

CHAPTER 5

Operational Problems

Towards a Non-Formal System?

It has already been noted that one of the widely perceived advantages of non-formal education is flexibility. In part this stems from the fact that programmes have frequently been conceived in isolation by separate governmental and non-governmental organizations: each has responded swiftly to a particular need at a particular time and at a particular place. But if particularity and isolation have given rise to virtue, then this has been largely a matter of accident. The whole justification for 'the non-formal idea' (see Chapter 1 above) is that we should build on virtue and create a more coherent structure than often exists at present. We spoke in Chapter 1 of NFE being part of 'the development system'. What must now be attempted is to make something of a 'system' out of existing NFE programmes—without losing the established non-formal virtues of flexibility and relevance to the needs of the mainly rural poor.

As T. A. Koshy has pointed out:¹

Included in this view of education is a variety of human learning needs, such as the acquisition of occupational and household skills, the assimilation and successful utilization of information on nutrition, sanitation, maternal/child health care, family planning, small farm management, housing improvement, the cultivation of vegetables and fruits on family plots of land, the basic everyday consumer economics. It also includes the formation of new attitudes, values and aspirations and the building of an informed, active citizenry where each member is concerned with his own individual well-being, that of his neighbours and of his environment. This view of education and learning is focused on human beings; its intention is to help an individual find ways of articulating his needs and those of his community, mobilizing resources to meet these needs, and taking appropriate action. It is a type of learning that is not imposed by outside forces, but is sought and developed by the learners themselves.

This type of education is distinguished best by the role it plays, and not by its structure. Namely, it serves both young people and adults, literates and illiterates; it is closely related to local needs, and it is neither time-bound nor place-bound. That is, it does not need to take place in school buildings, nor

follow national curricula, nor require specified, rigid lengths of time to complete, nor have as its purpose the earning of a degree or title. Rather, it is life-long. It is education in a broad sense regardless of where, when, or how the learning occurs. The audience to be served by this type of learning opportunity in this development point of view is the majority of the world's population which either lives a marginal rural existence in a vicious cycle of agricultural work of low productivity or which barely survives in shanties on the fringes of a large, crowded urban metropolis. Certainly the formal school system should be part of the solution for alleviating these conditions, but the task is much larger and requires much more than what a single Ministry of Education has traditionally been called upon to do within the confines of the school. It requires inter-ministerial, inter-agency co-operation in health, agriculture, nutrition, and education with integrated programmes and projects which are directly linked to the milieu and life style of the people most in need of these opportunities.

Philip Coombs expresses in another way the problem of establishing a non-formal system when he says:

Other ministries and agencies (dealing, for example, with agriculture, social welfare, labour and manpower, rural development, health and family planning) are generally more heavily engaged in non-formal education (correctly and broadly perceived) than the Ministry of Education itself. There is a flagrant need for these various sponsors of fragmented non-formal education efforts to form themselves into a co-operative and well co-ordinated community with a sense of common purpose. So long as one of their number asserts a monopoly over the subject, it is next to impossible to achieve a bureaucratic harmonization of effort. Meanwhile, the stultifying fragmentation of non-formal education continues and worsens.²

Moreover, it is not just a matter of 'co-ordination', a favourite talking point if an excuse is sought for inaction. What is needed is a change of attitude amongst educators which accepts a recurrent education perspective as part of the future for all of us. It is here that one of the more important non-formal influences on formal systems may be felt; this will be returned to later.

From the wide range of programmes already mentioned in this book, it will be evident that the non-formal idea has already been embraced with varying degrees of enthusiasm. India seems well on the way to establishing a non-formal system which involves 'all categories of learners and...all levels of education'.³ Some countries, like Botswana, have embraced the concept, but confine it to 'out of school' education;⁴ yet others may so far have taken little positive action. In all cases there is evidence of wanting to move towards a more integrated structure, to make more effective what already exists and to promote new programmes in the interests of national development. If this more integrated structure is to be achieved, what are the ideas which have to be embraced?

There is a direct relationship here with the development goals of the 1970s which go beyond mere economic growth; education must reckon with more concern for employment prospects, social equity and participation by those who have received little benefit from past development efforts. Just as development strategies have become more diverse, so the unquestioning expansion of 'end on' formal systems has inevitably given way to a search for alternative educational strategies. Inevitably, as we noted in Chapter 1, this means that to some extent the non-formal idea is a reaction against the failures of formal systems, part of the need for reshaping and restructuring the whole of education. Formal systems are seen as dysfunctional in relation to development goals. High costs, an unequal distribution of resources, a concentration on preparation for the next stage of learning rather than preparation for life, and the underemployment of many school leavers are just some of the dissatisfactions which need little repetition here.

There have been a number of attempts to delineate the main characteristics of non-formal alternatives. Simkins does this in relation to purposes, timing, content, delivery systems and control. (See Table 5). However, in promoting the idea of a non-formal system, it is necessary to go beyond a theoretical analysis, however helpful that may be in understanding how the non-formal idea has been developed. Moreover, the use in isolation of such a polarized typology may itself impede the interaction with formal education which is one of the necessary preconditions for successful programming. In order both to retain their dynamism and to relate effectively to the formal system, it seems to me that non-formal educators need to proclaim and build upon their virtues of relevance and flexibility in five main areas: these concern the categories of target groups, purposes, organization, methods and relationships with the formal system.

We argued in Chapter 2 that 'development is for people'. Certainly the concentration on the non-participants and on the 'forgotten people' as the main target groups has now become widely accepted. Not only was it generally agreed at Delhi, but also at an earlier conference at Dar es Salaam in 1976.⁶ And it is the same with the second area of virtue, namely, purposes. Just as at Delhi we were concerned with the 'politicality' of NFE so, as Budd Hall and Roby Kidd have asserted, the structural changes necessary for balanced development: '...are not only technical or economic or educational concerns but are rooted in political decisions...Adult education—which encompasses the human, educative and political dimensions of society—can prepare the ground within countries and between countries for the hard political decisions that have to be made, as well as acting as an instrument of popular participation so that decisions

Table 5: Ideal Type Models of Formal and Non-Formal Education

Formal		Non-Formal
	<i>Purposes</i>	
Long-term and general Credential-based		Short-term and specific Non-credential-based
	<i>Timing</i>	
Long cycle Preparatory Full-time		Short cycle Recurrent Part-time
	<i>Content</i>	
Input-centred and standardised Academic Clientele determined by entry requirements		Output-centred and individualised Practical Entry requirements determined by clientele
	<i>Delivery System</i>	
Institution-based Isolated (from the socio- economic environment and from social action) Rigidly structured Teacher-centred Resource-intensive		Environment based Community-related Flexibly structured Learner-centred Resource-saving
	<i>Control</i>	
External Hierarchical		Self-governing Democratic

Modified from Tim Simkins, *Non-Formal Education and Development*.⁵

are not manipulative and élitist but humanizing, egalitarian and liberating.⁷

There is of course a problem here for the non-formal educator as well as an opportunity. Non-formal education is concerned with large political issues affecting the lives of all people, including the 'disadvantaged' or the 'powerless'. It is about poverty and employment prospects, about moving towards greater equalities and improving the quality of life for all. However, educators cannot control political systems and have to work within them. But the *educative dimension* of programmes is likely to be at the very heart of a given country's political processes.

Perhaps the most difficult task for any non-formal educator is to be clear about the boundaries of his own professional role. For example, in a situation where different development ideologies are under

debate, any concentration on the educative dimension may well lead the non-formal educator to make his own contribution in terms of how 'educative' the programme is likely to be (e.g. in terms of participation rates and what is learned). As with all professional roles, good training programmes are an important pre-requisite for effective action. In the areas of target groups and purposes an international dimension to training would be especially significant; it would enable educators to share experiences of the whole range of non-participants as well as comparing purposes in a variety of national settings.

Of the other three areas of non-formal virtue, two (organization and methods) have already been looked at in Chapter 3. The last, links with the formal system is the one to which we now turn.

NFE and the Formal System

As was noted in Chapter 2, it is essential that the formal and non-formal systems should be 'complementary, and that links exist or are created to permit mobility and comparability between the two'.⁸ Such links will not arise spontaneously as there is often rivalry, suspicion or misunderstanding between the two sectors. Even the pressures for change from within society itself are unlikely to be enough. As the mismatch between formal academic qualifications and employment prospects affects more and more people, and as many remain excluded from formal schools, positive efforts are needed to bridge any gaps which exist.

Earlier in this chapter the idea of a separate non-formal system was deliberately posed as a question. Clearly there does have to be a sense of identity among non-formal *educators* if the word is to have real meaning for them. One major task of training is to produce that sense of identity. For example, the agricultural extension worker has to feel he is also an educator. And, of course, it frequently happens that reacting *against* formal schooling can produce the quickest sense of being part of an integrated structure. For example, in publicizing non-formal education in India the failures of formal education are emphasized and the non-formal virtues are lauded as desirable *alternatives* to the weaknesses of formal schools. Non-formal education is 'life, environment and learner oriented, it is diversified in content and method... it is built on learner participation...'⁹

Now of course it is desirable to emphasize virtue and to expose failure and the search for a non-formal *system* may well be a stage we all have to pass through. For example, in my own university department, it was not until we labelled our programmes for working-class adults 'non-formal' that they began to have an impact on traditional,

more formal, provision. But it is precisely in this ability to influence formal education that there is both the greatest dilemma for the non-formal educator and the greatest opportunity. If we succeed in building a separate non-formal system we shall have failed to exercise proper influence on the whole of education. If we succeed, the new found emphasis on the non-formal label becomes unnecessary.

Already in many countries it is no longer true that the 'educational system finds itself in contradiction with what education is' and to categorize schools as places for 'memorizing', or 'learning how to conform', or 'promoting intellectual laziness', leaves out of account both the reforms undertaken in recent years and the pressures for such reforms which have been with us for very much longer. One thinks of the rapid growth of curriculum reform and development work in the 1960s which has affected teaching in many countries, or the coming together of formal and non-formal in Tanzania's use of primary schools and teachers as adult education centres. It is on these and similar growth points that a start has to be made.

Bridging programmes have been tried on a number of occasions but often flounder because of administrative difficulties or the complex issue of accreditation. Mature age entry into the University of East Africa (instituted in 1963) has not survived in its original form mainly because of the growth in numbers of qualified candidates from secondary schools. In the United Kingdom, the Open University is still grappling with the issue of transferable credits. We have to keep trying! However, although we need to examine very carefully the way in which links and transfers can be established we must on no account do so by sacrificing flexibility and relevance. The 'formalization' of non-formal education has to be avoided. For example, it is all too easy to transform a craft centre for unemployed youth (and designed to *create* employment opportunities) into a low-grade trade school taking standard trade tests (for which few employment opportunities may exist in the modern sector).¹¹

As the Conference Report points out:

Interaction between organizational structures is also necessary. There is a need for schoolteachers, health workers, and agricultural extension workers to share resources and mutually benefit from an appreciation of each other's roles. Co-operation is essential at all levels from the village to the national government to enable agricultural workers to appreciate the relationships of their work to that of health workers, and for school teachers and community workers to understand one another.

Both formal and non-formal education have features which may be constructively transferred from one to another. For example, non-formal education has shown how education can be democratic, learner centred, and related to local needs. Formal education, on the other hand, offers a range of

personnel, physical resources and learning packages which can be adapted for non-formal programmes.

Programmes of non-formal education vary considerably in scope, target groups, purpose, and organization. It is difficult to establish general rules for organizing non-formal education or for linking formal and non-formal education. Therefore, each programme should be examined separately in order to see how best to link it with formal programmes.

Experience in a number of Commonwealth countries indicates that the ministry of education is not the only ministry which can effectively co-ordinate interaction between formal and non-formal education. In fact when it is located elsewhere, interaction is often very constructive. This is the case especially when the responsibility for non-formal education is in a relatively powerful ministerial office where its bargaining position for the use of resources and finance is relatively strong. None the less, in Tanzania where the fusion of formal and non-formal education is more advanced than most countries, the ministry of education continues to play a central role in co-ordinating the provision of both formal and non-formal education.

Interaction at district and local level may be hindered by barriers of individual status and inequalities in remuneration and conditions of workers in formal and non-formal education programmes. A concerted effort may often be required to bring about an awareness of the role played by everyone involved in a community's education whether they are individual members of the community, teachers or extension workers.

The community colleges in Botswana, which provide non-formal programmes for the country's Youth Brigade as well as regular secondary education, may provide one model for the provision of common services for all...

There is often a demand for non-formal education programmes which facilitate entry and re-entry into the formal system. In India courses which encapsulate the first five years of formal school are offered to drop-outs to enable them to re-enter at Grade Six. In Zambia children study at evening classes or by correspondence to regain entry to the junior secondary school.

The terms of re-entry are often stringently laid down by the formal sector which specifies certification, levels of literacy and minimum hours of class attendance. This often means that very few students gain re-entry to the formal system.

Over-crowding and over-taxing of limited resources in the formal sector are further factors which limit the possibility of re-entry for large numbers of people. Moreover, entry via non-formal programmes is often prevented because scarce places in the formal system are filled by those coming from lower ranks of the system who are treated preferentially.

Thus, there is a need for alternative ways and means of equipping people for employment (and for further education). Such alternative routes may be provided by non-formal education programmes. The formal education system will usually be a factor in these programmes, providing expertise, resources, personnel and accreditation. It will also provide a measure for standards so that non-formal programmes offer qualifications that are acceptable to employers and institutions of further education. Programmes of this kind are being offered in India's adult schools for literacy, commerce and vocational

education. Over the next four years 50 of these polyvalent centres will be developed to offer a range of vocational and academic courses which will utilize personnel and resources from the formal system. They will also utilize the expertise of the formal system in pedagogical training and curriculum development. In this situation the formal educators themselves may be influenced to apply their experience with learner-based, needs-oriented non-formal education to the formal system.

In many countries formal education is moving out of the institutional setting and into the community. Students from formal-institutions are discovering the wealth and usefulness of community culture and gaining valuable experience and expertise by learning and working outside the classroom. Traditional forms of communication like dance, mime and myth are becoming incorporated into formal pedagogy...

Interaction with the community poses many problems, not least in finding people who are able to provide experiences for students which incorporate two-way dialogue. Teachers in the formal mould may find incursions into the outside community an uncomfortable experience. Conventional school buildings may be less than suitable for activities such as craft work, trade courses, art and recreation. It is argued that there should be a move away from institutions built and assigned to a particular age group and that the content and method of the learning experience demands a structure open to a wider meeting of minds. On the other hand, it is true that schools often create their own culture and the presence of members of the community does not necessarily result in a two-way dialogue.

Some problems can be overcome by training: teachers may benefit from in-service courses which help them understand the significance of community life in education. And members of the community who offer their services may also benefit from short training programmes which help them understand the learning needs of the students and assist them as teachers.

Universities and other institutions of higher learning can provide both leadership and support services for non-formal education programmes. They are in a unique position to promote educational reforms towards a more development-oriented approach throughout the education system. In order to cut across the barriers between formal and non-formal education they should make every effort to facilitate interchange, both by introducing more flexible policies of admission, and by relating their programmes to the needs of local communities and national circumstances. This is a major challenge that merits further investigation.

One way to facilitate a university's contribution to non-formal education is to establish a unit within the institution to help identify what steps can be taken to break down the rift between the formal and the non-formal systems. Other ways to increase a university's contribution are: (a) training of professional personnel in non-formal education; (b) extending the practical and field work base of degree and diploma courses; (c) deploying students and professional staff to non-formal education programmes (see the first appendix to this Chapter); (d) promoting action-oriented research to increase the effectiveness of non-formal education as a multi-disciplinary and development-oriented activity; (e) providing facilities for the non-formal education programmes of outside agencies.

The way schools develop roles in the community varies from country to country. In Sri Lanka, vocational skill courses are being offered in schools after Grade 9. Ghana provides an example of handicapped craft teachers gaining non-formal training experience prior to working in the formal school system; this opens the door to the vast range of community wisdom and skill which the formal school may be loath to draw upon and yet by so doing ignores the collective experience of the society in which it functions. In Tanzania, primary schools are also used as adult education centres as part of a planned attempt to integrate formal and non-formal provision.

This last development—community schools which operate in the mornings as primary schools and in the afternoons as adult education centres—represents both a rational use of resources and an opportunity for formal/non-formal interaction which is uncommon at present. With the level of public expenditure on education in less developed countries now approaching (and in some cases exceeding) 20 per cent, nobody can afford an entirely separate non-formal system. Any growth of non-formal provision must try to use existing resources. It thus seems vitally important that the growth of professional identity and confidence amongst non-formal educators should go hand in hand with a conscious attempt to integrate with the formal system. The one cannot happen without the other. If non-formal work is weak and under-financed it will seek to remain separate—even fragmented—in order not to be swamped by formal approaches and systems. As already noted, there is always a tendency for non-formal work to become formal—often an easier and perhaps more respectable option for teaching staff.

One area of influence of the non-formal on the formal is of immense importance. I refer to the idea of recurrent education or the 'distribution of education over the life-span of the individual in a recurring way, that is in the alternation with other activities, principally with work...' Non-formal education has begun to demonstrate a need to redistribute educational opportunity over time, to move away from an 'end on' model of education to one where education is lifelong and recurrent. It is only by doing this that the whole of education can respond effectively to the needs of today rather than to those of yesterday.

A move towards recurrent education requires a convergence of formal schools and of non-formal (especially adult) education to a point where the latter ceases to exist and we come to think of education as more of an undivided (but certainly diversified) whole. Formal and non-formal education should not only become complementary to each other but the distinction between them should cease to exist.

One example where this process of convergence has been taken further than in most countries is seen in the changing function of primary schools in Tanzania. Shared buildings and teachers for both primary schooling and non-formal adult education have already produced a sense of common endeavour supported by national education policy. Basic skills and understandings for the rural population to meet rural development needs provide the common content of the curriculum for all this activity.

Non-formal education will thus be at its most effective if it works towards a reform of education from within: a reform which adds to and supports formal systems and builds on the non-formal virtues, including greater participation rates. There is also need to add an educative dimension to all development efforts and flexibility in organisation and methods. We shall then perhaps be able to move 'beyond the non-formal fashion'¹³ to an educational system which is recurrent throughout life and therefore an effective social institution, rather than end-on and age-specific and therefore unable to respond to rapid social, economic and political change, especially for working adults.

NFE and the Development System

The non-formal idea was conceived as a support and promoter of development. Therefore, unless it is an integral part of the development system it has lost its chief *raison d'être*. To ensure that integration is a central task of the non-formal educator. If everyone is to participate in development, then everyone must receive education and training of some kind; only then will they be part of the development process.

In looking at motivation in Chapter 1, it was argued that at the political level this 'is an essential pre-requisite'. Or, as Paul Mhaiki put it:¹⁴

Of all the components of development services, the political will is the most influential in shaping the development of people... If development is centred on people, education of the people must go hand in hand with development projects. If development projects are forced on the people without the understanding, appreciation and participation of the people whom they are meant to serve, the results are minimal or nil. Many people have witnessed latrines feverishly built later to collapse unused; bridges and roads constructed but allowed to deteriorate unmaintained; factories established then not operated at optimal production; flourishing state farms neglected; dispensaries erected but unattended. Classrooms are built yet children grow up illiterate; literacy campaigns are initiated and after a few weeks there are no adult students. In all these abortive projects the initial mistake is the lack of proper analysis of the concept of development. This must, of course, definitely include the development of the things that people are to use in order to enrich themselves culturally and technically, socially and spiritually. Hence education should be

a component of every development service in society. It is difficult to think of any development service that would not require the understanding, appreciation and participation of the people whom it is meant to serve.

From the experience of Tanzania, Paul Mhaiki concludes:

The ruling party and the national government should be in the forefront in teaching the people the meaning of development, democracy, liberty and equality. The party and government determine the direction of development of the country and the people, either blindly or with understanding and participation. Thus the major role of the political parties in development is to teach, explain, persuade people to make decisions, and to support the government and government agencies in implementing development projects.

Political leaders, cadres, opinion leaders and activists can teach people, persuade them to vote, mobilize them, and encourage them to come out in great numbers to celebrate important events and support development projects. Through political education and propaganda political leaders can arouse people's consciousness and mobilize their energies for development efforts. Political mobilization and education for development are essential when dealing with the issue of development for the masses and when the objective of the government is the creation of a democratic and more egalitarian society.

Tanzania, China and Vietnam are countries that owe their success in non-formal education to the leadership of the political parties. Usually the mobilization and education of the people is continuous, the training of cadres is systematized, and the progress of adult education is assessed in party committees and at every general party conference where new efforts are praised, weaknesses revealed and new directions for mobilization and education are decided for the whole nation. This kind of concern lends importance to all forms of non-formal education. Workers in non-formal education feel they are engaged in matters of importance to the people, while the people feel that they matter. Adult educators, especially at grass-roots level, should be activists if they are to be successful in making adults, young people and women understand why learning is important. This kind of work cannot be done by conventional bureaucrats administering solely from an office. In Tanzania, all adult education officers in the districts are also political education officers of the ruling party. Their duty is not simply to organize and administer non-formal education in the districts, but also to explain it in the context of people's aspirations. People at the grass roots would understand and be convinced of the efficacy of new methods of agriculture if these new methods were explained not only from the technical point of view but also from the political point of view.

The adult education officers in Tanzania have been active in promoting health and agriculture campaigns on the above lines. Outstanding examples are the 'Politics is Agriculture' campaign in 1972, the 'Agriculture for Life or Death' campaign in 1975, and the 'Man is Health' campaign. In all of these, adult education officers have been the key personnel. In China and Vietnam the same kinds of cadres are given more opportunities to improve their education because of the 'multiplier' effect it has on the whole population. Thus political mobilization and education are fundamental development

services that political parties and governments can give to their people, especially in developing countries. 'It is not enough to have good ideas and good plans if there is no revolution that gives power to the masses.'¹⁵

Whatever the political system, however, governments will need to involve as many people as possible both in development and in non-formal education—and this applies especially to the major target groups identified by the Delhi Conference: out of school children and unemployed youth, adult illiterates, women. Political education and political leadership remain the basis of other development activity.

In developing countries of the Commonwealth, up to 95% of all people live in rural areas; the soil is the main means of their livelihood, and agriculture the main revenue earner for the government. In these circumstances farming is often the main focus of development and agricultural education (normally extension) the main part of non-formal education. We have already noted in Chapter 3 the need for extension workers to be educators; the fact that they must not only have technical knowledge and skills but also act as animateurs. For that they will need to consider themselves as adult educators, 'an idea unfamiliar to many of them, as some prefer to pose as administrators and bureaucrats'.¹⁶

Many developing countries have realized this, and various efforts are being made to educate the people in modern methods of agriculture for higher production. Nigeria is an example: encouraged to produce cash crops to satisfy colonial needs for raw materials, ravaged by civil war, struck by drought, but blessed with petrol money, many people deserted the countryside to seek quick wealth in the towns. As a result Nigeria found herself less and less self-reliant in food. In 1976 the Nigerian Government started a campaign known as 'Operation Feed the Nation' in which the non-formal education components formed an important part.

Another example is the Tanzanian campaign called 'Agriculture is Politics' which was launched in Kilimo in 1974. The aim of this campaign was to educate the rural people in the significance of agriculture. Afterwards, in 1976, the failure of seasonal rains made famine imminent and the Tanzanian Government was forced to buy large supplies of food to feed the nation. With the lessons of the previous campaign fresh in the people's minds the government ran a campaign known as 'Agriculture for Life or Death' which has caught on permanently among individual farmers and workers, but poorly among institutions. Many workers now produce some of their own food. Educating the people in new agricultural techniques has played an important part in these two mass campaigns.

In Malaysia, the Ministry of Agriculture and Community Development adopts a holistic approach to the rural population.

Programmes are aimed especially at women and are intended to equip rural women with the necessary knowledge and skills to bring about the desired societal changes. It is also the intention to increase the understanding necessary for better living conditions and practices.

Case Study 1: The Family Development Programme in Malaysia

As a result of the 1961 adult literacy programme it was discovered that 80% of the participants were women. This was followed in 1963 with a home economics programme. Initially this concentrated on the training of 'homemakers' in the following ways: (a) better utilization of existing food resources, i.e. eggs, poultry, fresh vegetables and fruits; (b) planning and preparing nutritious meals based upon popular recipes, taking into account existing food habits and preferences; (c) better management of family resources, efficient use of time, money and energy, improvement of kitchen and sanitary facilities using locally available material; (d) small scale food preparation and home or cottage industries.

The keen interest and enthusiasm in learning for self and family improvement has paved the way for steady development and expansion of the programme: it is now appropriately known as the Family Development Programme. Through this programme the needs of rural women and families in daily living and as participants in agricultural production and rural development are being met in an integrated manner. It is people-action-oriented and stresses self-reliance. The objective is to nurture and develop families through the full utilization of women's potential in order to effect the desired socio-economic and cultural changes.

Programme Description

The programme comprises several inter-related activities:

- (a) Training in home economics for rural women carried out at the Regional Training Centres for Family Development, with a two-fold purpose: (i) making them better housewives and mothers; (ii) providing them with skills that can help increase the family income.
- (b) Short orientation courses for rural women to make them more development oriented and more capable and ready to receive and support development programmes brought to them subsequently by all agencies.
- (c) Home economics classes right in the village itself, with the emphasis on nutrition and family health.
- (d) Work-oriented classes such as tailoring, handicraft and agriculture, the knowledge thus gained to be used to meet their own or to supplement their family incomes.
- (e) Pre-school Children's Centres (Taman Bimbingan Kanak-Kanak or TBK) to provide a suitable environment for the social, physical

and mental development of children, and, as an educational process, the parents are fully involved.

(f) Home visits by home economics workers of the department to guide the housewives to undertake actual improvements within the homes as a follow-up to lessons in the classroom.

A special feature of this programme is the concept of creating 'ideal homes and families' (Rumah dan Keluarga Sempurna) through a concerted effort of the home economics worker with the full co-operation of the household. In this activity the household is guided through a comprehensive improvement scheme within the houses as well as in the compound. Kitchen improvement and orderliness goes along with proper sanitation and home gardens in many other useful innovations. This activity is conducted in the positive faith that all households, no matter how poor or rich, can be improved.

Programme Implementation

Following a specially designed Code of Practice each Family Developer is assigned to one adult class for a period of one to two years depending on the progress achieved and the 'felt needs' of the community. She conducts the class three times a week and pays follow-up home visits once a week. Through guided demonstration and lesson plans, appropriate visual aids and occasional support of mobile units, she conducts classes in simple basic knowledge and skills relating to nutrition, health and hygiene, child-care and feeding, home and family management, family planning and budgeting, food production, preparation and storage, home-based income producing activities, modern agricultural techniques, rural co-operatives and marketing. Her follow-up visits to the homes enables her to give the necessary encouragement, technical advice or assistance, if required, to initiate self-help activities for the home and family-life improvement. Assistance from the home visits, and the implementation of simple techniques which make use of locally obtainable materials in the most practical manner, often produce tangible results. Frequently the spirit of rivalry with the neighbours increases and maintains self motivation. From past experience it is found that interest is sustained through group meetings, competitions in better homes and gardens, skill in utilizing locally available materials and showing off their achievements to visitors and other respected members of the community.

Though the FDWs can give the extra assistance in the form of suggestions or demonstrations, normally self-help activities are carried out by the families, either by themselves or with the help of the community or youth clubs or other voluntary organizations depending on the projects to be done. An adult student may invite her group to

her house to see how she does a particular project, and they then take turns to help in whatever activities they find enjoyable to work in as a group. All the workers are local people responsible to committees formed from local services.

From the description given above it is plain that the Malaysian programme is a clearly defined social service, carefully administered and with well thought out but pre-determined objectives. Other women's programmes may have a more stormy history. One such example—with strong 'grass-roots' origins—is given in the next case study.

Case Study 2: The Self Employed Women's Association of Ahmedabad

A notable feature of this programme is that illiterate women were only brought to accept the need for education and literacy *after* they had organized themselves and development action began; this is the development-before-literacy approach referred to in Chapter 1. And, even more remarkable perhaps, the University of Gujarat was willing to provide a course on the modern market economy *before* they had become literate.

Vina Mazumdar writes:

SEWA or the Self Employed Women's Association, at Ahmedabad, Gujarat State in India, represents a 'development miracle'. It had its beginnings as an off-shoot of the Textile Labour Association; this is an unusual union in that it was formed with the support of Mahatma Gandhi to help *unorganized* labour. Faced by a demand from some poor working women, who made a living as head loaders, that the TLA should do something to protect them from harassment by wholesalers and shopkeepers, the women's department of TLA surveyed the conditions of several such groups of working women—vegetable vendors, junksmiths, used garment dealers, handcart pullers, sand carriers, milk-producers etc. The department came up with the answer—only associational strength could help these women to combat their problems. The problems were many—indebtedness, insecure incomes, non-ownership of the tools of their trade, non-recognition by local authorities as legitimate traders or labourers, poor health, constant poverty, and helplessness in the face of exploitation.

The women agreed; there were successive meetings with constantly increasing numbers and SEWA was born in 1973. Starting with 80 members, it now has a membership of 10,800 women, urban and rural, engaged as self-employed, contract workers or wage-earners in various occupations. After some years of persistence, it has won acceptance and registration as a trade union in spite of initial classification difficulties posed by legal authorities. How could an association of the self-employed be a trade union? SEWA members say they are *workers*; they work for a daily *wage*, and they are *exploited* by different groups—moneylenders, wholesale dealers, municipal authorities, the police, etc.—so why could they not form a union? Was the

right to strike against the employer the only characteristic of a trade union? Could not a union strive to secure freedom from exploitation, legislative protection, and security of work for the self-employed also? Would not such an association promote the collective strength and moral development of its members?

Obtaining this recognition itself proves the strength that this association has developed in the five years of its existence. Starting without any well-designed model, the organization has taken on tasks as problems were identified by its members. Indebtedness to moneylenders at exploitative rates of interest led them to nationalized banks for loans for their working capital and thus to own such equipment as handcarts, trolleys and donkeys. The bank's horrified protests about lack of collateral and the inability of bank staff to deal with illiterate women unfamiliar with bank procedures or problems of identification, were worn down by the association's persistence and readiness to act as an intermediary. It became guarantor, a self-appointed regulator of repayment and spokesman—for the women to the banks, and for the banks to the women. The prestige of the TLA which was backing this effort also helped and the banks succumbed. A year later, they admitted that SEWA members had a better record in repayment of loans than most other clients of the banks.

But the problem remained of bridging the gap between illiterate women—in filthy clothes, accompanied by noisy and rowdy children—and the bank staff—used to educated middle-class clients. The women's heavy schedule did not permit them to keep banking hours. If the banks refused to accept payment on the day the women were free to come, then the money got spent. The solution was to minimize direct contact of the loanees with the bank staff while ensuring the flow of loans. The members found the answer—a bank of their own, where they would be accepted on their own right, and not made to feel inferior, or interlopers. They were poor but they were many, and they raised Rs.70,000 in six months to register the Women's Sewa Co-operative Bank. When they found that all the promoters had to sign the registration papers, eleven illiterate group leaders elected for this purpose sat up through a night to learn to sign their names without error. Opened on 4 July 1974, the bank's deposits mounted to Rs.300,000 by the end of the year and to Rs.1,613,000 by the end of November 1978. By this date the Bank had nearly 7,000 shareholders, over 11,000 accounts, and a share capital of Rs.82,000. Nearly Rs.100,000 had been advanced as loans during 1977–1978, and Rs.68,000 was repaid during the same year. Nearly 3,000 Sewa members has also received Rs.141,600 as loans from nationalized banks during the period 1974 to 1976. During the five years of its existence, Sewa has been instrumental in distributing loans amounting to Rs.3 million to about 9,000 members.

Muslim, Rabari, Harijan (the untouchable castes) and other caste women came to the bank to transact business, enjoy a gossip session watched their children playing together, and catch up on Sewa's news. Problems of illiteracy and identification were solved by using photographs in lieu of signatures on their pass books.

The bank has served many purposes: (a) to centralize the processing of loans and repayment; (b) to offer safe custody for loans received from the nationalized banks; (c) to promote thrift—as an insurance against oppressive

dependence on relatives or the community; and (d) to provide services for bulk purchase of raw materials, redesigning tools, designs, finding new market-channels, training in accounting and financial management, recovery of pawned jewelry from moneylenders, selling postal stationery, and payment of municipal bills.

While members decide on purposes for utilizing loans, Sewa's staff has sought to persuade them to use them mainly for business purposes and not for social rituals. The loans are small—mostly ranging from Rs.250 to Rs.800. Apart from its intermediary role, for which it earns service charges from the big banks, Sewa Bank also provides small loans (Rs.50 – Rs.2,000) directly. For these the repayment record is 100%.

In the opinion of the bank, programmes to raise the women's productivity and managerial skills assist the women and the bank, and enhance Sewa's and its members' prestige in the world of business. Repayments become regular, old debts are cleared, and members gain in overall self-reliance and confidence. The only defaulters are women who fall sick or die. Malnutrition and maternity are the two greatest killers.

In the social strata from which Sewa draws its members, the concept of formal social security is unknown, except among the minority employed in the organized sector, who get maternity and sickness benefits either from their employer or from the Employees State Insurance Corporation. Rising costs of living have gradually eliminated the traditional readiness of the family, kin groups or neighbours to come to the rescue of distressed households, or of old, sick and disadvantaged individuals.

Guided by the TLA, Sewa established the Women's Sewa Trust to extend minimum security to its members. The Trust has developed three welfare schemes.

The first of these is maternity benefit. On payment of Rs.15 a pregnant woman receives ante-natal care, confinement by a qualified medical worker, and Rs.51 to enable her to rest for a few days after childbirth and obtain additional nutrition and medicines. Sewa workers visit throughout the period of rest. Denial of this benefit to mothers of three children is intended as an incentive for family planning which has not been particularly successful so far.

The second is widowhood and death benefit. In order to identify the health problems of members and their families, Sewa conducted a health survey, with the help of 40 volunteers from the All-India Medical Association. Sewa members paid Rs.5 each, Sewa Trust meeting the rest of the expenditure. A health insurance scheme is to be prepared on the basis of the report of this survey. Some short-term training of traditional midwives (who generally attend Sewa members) in better and safer methods has been conducted. Introduction of brakes in handcarts has lowered the pulse-rate of women handcart pullers.

The third scheme is the provision of day-care centres. Widely welcomed by Sewa members, this network of low-cost neighbourhood centres is the beginning of a scheme which Sewa intends to expand, both to help its members and to open new employment to other women and young girls.

A housing saving scheme has also been started to round off the basic needs. When the Gujarat State Housing Board suggested that housing sites should be allocated to male heads of households, the women objected. If they were

going to save towards a house, why should ownership be vested in husbands or fathers-in-law who might turn the women out at some date?

The second group of problems arose from these women's low status in society. Municipal officials and policemen were inclined to push women around, denying them permission to practise their trade regularly at fixed centres. Licences were refused, bribes were demanded, and goods confiscated to punish them for selling their wares on the pavements near a market. Sewa fell back on a massive demonstration of Gandhian *satyagraha*, with five thousand women protesting before the municipality's offices. The municipality conceded the women's right to occupy half the pavement to ply their trade. Group leaders were elected to maintain discipline and enforce the arrangement negotiated with the municipality. Today a Sewa membership card ensures for a woman freedom from harassment by both police and municipal workers.

Ninety-eight per cent of the women were illiterate, but they would not agree to attend literacy classes which they considered a waste of time. They were adults, with practical experience of market operation, and plenty of shrewdness. Gujarat University's Adult Education Centre, after considerable hesitation, agreed to run a ten-day course on 'Structure and behaviour of the modern market economy', using cardboard models to suit their illiterate students. The first batch of reluctant students, coaxed to attend by Sewa's staff, turned into enthusiastic and keen participants of an experiment that the university faculty now admits to have been memorable for themselves. Literacy became somewhat more palatable to the women after that experience. Other training programmes have been in health, nutrition, simple technology for junksmiths, child care and family planning, infant care, and home nursing (to start a new occupational group). Above all, constant discussions on problems of women's status have made Sewa's members far more aware of current problems, including the declining sex ratio, than most of the educated women in India. There is a new urge among the group leaders for education, and a teacher has been engaged at their request. Wife beating has declined markedly, and group leaders report reduction of caste rigidity and views on the 'proper role' of young women in their own homes. The members also say that their participation in family decision making has increased significantly. Sewa membership recognition by banks, the press and the government has raised these women's status in their own eyes and in those of their families and neighbours. Some husbands have asked why they cannot become members.

Originally an organization of urban working women, Sewa now includes a few rural groups also—agricultural labourers, handloom weavers, firewood collectors etc. For each group, problems are identified through simple surveys and consultations, and action-decisions are taken by members themselves. Sewa members sit on the Board of Directors of the Sewa Bank, on its various committees, and are treated as equals—for their maturity, independence, caustic humour, realism and practicality. Group leaders elected by members sometimes become members of Sewa's small staff and facilitate the relationship of familiarity and closeness between the staff and members. Sewa, and the Bank, are regarded by the women as their own institutions, where they can bring their problems, fears, tensions, hopes and aspirations, as well as their curiosity and their desire for some fun and entertainment.

Having emphasized the need for practical action-oriented activities so far, Sewa is now trying to organize a critical examination of the structure and linkages of urban poverty and their perception by official authorities on the one hand and by the poor on the other. The intention is to increase the women's understanding of the sources of their and others' problems, as well as to sharpen Sewa's own perspectives.

Case Study 3: Nutrition Education in Bendel State, Nigeria

In terms of content and size of programmes, health education ranks alongside agricultural education as a major component of existing non-formal education. And, of course, it has its origins much earlier in time than the non-formal idea itself.

The programme of dietetic treatment and follow-up for children suffering from protein/calorie malnutrition started in Benin City in 1968. It is organized by the Nutrition Unit of the Bendel State Extension Services (Ministry of Health) and includes both nutrition education and the economic rehabilitation of parents and guardians. The population of the State's whole area is some 3.5 million.

The Nutrition Unit in Benin City, the Nutrition Centre in the Nigerian Institute for Oil-Palm Research (NIFOR), the Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre of Unoghovo and the nutrition outpost of Onicha-Olona are the main Centres for the Programme; in other areas the rural and urban health centres and sub-centres are used.

The Nutrition Unit was formerly aided by UNICEF. The State Information Department takes photographs of cases and publishes educational posters and booklets based on materials supplied by the Nutrition Unit. All the hospitals refer cases to the Nutrition Unit for education, follow-up and rehabilitation.

Objectives and Programme

The main objectives of the programme are to decongest the hospitals and to treat cases of protein—calorie malnutrition effectively by a combination of measures (dietetic treatment, follow-up, nutrition education and economic rehabilitation) to prevent recurrence either in treated cases or further occurrences among other children of the same household.

Children suffering from kwashiorkor and marasmus are referred from the various hospitals. Detailed investigation is carried out by clinical and anthropometric means to find out the cause of malnutrition. The diet is prescribed—a high protein diet for kwashiorkor and a balanced diet for marasmus. The parents or guardians who bring the children participate actively in the preparation of therapeutic diets and local balanced diets for the children under the guidance of nutritionists, public health nurses, sanitarians and nutrition assistants.

The curative effects of the clean, balanced and varied meals is clearly seen by the parents as the children respond dramatically to diet treatment during the first 28 days of compulsory and active food demonstration and counselling daily. A medical doctor with experience or training in public health and nutrition comes occasionally to treat associated medical ailments such as diarrhoea, cough, open sores or pneumonia. At the same time the homes of mothers are visited to seek the co-operation of other members of the family to find ways of abolishing cultural and environmental factors which cause occurrences and recurrences of malnutrition.

Thereafter effort is made to combat low income which is the major causative and recurrent factor. To this end the mothers are involved in income-earning activities chosen from the ones they have observed taking place in the Unit. These activities include farming in the Nutrition Rehabilitation Garden, sewing in the Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre, cookery lessons, baking of local cakes, traditional catering and hairdressing. Mothers prefer occupations which do not require a long period of training before yielding income and which can take off with little capital investment. The training in income-earning activities is free to mothers. Free land space and limited agricultural inputs are available to mothers who wish to grow crops in the Nutrition Rehabilitation Gardens. The training goes on both during and after the child has fully recovered. The Ministry of Agriculture co-operates by providing the necessary assistance.

In order to extend nutrition activities and to increase the sources of supply of patients, nurse nutritionists based in the Nutrition Unit visit other hospitals where serious cases of malnutrition are being treated and discuss nutritional problems with mothers and nurses. Periodically a house-to-house campaign is carried out to assess the nutritional status of children and to treat the obvious or sub-clinical cases.

Evaluation and Reporting Procedures

Success is shown by pictorial records of children taken before, during and after diet treatment, education, follow-up and rehabilitation. The mainstay of the programme is the nutrition rehabilitation programme which improves the income and diet of the affected families. Records of heights and weight, skinfold and circumferences of head, chest and arm are taken at the start and thereafter every three days. The family diet is surveyed and advice given on ways to improve it. The environmental situation is assessed and corrections are suggested. These base-line data form the bases of evaluation. Victims of malnutrition are followed up until they attain school age and thereafter the school health unit and the school authorities take over

the continued care of the child; the Nutrition Unit continues to show interest in the child's performance at school.

Problems

Shortage of personnel, funds, transport and equipment is a major constraint. The victims of P-C.M. are usually in the low income group and the success of treatment depends on availability of resources. Effective follow-up is very important for regular clinic attendance, correction of faulty habits at home and quick recovery; for this enough transport facilities have to be made available. The rehabilitation programme and its assessment and subsequent evaluation depend on money, land space and income-improvement training facilities. Accommodation is inadequate. The only solution is to make money and materials available from the already overspent resources of the government.

Plans for the Future

There is a proposal to train more nutrition personnel in order to have a nutrition officer for each of the 19 local government areas of the State. It is also planned to post a Nutrition Officer to each of the five major hospitals with paediatric and obstetric units. All the urban and rural health centres and sub-centres will in future have nutrition rehabilitation gardens for demonstration and for cultivation by mothers who require economic rehabilitation. Already several thousand kgs. of vegetables are harvested annually from the gardens.

Arrangements are being made to build the Nutrition Unit Headquarters on the outskirts of Benin City, and three nutrition rehabilitation centres in the three 1966 Nutrition Survey sample villages of Unoghovo, Egware-Ewu and Umuidi-Ibusa. It is proposed to recruit more nutrition assistants so that each of the health centres will have at least one.

There is need for additional sponsored training of at least 20 public health and nurse nutritionists. At least ten dieticians and five medical nutritionists are also needed within the next ten years. Further, there is need to introduce adult literacy programmes in the interests of women who cannot read or write to make the programme strictly functional; a pilot programme in ten villages is currently in progress.

The whole programme enjoys the patronage of many educational and professional institutions in Nigeria such as the College of Medicine of the University of Benin, Schools of Nursing, Midwifery and Health Technology. The programme has attracted to the Nutrition Unit medical and paramedical students doing practical studies as well as research students from inside and outside Nigeria.

Case Study 4: The Buffalo Breeders of Bankhedi, India

In our last case study we return to the theme of political will and political commitment. In the aftermath of colonial domination there

may still be a social and economic system in operation which 'allows free play to the powerful and influential groups—the capitalists, landlords, politicians, civil servants, etc. —to determine the course of development. They have a vested interest in the maintenance of the existing class (and in the Indian situation, caste) relationship. An effective system co-ordinating non-formal education and development could disturb this relationship.'¹⁸

But in India, for example, these vested interests are becoming conscious that the existing class (and caste) relationships cannot be sustained in their present form. Alarms are being sounded all the time, in the countryside as well as in the cities. Efforts are therefore being made to examine how programmes for the reduction of inequality can be organized, to what extent financial investments might be diverted for genuine improvement in the lot of the poorer sections of society, and in what manner educational opportunity can be extended to the groups who have remained excluded from it. A determined effort in the direction of redistributive justice has been made in India's Plan for 1978 – 83.¹⁹

Anil Bordia* notes that:

Incorporation of non-formal education as an input in development has two meanings. The first is a realization that without education the 'beneficiaries' may remain unconcerned with a particular development programme. For example, any programme of land reform which does not fully inform and educate the potential 'beneficiaries' is likely to consolidate the position of the big landlords and cause further deprivation to the small farmers and landless tillers. The second is acceptance of non-formal education as the method of development with the corollary that what is conveyed to the 'beneficiaries' is not merely material inputs but an understanding of the process of development with emphasis on self-reliance. These factors would necessitate taking a number of steps in the management of development, including the following:

- (a) Practically every development agency will have a direct interest in non-formal education as against the present all too common situation where it is the exclusive concern of the educational authority.
- (b) Extension responsibility would be placed in the hands of non-professionals—it would be demystified. The training of the extension personnel would include the fundamentals of non-formal education.
- (c) The extension literature—including the various forms, statements and rules—would be rewritten to make them understandable by persons with elementary literacy skills.

It would be too optimistic to expect the interdependence and mutuality of non-formal education and development to be easily accepted by the political

*The views expressed here are those of Anil Bordia personally and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India.

and administrative groups in most developing countries. Apart from the basic problem to which reference has been made earlier, namely the difficulty with which the influential sections of society will allow a change in the system, political convictions in favour of such arrangements will come but slowly. From a practical point of view, therefore, it is necessary to examine the possible alternatives. Two main alternatives can be visualized.

The first of these is that of giving to non-formal education functionary developmental responsibility. In such a situation the non-formal education organizer at the village level would be the main village extension worker. Such workers need not be very highly paid; indeed they need not be full-time workers. An interesting experiment being tried by Seva Mandir, Udaipur is the use of peer-group leaders as co-ordinators of all development activity. Though they are basically non-formal education workers, they secure for the village the services of the various extension inputs.²⁰

The second alternative is the co-operative functioning of non-formal education and development workers. Under this arrangement the non-formal education centre provides the focal point for the various development functionaries. To begin with, activities which naturally bring people together are organized. These include cultural activities, sports and recreation, radio and television, clubs, etc. Literacy and political discussions find their place when the participants are interested in them. Village health visitors, agriculture extension workers, co-operative inspectors, etc. use this centre for extension of their programmes.²¹

The critical structures for co-ordination in both these models are the lowest-level development and administration units. In India these units are known as community development blocks and revenue districts. The primary responsibility for co-ordination has to rest with the Block Development Officer and the District Development Officer. These persons must set up effective committees which would meet regularly and ensure that bottlenecks are removed. To provide necessary administrative and political support, counterpart committees would have to be set up at the provincial and the national level.

Some of the problems faced by non-formal educators in rural development are illustrated in the following study.

Day-break in Bankhedi

Bankhedi is a small railway station in central India. There is a village by the same name about one mile from the railway station. The land is black cotton soil, with two-thirds of the village cultivable land under irrigation. Of the 260 families of the village, about 10% own 50% of the irrigated land, another 40% of the families have small irrigated land holdings of up to two hectares. The remaining 50% of the population is further divided into three groups: (a) about 20% agriculturists with unirrigated land; (b) about 15% non-tribal agricultural labourers; and (c) 15% tribals whose source of income was collection of raw lac, which used to be sold to the local money-lenders. With the depletion of forests this source of income is disappearing.

Three miles from Bankhedi village is an organization of educated young persons—Kishore Bharati—committed to social change and rural

development. Kishore Bharati (KB), was established at Bankhedi in 1972, by a visionary young scientist, Dr. Anil Sadgopal. KB began by improving science teaching in the local elementary schools but soon took an interest in the construction of wells and in non-formal education. During their discussions with the tribal families they discovered their plight—100 per cent illiteracy; no land; their skills in the collection of raw lac no more able to feed the families; and deep indebtedness to the local money-lenders.

In 1974, 16 families of these tribals agreed to seek loans for purchase of a buffalo each. The efforts to persuade the local village credit co-operative society yielded little result. Formation of a separate co-operative society was discouraged. A young venturesome bank agent at the CD block headquarters, about 40 kms from Bankhedi, offered easy credit for the purchase of 16 buffaloes.

Several days were spent to decide on the most suitable buffaloes. Eventually a decision was taken by the families themselves in favour of a local breed. Each of these buffaloes yields approximately 16 litres of milk per day.

Cattle feeding turned out to be a serious problem. The village grazing ground, a large track of 200 hectares, was available for grazing only to persons who had three head of cattle or more. This was pointed out as an age-old village custom. Discussions with the local Panchayat were fruitless. An approach to the administrative machinery was equally sterile. This led to much disappointment and frustration. At one stage the families decided to sell the cattle. But that would have enabled them to repay only half of the loan which they had taken: to pay the rest they would have lost whatever meagre possessions they had. The young bank agent and the KB workers spent several hours discussing the problems of dealing with administrative machinery and the local village institutions. The Revenue Law governing grazing lands was referred to, and it was decided to obtain an injunction from the Civil-Revenue Courts. This worked, and the grazing lands were opened even to families who possessed only one head of cattle.

At about this stage the families decided to systematically begin literacy learning, and began with arithmetic. They began by maintaining accounts of their milk sales. But the sale of milk was full of problems.

Milk had to be transported every day by four persons at the block headquarters where it was sold at the government dairy collection centre. Payment of the full rail-fare substantially reduced the small margin of profit. Even though very small, the repayment of the loan also had to be made. An appeal was made to the local railway authorities to provide the prescribed railway concession. There was no response. There were recurring problems in loading of cans. Eventually, the 16 buffalo breeders formed a delegation and decided to meet the Divisional Railway Superintendent at Jabalpur, an expensive rail journey from Bankhedi. The meeting lasted only four minutes, and yielded nothing. The buffalo breeders had several rounds of discussion with KB workers and other sympathetic village youth. By now the woes and welfare of these buffalo breeders had become the concern of a number of other village youth. It was decided that one person from each of these families, and 16 other youths would offer non-violent *satyagraha* (struggle for truth) at the Bankhedi railway station. Three days of this *satyagraha* and some publicity secured them the necessary railway concession.

About 60 families now have one or more buffaloes. Bankhedi has become in the last four years, an important milk producing centre. The government dairy has established a milk collection centre in the village. A veterinary dispensary is being built by the manual labour of the villagers themselves. They are now confident that the government will have to sanction a dispensary to them. The struggles for grazing rights and the railway concession, along with the systematization of their experiences organized with the help of the KB workers and the young bank agent, have transformed the lives of the villagers of Bankhedi.

APPENDICES

1. Study-Service: A Practical Interaction of Formal and Non-Formal Education (Diana Fussell and Andrew Quarmby)

Various resources are needed for the successful development of non-formal education—effective techniques, manpower, funds, organization and political backing. These are not easy to acquire, particularly for an educational approach which rarely produces spectacular results, and which ministers to a constituency that includes many people (e.g. drop-outs and adult illiterates) whose voices usually have little political weight. One effective form of non-formal education, known as study-service, has the potential to be a vehicle for other forms of non-formal education. It can supply large quantities of manpower and ready-made organization and attract the political backing that can result in appropriate priority in the allocation of resources.

The term 'study-service' was coined as recently as 1972, for an educational technique which existed long before. In fact, study-service is as old as education itself, but was gradually eclipsed as education increasingly became 'schooling'. However, the past 15 years have seen it re-invented and re-introduced into education systems in a growing number of countries. This paper concerns itself only with study-service as it is developing in Third World countries.

Nepal's National Study-Service Scheme

Since 1974 all degree-level students at Nepal's national and only university have been required to satisfactorily complete a year of village-level community development service in (usually remote) rural areas before being allowed to begin their final year of academic study. This scheme is known as the National Development Service (NDS). NDS is a requirement also for foreign students at the University and for Nepalese nationals returning from study abroad (where their courses were locally available), and the requirement is enforced without exceptions. Each participating student works under university and local supervision, partly as a teacher in a rural secondary school and partly as a general community development worker in the surrounding community, using the school as a base and the school children as assistants.

Activities include health and nutrition education, reforestation campaigns, adult literacy teaching, improving sanitation, water supplies, tracks, bridges, schools, family planning promotion, agricultural and horticultural demon-

strations and mobilizing local resources of funds, materials and voluntary manpower for community projects. Almost all of these involve villagers in non-formal or informal education in some way. In all activities, participants must work with and through local leaders, including the headmaster and village head, involving any extension workers from development agencies who are within reach.

Priority in location is given to the remotest and least developed parts of Nepal. Male participants usually live and work one or two per village, and female participants two or three. Assignment to home areas is not allowed and locations are drawn by ballot to avoid pressures from influential parents. Initially, cultural mores created parental pressures that kept almost all female participants within the Kathmandu Valley, but resistance gradually evaporated and now female participants serve increasingly in remote areas.

Participants receive a monthly living allowance, ranging from NRs 300—450 (US\$ 25—37.50) depending on local living costs, a one-time clothing-equipment allowance, free medical treatment, accident insurance, and return travel to their assigned villages. The NDS estimates its current overall cost, including administration, as approximately NRs 7,800 per student per year or NRs 780 (US\$ 65) per student for each of the ten months the students work in the villages (training and travel consume the remaining two months). The budget comes from the Education Ministry via the University budget. There has been limited international aid (mostly from UNICEF) for supplementary needs.

Participants receive a mixture of theoretical and practical training, usually given in or near Kathmandu before the trainees have any experience of their new role. Training is one of the weakest aspects of NDS. Field support and guidance by NDS staff (supplementing locally available support) has also been very weak but is now improving with the recruitment and special training of ex-participants as staff.

The NDS evaluates each participant through reports from the headmaster, the District Education Officer and visiting NDS staff, and a comparative grading is made. Another weak aspect of the NDS—this questionable attempt to transfer the conventional academic grading system into the study-service context—has produced unfortunate distorting effects, making some students more responsive in their work to a grading-points list prepared in Kathmandu than they are to the actual needs of the village. The aim has always been to have NDS service eventually at the diploma level (after three years of higher education) but it was introduced first at the degree level (after five years) to allow experience to be gained and staff to be trained with the smaller student numbers at that level.

From 212 participants in 1974, the NDS has grown with the University until approximately 800 students per year now serve, and soon service will move down the higher education pyramid by two years with more than 3,000 students serving each year. In a country of 13 million people and 4,000 village areas, this represents a very significant manpower input into rural development.

The NDS is an integral part of Tribhuvan University. It is run by a directorate of full-time staff supplemented by seconded lecturers. The Director reports to the NDS Committee which consists of Deans and Government Department

representatives chaired by the Rector (Deputy Vice-Chancellor). The National Education Committee (the Vice-Chancellor is a member) has the final responsibility for policy.

Complementary and Overlapping Objectives

The NDS costs money to run; its introduction was highly controversial; why did the Government and University introduce it?

The students' education was very academic and theoretical, containing substantial foreign-influenced material of questionable relevance to Nepal's needs. Many students graduated with attitudes, expectations and abilities divorced from Nepal's social, economic and political realities, and this contributed to increasing graduate unemployment. It was hoped that NDS service would add practical, Nepal-oriented education and help produce more useful and realistic graduates. Partly as a result of this problem, Nepal lacked educated manpower able *and willing* to undertake rural development tasks, particularly in remote areas where facilities were even more scarce. It was hoped that the NDS would provide student manpower to work in rural areas on a relay basis, replaced year by year. Many changes were desired for the University (e.g. in course content, teaching methods, and relationship to national development efforts) and conventional methods for bringing about these changes showed little potential for success. It was hoped that study-service would be a forceful change in itself and also that it would help create an environment conducive to other changes.

It was hoped that the NDS would create greater national unity through students working among people with cultures often very different from their own, and that people in remote areas would begin to feel more a part of Nepal. And it was hoped that NDS service would produce future national leaders with a practical understanding of the realities of villages (the base of Nepalese economic, social and political life) gained by wrestling with village problems—a practical understanding not possessed by some of their predecessors. It was also hoped that the NDS would improve the increasingly tense relationship between students and Government and diffuse potential confrontation.

Planning and Introducing the Service

In 1973, a team headed by the then Vice-Chancellor produced a detailed working plan* which remains the basis of the NDS's operations. Some aspects have been closely followed, but in others the NDS deviated from the plan. However, in most cases it is steadily returning to it as a result of experience, making this plan a useful reference document in that it has been thoroughly field-tested.

In the first year the scheme was introduced it faced some difficulties. For example, participants were assigned as schoolteachers only—a limited role offering little challenge or satisfaction. In addition, NDS became a pawn in a far wider political struggle and was introduced amid controversy. But in the second year, participants were sent to remote areas as priority and their assignments were changed to the present dual teaching and community development

**A Working Design for the Creation of the National Development Service*, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, 1973.

role. They began to experience challenge and satisfaction, their attitudes to the scheme changed markedly and this influenced pre-service students and also faculty members. The NDS quite rapidly changed from being a controversial embarrassment into one of the success stories of Nepal's recent development, strongly supported from many quarters, including some that were initially very negative.

Indications of Impact

The NDS's full impact is too complex and intangible to easily identify and describe and clearly much of this impact will develop further, but there are already strong indicators.

The Villages

Government Departments receive from their extension offices reports of increased workloads as a result of requests from villages where NDS participants serve (the elusive 'pull from below' that development planners seek but rarely achieve). It is acknowledged that the speed of development of the 'Panchayat Sector' (local development) of the National Development Plan is now clearly linked to the presence of NDS participants.

Villagers, slow at first to understand and appreciate the NDS, are now highly appreciative, particularly of the comparative lack of self-interest of participants. (One villager's comment on the NDS—as reported in the recent IDRC-sponsored research study-service—was: 'They plant trees the fruit of which they do not take and make tracks on which they do not travel.') Villagers increasingly press local political leaders and locally assigned officials to emulate the students, with the result that the NDS's leadership, in order to head off jealousy problems, is now urging participants to keep low profiles and to work through local leaders with shared credit.

The Students and University

Lecturers report that participants return more mature and serious about their studies, and that course content of questionable relevance to the Nepalese situation faces increasing challenges in the lecture room. (Some lecturers have even asked if they too can be given similar exposure). This informal feedback and change process is now being supplemented formally by curriculum review workshops involving returned participants and relevant faculty members.

Student-Government Relationships

The increasingly tense relationship between students and Government has changed steadily since 1975 into a positive, constructive partnership in development, with increased mutual respect. Students have found that fostering change in conservative rural areas is harder than it appeared from the classroom and they are therefore more tolerant of the Government's limitations. Government officials appear to respect students more for having gone to remote areas and tried, and for having achieved and learned so much in the process. The students still criticize, but their criticisms are more mature and better received, instead of being dismissed as the words of children without practical experience, or as the echos of politicians.

The more constructive student-Government relationship is one important result, as is the fact that all future graduate Government officials, lecturers, teachers, business people and politicians, in fact most future national leaders

at many levels in many fields, will have had the profoundly educative experience of a year in village-level development service.

That the Government values highly these effects is well illustrated. Nepal, one of the world's poorest countries, has a small development budget under constant demand, yet the NDS has always received ample funding from the Government. A cost-benefit analysis in 1977 of a sample of NDS participants' activities indicated a 4:1 return, counting measurable results only, disregarding many of the most important effects which are unquantifiable. One may doubt the accuracy of this economist's tool in measuring returns from activities with effects as complex and diffuse as those of the NDS, but there is ample informal evidence that returns are very high—probably far higher than 4:1.

Weaknesses and Strengths

The NDS is as yet far from ideal. Its weaknesses are numerous, particularly regarding training, field support and guidance, grading, and integration with the academic parts of the curriculum. But they are readily acknowledged by the leadership, which is working to overcome them. That it has been able to achieve these results, despite its weaknesses, its small size and its newness, reflects a choice of basic policies and methods that were appropriate for releasing the dynamism inherent in study-service.

University students, treated as children by the education system for the previous fifteen to twenty years, expected to listen passively with their initiative and responsibility dormant or even discouraged, are suddenly, through study-service, treated as adults, confronted with the great challenge of real development needs of real people, and expected to work to help meet them. The great majority of students respond strongly and positively, and it is this powerful, dynamic release into practical action of previously smothered idealism, motivation and creative energy that sustains study-service in the face of difficulties and allows it to achieve its effects despite great weaknesses in such things as training and field support.

Study-Service as Non-Formal Education

Study-service is capable of initiating and supporting many different forms of non-formal education largely because it is an effective form of non-formal education in itself.

Participating students are available to initiate or support such non-formal education activities as adult literacy teaching, family planning promotion, health, nutrition and sanitation education, conservation, reforestation and other environmental education, and agricultural extension work. And while study-service clearly works best with general assignments, within that framework participants can be aimed at specific targets (e.g. creating work opportunities for school drop-outs and giving them the non-formal training to match).

Productive Interaction

Even more important can be the impact of study-service on formal education. For example, it provides a constant interaction between formal and non-formal education at the university level and changes occurring in Nepal's Tribhuvan University testify to the power of this interaction.

Where participants are assigned in the dual role developed by Nepal's NDS, the interaction takes place at the school level too, with similar effects. Participants, by involving their school pupils in the community development side of their assignments (e.g. helping dig pit latrines, making tree nurseries at schools and transplanting tree seedlings, improving water supplies, etc.) help inject frequently rigid, academic and often irrelevant curricula with elements of practical non-formal education relevant to village life.

A less obvious but very important informal educational effect is achieved by the mere presence in villages of study-service participants. The long-established concept of education as a one-way street out of village life into prestigious urban employment has been automatically reinforced in children's minds as they never see graduates return to the village, except as failures or perhaps as teachers (who are themselves an important part of the one-way street system). Now, for the first time in Nepal, children see university graduates initiate and participate in practical work in the villages, not as failures, *but as part of their success role*. The effects of this informal educational aspect of study-service, when reinforced over the years, may have profound effects on children's attitudes to and expectations from education.

A Vehicle for Other Non-Formal Education

Because of its effectiveness in simultaneously meeting many different needs, some of them with high political value, study-service can attract very strong support, from a wide range of sources (e.g. education reformers, rural development planners and those concerned with national political development). It is this aspect of study-service which has perhaps the greatest potential value for the development of non-formal education.

To set up specific programmes on non-formal education to effectively reach large numbers of people usually requires heavy investment of funds and extensive organizational resources, and many non-formal education techniques are not yet always capable of attracting the strong support needed to get these resources allocated. Therefore, in the increasing number of countries where the context is ripe for it, a desirable strategy may be to encourage the establishment of study-service (with its potential to attract strong and wide support, including political support) and then to use the established study-service scheme as a vehicle or manpower source for many other forms of non-formal education.

Study-Service in Commonwealth Countries

While Britain, Canada and New Zealand are among the First World countries developing study-service activities, three non-Commonwealth countries, Ethiopia, Indonesia and Nepal, have done most to pioneer study-service in the Third World.

Several Commonwealth countries, particularly Bangladesh, Malaysia, Lesotho and Fiji, may develop significant study-service schemes shortly. Nigeria's proposed study-service scheme became in fact a post-graduation national service scheme, which is producing some results, but which lacks many of the effects of study-service. For example, there is no feedback into the education system, and universities and student-Government relationships remain largely unaffected.

Ghana, too, created a post-graduation national service scheme but, because of poor results, this is now being extensively reviewed and a change to study-service is one alternative. In India, following earlier, similar recommendations, the 1964-66 Education Commission recommended a form of national study-service but all that had developed so far is the National Service Scheme, which allows some students to give 120 hours of service per year, either part-time or through vacation work-camps. Given its very limited form, results and effects are understandably very limited too, and attempts to develop a more significant form have often floundered through weak Federal-State co-ordination.

International agencies as well as individual countries have also shown growing interest in study-service. Organizations such as UNDP-UNV, the Canadian International Development Agency, the International Development Research Centre, World University Service and the Ford Foundation have given support in different ways. UNICEF stands out for its interest and political support, while UNESCO is now becoming involved, and the Commonwealth has supported interest in Fiji and appears open to further requests in this field.

Suggestions for Practical Action

This raises the question of what international support is needed, particularly as all significant study-service schemes so far have been conceived by their countries' own nationals and developed with strong internal support and limited international assistance.

It is clear that to be effective study-service must take a form that a country can support from its own resources, so international funding for basic costs is not realistic, although some supporting elements (e.g. consultative services, specialized training) could be internationally funded without undermining study-service schemes. What is greatly needed is increased exchange of information and experience. Some specific needs are:

- (a) The compilation and publication of in-depth case studies of significant study-service schemes, and studies comparing study-service with other forms of service schemes (e.g. conventional voluntary service, national service for school leavers and drop-outs, and post-graduation national service schemes).
- (b) Other publications on study-service (e.g. a 'reader' containing edited existing short articles by different authors on various aspects of study-service, and a booklet summarizing what conclusions of practical value can be drawn from study-service experience so far).
- (c) Exchange visits and study-tours to allow people concerned with the development of study-service to observe it in action in other countries.
- (d) Practical field-oriented international training courses for the staff members of study-service schemes.

There is no shortage of work to be done that would greatly help the development of study-service and thereby the development of non-formal education.

2. The District Development Centre: A Pilot Project in Integrated Education for Rural Development (Tom Mulusa)

The District Development Centre attempts to give relevant education for development to the rural people of Kenya. In addition, it tries to integrate the educational programmes of all rural development agencies. When it is fully developed the DDC is expected to take over the functions of two existing institutions—the Farmers' Training Centre and the Community Development Training Centre. Both of these have played important roles in rural training schemes in Kenya. They have operated within the framework of two broad goals of education for development: first, that education should be relevant to Kenya's economic and social development, and second, that education should be provided within the limited resources of the country.

The District Development Centre is a multi-purpose training centre which offers a broader range of courses than the two kinds of institutions that preceded it. The additional courses cover non-agricultural adult education programmes. Two former Farmers' Training Centres at Embu and Matuga have been converted into DDCs in a pilot project for the new Centres, scheduled to start operating during the 1974–78 development period.

Goals

The Board of Adult Education which is responsible for setting up the DDC programme has outlined the short-term and long-term goals of the curriculum as follows:

Short-term Objectives

1. To co-ordinate rural informal educational activities through an integrated approach combining extension and complementary services and linking related elements of education together so that their impact can be greater.
2. To determine priorities of training for the community in both formal and non-formal education and to encourage educational activities so as to function as an apex body for rural adult education.
3. To provide in-service facilities for extension staff of different arms of the government and voluntary organizations and simultaneously to provide training and education for the farmers, artisans, craftsmen and entrepreneurs for better occupational skills and to complement such skills with services like those of co-operatives, literacy campaigns, youth clubs, etc.
4. To encourage the development and continuity of education from formal and informal levels to non-formal levels.
5. To provide the venue and adequate facilities for organizing educational and cultural classes, club meetings, national festivals, etc. and also to promote cordial human relations among the masses and extension workers and to create a group feeling among junior and senior civil servants and the masses in the interest of easy communications.
6. To involve the local community in planning, implementation and participation in development-oriented activities of the area and the centre, and thereby encourage citizen participation in the process of rural development,

developing among the rural people the understanding, skills and, above all, the dedication and enthusiasm for rural development.

7. To support the above objectives by developing course contents, teaching materials and techniques of adult education adapted to the local community traditions and customs.

Long-term Objectives

1. To promote economic well-being, by improving occupational skills; social well-being by promoting cordial relationship among members of the group and among groups; cultural uplift by reviving cultural activities and in general to improve the quality of life in rural areas.

2. To mobilize the resources and human energies by the expansion of non-formal education for development of rural areas.

3. To assess the impact of the DDC in the rural counties as a result of an integrated approach to training.

4. To slow down the rural-urban migration of youth by providing the unemployed with immediate employment opportunities through training for occupational skills.

5. To evolve an attractive career structure for adult educators and trainers at rural training institutions for adults.

6. To develop a viable research system to produce teaching materials and to improve techniques of teaching adults.

7. To evolve a comprehensive administrative and financial structure for Kenya's rural training centres.

The course contents presented in the standard curriculum are intended to provide a working framework for DDC trainers, and other adult educators who may find the document useful in their work. The final training packages to be used by DDC staff in specific situations will, however, be based on the needs of course participants.

Each training course should preferably focus on one subject area, and related topics within a subject should be arranged in a logical sequence with all the subsidiary interests integrated into the main theme so as to form a consummate whole. In practice it is not possible to give all relevant topics equal treatment in a curriculum. The trainers should select what topics are to be covered and/or emphasized. In some cases the environment of the DDC and the course participants should determine the importance of different curriculum contents within a training package.

The immediate needs of course participants should form the starting point in curriculum development and all aspects of a selected subject should be covered. For example, in a course on coffee production the farmers should cover growing, processing, marketing and all the significant aspects of its production. This at times will involve integrating functional areas of different government ministries and development agencies in the same training package, and using experts from different areas of specialization in one class session (team teaching).

Timing of courses should take into account the seasonal needs of participants. A course on the use of fertilizer, for instance, should be mounted just before the planting season so that participants can follow it up with practical application of the skills and knowledge they have acquired.

While members of the DDC staff are assumed to be well trained in the subjects they teach and have long experience in handling learning groups, they should draw on additional experience and expertise from field workers to bridge the gap between institutional training and field work. When extension workers attend a course, their seniors should be brought in on the staff, and similarly when farmers attend a course the extension staff who supervise farmers' activities in the field should join the DDC training team.

For illiterate learners the lessons must be made practical, using field visits, group discussions, audio-visual aids and practical demonstrations. Where participants have a working knowledge of Kiswahili (the national language) vernacular should be discouraged as many extension workers use Kiswahili and instructions on packets of farm inputs are often given in English and Kiswahili.

All DDC staff should work as a team to promote integration of educational contents from different disciplines and to guard against duplication of effort and discontinuity between related educational contents.

Courses should be based on the following order of training priority: (a) training of trainers and extension workers; (b) leadership training; (c) programmes for actual doers of the work concerned (target population); (d) emergent programmes; (e) programmes necessary according to development plans; and (f) co-ordination of programmes among Farmers Training Centres and Community Development Training Centres, etc. Trainers at the DDC should devise method of receiving feedback from field workers and course participants and conducting frequent evaluation of the effectiveness of DDC programmes.

The DDC should concentrate on non-formal education for 'wananchi' (the people) and act as service centres for government ministries and non-government organizations which require training facilities and resources. But DDCs should not take full responsibility for staff training or in-service training for a specific government ministry of any other development agency. The professionals within government and non-government development agencies know best what their training needs are.

Five broad categories of course participants are envisaged: (a) occupational groups (farmers, traders, industrial employees, etc.); (b) salaried staff (from government and non-government organizations); (c) extension staff (those at the front line contact with the people); (d) women (community leaders, housewives, etc.); and (e) youth (secondary school leavers, sportsmen, etc.). These have to be broken down to sub-groups with specific needs. Farmers within the occupational group, for instance, can further be sub-divided into large-scale farmers or small-scale farmers, and small-scale farmers can be sub-divided into coffee planters, poultry-keepers, etc. The categories given above are intended to help the planners and trainers to give due attention to the needs of each category separately. The grouping is not water-tight. The division is based on the functional needs of participants. Each participant will have several functions overlapping (e.g. a housewife may be a community leader

and poultry farmer).

Extension workers are grouped separately from salaried workers to highlight the need to provide them with specific skills motivating people to participate in development, and for extension workers themselves to get into the habit of integrating their activities or projects into the total fabric of development programmes.

Youth, according to the DDC programmes, are those between the age of 15 and 35. As a group, they need special attention because many are not gainfully employed, a large number lack skills for earning a living, while those in employment need relevant education for adjustment to changing circumstances in their occupations.

Women have an important role in development especially in the rural areas where they form the bulk of the labour force. Women need to catch up on the education they missed during their youth because of the discrimination against them in the formal education system and the great responsibilities they shoulder as mothers and instructors of the youth. Unless women are specifically mentioned as a distinct group, there is a danger of trainers and extension workers assuming that terms like 'farmer' and 'trader' refer to men, and thus excluding women from essential training courses.

The programme suggested three types of DDC courses: long courses, week-end courses and one-day courses. Long courses are designed for junior government servants, employees of commercial and non-government organizations, and farmers during their off-season periods. They would be few; each would last one week to ten days. The week-end courses are proposed to cater for workers and self-employed persons who cannot afford to leave their occupations or homes for long periods or during working days of the week. They would be very suitable for women, salaried employees, school children and traders. They should, where possible, overlap with the long courses so that participants from the two categories could share experiences through combined lectures, films, panel discussions, demonstrations and study visits. One-day courses are not residential and can be conducted where the participants live. They could be part of a series of topics within a subject area taken over a long time. The main features of the courses are:

- (a) The programme gives course outlines for ten-day sessions, each session consisting of about ten lecture hours, two or three study visits, three group discussions and a variety of other activities such as seminars, role play, and demonstrations.
- (b) Each lecturer or discussion leader must first introduce himself giving some details of the organization from which he comes.
- (c) Topics of common interest such as campaigns on health, traffic, civics, co-operatives and family planning should be related to all the subjects in the course outline and should be done with the support of field experts.
- (d) Group building must be done at the outset to break status distinction, bureaucratic superiority and inferiority tones, and rich and poor divisions among members of the group and to introduce them to a helping relationship between members of a group.

The curriculum gives a description of: (a) teaching methods and aids to be used to make DDC programmes effective; (b) suggestions on how to make the

programme an example for the people to follow; and (c) how to involve the people in its activities.

Growth of Embu and Matuga District Development Centres

Embu and Matuga DDCs started functioning from July 1976 when the first principals and staff were appointed. At the moment the centres are not confined to the districts in which they are situated. Matuga is serving an area covering eight districts. Similarly, Embu services five districts. The two centres have many features in common and therefore, for our purposes a description of one of them will suffice.

Matuga DDC is run by a Management Committee. This consists of the Provincial Commissioner for the Coast Province and district officials from the departments of Social Services, Agriculture, Health, Education, etc. Since the Management Committee is made up of representatives of all ministries, major decisions affecting non-formal education in the area are dealt with collectively.

Apart from the Management Committee, within the Development Centre itself there are various committees, each charged with the responsibility of developing certain areas of the Centre's activities. The main objective is to involve all members of the teaching staff in contributing ideas for the development of the Centre. The committees deal with recreation and welfare, curriculum development, farm development, editorial and materials production, and co-ordination and finance. Each committee is given powers to co-opt other persons from within and outside the Centre.

Matuga DDC has an administration block, a dining and assembly hall, a workshop, three dormitories for women and two for men participants, four classrooms, a home science room and an audio-visual room (including a dark-room). The Centre has a chicken farm and a hundred-acre farm in which cross-bred cattle are reared. The cattle and the chickens are for demonstration and for improving the stock of the farmers that come for courses at the Centre and for those that live around it. There is also one acre of fruit nursery. The types of fruit nursed are those grown by the ordinary farmers at the coast (e.g. mangoes, oranges, lemons and cashew nuts).

For easy administrative purposes the Centre works in departments, although the idea of an integrated approach is not lost sight of. At present there are 15 members of staff including the principal. The teaching staff cover several areas including health education, agricultural education, co-operative education, business education and community development. There are also day care and teachers' advisory staff. In addition external lecturers and facilitators are often invited wherever the need arises. It is pertinent to point out that each member of staff is qualified in his or her discipline and is required to contribute in that area to as many courses run at the Centre as possible.

The Centre, as mentioned earlier, is used by eight districts in the Coast Province as well as North Eastern Province. During 1977 a total of 82 courses, with a total of 2,161 participants, were organized. These included short courses lasting between one week and three weeks, and a two-year course for Environmental Health Technicians. Besides the courses there were also seminars and meetings lasting half-a-day to a day.

The courses initiated and run by Centre staff were: health education (4); agriculture (4); environmental health (2); co-operative education (2); business education (2); home economics (1); and education and general extension (1); total 16. Those initiated by fieldstaff were: Ministry of Agriculture (10); Ministry of Health (10); Ministry of Housing and Social Services (16); Ministry of Co-operatives (18); Ministry of Education (5); Ministry of Lands and Settlement (2); Ministry of Commerce and Industry (1); Directorate of Personnel Management (Office of the President) (2); National Christian Council of Kenya (1); and University of Nairobi (1); total 66.

With the exception of a few who attend leadership courses, the students at the DDC are low-income rural people. Courses involving women account for over 75 per cent of the total. They include home science economics, day care centres, food handling, family planning, nutrition and child care. Because of the integrated approach to attitudinal change and the adoption of new ideas, no course is left exclusively to itself. Lectures in various disciplines take part in teaching, although the biggest part of each course is spent on the central theme. The Centre has made it a policy that every course that takes place at the Centre will include some element of general agriculture and family planning. Other specialized courses are for committee members, fishermen, businessmen and in first aid, but in these also there are general agriculture and family planning components.

Evaluation

The DDC was set up in response to problems connected with integrating rural non-formal education activities. The DDC was designed to bring together, under one roof, for training purposes, all non-formal education activities in the district. Hitherto these activities had been conducted by the various organizations and even government departments independent of each other. The adjustment now required by these organizations to co-ordinate their training activities at the DDC is taking time and faces a few difficulties. It is still noticeable that when agricultural extension workers come for an agricultural course, they feel reluctant and concerned when some of the time is spent on development planning activities or health or family planning or co-operative education. There seems to be a feeling that 'that is not our concern'. The same attitude can be detected in the sponsors of some of the training programmes.

As much as integration is desirable, if closely applied it may result in inadequate coverage and half-finished tasks. This is because a number of courses are as short as five days. In such a situation the participants may acquire a little knowledge of a number of subjects which may not be of practical use to them. This is more so because the teaching staff themselves have not been oriented to the integrated approach to teaching.

Related to the first problem is the strong departmental adherence which manifests itself even when it comes to recruiting the participants. Each department recruits participants for a particular subject and will thus neglect other members of the community because they feel they are not strictly 'their people', for example, family planning recruits only women (mothers), neglecting men. In this way the message to the mothers is confined to their specific needs. At times the field staff, who do the recruitment, bring to the DDC a mixture of literate and illiterate participants, thus making it difficult for the

unsuspecting instructors who are used to writing on the blackboard or giving handouts to the participants.

Since the two DDCs are experimental, and since there is a possibility of starting others in the remaining districts, the instructors at the two centres should have induction courses together, not only to introduce them to integrated approaches to training but also to achieve a measure of comparability. At the moment the approaches at the two centres appear different, making it difficult to learn from each other's activities and experiences. For instance at Embu the Centre cannot recruit and fund its own short courses for any group of participants; it depends on organizations and departments to sponsor courses. If the Centre had its own training fund, it would sponsor inter-ministerial courses and seminars, making co-ordination and integration easier. This problem has been overcome at Matuga where the principal can sponsor inter-agency seminars. At Matuga there is a gradual movement toward developing problem-solving capabilities, communication skills, and change-making habits. These are perhaps the most crucial areas of education for development. These skills and attitudes must, and do, cut across subject areas.

The Management Committee of the DDC is involved with curriculum development. All field officers are given an opportunity to decide on educational priorities for the area. Trainers from different fields work side by side and observe how their contribution fits into the total picture of development effort in the area. The principal of the DDC is a member of the District Development Committee which is the main development planning organization. The District Development Committee brings together all heads of government departments, local authorities, voluntary agencies and politicians in the district. The educational component is therefore considered as development plans for the district are prepared.

The DDCs have been placed under the Office of the President to avoid the inter-ministerial rivalry which has hitherto undermined integration of education and training in particular and development programmes in general. Should the DDC experimentation of Matuga and Embu succeed, implementing the scheme will not be expensive as there are already 34 fully staffed Farmers Training Centres and about 15 Community Development Training Centres which could be easily converted into District Development Centres. The plant and facilities already exist in these centres. Integrative approaches both in staffing and methodology are needed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

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