass media, group interaction, on-the-job training, observation, experimentation, active participation, production-oriented activities, research, etc.
- pedagogical process: required steps and duration of the educational activity to attain the educational objectives.

Design of the educational strategy. Since the national objectives, their educational components and the ways to best achieve educational objectives are reasonably assumed to be quite numerous, coordinated action in the implementation of the various educational activities is what can be called the educational strategy. This is the context in which educational planning has to find its new meaning and its new agenda. It no longer makes sense to think of educational planning in terms of the mere application of techniques to develop only the formal education model. Planning serves the purpose of designing, reinforcing and implementing the number of ways or models in which the educational activity must be carried out. In other words, it has to develop the national educational strategy. Thus, educational planning should be considered in its many aspects as:

a) Political activity. It helps to clarify and implement the whole range of national objectives. This function is carried out by promoting intra-sectoral linkages, spreading information about the course of the nation, raising consciousness about substantive issues and promoting citizen participation.

b) Economic activity. It is intended to promote the knowledge and skills necessary for economic development, within the framework of the national priorities.

c) Scientific activity. It determines the best way to translate educational objectives into suitable educational models. This function can be carried out by means of participatory field research, finding native educational models, experimentation, and assessing results.

d) Logistic activity. It accounts for the availability of the elements required for the implementation of the educational activities. For instance, the human and material resources necessary for the coordination, administration and implementation of the educational activities.

From this perspective, educational planning becomes a national task of great relevance and proportion. It is comprehensive in its focus and requires extensive participation.

It is relevant because it results from a redefinition of a development model suitable to the real needs and aspirations of each developing country. It is comprehensive because its purpose is much broader than the mere preparation of manpower, or the need to meet

demand for the formal education model. It requires extensive participation in meeting a number of needs, in different settings and for different purposes, for its purpose is to effectively broaden the concept and practice of educational opportunities.

Thus, the issue of the new agenda of educational planning and the issue of the relationship between formal and nonformal education can hardly be adequately addressed from the current assumptions about economic and educational development. Each developing country must reconsider its development model, determine the educational components of the model and, finally, arrive at the best ways to implement them. This is not an easy task, but there is no other choice if developing countries really desire education in its broad meaning while implementing a feasible and relevant development model.

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