

CHAPTER 2

Development is for People: Target Groups and their Programmes

There are 900 million men, women and children in Commonwealth countries of whom 100 million live in rich countries and 800 million in poor ones. At this level, development means a new international order which will narrow the economic gap between the two groups of countries. Next, within the Commonwealth developing countries themselves, 500 million people live in poverty and 300 million in relative affluence. For these countries development means ending this state of inequality and enabling the poor to develop an adequate standard of living. Moreover, in these same countries 60 million people are unemployed, under-employed or thinly employed, and 15 million young people are attempting to enter the labour force every year. Development for them means gainful employment, which in turn means employment at a fair living wage. In this year of grace, 1979, that we have solemnly proclaimed as the International Year of the Child, 150 million of our children below the age of eight exist in conditions of under-nourishment or malnutrition that prevent their intelligence from developing normally. In such conditions development means providing adequate food for these children and their mothers so that Commonwealth citizenship will ensure their common wealth. Again, in our less developed Commonwealth countries, 650 million people live in the politically neglected, economically exploited and socially and culturally starved rural areas, while 150 million people live in relatively well-endowed urban enclaves. Development in these circumstances means some equalization of living conditions between our villages and our cities.

Malcolm Adiseshiah. Opening Address.

It is clear from the policies which are emerging throughout the Commonwealth, that a major characteristic of non-formal education is a concentration on those who have not been well served either by previous development strategies or by the formal education system. It is

concerned above all with the drop-outs, left-outs, and failures from formal schools. In countries where there has been an explosive expansion of formal schools, the concentration is on unemployed school-leavers. In countries where the perceived inadequacies of formal education are very great, 'non-formal' includes school-age children as well as adults. Everywhere the problems of illiteracy and the status of women loom large.

This concentration on the most disadvantaged groups links directly with the major development challenge posed above—that of reducing inequalities both between and within countries. And it is this, above all, which links non-formal provision in developing countries with that in the developed. In Britain, for example, problems of youth unemployment have led the Manpower Services Commission (through its Training Services Division) to promote one of the major new growth areas in adult education, namely work-related training both for the unemployed and for those who need retraining in relation to changing employment prospects.¹ These unemployed youth are part of the developed countries' own 'Third World'. However, the major world challenge is clearly with the poorest countries and, within those, with the unemployed, with illiterates and new literates and with women as a whole. In some countries there is also a major concentration on children outside school, the first of four target groups to be considered in detail in this chapter.

Target Group 1: Children Outside School

In much of the Commonwealth, 'non formal' education is synonymous with certain kinds of adult education. Such countries may well have achieved universal primary education or may aim to do so in the foreseeable future. In any case, they feel that the education of adults must be the first concern of their non-formal programmes. In other countries (notably India), the non-formal education of children is given high priority.

Sister Catherine McLevy² argues that both educational and social reform may result from a concentration on school-age children. She makes three assumptions:

- (a) That development is concerned, not primarily with gross national product, industry, agriculture or commerce, but with people—all the people—and only secondarily with the material and economic relationships reflected in industry, agriculture, etc.
- (b) That education tends to perpetuate the values and patterns of the society which established it, so that new forms of education will not be able to take root unless the new society of which they should be a part is at the same time being built by other positive steps besides the reform of education.

(c) That reform of education cannot wait for the new society to be established, because the other steps necessary cannot be taken on a wide enough scale until large numbers of persons are capable of reflecting critically on society, and of acting in concert to change it for the better, and such persons are not normally found as products of the present system of education.

She goes on:

Since the present formal system of education is deeply entrenched in the present inequitable structures of society, the only hope for structural change and for ultimately universal educational change lies in the children who either do not enrol in the formal system, or leave it too soon to have their personalities and aptitudes moulded too rigidly by it. If these children can, through non-formal means, develop their potential as individuals, as members of social groupings, as workers, as learners and as thinkers, in an education and environment which enables them to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and freely-chosen values to live by, and if this can be done on a large enough scale to ensure that they are not totally swamped by a basically hostile environment, it may be possible to create, out of the resources now available to mankind, a more wholesome social and material environment in which children of succeeding generations can grow.

The reason why there is a possibility of this lies in the fact that a majority of children in developing countries do not stay in school long enough to submit completely to its indoctrination. The reason why there is no assurance of success lies in the contrary fact that those who must help them to a different type of education, for a different future, are themselves products of the society and the educational system which are seen to be so defective. However, there are, especially among the young, but not only among them, increasing numbers of people who have caught a vision of a new kind of society and an education to match it. Others, suitably oriented and trained, may catch sight of the same vision, and therefore it is worthwhile to reflect on the kind of non-formal education which would help the children of today to grow up into builders of the new society of tomorrow.

The education to be developed must be designed with a clear vision of two points: the starting-point and the goal. The design must indicate who are the children to be educated, where they now are, socially and educationally, and where they can be expected to progress to, within the programme and after it. It must outline the content of the programme to be offered, and the methods by which this content is to be made available for learning if it is to fulfil the defined objectives of the educational programme. The implications of all these things for teaching and learning need to be identified, for failure to consider any of these problems may undermine the effectiveness of the most careful planning in any of the others. . .

Who are the children who are out of school today? Numerically, they are the majority of the child-population in developing countries, with one or two exceptions, and in developed countries they appear to be a growing minority. If India may be taken as a typical example of a developing country, the pattern will be found to be roughly as follows: of every 100 children attaining the age

of five in any one year, 20 will not enrol in any school. Of those who do enrol, 40 will have left school before the age-group reaches class five, the end of the primary school stage. Of the remainder, only 20 will go up to high school, seven will pass school-final, and not more than three will enter institutions of higher education, either academic or vocational.*

Studies have revealed that the 50 per cent of children who either do not start or do not complete their primary education, are almost exclusively drawn from the families of the poor. A rather higher percentage belong to rural areas, compared with towns and cities, and a very much higher percentage belong to harijan or other 'low-caste' families compared with the 'forward castes'. A very similar pattern will surely be found in many other developing countries, except that in some, the place of harijans will be taken by aboriginals or other 'natives', and in places where the population is more or less homogeneous in origin and language, there will still be poor peasants and labourers who are considered inferior according to standards defined as 'normal' by the middle and upper classes.

The reasons why these children are outside school are manifold, but the first and most fundamental reason is that the society does not really want them there. Studies of income groups and social classes to which those in school belong, and still more those in colleges and other institutions of tertiary education, reveal that those who drop out belong to families with an income of less than Rs.100 per month, while the higher up the educational ladder we go, the higher the income bracket of the average student. A study of the student-population of the Indian Institutes of Technology in the 1960s revealed that the tendency was for the proportion of students from affluent families to increase, while students from families of only moderate income declined. Very poor students are not found in IITs. By 1970, 50 per cent of their students came from families with incomes of more than Rs.1,000 per month, 16 per cent from those having more than Rs.2,000 per month. In other words, more than 60 per cent of the IIT students came from two per cent of the population. Public expenditure on education is also disproportionately generous to the institutions of higher education, which by 1973 claimed nearly 27 per cent of state expenditure on education, while primary education, which is necessarily much larger, received only 43 per cent.

Reasons for dropping out given by the children or their families almost always cite financial difficulties first, and these difficulties underlie almost all the other reasons given. A boy who repeatedly plays truant until he eventually stops going to school altogether, because both parents have to work so there is no one to see that he goes to school, is just as surely the victim of poverty as the one whose parents cannot afford to buy his books and uniforms. The same is true of the girl who has to stay at home to mind the latest baby while her mother works, or the boy in the village who minds a herd of goats, or the city urchin who tries to earn a few coins by collecting scrap paper for sale, or by offering to polish the cars that are parked on the roadside near his home.

*Figures are not wholly accurate, since they are based on enrolment in each class, which includes, in every year after the first, and even in that year in many places, those who are repeating the year from an older age-group, having 'failed' in the annual examinations.

A majority of these children, once out of school, never return. There are individual cases, it is true, of children from better-off homes who are taken out of school to work (more because that is the custom of the countryside than because of real need) and who wage a battle in the home until they are allowed to return and complete their education. There are also youngsters drawn from among the poorest who doggedly keep on at school and even go to college, taking advantage of scholarships, which so often do not go to the needy. They earn a livelihood in their spare time in whatever way they can, to make up the difference between the scholarship and the expenses.* But the vast majority, when they finally drop out, do so for good.

Besides the drop-outs, there are the push-outs: the children who leave school because their lives there are made miserable, either by the constant experience of failure or by indifference or mockery on the part of the teachers or the other children. In one rural area of Tamil Nadu well-known to the writer, harijan children who attended the village school were always made to sit at the back, were always ignored if they tried to ask questions or answer those of the teacher, were made fun of for their poor clothing, and scolded for their lack of books, so that only the very courageous or the extremely servile could survive until middle school. Failure was of course a normal experience for them, since the attention of the teacher was entirely devoted to the children of 'better' families sitting in front. It is also readily observable that while the number of literates in the caste villages may be anywhere from 30 to 40 per cent, in the harijan colonies it is normally less than ten per cent. And it is rare to find a harijan woman who is educated above class four. This cruelty towards harijans because they are harijans is rare in the city, but harshness towards poor children because they are less clean, or because their uniforms are shabby, or their books torn, is common enough.

If we hope to build a better society in the future these children must be offered a non-formal education, not of a kind to re-introduce them to the formal system, but of a radically different nature, one which will help them to understand the world they live in, but which will also develop their capacities to reflect critically upon that world and to act upon it effectively for change towards greater equality, justice and harmony. There is a risk that if non-formal education is not directed towards the re-integration of its students into the formal system, the idea will grow that this is a second-class education for the children of second-class citizens, but if the programmes are well conducted for the pursuit of their own goals, the children of the poor can grow up more self-confident and more united than their parents, while those who prove to have aptitude and taste for academic studies will be able to find access to the 'Open University' without having gone through the formal system at all. The Open University will have to be better developed, but a beginning has already been made.

Enough has already been said to indicate that the aims of non-formal education should be different from those of the formal system. It should enable

*It is questionable whether this is good or bad. The capacities of these young people tend to be taken up with the effort to attain personal success inside the present structures of society. Thus potential leaders of the poor in the effort for change of structures which are inequitable, are absorbed into the structures themselves.

the students to acquire mastery of learning skills, particularly those of language and numeracy, and should do this through interesting and relevant activities. Relevance implies that the education offered bears a relationship to the children's environment. However, this is not to be construed to mean that their horizons should be narrowed to the limits of their own village and the work their ancestors have always done in it with the simple dressing of additional skills to make a marginal improvement in the village economy. On the contrary, non-formal education should lay the foundations for critical reflection on work and the way it is done, on society and the way it functions, so that as the children grow to maturity they can play a conscious and intelligent part in shaping their own lives and of those around them. It should aim to bring about at the local level a more genuinely egalitarian and democratic organization of society, with a conscious purpose of using this as the foundation for similar change in the wider society incorporating the region, the nation and the world. A basic understanding of the forces operating in the society outside the confines of the village is as essential to this purpose as it is to the proper development of the children as human persons, fully individual and at the same time fully responsible members of society.

Like Sister McLevy, Tom Mulusa is also concerned for the future improvement of formal education as well as providing for non-formal alternatives.³ He has drawn attention to the fact that curriculum development centres and projects have been established both at national and international levels to review school education on an ongoing basis, and, at the same time, small-scale innovative projects have been mounted in different developing countries to influence the rate and direction of educational reform. He writes:

In 1967 UNESCO sponsored the Namutamba project in Uganda to investigate the adaptation of primary education for development of rural areas.⁴ At maturity it was anticipated that the Namutamba project would evolve a system of education which would produce school leavers who would become job-makers, and not job-seekers. In Tanzania several innovative projects have been tried within the country's policy of education for self reliance. The Kwamsisi Community School project, for instance, attempts to integrate a primary school into the community it serves by increasing interaction between school children and teachers on one hand and the surrounding villagers on the other.⁵ Perhaps one of the most far-reaching innovations in the last decade has been the replacement of the traditional school subjects at Swaneng Hill School in Botswana with new subjects such as cultural studies, development studies, modern society, etc.⁶

However, much needs to be done now for children who have either not been to school at all, or for whom the formal system makes little relevant provision. The Delhi Conference was much concerned that non-formal education should give children and young people outside the school a sense of place and purpose in their society. In meeting their learning needs non-formal education should aim to provide functional skills for personal development, for employment and for

community life, through content and by methods that will contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards co-operation with others, towards work and national development, towards self-improvement.

For children in the younger age groups, the emphasis of non-formal education should be on meeting basic, social and learning needs related to local social, cultural and community conditions. The value of play and recreation should be recognized as ways of developing inter-personal, practical and creative skills.

For those among them who have had some formal education, the desire to rejoin the formal stream of education may provide the basic motivation for participation in non-formal education where re-entry programmes can be devised to help them overcome their deprivation. To back up development of this kind it is essential that non-formal education and the formal school system are complementary and that links exist or are created to permit mobility and comparability between the two. Measures to forge such links should focus on curriculum content, methods of assessment and certification, entry requirements and re-entry opportunities in the school system. In line with this, the possibility of non-formal education emerging as an alternative channel of learning in its own right cannot be overlooked. Relations with the formal system are considered in Chapter 5.

For those considered by their communities to be in the productive age range, the emphasis in non-formal education should be on imparting skills for productive work. Bearing in mind the current pattern of youth unemployment, this group needs knowledge and understanding that will not only contribute to wage employment but also self-employment. One of the most neglected aspects in such programmes is the development of skills for management and project planning. At the same time non-formal education for this group should cater for their social and personal needs.

Non-formal education for school age children thus merges into provision for unemployed youth. Each group is part of the general problem of an inadequate primary schooling and a mis-match between schooling and employment prospects.

Special sections of the out-of-school population, such as the physically handicapped, should as far as possible be integrated into existing programmes of formal and non-formal education. In those communities where such people tend to be kept in the background, this may require their recruitment to non-formal education at an early age.

If school drop-outs are a reflection of the inefficiency of the formal system to meet their needs, it is essential to parallel the provision of programmes of non-formal education for children out of school with measures to improve efficiency in the formal sector of education. To

reduce the drop-out rate in the formal sector of education, it is necessary to ensure that school curricula are relevant to the needs of the local communities, and appropriate to the capabilities of the children in the different age groups.

It is equally important to improve the efficiency of the teaching and learning processes, through adoption of child centred approaches. For this purpose it is necessary for teachers in the formal system, as in the non-formal sector, to understand traditional modes of communication in the community where the programmes are organized and to use these in the teaching process as appropriate.

Target Group 2: Unemployed Youth

However good the programmes for school-age children may be, and however laudable the progress towards the reform of formal schools, the latter are still producing—often in increasing numbers—school leavers who cannot be readily absorbed into employment. Many existing non-formal programmes have been devised for these unemployed school leavers, and the case study included below from Fiji is mainly concerned with them. Nevertheless, an even more intractable problem concerns youth who have not even been to school and who lack both education and employment prospects. As Philip Mbithi has noted⁷ ‘there is systematic and deliberate neglect of the 40% who never go to school or drop out early in a decade where internationally there is growing concern with the lower 40% of our population’.

In its Conference paper, the Commonwealth Secretariat Youth Division reports that:

A brief check of youth programme developments since 1975 suggests that the situation has changed very little. For the most part young people who have never been to school, or who have lapsed into illiteracy after brief attendance, are still a neglected group. Looked at in global terms, the numbers so affected are substantial, though naturally the situation varies widely from country to country and from region to region. According to recent UNESCO estimates⁸ there will be about 73 million illiterate young people aged 15–19 years in the world in 1980, 60 per cent of them females. They will comprise just part of an estimated total of 814 million illiterate adults, most of them in the younger age groups, with 20–40 years of active life ahead of them.

While the numbers are particularly high in South Asia, where almost a third of the world's illiterates are to be found, pockets of illiteracy exist among deprived people in most Commonwealth countries, including the industrialized nations. Indeed Leon Bataille, Executive Secretary of the International Coordination Secretariat for Literacy, recently wrote that ‘the geographical distribution of adult illiteracy is practically identical to that of hunger and want’.⁹ The situation is particularly serious where it matches marked inequalities in access to education provision among tribal or ethnic groups, between the sexes, and in different geographical regions within a country.

It was concern with the educational deprivation of people in the rural areas of developing countries which prompted UNICEF and the World Bank to commission the two studies by the International Council for Educational Development.¹⁰ Focusing on how non-formal education can help break the cycle of rural poverty, a functional view of non-formal education was adopted, with the emphasis on the kinds of programmes which offer most potential for improving not only agricultural productivity but also general conditions of living. In terms of education strategy both studies conclude that non-formal education can contribute to both short- and long-term objectives for rural development, but that a better balance should be sought, between immediate and longer term production increases, between urgently needed immediate efforts that are bound to benefit, initially, the less needy, and other kinds of efforts aimed squarely at attacking rural poverty and social injustice.

One of the most innovative measures of a short-term nature, suggested was to find ways of making informal education more purposeful by enriching the rural learning environment of both literates and non-literates. In other words, more deliberate attempts could be made to provide useful and relevant knowledge and skills through those channels which are the source of the majority of learning in everyone's lives—the family, the market-place, work and play, the mass media, etc.

Since 1973 radio and television have received considerable attention to this end. The World Bank, for instance, recently produced a number of case studies on use of radio for non-formal education¹¹ while the findings of a detailed eleven-country study of broadcasting for development, undertaken by the Department of Adult Education, University of Manchester, was reported in 1978.¹² The report identified a number of problems inhibiting the effectiveness of broadcasting as a medium for out-of-school education. In particular it referred to television not only as 'a millstone around radio's neck' but also as 'an unconscionable abuse and waste of scarce resources for purposes of prestige and short-term political gain'. As for radio, the study advised that its role should be reinforced, particularly in rural areas through, among other things, an up-grading of the role and status of the local educational broadcaster, much closer co-operation between broadcasters and ministries concerned with development planning, and far more local production of materials to suit the needs of particular groups in the community. It is also found that effective educational broadcasting is generally audience specific, conveys specialized content relevant to local needs, and should be in the right language for the local audience. This, it pointed out, can only be done if material is produced locally.

Some countries have developed positive policies along these lines, including special programmes for young audiences. The radio-study campaigns launched as part of the fundamental adult education and development strategy in Tanzania in 1970, are well known for their successful use of village-level listening groups. The Tanzanian approach has used local forums to study selected issues over a limited duration, thus avoiding the loss of motivation and impetus that has characterized other schemes based on radio learning groups. Campaign issues are selected in terms of priority for the goals of the national plan, and have covered both political education and themes intended to meet basic needs of the population. Local listening groups, which have

included large numbers of non-literates, are led by someone selected by the group itself, thus avoiding a built-in teacher-pupil structure and increasing group participation in the learning process.

Returning now to unemployed school leavers, a main thrust in existing programmes for this group is towards the generation of opportunities for self-employment; this is because many such school leavers have been educated to accept wage or salary employment and it is often difficult for them to conceive of alternatives. Such programmes are often only palliative in that youth unemployment is merely part of a much wider structural problem. Nevertheless, some progress has been made in a number of countries.

One example of this type of programme is provided by the village polytechnic movement in Kenya. Village polytechnics were started in the late 1960s as multi-purpose low-cost training centres designed not merely to give useful skills to school leavers but also to motivate them to create employment opportunities for themselves; this was supposed to happen by the provision of goods and services needed in their immediate neighbourhoods. By 1978 there were over 200 such VPs in Kenya offering a range of skills which include tailoring, carpentry, home economics and metalwork. Although some of the VPs have undoubtedly succeeded in their original aim of generating rural self-employment, it also has to be admitted that many individual students who have passed through them have sought and found work in the urban areas rather than remaining in their neighbourhoods to promote rural development. It must be concluded that while this kind of non-formal education does have a role to play in rural employment creation, there is also the potential danger of the non-formal education becoming formalized and thus providing similar skills and motivation to those already stimulated by formal schools. This danger can be avoided as the following study shows.

Case Study: A Fijian Alternative to Formal Schooling (N. H. Dalailomaloma)

The central emphasis of the Rural Youth Programme is not training *per se* but rather the development of economic, social and cultural activities which will lead to a more satisfying and productive life within the rural community. Training is essential only to supplement these activities and where necessary is provided on site by government youth officers, agricultural extension officers, co-operative field personnel, local businessmen—in fact by anyone with a useful skill or knowledge that can be passed on to others. The only areas for which short institutional courses (centred in rural community centres) have been utilized are for the theoretical aspects of management, planning and programming, project evaluation, book-keeping, report writing and other basic organizational skills, for both volunteer leaders and club members.

Personnel

In the initial stages of the development of the Rural Youth Programme one of the most serious limiting factors encountered was the shortage of trained and

experienced trainers and youth workers. High priority was therefore given to this aspect of our efforts and full use was made of the three Commonwealth Youth Development Centres in Georgetown, Chandigarh and Lusaka to train Government Youth Officers.

At the same time the government developed sandwich training programmes for non-government youth workers operating at district level on a salary grant from the government, and short courses for volunteer leaders at club level. Because of the general embargo on new posts in government and the institution of the Commonwealth Diploma in Youth Work at the University of the South Pacific, it is planned to provide all 91 district youth workers with this higher level of training.

Facilities and Equipment

One factor responsible for reducing the cost of this programme is the utilization of existing facilities such as schools and churches for training programmes where it has been necessary to use such facilities. In areas where there are no such facilities, training is conducted in rural community centres built mainly from local materials, and for which the government has provided grants for the purchase of non-local building materials, and equipment.

The provision of equipment such as small farm tools, chain saws, knapsack sprayers, wire strainers, and, in the sugar growing areas, tractors, is seen as a more important function of government than the provision of materials for buildings. This, coupled with innovations in the use of local raw materials for the establishment of projects, has helped to greatly reduce the cost of the rural youth programme (e.g. one club has been able to build an \$11,000 egg-laying unit to house 540 chickens for approximately \$5,000).

Supportive Services

It has been necessary to enlist the support of a number of agencies whose major function is not education. These include:

- (a) The mass media for maintaining public interest in and support for a rural programme and in some cases for the dissemination of training materials.
- (b) The extension agencies of government involved in rural development for technical advice needed for rural youth projects.
- (c) Other agencies such as the Fiji Development Bank whose services may be required for the successful application of newly acquired skills through development loans for specific economic projects. To qualify for this kind of assistance it has been necessary to investigate the formation of youth co-operatives to give youth groups the legal status they require before they can enter into any kind of legal transaction with funding agencies.

Finance

Although the cost of running the rural youth programme in Fiji is relatively low (averaging about \$2 per youth participant per year) it is nevertheless necessary for adequate finance to be always available for any variations in the programme, and for forward planning. Furthermore, because of the strings attached to overseas aid packages, making many of them quite irrelevant to our purpose, we have attempted to fund our total programme from local sources. Unfortunately the government's commitment to formal schooling

still takes precedence over non-formal education programmes for youth out of school; therefore there are never any funds available for variations or for forward planning.

Co-ordination

Although most of the inputs needed for the development of youth work in Fiji have originated from government, all youth groups formed and aided in this way are not labelled 'government' but remain outside the government structure. As the number of rural youth groups grew, it was necessary first to devise district co-ordinating bodies (Rural Youth Councils) to which all the youth groups are now affiliated for ease of supervision and assistance. As the number of district co-ordinating bodies grew, it became necessary to establish a national co-ordinating body called the Association of Rural Youth Councils of Fiji.

Effective co-ordination depends not only on the establishment of a satisfactory structure but equally on the spirit in which government and non-government representatives meet and operate. There must be a spirit of partnership with the responsibility for growth resting on both partners for development to take place. This is especially important in Fiji where many of the resources needed for youth development are unobtainable within the government system.

The effective management and administration of our national rural youth programme will therefore depend on the clear definition of the roles of government and non-government organizations, and it is hoped that this will finally be achieved with the formation of the National Youth Forum. At this point in time it is envisaged that government's main role, once the programme has been fully established, will be to provide supportive services in the form of:

- (a) Training in vocational and leadership skills for paid and voluntary workers.
- (b) Mass media and literature support.
- (c) Grants and subsidies toward: (i) salaries and operating costs of workers employed by voluntary organizations; (ii) project inputs; (iii) construction and maintenance of training facilities; (iv) purchase and maintenance of equipment; (v) field days, project competitions, etc.; (vi) administrative expense; and (vii) exchange schemes with countries which have similar socio-economic conditions and problems.
- (d) Specialist advice and assistance.
- (e) Evaluation and research services.

Conclusion

Effective programmes for out-of-school rural youth cannot be planned and operated in isolation. They must be an integral part of a country's total education programme and through this, a part of the national plans for rural development.

Strategies should be linked with the formal education system so that each is mutually supportive. For example, formal-system teachers, classrooms, and even equipment may be made available after school hours. The teacher training colleges can play a part in preparing teachers for their wider role as

community educators. On the other hand, the youth programme may supplement the learning in the formal school. In Fiji, for example, a course in modern studies is being introduced into Forms III and IV in secondary schools. Its main purpose is to demonstrate the relevance of the whole curriculum to community activities. These activities are developed at the school through projects. School leavers motivated by their participation in a modern studies project may find in a rural youth programme opportunities for developing their own enterprises which could well provide the basis of their future livelihood.

Integration into national plans for rural development is equally essential. It is only by such integration that the supportive services necessary for the successful application of newly acquired knowledge and skills are likely to be provided. Training is only one of a number of factors required for successful development. Furthermore, it is only by such integration that the valuable human resource youth represents can be fully harnessed for national development.

At the other end of the scale—the local community—integration is also essential. A fear is often expressed that concentration on youth as a group can lead to a further fracturing of the community. In many cases the problem is solved by the whole community participating in the youth programme. This has occurred in Fiji in all areas where government has established the rural youth programme. Where this total community participation does not evolve, steps will be necessary to involve the adults, including traditional leaders, in an advisory role.

Training out-of-school rural youth is very much in the experimental stage. In Fiji it is not backed by the same body of knowledge and experience as formal education although there is a growing awareness of the urgent need to develop for rural youth new approaches to learning. Whatever the new approach is, we are convinced by our experience that if it is not initially linked with production for economic returns it will not be acceptable.

The Fiji programme is now in the process of being evaluated. Some Rural Youth Councils have moved from more efficient subsistence activities into the area of small business as youth co-operatives, and are now earning for their members the kind of money that they would never have earned otherwise. Where the programme has failed the most glaring reason has been the lack of suitable local leadership. No doubt other reasons for failure will emerge after the completion of the evaluation.

Target Group 3: Adult Illiterates and New Literates

It is possible to classify target groups within the broad range of adult illiterates and new literates in a number of ways. For example, by age, by occupational background and interest, by geographical location (e.g. rural, urban, tribal, nomadic) or by special groups (e.g. women, the disabled, long-term prisoners). However, there are problems in making such classifications as programmes that are developed for one group may also have relevance to other groups. For example, a literacy programme may attract both older and younger members in a community; it may also attract men and women and be of interest to a

variety of occupational groups. Classification is sometimes of more concern to the planner than to the group for which a programme is prepared, and planners can in fact create a 'reality' which is imaginary in the first place and develop non-formal educational activities for a 'group' that in a real sense does not exist. To categorize people as a target group does not necessarily give them homogeneity.

In view of this, it is better to think of categories of programme rather than categories of target group and see how such programmes can meet the needs of the various groups of individuals who comprise adult illiterates and new literates. Target groups should thus be seen as examples of users rather than as focal points of planning.

Successful programmes must be built around the individual needs of those for whom they are intended and the economic realities and needs of local communities as identified by them. Such needs must be identified through a process of interaction with the participants. Appropriate programmes must be need-based and it is necessary that they should, in general, be congruent with area, regional and national policy since non-formal education activities should be aimed at both the quality of life and the standard of living in a community. This distinction between individual needs and overall societal needs is an important issue in planning programmes for adult literates and new literates.

The necessity of ensuring congruence between individual and societal needs emerges clearly from John Bowers' paper.¹³ He points out that education is essentially a communication process and literacy is thus 'a communication skill—the ability to use the sign system of written language for encoding and transmitting messages and receiving and decoding them'. He continues:

Thus seen it takes its place alongside parallel and complementary communication skills, particularly the effective use of spoken language and the ability to understand pictures.

The acquisition of literacy not only expands the individual's range of communication through space and time, it also opens up new opportunities for learning, access to knowledge, and the ability to store and retrieve information and advance understanding. In a society where literacy is used and valued it enhances the individual's status and self-respect, and in communities where a significant number of people are literate it opens up alternative channels for the communication of knowledge and skills. Seen thus as an expansion of the range of human communication, the benefits of literacy are continuous and far-reaching but almost impossible to measure.

Correlations between illiteracy and poverty appear in national development statistics everywhere. Everett Rogers¹⁴ records correlations between literacy 'innovativeness' and a range of other attributes conducive to 'modernization'. Yet the causal relationships still elude us and we have no firm answers to the crude questions: is a country richer because it is literate or vice versa? Is a person 'progressive' because he or she is literate or vice versa? Still less can we

answer the subtler supplementary question—‘Why?’. Certainly there is room for more, and more rigorous, research on the effects of literacy at various levels on learning, information processing, concept formation, attitude formation and change, and thereby on individual, social and economic development. . .

If literacy is hard to attain, even in the learner’s own language, it is unfortunately very easily lost unless it is regularly used. There is evidence that children with less than four years schooling returning to a largely illiterate environment rapidly regress into illiteracy with all that this implies in discouragement and wasted effort.

In communities where there is very little opportunity to use literacy—and this goes for many rural communities—the illiterate adult does not feel himself disadvantaged and may have little motivation to become literate or to maintain literacy once he has acquired it. Conversely in literate societies, and especially in urban environments, the illiterate adult suffers real and evident disadvantages. So motivation to learn reading and writing, and to sustain these skills, is positively influenced if opportunities are provided to practice and develop them; adult literacy should thus be conceived and planned as a component in a broader programme of non-formal adult education and cultural development.

With expansion of formal schooling in most countries, it is unlikely that any but the more remote rural communities now remain totally illiterate. However the inadequacy of so much primary schooling, and the high drop-out rates, added to the fact that there is little opportunity to use literacy, may together result in a situation where many of the adults are ‘lapsed’ literates, or semi-literates, whilst others who have had no access to schooling or adult education, remain totally illiterate. So programmes of non-formal education will have to cater for different levels of literacy from zero upwards.

Illiteracy is, with few exceptions the result of an unfavourable environment, often associated with poverty, but not to be correlated with lack of intelligence, experience or aptitudes in the adult illiterates themselves. There is therefore every reason for educational planners and ‘change agents’ to avoid all arrogance or paternalism in their dealings with adult illiterates and to respect their experience and listen to their views. The planning and provision of non-formal education for adult illiterates and its content should therefore involve dialogue between educators and those they seek to benefit, so that knowledge and skills generated by research can be integrated with, and tested against, the intuition and experience of those who will eventually have to apply them in their daily lives and work.

Faced with these complex considerations, great diversity of clients, cultures and environments, and often inadequate information, how can those responsible for non-formal education set about planning and providing learning opportunities for the disadvantaged and illiterate? In what circumstances should literacy be a primary component in non-formal education? . . .

In the following sections we consider a number of adult education and non-formal education programmes, some of their advantages, disadvantages and possibilities, and suggest certain areas of research and development which might help non-formal education to open up communication and learning opportunities for the illiterate and disadvantaged.

Mass Literacy Campaigns

The industrialized countries have achieved a high level of literacy, mainly through universal primary education. The eradication of widespread adult illiteracy, however, is a task of considerable magnitude, which has only been achieved, in the aftermath of socialist revolutions, by a comparatively small number of nations, including the USSR and Cuba. Cuba started with several advantages—including not very high illiteracy, variously assessed from 22 to 50 per cent, and a single phonetically regular, national language with an extensive literature. Nevertheless the campaign showed spectacular results for reasons rather similar to those which contributed to success 20 years or so earlier in the USSR. These probably included: a charismatic national leader decreeing mass literacy; well-graded teaching materials and teacher's guides prepared by a highly qualified team of educators and distributed and used throughout the programme; motivation of illiterates linked with the dynamics and social pressures of the revolution; content of teaching and reading materials emotively linked to land reform and the eradication of capitalism; clear and simple aims—teaching literacy and numeracy to fourth-grade standard and revolutionary awareness; cost not considered; social pressure on literates to volunteer for teaching illiterates, to the point that, in the 'Year of Education', schools and universities were largely closed to facilitate this; the communication network of party cells used to identify illiterates, mobilize literates, distribute materials and organize and monitor the programme; a strong sense of discipline, governing, for example, the duties of teachers in uniform organized into literacy brigades; fairly rapid creation of appropriate reading matter, and provision of adult education and training facilities for the post-literacy period—'The Year of the Sixth Grade'.

Reports from Tanzania indicate that the transformation of the UNESCO-sponsored Mwanza pilot project into a national mass literacy campaign has been greatly facilitated by the TANU network of party cells, reaching to every ten families, through which literacy groups choose their own teachers and send them for training. The Government of India has recently announced its intention of bringing education to 100 million illiterate adults in five years. It will face enormous problems in tackling this task, largely by voluntary effort, in 17 major languages.

Selective, Work-Orientated, Functional Literacy

In 1963 the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations General Assembly called upon UNESCO to launch a world campaign for the eradication of mass illiteracy. The estimated cost of imparting basic literacy to over 700 million illiterate adults, presented by the Secretariat of UNESCO to the UN Economic and Social Council, was regarded as unacceptable, and this, combined with low success rates of mass literacy campaigns in the non-communist world, led UNESCO to propose, in the World Conference on the Eradication of Illiteracy in Tehran in 1965, a new strategy which was to pave the way for a possible world campaign. This was a 'selective', 'intensive' strategy for 'functional' literacy, which was applied in the Experimental World Literacy Programme and which was subjected to critical assessment on its conclusion. Partly in order to draw the financial support of the UN Development Programme, which eventually provided US\$1,327,300, the term

'functional literacy' was equated with 'work-oriented literacy' ('WOL') and in WOL the teaching of literacy was integrated with training for work and linked to economic development. . .

What then were its main features? Motivation on the part of the providing agencies was linked to increased productivity, and an explicit aim of the Experimental World Literacy Programme was to evaluate the effects of literacy on development. Motivation of illiterate adults was based on expectations of improved living standards. There was an assumption that adults would want to learn to read, write and calculate in the vocabulary of their daily work, and would appreciate the value of literacy if they could use it as they learnt it, to increase their work efficiency and eventually their wage packets or their levels of subsistence. Unfortunately there were few situations in which an increase of prosperity immediately resulted from elementary literacy. And in many urban situations adults struggling to acquire literacy had to compete for jobs or promotion with literate primary school leavers. In certain projects field demonstration, more or less related to literacy, contributed to adoption of new practices by older and independent farmers, and in certain industries (e.g. mining) motivation was evidently high for job training-cum-literacy undertaken in working time with a wage-bonus at the end. The content of the so called literacy programmes was generally a package of reading, writing, arithmetic, work training and elements of health and social education. The teaching and training materials proved difficult and costly to prepare, involving research in rural environments and industries, and planning by teams of subject-matter specialists, technical training instructors, literacy specialists, writers and illustrators. The 'selective' strategy raised invidious questions as to who should be selected and why. It also required separate WOL packages to be specifically prepared for chosen groups and occupations and this added further to the cost (e.g. nineteen separate programmes were used in Guinea). A multiplicity of responsible departments and agencies were involved, thus increasing the complexity of administration. The methods ranged from class teaching to field demonstration and included the use of various audio-visual aids. The amalgamation, and more still the synchronization, of literacy teaching with work instruction was an added complication, and, as some of the training manuals show, the level and speed of work training was held down by the elementary level of the literacy. The choice and training of teachers proved even more controversial in WOL than in other adult literacy programmes, WOL often met the problem of multiplicity of languages. Policies varied. Ethiopia and Tanzania used the national language, facing thereby the task of teaching literacy in a language which was not the mother tongue in several areas. Mali used five local languages.

The very critical assessment of WOL published by UNESCO¹⁵ suggests that valuable lessons were learnt, though many of them were about what not to do and at very high cost.

Literacy and 'Conscientization'

A vital contribution to the philosophy and practice of adult literacy has been made by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Both aspects are described and analysed in three of his books.¹⁶

In this section we can do no more than give a brief and necessarily inadequate summary of the key concepts of Freire's theory combined with an outline of his methods.

For Freire, all education, but particularly the education of adults, should be a process not of 'banking' or 'depositing' by a teacher in blank or passive minds, but of *dialogue* between the learner/participants and the co-ordinator of a learning group. It may be agreed that good adult education and community development have always involved this process but it had not been transposed into the general body of thinking about literacy until it was given new impetus and theoretical backing by Freire.

In promoting dialogue the educator often has to deal with what Freire calls the 'culture of silence'—the passivity or fear of the learners, the long conditioning to silence of the 'marginalized'. The learners need to find in the literacy group not only the written word but the spoken word—not alien words of others but their own words. In many African and Asian situations the culture of the masses may not be as marginalized or as 'silent' as that of landless peasants or shanty town dwellers of Brazil.

The process of dialogue is also one of 'conscientization'—the awakening of a critical and not a naive or mythical interpretation of reality, of the total life situation and even of the broader socio-economic context of the participants. Discussions must do more than enable learners to describe a situation and express opinions or even emotions. The co-ordinator must help them to define problems, to analyse them and to design solutions, in Freire's terms to *problematize*.

Conscientization and problematization should lead on to *praxis*: to action and reflection beyond the learning situation. This could include practical undertakings such as the formation of self-help projects or co-operatives, involvement in local or national political activity, personal advancement through further study or training and changes in the individual's life situation and goals, hopefully in a spirit of community involvement and service.

At the time of writing his major books, Freire saw the process of conscientization as closely tied to the process of becoming literate. There are indications in his latest book¹⁷ that he has become prepared to modify this position. Conscientization, whether in the literacy process or outside it, is approached by inviting groups to reflect upon visual or aural 'codes'—posters or slides or stories told live or on tape, illustrating a generative theme—aspects of the life situation such as housing, water supply, family relationships or political participation.

These generative themes are not, as is sometimes supposed, generated by the co-ordinators from within the learning groups, but are the result of careful research into the socio-economic situation and the socio-linguistic universe by trained investigators in dialogue with the local people, carried out before the programme is launched.

It is at this point that Freire's methodology of literacy emerges. It can be summarized as follows:

- (a) *The code*, a visual or oral presentation, expresses the generative theme.
- (b) *The generative theme* (e.g. housing) is expressed by the generative word (e.g. house).
- (c) *The generative word* is the basis for learning to read and write as an authentic act of communication.

The generative word is a word which focuses the theme, as the word 'house' would focus 'housing'. The generative word is also used as a key word in teaching basic reading using syllables and words which the learners compose from them. It is doubly generative, in that it focuses the responses already aroused in the discussion and also generates new words. After treating a number of generative themes and words in this way the learners begin to read continuously and after some weeks they are able to write short continuous statements or stories of say five to ten lines.

The learners thus see writing immediately not as mechanical copying but as expansion of the spoken word and as an act of communication. As the learners write longer pieces, these can be mimeographed or written up on large sheets to be used for reading practice. This means that there is less need than in traditional literacy programmes for specially printed easy reading material in the early stages. Later reading material will be needed to provide a transition to independent reading. Freire certainly sees a need for a professional unit producing this material in an ongoing way. It is in its emphasis on dialogue and on creative use of language that Freire's approach may well leave its most lasting legacy.

Problems and Trends in Adult Literacy

The problem of mass literacy is likely to face governments and educators in many countries for many years as population growth continues to outpace the expansion of school systems. Decisions will therefore be needed on the allocation of scarce resources between formal and non-formal education, and, within the non-formal sector, between adult literacy and other programmes. The major problems which face the planners of adult literacy programmes have much in common—their solution will vary widely between countries and cultures. Should emphasis be on mass campaigns or selective approaches, on involvement of government or on non-governmental effort, or on a combination of these? In multi-lingual areas, in what language or languages should literacy be taught and learnt? Who should be enrolled as literacy teachers or co-ordinators? How and how long should they be trained? What remuneration, if any, should they receive?

The determination of the aims and content of the programme will be related to the political climate and the availability of personnel.

The work-oriented programmes of UNESCO faced an often insoluble problem of finding instructors who could combine literacy teaching with occupational or agricultural training. Similar difficulties may well occur in programmes following the Freire method in finding and training co-ordinators who can sustain the dynamism of conscientization and synchronize it with the teaching or reading and writing in a relationship of dialogue with the learners. It may be that the literacy teaching process does not benefit from being closely combined with technical training or even with conscientization. A simpler approach might be worth trying, which concentrates initially on literacy—

developing the communication skill of reading and writing, with content based on research into learners' needs and interests, and then leads on to diversified learning opportunities. The literacy programme would thus be planned as part of a continuing non-formal education and training programme.

The aims and content of the literacy programme are, of course, closely related to the learners' motivation. It may here be helpful to distinguish internal and external motivation—the first arising within the programme, the second depending on its eventual rewards. Among the factors which will motivate adults to come and stay, perhaps the most important is a teacher or co-ordinator who establishes an open, democratic, empathetic relationship with the learners, creating the atmosphere of a study group rather than a class, and who stays with the group. Especially where teachers are not highly trained, good teaching and learning materials will be important. Finally adequate funds and material resources will be essential, such as money for lamps and oil without which evening meetings in many areas will break down.

External motivation will largely depend upon the extent to which the learner finds opportunities to use his new found mastery of reading and writing in his family and community. So adult literacy programmes would be seen as components in a broader scheme of non-formal education, training and cultural development. The traditional practice of starting adult literacy campaigns and then conceiving follow-up activities might well be reversed. The first task of planners of non-formal education might be to establish a range of educational and training facilities, some requiring literacy, and expanding the availability of reading matter in the community by a subsidized or government financed publishing programme. In the following sections we look at several types of non-formal education and training programmes, which can be adapted for adult illiterates as well as for others with varying levels of education.

Extension and Related Services

Agricultural extension has traditionally relied on face-to-face contact between field staff and farmers on their farms, in groups and meetings, in young farmers' clubs or on farm visits. On these occasions oral communication may be supplemented by method demonstration and result demonstration and occasionally reinforced by films, slides or other visual aids. Similar methods are used by other services, for example, health education of the public, and family planning and nutrition education programmes.

These programmes, in which extension agents are trained and paid to transmit scientific knowledge and practical skills to farmers and other groups of the rural population, have the advantage of immediate 'rapport' and direct feedback but also many attendant problems. Among these are:

- (a) The number and high cost of staff and vehicles needed to contact scattered rural populations.
- (b) The low status and motivation—and isolation—of many front-line workers, and their low credibility, where, as often, they are younger and less experienced than many of their clients.
- (c) The education and culture gap between educated government extension staff and adult illiterates, often accentuated by the status-consciousness of the government staff.

- (d) The proneness of extension staff to help the richer more accessible of their 'clients' and to ignore the poorest.
- (e) The complexity of rural development, and of the research and information needed to support it, and the consequent difficulty of formulating 'development messages' that are appropriate to particular groups of rural people, especially the poorest.
- (f) The transient nature of the spoken word and the information loss and distortion that generally results when information is transmitted by spoken language.

The problems are not in themselves insuperable and in many places have been at least partially overcome.

A more radical criticism has been made by Freire in his essay 'Extension or Communication', particularly that the concept (and often the practice) of 'extension' implies a top-down mechanistic process of transferring extraneous knowledge to people and manipulating their attitudes—treating them as objects rather than as subjects in a learning process. Whether or not the term 'communication' is preferred to 'extension', there is every reason to try to improve the practice. Among possible improvements are the following:

- (a) Better management of extension services, especially in staff relations, recruitment procedures*, remuneration and working conditions, transport, technical support and general maintenance of morale.
- (b) Training of field staff to communicate with rural people, especially to consult, listen to and respect them and to give due attention to the disadvantaged and illiterate.
- (c) Training of senior staff to seek, accept and act upon feedback from field staff and rural people.
- (d) Ensuring that field staff have sufficient technical knowledge to provide useful information to farmers and respond to their questions.
- (e) Improved communication between research staff, specialists, advisers and field staff.
- (f) Field testing of innovations in various environments, so that what is proposed to rural people is appropriate and acceptable.
- (g) Media support for field staff with training manuals, handbooks and useful audio-visual aids.
- (h) Participatory action research to discover the needs, interests, knowledge, attitudes and practices of the rural population and to evaluate the effectiveness of communication with them.
- (i) Consultation, action research and feedback to enable rural people to determine the content of communication—to express their views on what they wish to know and learn.
- (j) Encouragement of feedback from the rural population, involving rural people as teachers as well as learners.
- (k) Giving selected or elected members of the community the status of leading farmers, animateurs, field assistants or demonstrators, with or without remuneration.

*In Tanzania, the local community selects and employs its own extension agents.

- (l) Setting up of permanent structures for two-way communication, associations, clubs, learning groups, etc.
- (m) Using these, as well as communication media, to enable rural people to communicate 'horizontally'—to talk to each other and share their experiences.

In health education it has been found that illiterate mothers may be more effective than trained health workers in teaching other mothers what they themselves have recently learnt about improved methods of child care and nutrition.

Although the examples of agricultural extension and health education have been used, learning can extend into all areas of useful knowledge, including social education and political education. 'Conscientization', although linked by Freire to literacy teaching, can also be used to lead people to an awareness of their situation and problems, to the ability to 'name the world' and 'control their environment', without reference to literacy.

If the importance of literacy is recognized, non-formal and traditionally non-literate education programmes might well encourage the use of written language and so motivate illiterate adults to expand their communication skills by learning to read and write.

Occupational, Technical and Craft Training Courses

A more formal area of non-formal education appropriate to illiterate as well as literate adults is the field of occupational, technical and craft training. A whole range of organized courses, often residential, can be made available for training in agriculture and other occupations, small industries and crafts. Intermediate technology may well have a special place in these training programmes.

This area, like extension, has its attendant problems, for example:

- (a) The difficulty of making training relevant, and relating it to employment opportunities.
- (b) The danger, when expanding traditional local crafts or introducing innovations, of over-production or pricing the products out of the local market.
- (c) The danger of destroying inspiration through formal training, corrupting traditional art with foreign influence and rewarding quantity rather than quality.
- (d) Conversely the difficulty of expanding small-scale local production to satisfy export requirements or the tourist market.
- (e) The financial and logistical problems of staffing, equipping and organizing training courses and the reluctance, or inability, of poorer people or those in remote areas to take advantage of them.

In developing this type of training, especially for adult illiterates, preliminary study, action research and market research, will be crucial to ensure that the content of training is relevant to future employment opportunities, and that any new technology or practices to be introduced are fully tested and proven, are appropriate to the environment, can be mastered by learners and will be economically viable. Many of the skills and practices, for example in modern farming or basic mechanical repair work, will inevitably be imported but there

should also be opportunities to improve local skills and designs for local materials and tools to be used and passed on by local craftsmen through courses of apprenticeships.

Target Group 4: Women and Girls

The tone of the Delhi Conference report and the number of resolutions pertaining to women are by themselves eloquent testimony to the importance of improving opportunities for this underprivileged half of the world's population. There was general recognition at the Conference that women are normally the worst disadvantaged of all the other target groups for non-formal education. And, of course, this recognition is borne out by statistical evidence; for example, in 1970, 60 per cent of the world's illiterates are said to have been women.

The majority of women in the developing countries of Asia and Africa are illiterate, with the exception of a few countries such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka where the female literacy rate is 85 per cent and 70 per cent respectively. Tables 1 and 2 indicate that a large proportion of girls in developing countries do not complete their primary and secondary education. At the tertiary level this is the situation in most developing and developed countries. Table 2 also offers evidence of sex disparities in enrolment in the formal education system.

Table 1: Percentage of Girls in Educational Institutions in 1975

Region	First Level	Second Level	Third Level
Developing countries in Asia and Oceania	41	33	30
Africa	41	34	26
Latin America	49	48	40

Source: UNESCO Office of Statistics, Paris

Table 2: Proportion of Students Enrolled in Educational Institutions in Developing Countries in Asia—1976

Age group	Male	Female	Total
6–11 years	72.4	51.4	62.2
11–17 years	38.0	22.9	30.7
17–23 years	10.1	7.3	7.3
6–23 years	44.4	29.1	36.8

Source: UNESCO Office of Statistics, Paris

Again, and taking India as an example, Table 3 shows that whereas there has been a gratifying improvement in the literacy rate for the adult population as a whole (from 19.26 per cent in 1951 to 34.08 per cent in 1971), the improvement for men has been much greater than for women.

Table 3: Literate Population in India, 1951 and 1971

	Total	Men	Women
1951	19.26%	29.40%	8.40%
1971	34.08%	47.69%	19.36%

Source: *Adult Education Programmes for Women*. Govt. of India

As the Conference report *Mobilizing Human Resources*, puts it:

The role of women in development is undervalued, poorly developed and constrained by a variety of social and economic factors. The most important of these factors are economic insecurity, over-concentration on livelihood with little time and less interest in any form of education, and a general feeling of powerlessness against the economic and social structure which seems to be hostile or indifferent to women. Apart from poverty, time constraints, and lack of motivation, women are often constrained by certain dominant attitudes that prevail in their societies which regard them as inferior and suited only to home-making, child-care, and certain low-skilled, low-productive, low-status occupations calling for little intellectual aptitude and few high-proficiency skills. The part played by women in production and distribution is often ignored, particularly in rural areas. So are the managerial roles of women in élite groups. If, therefore, the individual and collective potential of women is to be fully realized, intimate and sensitive questions have to be examined openly and without cynicism, and explored with tolerance and sincerity. In addition, governments need to place more emphasis on non-formal education programmes for women.

Existing non-formal education programmes for women concentrate either on nutrition, child care and home economics, or on conventional vocational skills in such areas as tailoring, embroidery and traditional crafts. They make little or no call on modern technology and such expertise as managerial skills or accounting procedures. Even those limited programmes are often undertaken in the face of local hostility and suffer from limited resources and finance. Moreover, the views of educational planners on the needs of women are often conditioned by traditional attitudes.

Among women themselves there is widespread acceptance of discriminatory attitudes and the biases in existing programmes. Often this is a device that women use to rationalize their lack of options and make a virtue out of necessity. As a result they tend to opt out of non-formal programmes and remain poorly educated. This exacerbates their inferiority. Their powerlessness is intensified and their frustration increased.

The objectives of non-formal education for women are justice, dignity and the right—as well as the opportunity—to participate in development. Non-formal education programmes for women and girls must be designed around these objectives, challenging—where necessary—tradition, custom, existing educational provision and the constraints of home and family.

As an aid to understanding, it is helpful to focus on two groups of women—girls out of school, and women at work both at home and outside the home.

Girls out of School

This broad category includes (a) girls between the ages of six and 18 who never enter school; (b) girls who are unable to complete formal education; and (c) girls who complete one or more stages of formal education but cannot acquire further education.

Many factors limit girls' access to education. There are many places where provision for schooling does not exist. Parents may be reluctant to send their daughters to school if their sons remain unemployed after completing formal education. Boys in poorer families may rely on the women and girls for their upkeep whilst they are in school. The demands on girls may be such as to inhibit their performance in school and discourage them from continuing their education. The marriageability of girls may in some countries be impaired if it is known that they have been or are going to school. Early marriage and pregnancy may limit girls' access to education.

To increase the participation of girls in formal and non-formal education, the girls themselves must become self-aware and self-determined so as to recognize their potential role in society. Women need to be made aware of the valuable part that girls can play in society. Parents need to be motivated to accept new roles for girls at home and in the community. Development planners, teachers, employers and other male-dominated groups need to be motivated to act as local change agents, using their influence to develop community awareness of the potential of girls.

Non-formal education programmes to enable girls to enter formal school and to complete interrupted education should be encouraged. The Meadow Schools of Maharashtra in India offer girls the possibility of entry into Grade Four. In Lesotho, those girls whose schooling is interrupted by pregnancy are able to complete it through a non-formal education programme. In Bangladesh, mothers' clubs and women's co-operatives provide functional literacy opportunities for those who have some schooling but who are unable to maintain regular attendance. The Anganwadi (Courtyard) Programme for mothers and children in India makes similar provision. In Kenya and Jamaica, girls with some formal education are able to maintain their literacy and their academic and practical interests through the use of village library schemes. Other programmes are designed to improve the employment prospects of girls. In Kenya the national youth service offers a two- to three-year training course in a variety of trades. The Government assists in the eventual placement of girls in jobs. In some Commonwealth countries urban girls in employment meet for some learning sessions, although this kind of provision is very limited.

Frequently, girls who have some academic qualifications cannot successfully compete for employment with their male counterparts. This points to the need for programmes which increase the confidence of girls and prepare them better for successful job competition. Employers should be encouraged to adopt fairer recruitment practices which do not discriminate against girls.

Women at Work

Women at work at home and outside the home include those in low-income occupations, working women with irregular incomes, and those who have no monetary return for their work. In agrarian societies such women play a major role in agriculture and are often the main supporters of the family through subsistence farming or wage labour. In addition to cooking, caring for children and collecting water and fuel, women often play a prominent role in the traditional market economy as retailers and producers of handicrafts and food. Urban women are often employed in low-skilled and low-paid occupations which, combined with low access to further training, prevent both lateral and horizontal mobility in employment.

Societies the world over have consistently displayed a lack of understanding of the multiple roles of women—particularly the economic role. A prerequisite of any serious attempt at programme design is the need to ensure adequate motivation of society.

At the national level there is need for a sustained campaign with the help of the mass media to motivate measures to correct prevailing social attitudes that women should be confined to certain roles. Films and other documentary material depicting the hard labour, responsibility and self-reliance of women at work can help to correct discriminatory attitudes. In this context the Women's Audio-Visual Education (WAVE) package of the Women's Bureau of Jamaica is relevant. It is a public education project with emphasis on small workshops directed at special target groups, such as policy planners, rural women, students and youth groups, to highlight the problems women face, suggest solutions and stimulate discussion.*

The work undertaken by women at home is no less responsible than that undertaken by those in paid employment and should be given equal consideration when programmes of non-formal education are being planned and implemented. All too often, however, the burdens of home management and looking after a family are so great as to cause physical exhaustion and prevent the women concerned from participating in the programmes they need. Research on the simplification of household tasks is required in order to remove some of the constraints on women's participation in non-formal education.

Though women's work in the home is crucially important, those who undertake it are often inadequately prepared for the tasks involved. A knowledge of budgeting of time and money, of nutrition and economy in food preparation and consumption, and of health, sanitation and family planning, are all essential. Educational programmes are therefore needed to provide this information. At the same time they should seek to enable women to acquire

The vocational training needs of women are considered on pages 65–67.

the necessary self-confidence of expression and action, and to generate in families the understanding that household responsibilities should be shared so that genuine partnership may be engendered. Given these circumstances, women will have the opportunities they need to share in cultural, educational and social development.

Non-formal education programmes for women in paid employment should aim at improving the economic position of women. The example of the National Women's Organization of Tanzania shows the possibility of organizing programmes on a national scale. It has played a vital part in organizing, mobilizing and educating women. By establishing economic-based projects it has assisted women to run their own restaurants, shops and other business activities in addition to child care. This type of commitment has helped in bringing together women for joint effort in raising their income and learning, as well as finding solutions to developmental problems. The effect is felt all over the country since the organization has branches down to the village level as well as communication from that level to the highest decision-making authorities.

It is important to note that the planning and execution of women's programmes, whether governmental or non-governmental, have so far been mainly entrusted to middle-class urban élites which, despite good intentions, have little understanding of the constraints to which women in rural areas are subjected.

There is need for extensive investigation of problems, not merely as an academic exercise but to obtain data on which projects and programmes can be based. In order to ensure that these projects and programmes will be acceptable, the characteristics and needs of the target group should be taken into account in identifying the best time and the most effective way to begin the work. It is also necessary to convince women and their families that the educational experience will be of economic value.

In identifying vocational skills it may be possible to build on existing skills of women as long as such training can increase their efficiency, productivity and earning power. This is particularly the case in rural areas where training in new agricultural techniques, or animal husbandry, or processing agricultural products, can strengthen the productivity of women already engaged in agricultural operations. In providing such training, however, it is necessary to keep in mind the developmental plans of the area, both short-term and long-term, so that women can be trained to participate in any new activity likely to be developed through such plans. Such training should aim to ensure that women who are displaced by new technology can acquire alternative income-generating skills. Co-ordination and liaison with agencies which can provide developmental assistance in the way of essential inputs have to be established right from the beginning if the attempts for skill development are not to end in futility.

An important issue in programme strategy is to identify ways of organizing women for learning and production experiences. The most acceptable form of organization will depend on the local situation and the characteristics of the group. Co-operatives, associations, clubs, informal groups, labour unions and credit unions are all in a position to initiate action. Organizations such as these are essential even for self-employed women who otherwise find it

virtually impossible to obtain access to the development inputs they need to pursue their occupations. It strengthens their participatory role in economic and community decision-making and thus contributes to their overall development. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of Gujarat, India, is an illustration of this.

Trade unions have a special role to play in providing programmes for the improvement of skills, including literacy, and for making women aware of labour rights and laws. Women's membership in trade unions should therefore be encouraged.

All in all, the strategy for successful implementation of non-formal education programmes for women calls for national commitment to the objectives of women's development, for professional training of programme designers, investigators, and field workers involved in the programmes, and for built-in provision for participation by the women at the grass-roots level. Women working at home need education aimed at enabling them to manage their households more satisfactorily. For those in paid employment, production skills must go hand in hand with some managerial skills (e.g. in finding markets for their own products, obtaining access to raw materials, and being able to learn simple accounting procedures) so that they do not have to depend in perpetuity on project authorities. Women have demonstrated their capacity for performing supervisory and managerial roles in traditional economies. It is necessary to develop these capacities so that they can adapt themselves to the process of economic modernization that is changing their lives throughout the Third World. It is therefore essential that programmes for women's education and development should be integrated into the general plan for development so that they do not continue to be on the periphery of the development process or marginal in recognition and importance. Unless this is done, the allocation of resources for such projects and programmes will always receive low priority.

Vocational Training Needs of Women

It will be clear from the extract quoted above that much is being done and that much remains to be done. Perhaps in view of current stereotypes about roles, the vocational training needs of women may well need more emphasis. As Swarna Jayaweera points out:¹⁸

In Sri Lanka, a flexible channel of non-formal education exists in training programmes offered by state departments such as education, labour, agriculture, industry and rural development, national youth organizations and voluntary organizations. However, their vocational orientation has tended to be sex-based and innovations have been relatively few. Since the majority of women live in rural areas in conditions of mass poverty the following review of programmes will be limited to their impact on the rural sector.

The extensive participation and low productivity of many women engaged in agricultural activities [are well known.] Nevertheless policy-makers have continued to give preference to men in agricultural education and extension programmes while women are seldom seriously considered for such programmes. Therefore they are unaware of modern techniques and

technological innovations and are not trained to use even small machines such as hulling and milking machines and small tractors. Sex stereotypes prevail in this area too, and it is not uncommon to see agricultural extension programmes organized for men and home economics programmes for women in the same locality. Similarly, women's programmes in agricultural communities tend to be oriented to handicraft and cottage crafts rather than to agriculture. Even where agricultural extension programmes are organized specifically for women they fail to play a dynamic role in revitalizing the rural economy.

The Farm Workers' Agricultural Extension Programme in Sri Lanka, which was introduced with FAO assistance in 1974 and is now part of the extension division of the Department of Agriculture, is an example of a recent effort to integrate rural women in development and improve the standard of living of farm families. The programme has a multiplier effect in that agricultural instructresses work with agricultural productivity centres and other agencies in selected colonization schemes and rural development areas to train local extension workers and village leaders. Its objective is the promotion of income-generating activities among rural women such as the cultivation of subsidiary crops, co-operative gardening, floriculture, animal husbandry and local crafts, and the dissemination of home management and family health programmes. Problems relating to marketing facilities, the quality of the local crafts produced, and the dearth of trained personnel have affected the income generation aspect of the programme leading to a high drop-out rate.

The Women's Development Centres of the Department of Rural Development in Sri Lanka were another innovation of the 1970s directed towards mobilizing rural women to improve the standards of living of rural families. Introduced originally with 147 mobile centres scattered through the island and imparting instruction largely in needlework, the programme was expanded in 1975 to convert those centres into permanent training-cum-production centres offering courses to village trainees in home gardening, food production and preparation, appropriate technology, crafts, needlework, nutrition and health. A recent evaluation of this programme has revealed that the objectives of the programme have not been achieved. The Centres suffered from a lack of capital resources and skilled personnel, facilities with regard to buildings and equipment were incredibly poor, the training programme was still largely limited to needlework instruction, and there had been little instruction in modern agricultural methods, food processing, economically viable crafts, or nutrition and health. Income generation was very low since the output had not reached competitive marketable standards, 90 per cent of past trainees were unemployed and 85 per cent of the self-employed had no income.

Another area in which non-formal education programmes have been operating is small-scale industry. In developing countries small rural industries or cottage industries have always had extensive female participation. In Sri Lanka, for instance, the proportion of women engaged in rural industries (33.8 per cent) was higher than that in urban industries (15.3 per cent) in 1971. A brief review of the training programmes of the Department of Small Industries in Sri Lanka may offer some evidence of efficacy of such non-formal education programmes.

The Department of Small Industries has a network of over 300 training centres in all districts in the island, a Vocational Training Centre in Colombo and a series of retail shops in large urban centres. Women constitute 72.8 per cent of these trainees, and while centres are not sex-differentiated there is a concentration of women in training programmes in traditional 'feminine' crafts such as hand-woven textiles, coir products and rush and palm ware. There is substantial enrolment in pottery and cane industries but a virtual exclusion of women from traditional 'male' industries, such as wood-based and metal-based crafts. A sample survey of ten centres revealed that:

- (a) Trainees came from low-income families and the majority had dropped out of school.
- (b) Attendance was irregular and the level of efficiency and productivity and quality of output very low.
- (c) Monthly income from the sale of articles was very poor, ranging from 50 to 100 rupees.
- (d) The training programme did not lead to paid employment as there was no certification based on assessment, and trainees were reluctant to venture into self-employment in view of the lack of credit and marketing facilities.

This information leads to the inescapable conclusion that these rural industries were 'poor relations' of the industrial sector and were both educationally sterile and economically unproductive.

Thus it seems clear that without continued and increasing discrimination *in favour of women*, the objectives of justice, dignity and the right to participation in development will not easily be attained.

APPENDIX

The JAMAL Programme in Jamaica (Joyce Robinson)

In 1974 the Government of Jamaica embarked on a new design for a programme of 'reclamation education' in which adult literacy constituted the first and basic layer of an integrated programme of continuing education for adults. Once functional literacy was achieved, provision was to be made for adults to continue their education and to be channelled into further training or employment opportunities provided by various agencies of government.

The former national literacy programme, started in 1972, was reorganized and restructured into a broader-based adult education programme making literacy the first phase of a co-ordinated programme for continuing education. The new programme, renamed the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy and called by the acronym JAMAL, is operated by a foundation with the main objectives to establish and operate a basic adult education programme primarily:

- (a) To eradicate illiteracy in Jamaica within the shortest possible period.
- (b) To improve the literacy skills of the adult population of Jamaica.

- (c) To develop human resources and so enable each adult citizen to participate meaningfully in the social, economic and cultural development of the country.

It was originally estimated that approximately 500,000 persons (i.e. 50 per cent of the adult population) were illiterate. So far, over 180,000 students have achieved functional literacy through the JAMAL programme, whilst another 114,000 students are currently registered in 7,500 JAMAL classes throughout the island. Ages vary from 15 to 65 years with the majority being between the ages of 15 to 35 years. Although the present number of new literates represents only 30 per cent of the original estimated 500,000 illiterates, it is sufficient to indicate that the programme's first phase of eradicating illiteracy is achieving some success and is a viable operation.

Problems Affecting the Education of New Literates

Phase One of the JAMAL programme enables the student to attain reading, writing and arithmetic to level four of the JAMAL curriculum, which is the reading level equivalent to that of grade six in the primary school system. It is therefore obvious that the average JAMAL student leaves Phase One of the programme while still a slow reader and he will need constant practice to make him proficient. Indeed, he still needs *another five years of constant reading practice to make him fluent, and to help him to change his old traditional oral habits of memorizing symbols and signs and acquire new attitudes which will make him fully integrated in a literate-oriented way of life.*

Under normal circumstances such a person should now be able to continue improving his reading skills through the use of other educational tools and agencies in the society (e.g. newspapers, magazines, public libraries, bookshops, community colleges, extension schools, vocation and trade centres). However, in developing countries such as Jamaica, the circumstances are not normal, and, in spite of the government's efforts to provide the other two tiers of continuing education through community youth centres and trade centres, progress has been slow. The availability of space for new literate adults within educational and training institutions has not kept pace so far with the graduation rate of the 180,000 new literates coming out of the JAMAL Phase One programme. There are still very few community colleges, skills training centres or education programmes for adults in rural areas. The new plans being implemented by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth and Community Development to provide these on a nation-wide scale will necessarily take some time, and meanwhile these new literates will have lost their current motivation.

Non-formal programmes for the continuing education of these students are being implemented but rapid progress is hampered by the following:

- (a) There is insufficient ready access to books and reading materials which are written in simple English and are relevant to the interests of the majority of low level readers. Although there is a most valuable network of public libraries provided by the Jamaica Library Service, these have a limited amount of reading material at this specialized level for new literates.
- (b) There is a scarcity of suitable books and simple reading material for adults available in local bookshops and from the commercial market

overseas, and the high cost of books places them beyond the reach of those who most need them.

(c) Accustomed to a high rate of adult illiteracy for many years the society has geared its operations to survive on oral traditions which in turn has created an attitude of complacency towards illiteracy.

(d) There is still some stigma attached to a former illiterate adult and the society is not yet adjusted to integrate him fully while he is struggling and not completely confident of his potential as a literate citizen.

(e) Most new literates do not live or work in an environment conducive to literate-oriented habits, nor do they have relatives and friends capable and willing to encourage and assist them to continue their education.

In addition, JAMAL students who graduated from Phase One at JAMAL's level four found themselves in an awkward gap where they were not able to continue their education *immediately* in vocational and skills-training programmes as these required a minimum entry of grade nine. Since the formal provision to take such adult students from grade six to grade nine had not yet materialized, many were frustrated in their efforts to help themselves.

JAMAL therefore has had to accelerate the implementation of its Phase Two programme to help new literates from Phase One to continue from education to levels five and six within the JAMAL classes wherever the voluntary teaching facilities could be provided.

Projects and Programmes for Continuing Education

The main channels being used to provide continuing education for new literates in Jamaica include:

(a) The establishment of official links of co-operation between the Public Library Service and JAMAL to facilitate maximum use of libraries resources by students.

(b) The establishments of a Guidance Unit operation for students as an integral part of the JAMAL programme.

(c) The vigorous stimulation of local writing and publishing for new literates through innovations such as JAMAL, UNESCO/UNDP 'Fulfil Project' and 'New Readers' page in a commercial newspaper.

(d) The launching of a five-year development plan which includes developing Phase Two of the JAMAL programme to take students from level four to level six (i.e. to grade nine which is the minimum recruitment level for entry to vocational and trade training institutions).

(e) The expansion of radio and television instructional and motivational programmes to change attitudes and upgrade all sectors of the society to think, practise and acquire new habits to foster continuing education as a way of life.

(f) The establishment of closer working links with the Ministry of Education which is now establishing additional community colleges and vocational training programmes with facilities for new literates; also the establishment of closer working relations with other government agencies and private institutions to encourage them to expand their facilities to include new literates in their training programmes.

(g) The stimulation of greater public awareness of the potential of new literates in order to gain the sympathetic understanding of the society and particularly of the business and industrial communities to assist with 'in house' adult education programmes to upgrade their staff. Programmes such as a televised National Literacy Quiz have been operated for the past four years to create a more responsive environment and build up confidence in students as they seek opportunities for self-improvement.

Space does not permit a detailed examination of all the projects but three are considered in more detail.

1. Establishment of Links with the Public Library Service

The Library's role in continuing education remains dominant since it represents the most economical and constant supply of free reading material essential to establish fluency and improve competence. Jamaica is extremely fortunate to have a very good public library system organized with a network of 450 parish libraries, branch libraries, book centres and bookmobile stops. However, the availability of a wide range of books on various subjects relevant to the simple reading needs of housewives, farmers, industrial workers, labourers, fishermen, etc. still remains elusive. The problem lies not only with the unavailability of relevant titles on the commercial market, but also with the high cost of importing books into the country and the extremely limited annual book fund received by the Library Service. In spite of these problems, the Jamaica Library Service is the only institution in Jamaica now even partially equipped to handle on a large scale the herculean task of non-formal continuing education for so many new literates at a national level.

JAMAL and Jamaica Library Service have embarked on a programme of close co-operation. Senior staff of both organizations serve on each other's national and local community committees responsible for promoting their programmes and this helps to establish a better understanding of the psychological problems and needs of new literates and to co-ordinate development plans. Special assistance given by the Jamaica Library Service includes:

- (a) Bookmobiles attend on spot at JAMAL graduation ceremonies to register the graduates as new library readers and to introduce them to the services of the library.
- (b) Large print books are provided in the bookstock for new literates and special collections with easy reading material are being built up.
- (c) Book exhibitions are prepared by the library and displayed at JAMAL functions, booklists for new literates are distributed and educational tours for groups of students to visit libraries are arranged.
- (d) Library buildings are used for teacher training, advanced classes and other JAMAL activities. JAMAL staff and voluntary teachers consult regularly with librarians to plan strategies for retaining the reading interest of new readers and encourage continuing education.

It is important to note that the library has had to adjust its programme to accommodate not only the current 180,000 new literates but also the thousands of other slow readers who over the years have dropped out or passed out of the school system at a low academic level. More recently, some

of the larger libraries have started operating special advisory services through a new project called The JAMAL Graduate Library Appreciation Programme. This involves the systematic enrolment of new literates in the libraries, and the provision of a follow-up advice service and motivational activities to ensure their progress and to obtain valuable statistical data on the reading needs of new literates in particular areas. This programme should provide an excellent opportunity to analyse changes in adult learner behaviour. At present the Jamaica Library Service is negotiating for additional finances to expand its programme: (a) by providing more books for new adult readers and a greater allocation to rural communities; (b) by providing audio-visual equipment and non-book materials in branch libraries to link with the ten radio and nine television JAMAL programmes now broadcast weekly; and (c) by producing radio and television library programmes to stimulate continuing education among adults and promote the greater use of books.

2. Guidance Unit for New Literates

The JAMAL Guidance Unit was initiated in 1975 to assist JAMAL graduates in furthering their development and building on their new skills of reading and writing to become self reliant and more productive in their communities. The unit is responsible for advising level four students of suitable career opportunities and of the qualifications and training required for such careers; for liaising with skills-training agencies, educational institutions, the Ministry of Labour and other human resource development bodies in order to develop a resource pool into which graduates may be channelled, and to encourage graduates to avail themselves of opportunities for further training, education and employment.

A guidance officer and a small support staff operate from each of the four regions into which the island is divided. This regional structure allows JAMAL's unit to integrate with the structures used by many other development programmes and facilitates integrated planning with other community-based programmes in areas such as education (vocation and skills training); health (family planning, nutrition, child care); agriculture (co-operative farming, pioneer farms, credit union, land lease); youth and community development (community councils, youth centres, pioneer farm projects); etc.

The Guidance Unit has made outstanding contributions in stimulating the continuing education of new literates by building up valuable information including:

- (a) Annotated lists of interviewed students (level four), reflecting age, sex, classwork achievement levels, skills (if any), employment experience, addresses.
- (b) Annotated lists of institutions, agencies and industries offering opportunities (within the learning competence of students) which would enable them to continue their education in academic or technical subjects and acquire a skill.
- (c) Data on students placed in training programmes and follow-up reports on outstanding graduates.
- (d) Data on scholarships obtained for students from organizations, service clubs and individuals, with follow-up reports to donors when possible.

Guidance officers have helped to change hardened attitudes and secure work apprenticeship opportunities as well as scholarships and financial assistance for many ambitious needy students to attend community colleges; trade training centres; Chinese cooking classes; sewing courses; catering courses; community nursing aides courses; child care courses, etc.

In special cases JAMAL's Guidance Unit has helped to co-sponsor training courses for new literates. An outstanding example is 'The United Women Woodwork and Welding Industry' which resulted from the Women's Bureau and JAMAL collaborating in a training course in non-traditional skills for women. The Guidance Unit assists students who wish to start co-operatives and self-help projects. So far these have included catering, dressmaking, shoemaking and craft. Such students are given a short course in business management and marketing (using guest lecturers) and are introduced to the co-operative and other finance agencies like the Small Business Loan Board.

3. Stimulation of Local Writing and Publishing for New Literates

JAMAL and other organizations such as the Jamaica Library Service have been sponsoring lectures, training courses, seminars, and workshops in book production and writing for new literates in an effort to try to persuade publishers that it is economically viable to publish more books at this level and to encourage established local authors to write for this level of reader. In addition, projects have been initiated to discover talent and encourage new authors. In 1975 a project called 'FULFIL' the acronym for 'Follow Up Literature for Individual Learners' was launched under the chairmanship of Mr Daniel Martin, the UNESCO/UNDP project manager then attached to JAMAL. The aim was to foster the development of works of a popular nature such as short stories, novels, plays, and comic strips based on themes on West Indian folk life, biography, travel and adventure, and stories of religious inspiration. The accent was on reading for pleasure so as to inculcate the reading habit to improve the quality of life of new literates. The FULFIL project launched a Popular Literature Competition open to the general public with prize money substituting for authors' fees. Of the 53 entries received, 30 were identified as worthy of publishing, and so far four have been published.

JAMAL trains writers 'in house', and the materials production department publishes supplementary reading books on various topical subjects, and a monthly newspaper called 'Lets Read'. In addition to simplifying information material for various government departments, the department summarizes and simplifies each week (for the past two years) one page of current news called 'New Readers' Page for the *Daily Gleaner* which is Jamaica's largest newspaper with a daily circulation of 54,000.

Launching a Five Year Development Plan including JAMAL Phase Two

The Jamaican Government has approved a Five Year Development Plan (1978–1983) for the acceleration of the JAMAL programme to achieve its major objectives by 1983. It was appreciated that provision for the continuing education of the current 180,000 Phase One JAMAL graduates could not await the establishment of all the formal institutions needed within the ideal comprehensive education system now being implemented by the Ministry of Education and consequently the JAMAL Phase Two programme has been accelerated to fill the immediate gap.

The design of the Phase Two programme is similar to that of Phase One. Wherever convenient and possible, all classes will expand upwards to help students to attain level four standard to continue their education to level five and six, which is equivalent of the primary school's grades seven and nine. The current 7,500 Phase One classes are structured for students of varying ages and occupational interests with some full-time centres for the unemployed and shift workers. There are eight types of classes grouped as follows: part-time evening classes; part-time day classes; full-time adult education centres; part-time adult education centres; in-house private sector classes; in-house government agency classes; organization classes by church groups; friendly societies, youth groups, neighbourhood classes and, most recently, classes for inmates in correctional institutions.

Some adult education centres already have facilities of both space and teachers and have been used for pilot projects for Phase Two. Students completing Phase Two have obtained employment as security guards, traffic wardens, assistant prison warders, aides in basic schools, trainee mechanics in garages, and in garment factories and other industries. Other have gained acceptance for further training in the Police Special Constabulary Force, commercial schools, the School of Art, the Hotel Training School, etc.

The Phase Two curriculum covers English language—oral and written (grammar and syntax); mathematics (application to business, trade skills and budgeting); social studies (civics, geography and history of Jamaica in a world context); health science (nutrition, family planning, child care); reading and writing to attain fluency beyond any possibilities of regression. Classroom and supplementary reading materials prepared and printed in the JAMAL in-house printery are distributed free of cost to students. In addition, media programmes for levels five and six on radio and television are now in advanced stages of preparation and will be broadcast as supplementary to the current ten weekly Phase One programmes in operation since 1974.

The literacy programme does not operate continuing education programmes in skills training, since these are already the responsibilities of other government agencies working in local communities. Nevertheless many JAMAL classes are either in the same buildings or in close proximity to such centres, and by special arrangements some JAMAL students learn a skill whilst continuing to upgrade their academic competence. In some instances the teaching of craft has been formally introduced into JAMAL classes by using instructors from other agencies. Students very often also teach each other skills they have acquired. Regular combined exhibitions of classwork, craft work and home economics products are organized, and friendly competitions between classes have been used to encourage production. JAMAL established valuable links with the National Institute of Craft for organizing the sale of students' craft work and for encouraging self-reliance and production at marketable standards.

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