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Chart: Allocation of Foreign Aid
Programa de Alimentacao do Preescolar (PROAPE)

Integrated attention to the combined education, health and nutritional needs of young children can be a cost-effective investment. In Brazil, for instance, an innovative programme involving urban families living in marginal economic conditions, paid for itself by reducing repetition significantly in the first years of primary school.

PROAPE, funded under a loan from the World Bank to the Brazilian government, began in 1977 as a pilot project in the State of Pernambuco and, in 1981, was replicated in another 10 states of Northern and Northeastern Brazil, using several adaptations of the pilot project. The PROAPE model involves bringing children ages 4 to 6 together in centres during weekday mornings in groups of about 100 children for a snack and for supervised psycho-motor activities. A health component is also included involving check-ups, vaccinations, dental treatment and hygiene, and visual exams.

The children are attended by trained personnel assisted by mothers or other family members on a rotating basis. In the original model, one certified professional was assisted by six community members. In one state, Alagoas, the centres are run by three trained para-professionals called "estagiarias" (with help from parents) who are paid 70 percent of a minimum salary for their morning's work.

One evaluation of the PROAPE programme revealed that the combined repetition and drop-out rate for PROAPE vs non-PROAPE children was 39% vs 52% in the first grade and 27% vs 44% in the second. The total cost of schooling (including preschool PROAPE services) per second-grade graduate was calculated to be about 11% less for students who had been in the PROAPE programme than for those who had not been in PROAPE. (Berg, 1987) The programme paid for itself.

In the Alagoas case, evaluation data showed a similar result: 73% of the children from PROAPE passed the first grade (in 1982) vs. only 53% of the children without any pre-school experience (Ministerio da Saude y Instituto Nacional de Alimentacao e Nutricao, 1983). This was so despite the fact that the PROAPE children attended for only 78 days. In this case, the combined preschool and primary school cost per first grade graduate for PROAPE children (including the PROAPE costs) is 17 percent lower than for a child with no preschool experience.


Integrated Child Development Services (India)

Beginning in 1975 with 33 experimental projects, the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) has grown to almost 2000 projects in 1989, reaching 11.2 million children under 6 years of age. The overall goals of the programme are: to provide a comprehensive range of basic services to children, to expectant and nursing mothers, and to other women aged 15-45; to create a mechanism at the village level through which the services can be delivered; and to give priority to India's low-income groups, including the underprivileged tribes and scheduled castes. The specific objectives of the ICDS programme are to:

- lay the foundations for the psychological, physical, and social development of the child;
- improve the nutritional and health status of children, 0 to 6;
- reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school dropout;
- enhance the capability of mothers to look after the needs of the child;
- achieve effective coordination among agencies and departments involved in child development.

The integrated package of ICDS services works through a network of Anganwadi (literally, courtyard) Centres, each run by an Anganwadi Worker (AW) and helper, usually selected from the local village. The AW undergoes a three-month training in one of the more than 300 training centres run by voluntary and government agencies. Responsibilities of the AW include: non-formal preschool education, supplementary feeding, health and nutrition education, parenting education through home visiting, community support and participation, and primary maternal and child health care. Support is provided to the AW by a supervisor (1 per 20 AW) and a Child Development Programme Officer (1 per 5 supervisors) who is directly responsible for the implementation and management of each ICDS project.

The ICDS programme utilizes existing services of diverse governmental departments and of voluntary agencies. Overall administration lies with the Department of Women and Child Development within the Ministry of Human Resource Development. The annual unit cost per child per year is estimated at Rs. 115 (approximately $10 US).

Although the programme often operates at a minimum level of quality, it has nevertheless had important effects on the under-six population. For instance, a review of nearly 30 studies of the nutritional impact reveals nearly unanimous results documenting a positive outcome (NIPCCD, 1987). A 1984-86 comparative study (CTC, 1989) done in a number of locations showed ICDS/non-ICDS infant mortality rates of 67 vs 86 in rural areas and 80 vs 87 in urban areas. In a comparative study of effects on schooling (Chaturvedi, 1987), it was found that those with ICDS backgrounds had a higher primary school enrolment rate (89% vs 78%), were more regular in primary school attendance, had better academic performance and scored significantly higher on a psychological test (the Raven Colour Matrices), than non-ICDS children. Furthermore, the difference in enrollment rates was accounted for by differences among girls. In another study, (Lal and Wati, 1986) it was found that primary school drop out rates were significantly lower for ICDS vs non-ICDS children from lower and middle caste groups (19% vs 35% for lower castes and 5% vs 25% for middle castes).

The ICDS, the largest programme of its kind, illustrates the power of political commitment to achieve significant rates of coverage in integrated programmes of attention to children, ages 0 to 6, with important effects on health and education, and at a reasonable cost per child.
MODERN COMMUNICATION FOR FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Education in the 20th century is being reshaped by the interaction between modern communications and the growing understanding of how knowledge, behaviour, and human health are inter-related. For the first time in history, technology reaches millions in a single moment, and it is possible to educate people to prevent or treat disease. Changing attitudes to lifestyle diseases have sensitized society to a new kind of education that strengthens schools, clinics, and hospitals and empowers people to a degree never before imagined.

Diseases related to lifestyle decisions are among the most expensive and deadly killers in the world, accounting for the vast majority of health care costs, premature death, and disease morbidity. Each can be altered by knowledge and, to that degree, is linked to education. For example:

Approximately 3,000 children die each year of diseases for which immunization exists. A four dosage immunization cycle administered prior to a child's first birthday could be a life saver. But mothers have to know that services exist and how to gain access to them. Educational communications can help them do just that.

Scientists in the United States estimate that 70 to 80 percent of cancer deaths in that country are linked to behaviour that could by changed by education.

Five to ten million people are estimated to be infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) associated with AIDS. The only known cure at present is prevention: people learning what the virus is, how it is transmitted, and altering their behaviour accordingly.

Effective educational communication stresses facts and skills development; it motivates people to want to change their own behaviour. Evidence that it does so is based on scientific research from various disciplines and professions. For example:

Large-scale surveys in Honduras show that use of a specific oral rehydration solution to treat diarrheal dehydration went from zero to 40 percent of all episodes of diarrhea, just one year after a systematic programme of public education was launched.

Condom sales in India increased from fewer than 25 million in the late 1960s to more then 160 million in 1979, and 75 percent of the increase was accounted for by a new brand introduced through a marketing approach that relied heavily on consumer education.

It is estimated that more than 16,000 radio stations and more than one billion radio receivers are in operation around the globe. Television is now found in every nation on earth; in India, Brazil, and the Middle East viewership has expanded as the result of three decades of creative rural programming. In Europe and North America, powerful health messages compete successfully with entertainment programming to educate people about the environment and about AIDS, cancer, and other diseases. Thanks to satellite transmission, video recording, durable transistors, miniaturization, and a
vast supply of batteries, people in even the poorest villages have nearly as much access to information as the rich.

A revolution in programming technology has expanded opportunities to teach and persuade: in Mexico, a rock video motivates adolescents to delay sexual activity; a lottery in The Gambia teaches thousands of rural women about a new remedy for diarrhea, and a mass campaign in Turkey increases immunization coverage. Listening groups, public service announcements,
For seven million children, the streets of Brazil's cities and towns are workplace and even home. The youngsters are everywhere: shining shoes, washing taxis, guarding parked cars, sorting through garbage for plastic bottles. But people would rather not acknowledge their existence and the authorities treat them as delinquents or misfits.

Of course, the problems of street children are not confined to Brazil: throughout Latin America's middle-income societies the number of children living on the street continues to increase. In fact, it is estimated that half the world's 30 million street children live in Latin America, but they appear wherever the world's cities bulge with new immigrants from rural areas.

Throughout Brazil, hundreds of community-based organizations sponsor programmes to reach out to street children and try to find ways of helping them earn a living and, at the same time, mature intellectually, socially, and emotionally. In 1981, UNICEF, the government of Brazil, and the National Child Welfare Foundation began the Brazil Street Children Project to pool the knowledge gained by these diverse programmes; they also hoped to increase public awareness of the children by broadening community involvement and making government responses more effective.

The 70 programs directly involved in the joint project have different philosophies, objectives and activities, but they share several features: each seeks to gain the child's confidence and to build a solid bond between child and programme, providing meals, income-generating activities, health care, and discussion groups. Some programmes also offer more formal training or employment. From their inception, the educational methods being used have placed the primary emphasis on the child as decision-maker.

A 1986 evaluation of the Brazil Street Children Project, using such indicators as social skills, career skills, personal growth, and moral values, found that programmes are most successful when they respond to the children's own needs, the first of which is for income. For example, the Salao do Encontro in the city of Betim, Minas Gerais, produces a complete line of home furnishings and employs more than 350 young people. The production process is labour-intensive and emphasizes the use of local resources. In addition to manufacturing the products, young people actually manage the enterprise. Salao do Encontro tries to build self-esteem among street children, believing that confidence creates a secure foundation for personal growth and development.
Mothers woke the head teacher of the Jabaliyah kindergarten at five o'clock on the morning of registration. Why wasn't she at school enrolling their children? With only a limited number of places available to five-year-olds, mothers were eager to ensure that their children would not miss out. Fathers had volunteered their labour and some materials to expand the facilities, but the space still could not keep up with demand.

Jabaliyah is a refugee camp for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories of the Gaza Strip. Given their uncertain status and unstable living conditions, refugees everywhere in the world often look to the international, rather than the local, community for basic services and rarely have the opportunity to participate in decisions or take responsibility for institutions that affect their lives. In Jabaliyah, and in 14 similar centres in Gaza, communities are encouraged to get involved in building the basis of an independent educational system.

The kindergartens are jointly sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and Save the Children Fund/UK, two international private voluntary organizations. In the past two decades, these centres have reached more than 18,000 children, and currently serve 1,600 youngsters each year -- about one-seventh of all eligible five-year-olds.

The director, head teachers, teachers, and teacher's aides are Palestinians selected from the communities around each centre. In recent years, head teachers have been given greater control over centres, and parents have been more directly involved in activities and operations.

Teachers in elementary schools run by the United Nations Relief and Works Administration report that children from the preschools show a high degree of both social and academic development and some teachers have begun to include preschool techniques in their curricula.

In the preschools, children learn through an array of activities: prereading and numeracy exercises, storytelling, field trips, and play. Curricula link the community and the classroom, using the immediate environment as both laboratory and source of instructional materials.

A Preschool Resource Center to train preschool teachers throughout the Gaza Strip has recently been established. Based on the kindergarten experience, the Resource Center helps communities develop the skills to begin or improve their own preschool and day-care programmes.
NONFORMAL PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH

For children in Bangladesh, as in many countries of the world, schooling is likely to be little more than a moment that ends too soon: 50 percent of youngsters of primary school age are actually enrolled in school but fully three-fifths of the youngsters in first grade leave only two years later, without basic literacy or numeracy skills.

The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), is trying to change that by educating children -- especially very poor rural children -- who cannot be reached by government schools or, once reached, do not stay in school. In 2,500 villages throughout Bangladesh, youngsters between the ages of eight and 10 study under the BRAC Nonformal Primary Education programme. In the equivalent of first to third grades, they learn to read and write, to work with numbers and are taught science, social studies, health, and hygiene.

More than 95 per cent of students enrolled in the BRAC programme actually attend classes and more than 98 percent of those who enroll in the first year complete all three years; almost all continue their education in government schools. Sixty per cent of the BRAC students are girls, just as 60 per cent of the teachers are women (compared to eight percent of the teachers in the formal school system).

The Nonformal Primary Education programme offers a curriculum appropriate to rural culture and needs, one that can be taught by paraprofessionals recruited from the community and that parents are eager to support with their time and labour. The learning environment does not alienate rural children: school hours are adapted to local conditions, and parent groups supervise the organization and management of each school centre.

The success of the programme shows that paraprofessionals can be trained effectively, provided they are given sufficient support. Although BRAC teachers are paid one-quarter of the average formal school salary and receive no benefits, they gain a sense of accomplishment and are respected in their communities. Fewer than two percent of teachers leave each year (most because their families are moving from the community).

The programme currently costs about US$15 per student per year, but the per-pupil cost will drop when the system expands to 3,500 schools in 1991 (although some donors have urged that expansion be speeded up). It is not yet clear whether BRAC should simply replicate its successful programme or continue to try new ideas for reaching those still without schooling.

BRAC's success has fired demand, as people see the possibilities for their children and their villages, but complete success would depend on a radical restructuring of national priorities and educational objectives.
ADULT EDUCATION IN CHINA

China's system of educating adults is -- like China itself -- diverse: programmes are run in state and local government schools, but also through other government agencies and by organizations, social groups, and individuals. They include basic education for workers with little schooling; specialized secondary-level and other higher education that meets the requirements for formal academic qualification; on-the-job training; classes that keep workers abreast of changing production conditions or that simply enrich them personally.

The chance to learn takes many forms: classroom lessons, instruction by radio, television or through correspondence programs; there is even an examination system for those who are self-taught. Almost all students attend only part-time: of the more than 500 million potential participants in adult education, 350 million are young and middle-aged farmers, 90 million work in township and village enterprises, and 130 million are urban workers.

In the past decade, adult education, especially for farmers, has developed rapidly as part of the overall expansion of education in China. In 1987, there were 1,399 colleges of various types with 1.86 million adult students, while 1.65 million students attended 4,742 specialized secondary schools. Educational television began in October 1986, and China now has a total of 577 television "universities" at the university, provincial, prefectural and municipal levels; 179,000 students graduated from them in 1987.

Adult education in China will gradually focus on training people in specific skills before they enter the labour market. Certificates will be awarded to those who attain a level of academic education; who complete work in a single subject up to a given level; or who have knowledge of a specific job. Even now education certificates are recognized in job recruitment and promotion.

While sheer size and diversity make it difficult to get an accurate picture of total expenditures on adult education in China, it is reasonable to estimate that, in 1987, the total, excluding private costs, amounted to some 7.48 billion yuan (approximately US$2 billion), or about 0.6 percent of the country's GNP.
Assuming that teachers enter the classroom eager to mold the minds of children, why do some do a poor or inadequate job? Among the probable causes: a lack of textbooks, low salaries, and the resultant discouragement that is possibly a factor in high rates of absenteeism. Moreover, the inadequately trained teacher is going to be the inadequate teacher, the one who instructs by rote -- requiring students to copy from the board, recite in unison (sometimes in a little-understood language) or regurgitate answers without even understanding the point of what is being taught. All deaden the desire for knowledge that is so much a part of human makeup. Faced with a class of bored children, it is hardly surprising that teachers begin to go through the motions without any real enthusiasm or sense of commitment. Everybody loses: the child, who has been force-fed "facts", without any real sense of how they are applicable to the larger world, immediately or in the future, and the frustrated, defensive teacher. (As many as 60 percent of students in some countries fail and have to repeat a grade.)

There have been many attempts to improve teaching methods, but in-service teacher training programmes often deal only with the use of curricula or with educational theory, rather than offering instruction practice. Because teachers have been poorly trained, they leave even adult students to repeat and recite, instead of encouraging them to seek meaning in material and to gain insight into reasoning or context. The result is a poor transfer of knowledge from teachers who, themselves, may have learned by precisely the same arid methods.

Fortunately, research is helping teachers learn: it is now understood that, to be absorbed, information must be disassembled and then reshaped by the learner. The job of the teacher is to impose order on the material and to help the student extract meaning from it; then it can be connected with previous knowledge. Some facts, of course (multiplication tables) have to be learned so they can be applied to everyday life (buying food or selling goods, for example).

Research also shows that children can build on what they learn, provided that explicit, structured descriptions and demonstrations give them the techniques for doing so. Moreover, students need to know where and how to use what they learn.

Such programmes as Venezuela's Instrumental Enrichment successfully teach new learning strategies that are especially important in very poor countries with sparse instruction materials, large classes and outdated teaching methods. New techniques will have to be adapted to such areas as rural Sub-Saharan Africa, where both materials and methods are inadequate and they will have to be taught to teachers who are, themselves, poorly educated. Finally, they will have to be modified for use in various developing countries.
THE SERVICE CENTRE CONCEPT: SUPPORT FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL TRAINING

In the mid-1970s, several developing countries began, simultaneously, to improve techniques for disseminating information from centre points to the grass roots. Service centres sprang up to transfer information and training and -- even more important to many educators -- to help community groups develop methods for identifying problems and acquiring the information and resources for solving them.

Several centres began with little or no outside help; for example, in 1974, the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre was blessed with more talent than money. It began selling materials and training services to other organizations, using an agency that still brings it income. Nepal’s Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education had an excellent series of teaching materials but virtually no budget for administering a literacy programme. By providing teaching materials at cost to various public and private development organizations, the Literacy Section has succeeded in linking literacy with the core development needs of thousands of Nepalese.

Service agencies in other countries were designed to meet identified deficiencies in out-of-school training. In order to save its new integrated rural development programme, the government of Ecuador created the National Institute for Campesino Training (INCCA), which addresses the need to develop human resources. INCCA strengthened the extension and training programmes in all ministries involved and it links training more closely to the country’s research establishment. In The Gambia, the government drew on a study of the literacy and numeracy needs of entrepreneurs in the informal sector to design its Nonformal Education Services (NFES). NFES staff cooperate with virtually all government departments to improve the effectiveness of training programmes, using a broad range of instruction technologies and techniques in order to teach subjects as disparate as ox-plowing and holistic development theory.

Nongovernmental organizations also function as service agencies: the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee has a Training and Resource Centre (TARC) that trains landless peasants, government employees, and field staff of other nongovernmental organizations. TARC has been in operation since 1976 and is larger than many government programmes. In Venezuela, the Centro al Servicio de la Acción Popular (CESAP), in operation since 1974, annually offers hundreds of courses for development-related organizations and members of grass-roots groups; about 60 percent of its budget comes from service income.

All the service centres have managed to accomplish what development planners have long urged: working across sectoral boundaries, they improve the quality of life for people at the grass roots. With diverse origins and various sources of support, what they can achieve in the future still remains to be seen.
LITERACY MOTIVATION: LEARNING TO FLY

People become literate for economic, political, social, and very personal reasons; in a village literacy centre in Haiti, a grandmother smiles wistfully and says, "My children live far away and I want to learn to write so that I can tell them my secrets..." A young woman, her face glowing with pride, remarks, "I want to get a good job someday." A thin wiry man raises his hand and says, firmly, "I come here because of what happened in the Duvalier regime. If I learn to read and write, that kind of government will not be able to return". The literacy monitor asks another person who, hesitating for a moment, answers, "So that my wife and I ... well, so that we will be able to take a step forward together in life". On the other side of the room his wife grins broadly: everyone in the class knows she was responsible for bringing him here.

Learners in Nicaragua have similar reasons. Asked why he wants to learn, a grandfather waves his arm at his grandchildren: "To be an example". One of his daughters searches for the right words, "So when I go to market I won't be cheated ever again", she says. Her husband smiles at the labouriously printed letters on the page before him: "To defend myself, to learn about farming, and so I never have to suffer humiliation like before when they made me use my thumb to sign papers. Now", he says triumphantly, "I can write my own name for all to see".

Asked the same question, a child pauses and, after a moment, looks up shyly. "So someday ... well, someday ... so maybe I can learn how ... to fly."
THE HIGHLANDER CENTER

In 1980, toxic chemicals from the tannery in the town upstream from Larry Wilson's farm turned Yellow Creek black. Fish died, and some of Wilson's calves did, too, after drinking the polluted waters. Most people in the hills and hollows that border this Kentucky creek in the southeastern United States were afraid to speak out, certain that their lack of education and poverty were no match for the tannery's science and not as important as the town's prized industry.

Wilson rallied his neighbours to form the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens: they conducted health surveys, lobbied the federal government to intervene, and finally forced the tannery to stop abusing the environment. The town, prompted by Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens, has built a new sewage treatment plant and the creek waters are clear again.

Aware that they needed organizing and research skills if the community was to survive, Wilson and other members of Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens attended educational workshops at the Highlander Resource and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee. For the past 10 years, Highlander's programmes have centred on the environmental effects of hazardous industries, mainly as a reflection of the concerns of the community groups it serves.

Highlander works in Southern Appalachia and the rural areas of the deep South -- a third world in which infant mortality rates are higher and literacy lower than anywhere else in North America. Highlander's educational process builds on the culture shared by group members: oral history, songs, drama, dance, to build confidence and determination. Its educational programmes help local groups understand the problems they face, learn from others who dealt with similar problems, experiment with new ideas, and build organizations that will encourage responsible development.

Although content varies according to the groups being served, the format is consistent: residential workshops of from two days to eight weeks, involving between 15 and 40 participants from diverse communities but sharing a common concern. That was the way Highlander operated in the 1950s and early 1960s, when it became known as the educational centre of the U.S. civil rights movement. It is used today in Highlander's Southern Appalachian and Leadership Training; SALT is the most successful leadership training programme in the South, a series of six weekend workshops that cover such subjects as creating learning plans, communication skills, community analysis and research, problem definition, and project design. Although Highland does not grade seminar participants, one criterion of success is whether they carry out decisions made in the workshops.
A LINGUISTIC RENAISSANCE IN SENEGAL

Senegal's Association for the Renaissance of Pulaar (ARP) shows how strongly people want to read and write the language they speak. A grassroots organization with a national board in Dakar and four dozen chapters throughout the country, ARP has no paid staff; its 5,000 members are an interesting amalgam of urban intellectuals educated in French and Arabic and those from rural areas who speak Pulaar but have never been to school. (In Senegal's complex linguistic environment, French is the official language of state, and six African languages, including Pulaar, are recognized as "national languages").

At a time when the emphasis in literacy is still on people's ability to meet basic physical needs, two million people in Senegal who speak Pulaar are a valuable reminder of the importance of a sense of identity and community. Community is an especially vital issue to Africans who speak languages that cross national boundaries; from Senegal in the west to Sudan in the east, an estimated 13 million people speak Pulaar. Therefore, any literacy renaissance in Senegal could potentially affect a much larger population.

ARP's activities include open-air concerts with Pulaar musicians, taping of stories from a rich oral tradition, theatrical presentations, and radio programmes. As early as the mid-1960s, ARP recognized that literacy was essential to the continued vitality of the language; it encouraged literacy classes, which depended on local chapters for support and organization. With only minimal outside help, propelled by numerous students and volunteer teachers, the effort has been ARP's most outstanding activity.

Its success with literacy results in large part from the great importance of education and study to the culture of Pulaar speakers. ARP grew from the desire of civil servants to keep their language and culture alive and to bring the epic poetry of their ancestors into the world of their children.
When the Mkwiro Women's Group decided to start a boat service from their island off the southern coast of Kenya to the mainland, they wanted to earn money for community development projects and to provide transportation to the health clinic that served their children. Four years later, the ferry was still afloat, but the business was sinking.

Tototo Home Industries, a nongovernmental organization in Mombasa, was ready to help the women keep both boat and business running. Women in Mkwiro, and in 46 other groups along the coast of Kenya, had already received training in group organizing from Tototo's Rural Development Program. Now Tototo would train them and offer technical assistance in business management.

Organized in the early 1960s by the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Tototo initially marketed handicrafts produced by women in the town of Mombasa; in 1986, a new director saw that this did virtually nothing to change the quality of rural women's lives. She began to work with them on community development and income generation. By 1987, Tototo's community development programme had reached more than 1,200 women within a 200 kilometre radius of Mombasa, offering training in group organizing and leadership, a revolving fund for loans, assistance in health and family planning, and a savings club.

According to a 1985 study, the businesses established by the groups were barely viable; as in Mkwiro, groups lacked the skills to maintain them or the ability to work creatively within the economic, social, and cultural constraints imposed on them as women.

Based on these findings and on Tototo's experience with women's groups, as well as on anthropological research into the groups and the barriers they face, Tototo created a business management training program; it enables women to translate knowledge of household enterprises into the basic practices needed to operate a group business. One key was a pictorial accounting system that allowed nonliterate members to read project accounts and understand the allocation of dividends. The new accounting system permits the women of Mkwiro to track their actual expenses and to allocate profit more effectively; as both business performance and dividends improve, the women tackle other projects for community development.

Tototo staff began working with eight groups in 1986; the women of Mkwiro were selected for training in 1987. Research shows the effectiveness of training: on average, dividends in the 1986 groups increased 500 percent from the first to the second year of training, while gross revenues doubled. Those groups paid an average of US$700 in dividends to their members in 1986 and more than US$3,300 in 1987. Although the 1987 groups did not experience such dramatic increases, their gross revenues and dividends have improved significantly. Tototo has now begun to teach its training programme to agents in Swaziland and Malawi.
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**Note:**
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ADULT EDUCATION IN CHINA: BACKING WORDS WITH RESOURCES

China’s system of adult education is diversified in its operations, programs, methods, and clientele. Programs are run not only in state and local government schools, but also by technical departments and other government agencies, enterprises, social groups, and individuals. To meet different needs the programs offered include: (1) compensatory basic education for workers with little schooling, (2) specialized secondary education and higher education with formal academic qualifications, (3) on-the-job training in specific skills, (4) continuing education with formal qualifications to keep workers abreast of changing production conditions, and (5) nonvocational education for personal enrichment. Instruction is given in classrooms and through radio, television, and correspondence programs; there is also an examination system for self-taught students. Most participants are enrolled part-time during the work day or in their spare time; relatively few are full-time students. The more than 500 million people who are potential participants in adult education include about 350 million young and middle-aged farmers, 90 million workers in township and village enterprises, and 130 million urban workers.

In the past decade adult education, especially for farmers, has developed rapidly as part of the overall expansion of education in China. There are 29,000 cultural and technical schools for farmers now, and in 1988, 14.59 million young and middle-aged farmers were receiving elementary technical training. In 1987, there were 1,399 colleges of various types for adults with 1.86 million students, and 4,742 specialized secondary schools with 1.65 million students. Educational television began in October 1986, and China now has one central TV university, 36 provincial ones, and 540 at the prefectural and municipal levels; they graduated 179,000 students in 1987. A large number of self-taught students have sat in examinations at both the secondary and university levels since 1983. Finally, 23.7 million government workers have taken at least fifty hours of on-the-job training in specific skills.

In the future, adult education in China will gradually focus on job-oriented training to give workers specific skills before they begin work. Adult education programs will then award certificates of three kinds to acknowledge different achievements: meeting the requirements of (1) a certain level of academic education (such as specialized secondary or higher education), (2) a single subject at a certain level, or (3) a specific job.

In short, adult education in China is large in scale and an integral part of the overall education system. Graduates are tested for performance and receive certificates that are recognized in job recruitment and promotion, and training is oriented toward the acquisition of productive skills.

It is very difficult to estimate the total expenditure on adult education in China because so many institutions and organizations are involved, some of which may not be identified. In addition, data on expenditures are generally lacking. Even for institutions with a good cost accounting system, their expenditure on adult education is often untraceable because the program is only one of several.

A figure can be estimated, however, for the total expenditure on on-the-job training for workers in government work units (such as government enterprises, departments, and agencies) in urban and semi-urban areas. A
government work unit is required to spend 1.5 percent of its wage bill on training, a worker pays 2 percent of his or her wage to the union, and 25 percent of the total union dues is spent on adult training programs. Thus a total of 2 percent of the wage bill of a government work unit is spent on adult training. In 1987, the total wage bill for all government work units was 186.8 billion yuan. Thus expenditure on adult training in government work units was 3.74 billion yuan (about US$1 billion). This amounted to about 10 percent of total financial resources for education from all sources, or about 0.3 percent of GNP in 1987. If it is assumed that training for government workers accounts for about half of all adult education in China, then the total expenditure (excluding private costs) on adult education in 1987 would amount to 7.48 billion yuan, or about 0.6 percent of GNP.

Although the above financial estimates are rough, they demonstrate that a comprehensive and credible adult education program requires substantial financial commitment. China realizes this and backs its words with the resources required to include adult education as an integral part of the nation's basic education system.
Poor instruction in schools has been blamed on a lack of textbooks, low salaries, and high absenteeism. One other very important factor may be the use of poor teaching methods. Lacking solid training, teachers may have children copy materials from the blackboard, repeat in unison the teacher's words (sometimes in a language they barely understand), or answer questions in unison.

Verbatim repetition is a very ineffective way to learn, however, because the human mind stores information in the long-term memory by classifying it on the basis of its meaning. If information is to be remembered and later used in "real life," it must be analyzed and understood and its applications must be clearly explained. When children repeat strings of relatively unconnected material, the meaning is often not clear. They tend to forget the material that does not make sense, and are unable to answer simple questions about it even if they remember the string of words. When faced with formal examinations or evaluations, up to 60 percent of students in some countries may fail and have to repeat the grade. The end result of repetition-based teaching, therefore, is low internal efficiency.

Many countries have attempted to improve teaching methods through in-service teacher training programs. These programs often deal only with curriculum use, and even when instructional practices are discussed it is in lectures on educational theory. This method is not conducive to changing well-entrenched behavior. If large-scale, expensive, and difficult in-service training programs are to have the expected results, a few simple and highly effective instructional techniques must be developed and adopted by teachers.

For reasons which are not clear, meaning-based teaching strategies seem to be uncommon, particularly in the developing world. Many students, even adults faced with learning subject matter, merely read the material and repeat it. They do not restructure it, outline its main points, or connect it with other meaningful material. As a result, transfer of learning may be very poor. Teachers who have not learned in this way themselves, are unlikely to teach their students these strategies.

Many years of research on cognition have produced considerable insight into how to facilitate teaching and learning. The most recent findings have centered around how the information must be taken apart and elaborated so that it will become memorable and useful. Simple strategies have been developed to help students and teachers (1) impose order on information; (2) extract the meaning of the material; (3) use new material to evaluate, and make as many connections as possible with, previous knowledge; (4) retain necessary but relatively meaningless items (such as foreign words); and (5) apply the information to daily life (for example, use the multiplication tables in the bazaar).

A large volume of data supports the conclusion that children can elaborate on knowledge provided the strategies for doing so are clearly explained, with explicit, well-structured descriptions and demonstrations. Students also need to know when and where to deploy the procedures; otherwise, they may execute them only on demand. Knowledge is elaborated and made meaningful by drawing implications from the material, explaining the difference between related and unrelated ideas, speculating about how ideas might be used for practical purposes, and giving examples from everyday life.
The use of elaboration skills is probably not automatic; rather, learners should be trained in it.

Programs such as Instrumental Enrichment in Venezuela are successfully teaching new learning strategies in some developing countries. These classroom strategies may be particularly important in very poor countries where instructional materials are unavailable, classes are large, and students now learn by rote. To change this learning process and create maximum retention by students in the developing world, three questions must be answered: (1) How can appropriate learning strategies improve the quality of education in areas such as rural Sub-Saharan Africa, where there is a dire lack of materials and teaching is limited to repetition? (2) How can these learning strategies be taught and used in the long run by poorly educated teachers? (3) What adaptations of these strategies are necessary for various developing countries?
THE SERVICE CENTER APPROACH: SUPPORTING LEARNING FOR YOUTH AND ADULTS

In the mid-1970s, a new concept took shape simultaneously in several developing countries to improve the way information was transferred from the center to the grass roots. Service centers sprang up to disseminate information and training and -- more important in the minds of many educators -- offer community groups better ways to identify problems and acquire the information and resources to solve them.

Several service centers began work with little or no outside help. The Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre in 1974 was a new organization blessed with more talent than budget. It began selling its materials and training services to other organizations through a service agency that still brings in income. Nepal's Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education had an excellent series of teaching materials but virtually no budget for administering a literacy program. By providing their materials at cost to a variety of public and private development organizations, the Literacy Section has succeeded in linking literacy with the so-called core development needs of thousands of Nepalese.

Other service agencies were intentionally set up to address the recognized deficiencies in out-of-school training. In Ecuador the government created the National Institute for Campesino Training (INCCA) to save its new integrated rural development program by addressing the need to develop human resources. INCCA strengthened the extension and training programs of all involved ministries and linked training more closely than ever to the country's research establishment. In the Gambia, the government drew on a study of the literacy and numeracy needs of entrepreneurs in the informal sector to design its Nonformal Education Services (NFES). NFES staff cooperate with virtually all departments of the government to improve the effectiveness of their training programs. With subjects ranging from ox-plowing to holistic development theory, NFES staff use a wide range of instructional technologies and approaches.

Nongovernmental organizations, too, are functioning as service agencies. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee has a Training and Resource Centre (TARC) that conducts training directed to the needs of landless peasants, government staffs, and field staff of other nongovernmental organizations. The TARC program has been in operation since 1976 and is larger than many government programs. Another nongovernmental program is the Centro al Servicio de la Acción Popular (CESAP) in Venezuela. In operation since 1974, CESAP covers about 60 percent of its budget from service income and annually offers hundreds of courses for staff of development-related organizations and members of grass-roots groups.

All the service centers have managed to accomplish what development planners have long espoused; they work across sectoral boundaries to improve the quality of life at the grass roots. Their origins were diverse, and their sources of support are various. They provide an effective alternative role for governments wishing to support community based basic education for youth and adults.
Mothers woke the head teacher of the Jabaliyah kindergarten at five o'clock on the morning of registration. Why wasn't she over at the school enrolling their children? There was a limit to the number of five-year-olds this center could handle, and they wanted to make sure their children would not miss out. Fathers had volunteered their labor and some materials to expand the facilities, but the space still could not accommodate the demand.

These parents' enthusiasm for and involvement in preschool education are especially notable: Jabaliyah is a refugee camp for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories on the Gaza Strip. Because of their tenuous status and unstable living conditions, refugees everywhere in the world often look to the international -- rather than the local -- community for basic services. They rarely have the chance to participate in the decisions that affect their lives or to take on the responsibilities of creating and sustaining their own institutions. But the Jabaliyah preschool and fourteen similar centers in Gaza have encouraged the communities to get involved in building the base of an independent educational system.

These fifteen kindergartens are part of a program under the joint sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Save the Children Fund/UK (SCF), two international private voluntary organizations. Over the past two decades, these centers have reached more than 18,000 children, and they currently serve 1,600 every year, or about one-seventh of the eligible five-year-olds.

The daily operations are carried out by Palestinians, who include the director, head teachers, teachers, and teacher's aides selected from the communities around each center. For the past several years, head teachers have had greater responsibility for the control of each center, and parents have been more directly involved in its activities and operations. This greater community involvement is in part because parents have seen their children benefit from the educational approach used in these kindergartens. Teachers in the elementary schools run by the United Nations Relief and Works Administration report that children from the AFSC/SCF preschools show a high degree of both social and academic development. These teachers want preschool graduates in their classrooms, and some have begun to include preschool techniques in their curriculum.

The AFSC/SCF schools place great emphasis on meeting all of the developmental needs of the child. Children learn through an array of activities including not only prereading and numeracy exercises, but also storytelling, field trips, and just plain play. The curriculum links the community and the classroom by using the immediate environment as both laboratory and source of instructional materials. This pedagogical approach is opposed to that of other kindergartens in the area that offer, at one extreme, physical care alone and, at the other, mainly academic training.

AFSC and SCF have recently established a Preschool Resource Center to train preschool teachers throughout the Gaza Strip. With experience gleaned from the kindergartens, the Resource Center is helping communities develop the skills needed to begin or improve their own preschool and day-care programs. The Resource Center might also provide a vital nexus for the AFSC/SCF schools when they become an independent, community-directed program.
LITERACY MOTIVATION: LEARNING TO FLY

Economic, political, social, and very personal reasons motivate people to become literate.

In a village literacy center in Haiti, people expressed their motivations this way. One silver-haired grandmother smiled wistfully and said in a quiet voice, "My children live far away and I want to learn to write so that I can tell them my secrets." A young woman stood proudly and answered, "I want to get a good job someday." A thin wiry man raised his hand and said firmly, "I come to the center because of what happened in the Duvalier regime. If I learn to read and write, that kind of government will not be able to return." The literacy monitor encouraged another person to speak. Hesitating a little, the man answered, "So that my wife and I -- well, so that we will be able to take a step forward together in life." On the other side of the class the wife grinned broadly. Everyone in the center knew she was responsible for his presence there.

In Nicaragua, learners had similar reasons. When asked why he wanted to learn, a grandfather responded by waving his arm at his grandchildren and saying, "To be an example." One daughter, hesitating for a moment, searching for words, replied, "So when I go to market I won't be cheated ever again." Her husband answered, smiling at his newly printed letters on the page before him, "To defend myself, to learn about farming, and so I never have to suffer humiliation like before when they made me use my thumb to sign papers. Now," he said proudly, "I can write my own name for all to see."

The child when asked the same question stopped for a long moment, looked up shyly, and said in a soft voice, halting as she spoke, "So someday ... well, someday ... so maybe I can learn how ... to fly."
STREET CHILDREN IN BRAZIL: LEARNING FOR SURVIVAL

Streets in the cities and towns of Brazil are workplace and often home to an estimated 7 million children. They are everywhere -- shining shoes, washing taxis, guarding parked cars, sorting through garbage for plastic bottles. But the public would rather not see them, and the authorities treat them as delinquents or misfits.

The problems of street children are not confined to Brazil. In middle-income societies throughout Latin America, such as Colombia and Mexico, the number of children living off the street is rising. Half of the world's estimated 30 million street children live in Latin America, but they appear wherever cities bulge with new immigrants from rural areas.

Throughout Brazil, several hundred community-based organizations sponsor programs that reach out to children on the street and try to find ways of helping them not only earn a living but also mature intellectually, socially, and emotionally. In 1981, UNICEF, the government of Brazil, and the National Child Welfare Foundation began the Brazil Street Children Project to help these diverse programs learn from one another's experience. They also hoped to increase public awareness of these children by broadening community involvement and enabling government agencies to be more effective.

The seventy programs participating directly in the joint project differ in their philosophies, objectives, and activities but share several features. Each program seeks to gain the child's confidence and then to solidify the bond between the child and the program by providing such things as meals, income-generating activities, health care, and discussion groups. Some programs may also offer the child more formal training or employment. From the beginning, the educational methods place primary emphasis on the child, not the program, as decision-maker.

The type of program that has had the greatest success with street children offers work not only as a means of generating income but also as an education for life. One example is the Salao do Encontro in the city of Betim, Minas Gerais, which produces a complete line of home furnishings and employs over 350 young people. The production process is labor-intensive and tries to make use of local resources. Young people not only manufacture the furnishings but also manage the enterprise. Salao do Encontro tries to build self-esteem through a positive attitude toward work, in the belief that this confidence creates a secure foundation for personal growth and development.

To assess the effect of this and similar programs, evaluators have tried to determine whether a program's activities actually promote normal psychosocial growth. Do they meet the long-term developmental needs of the child as well as the immediate needs for health care or income? A 1986 evaluation of the Brazil Street Children Project isolated indicators of child development from field observations of eleven community-based programs. These indicators covered social skills, career skills, personal growth, and moral values.

The evaluation found that, like Salao do Encontro, programs have the greatest success when they respond to the children's own needs, the first of which is income. By providing creative opportunities to earn a living, one reviewer noted, successful programs "transform and dignify work itself." This view of work implies an educational function, not only to impart practical
income-earning skills but also to expose children to a broader community that will support their development and respect their individuality.

The Brazil project demonstrates that community-based organizations can learn from one another and can work together and with the government to foster respect for street children and understanding of their plight throughout society. Rather than waiting for the federal government to act and bemoaning the lack of effective social institutions, community leaders and local government officials have begun to develop their own initiatives. Together they are creating new avenues of opportunity for street children who once faced only dead ends.
EDUCATION AMID CIVIL STRIFE

Among their many tragic effects on individuals and societies, war, civil strife, and organized violence create critical educational needs while making it extremely difficult to meet those needs. The costs of war, in direct military expenditure and destruction of economic capacity, undermine all efforts at social development. People fleeing violence raise a sudden need for education and other social supports, but most find refuge in impoverished countries. The large demand for social services therefore confronts a low capacity to supply them.

The International Red Cross, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, the UN High Commission on Refugees, and numerous other humanitarian groups continue to extend all possible relief and assistance, including educational programs, to those displaced by war and strife. But the numbers have swelled beyond measure. In the late 1970s officially recognized refugees numbered around 2 million, whereas in 1988 some 14 million people could be classified as international refugees. Thirteen million of them fled violence in their homeland for poverty in neighboring countries. Few of these refugees will find a haven in more developed countries; most must live in whatever way the local economy allows.

Refugees who resettle in different cultures need to learn new languages, job skills, and the social organization and mores of their host countries. Programs in some refugee camps, such as those for Indochinese refugees in Southeast Asia, address some of these needs. But many people receive only minimal preparation for their new homes, as illustrated by the poignant case of a refugee parent in the United States who ran from the sirens of an approaching ambulance, with an injured child in his arms. On-going community efforts in basic education are required for refugees to adapt well to their new homes.

War and civil strife frequently separate women and children from men, putting women into new positions of authority in the family and community, under arduous circumstances. The need for information and problem-solving skills is high under such conditions, while the state of basic education may be low. In El Salvador, for example, 40 percent of families are headed by women, while the adult female literacy rate is below 70 percent. UNICEF and other organizations have been providing basic education in health, income generation, and community organization -- knowledge that is critical to their lives.

War and civil strife take a direct toll on education, disrupting systematic schooling and creating whole generations of semiliterate youths, struggling to survive in harsh circumstances. In 1981, there were more than 4,000 primary schools and 37,000 teachers in Afghanistan. In 1985, after some rebuilding, only 792 schools were open, and the teaching force was just over 15,000. In Mozambique, nearly half a million students lost access to education when 2,700 schools -- all but 45 of them primary schools -- closed as a result of violence from 1983 to 1987. As in other civil wars, teachers and the intelligentsia of Mozambique have been special targets of violence; 200 primary teachers have been reported killed, and nearly as many kidnapped by anti-government forces. As peace is restored to this and other troubled lands, the question of who will teach the children and youth is central to rebuilding educational systems.
Children of strife have their own special needs, foremost among them the need to heal emotionally, to learn perhaps for the first time to be a child, to forgive their elders for the horrors they have known. A child whose parent has disappeared in the night cannot be expected to assume that adult authority is benign, nor will the young witness to murder necessarily find meaning in multiplication tables. These children for whom life has meant only danger, brutality, and dire poverty are not rare cases; they number in the millions. Basic education for these traumatized children must address their special emotional needs.
The world economic recession and debt crisis of the 1980s have taken a
toll on basic education. They have caused absolute and relative reductions in
education investment and increased pressure for economic rather than
educational activity by children and youth living in poverty. In Eastern and
Southern Africa, median gross enrollment in primary education has fallen from
89 percent in 1980 to 83 percent in 1986. In most other developing countries,
the deterioration in primary education is less apparent than decreasing
enrollment rates, but there is growing cause for alarm about the ability of
primary education systems to meet the basic learning needs of those who enter
them.

Countries facing economic contraction have dealt in different ways with
the education sector. Although the percentage of the national budget going to
education has decreased in 63 percent of the middle-income countries recently
surveyed, it has increased 61 percent among the least developed countries.
But this is a growing piece of a shrinking pie. Per pupil expenditure on
primary education has fallen 50 percent in the least developed countries.
This expenditure has also dropped in 75 percent of the middle-income countries
in Africa, in 50 percent of those in Latin America, and in 57 percent of
those in Asia.

Accumulating evidence suggests that this decline in per pupil
expenditure is eroding quality. Teaching conditions and remuneration are
sliding backwards in the face of inflation, larger classes, and the difficulty
of some governments in meeting the payroll. Expenditure on teaching
materials, already quite small in most developing countries, has dropped even
further in the 1980s to an average of less than $.60 per pupil in African
countries, and only $3.00 per pupil in two much better endowed Asian
countries. Restrictions on capital expenditure have meant not only that new
schools are not being built, but that old buildings are crumbling. A survey
in one district of a low-income African country showed that 87 percent of the
school buildings were in a state of extreme disrepair.

Declining quality is beginning to reduce efficiency and increase dropout
rates. In half of the least developed countries, the average time required to
produce one primary school graduate has increased in the past five years,
which reflects growing inefficiency. Anecdotal evidence from Latin America
and Africa suggests that rates of primary school completion, already as low as
30 to 60 percent in many Latin American countries, may be falling as children
leave school to go to work.
THE HIGHLANDER CENTER: COMMUNITY-BASED ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

In 1980, toxic chemicals from the tannery in the town upstream from Larry Wilson's farm had turned Yellow Creek black. Fish died, and some of Wilson's calves did, too, after drinking the polluted waters. Most people in the hills and hollows that bordered this Kentucky creek in the southeastern United States were afraid to speak out -- afraid that their lack of education and poverty were no match for the tannery's science and the town's prized industry.

Wilson rallied his neighbors and formed the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens. They conducted health surveys, lobbied the federal government to intervene, and finally forced the tannery to correct its abuses. Now that the town, prompted by Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens, has built a new sewage treatment plant, the waters are once again clear.

To learn the organizing and research skills necessary for the survival of their community, Wilson and other members of Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens attended educational workshops at the Highlander Resource and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee. Highlander's programs have centered on the environmental effects of hazardous industries over the past ten years, not so much by design but because of the concerns of the community groups Highlander serves.

Highlander has worked in the poorest region of the United States for over half a century. Southern Appalachia and the rural areas that make up the deep South are part of the third world of North America -- infant mortality rates are higher and literacy rates lower than in any other region. Its economy has suffered as textile mills relocated to Asia and coal mines shut down from lack of demand. The remedy has been to attract heavy industry into the area with the lure of cheap labor and a stable political environment. But, as Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens discovered, this economic development has been at the expense of the environment.

Highlander's educational process builds on the local culture shared by group members -- oral history, songs, drama, dance -- and uses these to build confidence and conviction. Highlander has used its educational programs to help local groups understand the problems they confront, learn from others who have faced similar problems, experiment with new ideas, and finally build organizations that help define responsible development.

Although the content varies according to the needs of different groups, the format is consistent. Residential workshops at the center last from two days to eight weeks, with from fifteen to forty participants from diverse communities who share a common concern. Highlander relied on this format during the 1950s and early 1960s when it was known as the educational center of the civil rights movement in the United States. And the same format is used currently in its Southern Appalachian and Leadership Training, the most successful leadership training program in the South. So far, 150 leaders of grass-roots organizations have completed this series of six weekend workshops. The workshops cover the creation of learning plans, communication skills, community analysis and research, definition of problems, and project design.

Larry Wilson is now helping Highlander with a new series of residential workshops called "Stop the Pollution," or STP seminars. Now in their second year, these workshops have included representatives from grass-roots organiza-
tions throughout the United States, and the demand far exceeds what is currently being offered.

The thirty-five participants in a recent workshop came from ten states and included Native Americans, Blacks, Cajuns, Creoles, and Appalachians. The major themes discussed ranged from disinformation to the health effects of toxic chemicals on children. Similar workshops will be held every month throughout 1989.

The seminars are not graded, and the one criterion of their success is whether participants carry out the decisions made during the workshops. On this basis, the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens receive high marks, as do similar groups in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee who have stopped pollution and started economic development that responds to both environmental and human concerns.
INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF LEARNING

Over the past twenty years the International Evaluation Association (IEA) has led the development of comparable measures of learning among developed and developing countries. In the 1970s it documented the relatively low achievement in reading and science among certain developed nations, especially science scores that were lower than in Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan. The findings sparked extensive debates on their accuracy and interpretation, but they placed a new emphasis on education and, within education, on indicators of measured achievement.

Now, more than thirty-five countries have agreed to participate in a new IEA project to assess the standards and practices of reading literacy among nine- and fourteen-year-olds. A steering committee made up of members from Australia, Fiji, the Federal Republic of Germany, New Zealand, Sweden, the United States, and Venezuela has designed a four-year study, and the International Coordinating Center has been established in Hamburg.

The priorities of the project are:
1. To develop a valid set of measures of reading literacy that will determine the literacy levels and practices of people in many countries. At present, countries differ in the way they report and interpret literacy levels, and conclusions differ widely as well. The project calls for collaboration among countries at each stage of the project to ensure that the instruments are as internationally valid as possible.
2. To estimate, for all participating countries, the percentage of students reading at specified levels of literacy. The project designers see literacy not as an all-or-nothing achievement, but as a continuum and as tied to the expectations and needs of each society. Although literacy tasks and questionnaires will be standardized, each country will set its own levels of performance for use in interpreting the results. International comparisons of these established levels will also be made.
3. To determine how much reading is undertaken by students in each country, for what purposes, and in which contexts. A measure of typical reading activities will be administered to all participants and used as one indicator of the outcome of literacy in each country.
4. To identify the home, school, and societal influences that are most closely related to the literacy levels and habits of nine-year-olds in each country. Multivariate analyses will reveal, for instance, the extent to which various pedagogical and school policies are effective, over and above the influences of home and society. An international study provides the opportunity to compare national policies that differ among countries.
5. To establish a baseline data bank for each country, against which future changes in literacy can be measured. The hard data on literacy could also be related to various indicators of health, economics, and other aspects of education and culture.

The definition of reading literacy adopted by the steering committee is "the ability to understand and use those written forms of language which are expected by society and/or valued by the individual."

All individuals need literacy in the home, at school, at work, and in society at large, and those who cannot understand and use print are usually at a considerable disadvantage. The reading literacy tests will include specific tasks in these four common spheres of reading activity -- home, school, work,
and society -- such as the processing of continuous (narrative and expository) prose and of documents (tables, directories, signs, recipes). The nine-year-olds will be tested on their ability to match pictures with print and to read "environmental print" (public signs and notices). Other tests will be available to supplement the international core tests if countries wish to use them.

The tests and questionnaires will be pilot-tested and then given to nationally representative samples of students selected from the grades in which the modal age is nine and fourteen years in the eighth month of the school year. The sampling procedures for each country will be carefully monitored by an international referee.

The main testing will take place in 1990 and 1991, and a brief report of the major findings is planned for June 1992. A fuller volume of results will be completed by December 1992. It is expected to include indicators of levels of literacy in each country; international comparisons of levels, practices, and policies; information on the influence of different school and national policies; and interpretations of these findings.

Paralleling the IEA effort, the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development is developing educational indicators for individual countries, but with special attention to the international comparability of definition, operationalization, data collection, and measurement. In addition, regional programs have begun to develop educational indicators. In November 1988 a working group of the Nordic Committee of Education Statistics agreed to test a few common indicators within the 1989 school year.

Although such activities must not usurp the interests of individual countries in data collection and use, the IEA and CERI activities do point the way to greater comparability of educational statistics both within and among countries. The better measurement and evaluation techniques that should result will significantly improve educational analyses and planning at all levels of the education and training system.
The Association for the Renaissance of Pulaar (ARP) in Senegal is strong evidence of people's motivation to read and write the language they speak. A grass-roots organization with a national board in Dakar and four dozen chapters throughout the country, the ARP has no paid staff and functions solely with volunteers. Its 5,000 members are an interesting amalgam of urban intellectuals educated in French and Arabic and Pulaar speakers in rural areas who have never been to school.

At a time when much of the discussion about literacy still revolves around its ability to help people meet their basic physical needs, the renaissance now occurring among the 2 million Pulaar speakers in Senegal is a valuable reminder of the importance of its affective qualities that sustain a sense of identity and community. In Africa, the issue of community is especially vital to speakers of languages that extend across national boundaries. From Senegal in the west to Sudan in the east, an estimated 13 million speak Pulaar, so any renaissance among those in Senegal has the potential to affect a much larger population.

The activities of the ARP have included open-air concerts with Pulaar musicians, collections of oral traditions on tape, theatrical presentations, and radio programs. As early as the mid-1960s, the ARP recognized the importance of literacy for the continuing vitality of the language and encouraged literacy classes, which depended on the local chapters for support and organization. With only minimal outside help, this local effort has been the most outstanding of the ARP's activities. The entire initiative has been self-propelled by numerous students and volunteer teachers.

The success of the ARP with literacy can be traced both to external pressure from other language groups and to the great importance of education and study in the culture of Pulaar speakers.

The external pressures experienced by Pulaar speakers would be familiar to readers in almost any African nation. In the complex linguistic environment of Senegal, French is the official language of state, and six African languages, including Pulaar, are recognized as "national languages." Among these, Wolof is spoken by the greatest number of people and has gained acceptance, especially in urban areas, as the lingua franca of Senegal.

In the years before independence, civil servants from many different areas of Senegal who had been educated in French institutions settled in St. Louis, Dakar, and other administrative centers, far from their place of birth. Many of them spoke Pulaar but found little opportunity to use their language because of the predominance of French and Wolof. The ARP grew from the desire of these civil servants to keep their language and culture alive and to bring the epic poetry of their ancestors into the world of their children.

The members' enthusiastic support of the literacy program is consistent with the historical importance of education among certain Pulaar-speaking groups. Those living along the Senegal River Valley in a region traditionally known as Fuuta Tooro have long placed great emphasis and value on study, first in Arabic and later in French. In contrast, pastoralists living in Ferlo, a region to the south of Fuuta Tooro, had long disdained formal schooling in any form and were among the last to send any of their children to French schools. Now that education is available in their own language, however, these people, too, have joined the ARP over the last six years.
In the 1980s the ARP has thus become a meeting ground for these disparate groups of Pulaar speakers who share the same enthusiasm for literacy.
After years of economic advance, most of Africa is sliding back toward poverty. Children are bearing the heaviest burden of the debt and recession of the 1980s, and many are being deprived of their most fundamental human right -- the right to grow and to develop to their full potential. This tragedy is manifested by the fall in the average weight-for-age of young children, a vital indicator of nutrition and growth.

In sharp contrast, in the region of Iringa, Tanzania, during the last five years the nutritional status of children has not deteriorated, but has significantly improved. Data from the community-based monitoring system show that between 1984 and 1988 severe malnutrition has been reduced by 70 percent and moderate malnutrition by 32 percent, and that the downward trend in malnutrition is being maintained.

The success of the program has been attributed to the following elements:

- Strong actions to create awareness and support at all levels through the use of village campaigns, mass media, training, and the involvement of cultural groups and leaders
- Monitoring systems that make the problems visible at all administrative levels and hence easier to discuss, analyze, and resolve
- Improved understanding of the causes of child deaths and malnutrition by decision-makers as well as parents and community members
- Strengthening of services in a few critical areas such as immunization, control of diarrhea and malaria, and child care and feeding
- Enlistment of important allies in the ruling party and government, as well as of specific functionaries such as division and ward secretaries and village health workers.

To increase and sustain people's capacity to tackle nutrition problems, the Iringa Nutrition Programme has disseminated information about nutrition, established village-based systems to monitor nutritional status and health, and provided training. The program is fully integrated into existing administrative structures. The village health committees, together with the village health workers, are responsible for implementing the program and for follow-up. Every three months they weigh all children under five years of age, compile the information on growth and child deaths, and discuss the reports with the village councils, which address the problems within their power. The reports are then sent to the higher administrative levels at the ward, the district, and the region, so that areas or villages with special needs can be identified and given extra support.

Areas in which the nutritional status of children and women is identified as crucial receive additional support:

- Maternal and child health services are expanded and improved with special emphasis on diseases responsible for maternal and child malnutrition and infant mortality.
- Water supply and sanitation is improved for households to reduce the risk of disease.
Households’ access to food is improved throughout the year.

Child care and development is promoted, especially the regular and frequent feeding of children.

Income-generating actions help organized groups of women earn income to improve family welfare.

Research focuses on its operational use in further program planning and implementation.

Management and staff are strengthened to ensure effective management of the program.

These actions have evolved in line with the continuous reassessment and analysis fueled by the village-based monitoring system.

As a result of the program, the nutritional status of infants and young children has markedly improved and child deaths have been reduced. Prevalence rates of underweight and severely underweight children in the second quarter of 1988 were 38 percent and 1.8 percent, compared with 56 percent and 6.3 percent respectively for the corresponding quarter of 1984. Perhaps of greater importance for the long term, the effort to mobilize villages and officials at all levels has increased the awareness of nutrition, and the ongoing monitoring system focuses the attention of decision-makers on the growth and development of children as part of their daily work.

The Iringa Nutrition Programme is expanding its activities beyond the original 168 villages to the entire region, and similar programs have been initiated in six other regions. Preliminary results of a study of this expansion confirm that it is both technically and financially feasible to adapt and transfer this approach to other areas.
TOTOTO HOME INDUSTRIES: WOMEN LEARN NEW SKILLS

Four years after the Mkwiro Women’s Group decided to start up a ferry service, their ferry was still afloat, but their business was sinking. They wanted to run a boat from their island off the southern coast of Kenya to the mainland to earn money for community development projects and provide transport to the health clinic that served their children.

Tototo Home Industries, a nongovernmental organization in Mombasa, was poised to help the women of Mkwiro keep both boat and business afloat. Mkwiro had already received training in group organizing from Tototo’s Rural Development Program, as had forty-six other women’s groups along the coast of Kenya. Now Tototo stood ready to give them training and technical assistance in business management.

Organized in the early 1960s by the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Tototo initially marketed the handicrafts produced by women in the town of Mombasa. When the current director, Elvina Mutua, joined Tototo in 1968, she saw that this activity had virtually no impact on the quality of life for rural women. She therefore began to work with rural women’s groups on community development and income generation. By 1987, Tototo’s community development program reached more than 1,200 women within a 200-kilometer radius of Mombasa, offering training in group organizing and leadership, a revolving fund for loans, assistance in health and family planning, and a savings club.

A 1985 study of the effect of the rural development program on the women’s groups concluded that the businesses established by the groups were barely viable. Like Mkwiro, many of the groups who had started businesses did not have the skills to maintain them or the ability to work creatively within or around the economic, social, and cultural constraints imposed on them as women.

These findings led Tototo to create a business management training program that enabled women to translate their knowledge of household enterprises into basic practices necessary for the successful operation of group businesses. It was based on Tototo’s long years of experience with women’s groups and on intensive anthropological research into those groups and the barriers that limited their ability to earn money. A key element was a pictorial accounting system that allowed nonliterate members of the groups to read project accounts and understand the allocation of dividends.

The staff began working with eight groups in 1986. Mkwiro was part of the second cohort of eight selected for 1987, and eight more groups began training in 1988. The results show that the businesses of the groups from the first two years performed far better after the training. Averages for the eight groups in 1986 reveal that dividends increased 500 percent from the first to the second year of training, with gross revenue doubling. Groups in this cohort paid out an average of US$700 in dividends to their members in 1986 and more than US$3,300 in 1987. To date, the second cohort has shown less dramatic results, but significant increases in both gross revenue and dividends are evident.

The new accounting system allowed the women of Mkwiro to track their actual expenses and to allocate their profit more effectively. And as both business performance and dividends improved they have begun to tackle other projects for community development.
Elsewhere in Kenya, Tototo has consulted with a broad range of nongovernmental organizations that also work with women’s groups. It has now begun to apply its training model to extension agents in Swaziland and Malawi.
Education in the 20th Century is being reshaped by the intersection of two great movements -- the explosion of modern communication and the growing interdependence of knowledge, behavior, and human health. For the first time in history we have the technology to reach millions in a single moment, and the wisdom to construct educational messages which can help people treat and prevent disease. The successful fight against lifestyle disease has opened our minds to a new kind of education which strengthens schools, clinics, and hospitals to empower people on a scale heretofore thought impossible.

Education is Fundamental to Disease Prevention

Preventable diseases caused by poor lifestyle decisions are among the most costly and deadly killers in the world today. They account for the vast majority of the world’s health care costs, premature death, and disease morbidity. Each of these diseases is linked through human behavior to knowledge and therefore to education. For example:

- Immunizable diseases kill approximately three million children each year. A four dosage immunization cycle administered prior to children’s first birthdays could save their lives. But mothers have to be informed, believe in and know when to get the immunization services. The is a primary job for education.

- Scientists in the United States of America estimate that 75 to 80 percent of cancer deaths in the United States are linked to lifestyle risk factors which could be reduced by changes in patient behaviors through education.

- Five to ten million people are estimated to be infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) associated with AIDS. The only cure or vaccine is prevention. People must learn what the virus is and how it is transmitted, and they must alter their own behavior to avoid infection. Education plays an important role in controlling AIDS.

Effective education teaches facts; it develops skills; and it motivates people to want to change their own unhealthy behavior. The evidence that education works to influence health behavior comes from a broad base of scientific research from various disciplines and professions. For examples:

- In Honduras, large-scale surveys showed that the use of a specific oral rehydration solution to treat diarrheal dehydration increased from zero to 40 percent of all episodes of diarrhea, one year after systematic public education was launched.

- In India, condom sales increased from fewer than 25 million in the late 1960s to more than 160 million in 1979. Seventy-five percent of these new sales were a specific brand called Nirodh, which was
introduced through a social marketing approach relying heavily on consumer education.

Mass Education is Now Accessible to All

It is estimated that over 16,000 radio stations and over one billion radio receivers are in operation throughout the world today. Television, once relegated to the rich, is now found in every nation on earth. In India, Brazil, and the Middle East, for example, television listenership has been dramatically expanded through more than three decades of creative rural programming. In Europe and North America, powerful health messages are competing with entertainment programming to educate millions on AIDS, cancer, and the environment. Satellite transmission, video recording, durable transistors, manifaturation, and a vast supply of batteries, even in the world’s poorest villages, have placed information, opinion, and persuasion at the fingertips of rich and poor alike.

The revolution of modern communication is not limited to physical technology. A parallel revolution in programming technology has expanded our capacity to teach and persuade. In Mexico, a rock video motivates adolescents to delay sexual activity; a lottery in The Gambia motivates thousands of rural women to learn a new remedy for diarrhea, and in Turkey mass mobilization increases immunization coverage. Listening groups, public service announcements, interactive radio in schools, mass mobilization campaigns, educational soap operas, rock videos, and instructional cassettes are only a few of the new mass education technologies emerging from countries around the world.

Mass Education for Development

Health professionals have learned to involve audiences in program design, to target messages at specific behaviors, to integrate mass media and interpersonal support, and to mobilize health services to meet the dramatic increase in demand created by successful mass education. Educators, agriculturalists, and politicians have also harnessed the power of mass education in the service of literacy, popular participation, energy conservation, and environment. Mass education models are persuasive and open new alternatives to all of those seeking to actualize and expand the potential of education to foster greater human improvement. Wherever knowledge and behavior inhibit human progress, mass education is now a new partner in the effort to empower and enlighten.
A chart of primary education enrollment in Bangladesh would show it to be funnel-shaped, like that of many countries throughout the world. Statistics may vary from one country to another, but the basic shape of enrollment does not. At the top of the funnel in Bangladesh, only 50 percent of the children of primary age enroll in school at all. A bit farther down, three-fifths of those who enrolled in first grade have left two years later without the skills needed for basic literacy and numeracy.

The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), one of the largest and most successful nongovernmental organizations in any country, is trying to reshape that enrollment funnel. It educates children whom government schools are not able to reach or retain, especially the poorest rural children. In 2,500 villages throughout Bangladesh, children eight to ten years old are studying in centers established under the BRAC Primary Education program. In the equivalent of first to third grade, they learn basic literacy, numeracy, science, social studies, health, and hygiene and at the end are ready to enter the fourth grade in government schools.

Daily attendance in these community classrooms exceeds 95 percent. More than 98 percent of the students who enroll in the first year of the program complete all three years, and almost all of them continue their education in a government school. Most of the students -- 60 percent -- are girls, and women make up a similar percentage of teachers, compared with 8 percent in the formal schools.

The Nonformal Primary Education program was designed to provide a low-cost alternative to government schooling and to demonstrate that it was a viable option until national resources could allow the expansion of formal primary education. It offers a curriculum appropriate to rural culture and needs, one that can be taught by paraprofessionals recruited from the community. Its learning environment does not alienate rural children, school hours are adapted to different local conditions, and parent groups oversee the organization and management of each center.

Several aspects of the program merit wider application to primary education in other poor, rural areas. With 85 percent of the BRAC school graduates now entering fourth grade in public schools, it can no longer be said that the rural poor do not value education. What they do value are a curriculum and a school schedule that responds to their concerns. They are willing to spend their time in parent meetings and their labor to maintain school facilities.

The program has also demonstrated that quickly trained paraprofessionals can be effective, provided they are given sufficient support. Even though the BRAC teachers are paid one-quarter of the average formal school salary and receive no benefits, they have a greater sense of self worth and are more respected by their communities. Less than 2 percent of the teachers leave the program each year, and those that do most often leave because their family is moving from the village.

The program currently costs about US$15 per student per year, and further expansion is expected to reduce this cost. Plans call for 3,500 schools by 1991, and some donors have requested that BRAC expand even faster.
The role of BRAC in the expansion has yet to be addressed, however. One question is whether BRAC should concentrate on replicating its existing approaches elsewhere in the country or continue to experiment with new ideas for reaching those still without schooling. These experiments include a preschool component and a program for older children (mostly girls eleven to fourteen years old).

BRAC is still a long way from assuaging the demand for education in rural areas. Quite the contrary, its program has actually augmented that demand as more and more people see possible alternatives to an exclusive educational system. Thanks to BRAC, the enrollment funnel now has a wider brim, but its transformation into an all-inclusive sphere will require a much more radical restructuring of national priorities and educational objectives.
PANEL ON GLOBAL EDUCATION

What is Global Education?

The aim of education for development, sometimes called global education is to prepare and equip students for life in a rapidly changing global society. It provides a holistic approach to education which is equally applicable and relevant in the South as in the North, and embraces disciplines which previously were seen as distinct but are in fact overlapping; for example development education, world studies, environmental education, futures education, gender education, health education, human rights education, multicultural education and peace education.

One of the most coherent presentations of the philosophy of global education emanates from the Centre for Global Education at York University, which identifies the aims of global education, in summary as consciousness of systems, perspective and a sense of process, awareness of the larger environment and readiness to see and grasp opportunities for involvement. Globality is defined by four principal and profoundly inter-related dimensions - three "outer" dimensions (those of space, time and issues) which interact dynamically, and are complementary and mutually illuminating with the fourth "inner" dimension of the individual. The spatial dimension focuses on the increasingly interdependent nature of the geographical world. The temporal dimension perceives past, present and future not as separate entities but as dynamically relating parts of a continuum. The issues dimension points out that most major contemporary global issues, (human rights, peace, environment, poverty, etc.) are profoundly interlocking. Finally, the inner dimension explores the globality of man, as "an emerging awareness of the world necessarily goes hand in glove with a growing level of self awareness."

In a global society, where change is occurring so quickly that it would appear essential to continuously reassess one's values, beliefs and patterns of behaviour, the question posed is: "Have we developed the capacities, insights and skills that would enable us to carry out that process of constant reassessment?" The Centre for Global Education suggests knowledge, skills and attitudinal objectives which comprise the most important components of global education and learning for the twenty-first century. Knowledge objectives cover not only economic and social development, but the environment, peace and conflict and rights and responsibilities - as well as a knowledge of systems and an awareness of self and the personal perspective. Preferred skills include information management, the development of personal potential, management of change, the making of informed decisions and the solving of problems. Attitudinally, the objectives include a positive self image, proper appreciation of diversity, commonality and the value of new perspectives, a tolerance of uncertainty, a willingness to explore and consider "alternate visions and versions of reality" and a world-mindedness which recognizes the interdependence of the world system.

Global Education places great emphasis upon the learning environment and the education process, giving free and equal rein to cognitive and affective learning, to the complementary capacities of reason and emotion, intellect and imagination, and analysis and intuition. In practical terms, this has led to the development of a wide and varied range of innovative classroom activities, to encourage communication, cooperation, negotiation, perspective sharing, and decision-making; role play, experiential and simulation activities to promote the exploration of one's own and others' perspectives and viewpoints, and the use of guided fantasy and visualization to activate values clarification, creative thinking and problem-solving processes.
Among their many tragic effects on individuals and societies, situations of war, civil strife, and organized violence create critical educational needs while making the delivery of education and other social services extremely difficult. The costs of war, in direct military expenditure and destruction of economic capacity, undermine all efforts at social development. Peoples fleeing violence raise a sudden need for education and other social supports in their temporary homes. Since the large majority of refugees are displaced within or between impoverished countries, high requirements for social services converge with low capacity to provide them.

The International Red Cross, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, and the UN High Commission on Refugees, and numerous other humanitarian groups continue to extend all possible relief and assistance, including educational programs, to those displaced by war and strife. But the numbers have swelled beyond measure. Whereas in the late 1970s, officially-recognized refugees numbered around 2 million, in 1988, some 14 million people could be classified as international refugees. Thirteen million among these fled violence in their homeland for poverty in neighboring countries. Few of these refugees will receive haven in more developed countries; most must make their lives and livelihoods in whatever way the local economy allows.

For those refugees that resettle from Asia, Africa, and Latin America to Europe and North America, educational needs include learning new languages, job skills, and about the social organization and cultural mores of their host countries. Programs in some refugee camps, such as those for Indochinese refugees in Southeast Asia, address some of these needs. But many people receive only minimal preparation for their new homes, as illustrated by the poignant case of a refugee parent in the U.S. running from the sirens of an approaching ambulance, with an injured child in his arms. On-going community efforts in basic education are required for refugees to adapt well to their new homes.

War and civil strife frequently separate women and children from men, putting women into new positions of authority in the family and community, under arduous circumstances. The need for information and problem-solving skills are high under such conditions, while the state of basic education may be low. In El Salvador, for example, 40% of families are headed by women, while the adult female literacy rate is 69%. UNICEF and other organizations have been working to provide basic education in health, income-generation, and community organization, which are critical to the lives of these families.

War and civil strife take a direct toll on education, disrupting systematic schooling and creating whole generations of semi-literate youth, struggling to survive in harsh circumstances. In 1981, there were over 4,000 primary schools and 37,000 teachers in Afghanistan. In 1985, after some rebuilding, only 792 schools were open, and the teaching force was just over 15,000. In Mozambique, nearly half a million students have lost access to education as 2,700 schools -- all but 45 of them primary schools -- closed as a result of violence from 1983 to 1987. As in other civil
wars, teachers and the intelligentsia of Mozambique have been special targets of violence; 200 primary teachers have been reported killed, and nearly as many kidnapped by anti-government forces. As peace is restored to this and other troubled lands, the question of who will teach the children and youth is central to rebuilding educational systems.

Children of strife have their own special needs, foremost among them the need to heal emotionally, to learn perhaps for the first time to be a child, to forgive their elders for the horrors they have known. A child whose parent has disappeared in the night cannot be expected to assume that adult authority is benign, nor will the young witness to murder necessarily find meaning in multiplication tables. These children for whom life has meant only danger, brutality, and dire poverty are not rare cases; they number into the millions. Basic education for these traumatized children must address their special emotional needs.
PRIVATE EDUCATION IN HAITI

Educational opportunities for the vast majority to Haitians have always been limited. Curtailed access and poor quality continue to characterize all levels of education in Haiti. Nationwide, only 60% of school-aged children are enrolled in primary school. In rural and disadvantaged urban areas, the problems are even more acute: fewer than 30% are enrolled. Covering only 25% of the recurring costs of educational financing, the Haitian government has been unable to meet the aggregate social demand for education and has concentrated its investments in urban zones. The private sector—consisting of the Catholic Church, Protestant missions, communities, and individual entrepreneurs—has responded to the unmet educational need. Approximately 60% of primary school enrollments are in private schools (and two thirds of these in religious-affiliated schools) that receive little—if any—government subsidy. Private sector schools in Haiti lack adequate number of qualified teachers, serve the poorest strata of students, and have few material resources.

To improve primary education, the national government, with external assistance, has developed a dual strategy:

1. The development of local institutions capable of organizing and servicing the large and historically fragmented private sector; and

2. The provision of direct support in terms of instructional materials and training to promote the identification of the most effective combination of inputs to improve school performance.

Two religious and one secular ongoing action have been assisted by the U.S. Agency for International Development to facilitate the organization of the private sector. These are the Commission Episcopale des Ecoles Catholiques (CEEC), the Federation des Ecoles Protestates d’Haiti (FEPH), and the Fondation Haitienne de l’Enseignement (FONHEP). The external assistance funds are allocated either in cooperation with these agencies or, in an increasing number of cases, directly to these agencies for their administration and disbursement.

Activities already taken that should have positive impact on schools and the goals of developing efficient, appropriate responses to support their needs, include the following:

- provision of teacher and school director training— in 1988-89, training was provided to approximately 1,200 teachers;
- publication of the Timoun Lakay newsletter to 800 preprimary teachers and public officials (with so many additional requests from non-project affiliated sources that the production quota was exceeded);
- "popularization" and dissemination of a national preschool curriculum for preprimary school teachers in Creole and development of practical activity and lesson plans;
- development of a framework to assess school needs at grassroot levels;
- development of a performance contracting mechanism in the schools, a methodology which has been incorporated by the World Bank into its Fifth Education Loan Plan;
- development of a battery of student achievement tests (in French, Creole, and mathematics) as well as teacher competency tests; and
- creation of parent-teacher communities in the schools to encourage active community involvements and support.
The institutional development component has proceeded at a much faster rate, far surpassing expectations and, in the process, somewhat redefining both future focus and activities. Even at this early date, it can be said with assurance that the impact of these activities on Haitian education has been notable and promises to be profound.

From an institutional standpoint, the creation of these private sector organizations clearly has responded to a perceived need in the international assistance community as well as in the hitherto disorganized private sector. Through their representation, the private sector has become a force in Haitian education whose impact has already been felt.

What began as an ecumenical working group of prominent Haitian educators has culminated in a new, albeit still inchoate, institution with educational impact and political influence. Organization of the disparate private education sector means that, for the first time, it can exert an influence on national decision-making commensurate with the role it actually plays in providing two-thirds of primary education places. The relationship between FONHEP and the Ministry of Education has already settled into a new, more equitable balance of power in which, according to a prominent Ministry official, private-public relations have never been better.

The result of private sector efforts and initiative will be the implantation of an enduring mechanism to attract and channel external assistance support, as well as to provide direct school support through information and resource sharing, rational planning and policy making, and coordination of educational improvement efforts.

In the efforts to identify and define the private education sector in Haiti, there has been a necessity to collect large amounts of data on schools, teachers and students. Although a complete management information system is not yet in place, a framework has been created for assessing teacher and student skill levels and performance improvements through a battery of tests, and a school profile and baseline data collection and analysis instruments have been developed through the school administration and evaluation programs. The result is that information and means of collecting and analyzing it (both through instruments and trained local staff) now exist where none had before.

The mode of private school improvement now being developed in Haiti is generalizable to other private school-government alliances elsewhere; however, it also has relevance to the more global interest in community involvement even where private schools do not exist. The emphases on efficiency, local participation, data-base decision making, and performance standards for schools are all characteristics of learning administration that can be applied in both the public and private sectors.
The Indian state of Kerala, with a population of about 28 million, presents a paradox to many population theorists. Kerala has lagged behind the other Indian states in industrialization, income, and urbanization. Yet its mortality and fertility rates have declined faster than those in the rest of India.

Kerala and West Bengal, the two most densely populated states of India, are well known for their traditional emphasis on education and their concern for social development. However, whereas West Bengal has always been more advanced than Kerala in economic development, its mortality level has been higher than that of Kerala.

The infant mortality rate (number of babies dying under the age of one year per 1000 births) in 1982 was 32 in rural Kerala, 93 in rural West Bengal, and 114 in rural India as a whole. The figures were lower in urban areas: 24 for Kerala, 52 for West Bengal and 65 for the entire country. Rural Kerala’s mortality level has been lower than that of rural West Bengal and rural India as a whole, at least since the third decade of the twentieth century.

Climatic conditions are not significantly different between these states. However, rural Kerala has a safer water supply than does West Bengal, and the Kerala tradition of drinking water that has been boiled with cumin seeds (jeerampani) and the water remaining after rice has been boiled (kanji) may have contributed towards lower morbidity and mortality.

In both Kerala and West Bengal, local medical facilities are popular, particularly in rural areas. They are aided to some extent by the state governments but depend mainly on the support of the general public. There is clear evidence that people in Kerala use their health facilities much more than do people in West Bengal. A major reason for the greater use of health facilities in rural Kerala is their easier accessibility, which depends to a considerable degree on the geographical area covered by each of them and on the availability of transport. Road and water transport is more extensive in Kerala than in West Bengal. Furthermore, there are more public service vehicles per unit of population in Kerala.

Education contributes towards better health, not only by imparting knowledge and encouraging the use of modern health facilities but also by inducing people to adopt sound habits of hygiene and sanitation and to give adequate attention to children’s welfare. Rural education, women’s education, and primary education are especially important in the fight to reduce mortality rates. In 1971, 76% of Kerala’s urban population aged five years and above were literate, compared with 62% in West Bengal. For the rural populations the corresponding figures were 69% and 52%. In the same year, 61% of Kerala’s rural females were literate, compared with 18% in West Bengal. In 1981, 74% of children aged 5-9 years in rural Kerala were enrolled in primary schools, whereas only 32% were so enrolled in rural West Bengal.

The resources allocated to education have always been greater in Kerala than in West Bengal. The proportions of expenditure on different sectors of education in the two states reflect their different priorities. Thus in 1969-1970, 59% of Kerala’s educational funds were spent on primary education, compared with 38% in West
Bengal. In the same year, the proportions going to university were 5% and 16% respectively. During the 1980s the priorities in West Bengal have changed considerably in favor of greater equity in educational services, but at least up to the end of the 1970s, these were more equitable in Kerala - an important factor contributing to the lower mortality in this state.

With regard to education, newspapers have perhaps been the most effective medium through which political awareness and openness to change have been generated. Indian newspapers, particularly those published in vernacular languages, have a long tradition of mobilizing public opinion on social, economic and political issues. In terms of the circulation of daily newspapers in the vernacular, Kerala has always been far ahead of West Bengal. Village schoolteachers have also played an important role in this connection.

Kerala provides a good example of good health at low cost, relative to other Indian states. The relatively rapid decline in mortality in rural Kerala, in comparison with that in West Bengal, can be attributed mainly to Kerala's more equitable distribution of health facilities and to their better utilization. This has been possible because of their greater accessibility, the more equitable distribution of educational services, and a higher degree of political awareness among the people in rural Kerala.

The more equitable distribution of educational services in Kerala can be traced to the relatively greater primary, rural and female-oriented educational structure in this state during both the British and post-independence periods. In West Bengal, at least until the late 1970s, there was an elitist, urban, male-oriented educational structure. The higher degree of political awareness in rural Kerala seems to have developed because of the peasant movement, stronger caste organizations, and a more equitable educational structure in this state.

The above analysis suggests that in countries or regions with large proportions of economically and socially deprived people, interventions aimed at reducing mortality should give higher priority to social equity, i.e., in the fields of education, health, transport and so on, than to economic equity. A decline in the mortality rate can be expected to contribute towards equity in economic development.

Mothers woke the head teacher of the Jabaliyah 'B' kindergarten at five a.m. on the morning of registration. Why wasn't she over at the school enrolling their five-year-olds? There was a limit to the number of five-year-olds this center could handle, and they wanted to make sure their children weren't going to miss the opportunity. Fathers had volunteered their labor and some materials to expand the facilities; yet the space still couldn't accommodate the demand.

These parents' enthusiasm for and involvement in preschool education are especially unique considering this community's location. Jabaliyah is a refugee camp for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories on the Gaza Strip.

Because of their tenuous status and unstable living conditions, refugees everywhere in the world often look to the international -- rather than the local -- community for basic services. They rarely have the chance to participate in the decisions that affect their lives or to take on the responsibilities of creating and sustaining their own institutions.

The Jabaliyah 'B' preschool and fourteen other similar centers in Gaza have encouraged the involvement of communities in each center's activities with the hope of building the base of an independent educational system.

These fifteen kindergartens are part of a program under the joint sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Save the Children Fund/UK (SCF), two international private voluntary organizations. Over the past two decades, these centers have reached more than 18,000 children, and they currently serve 1,600 every year or about one-seventh of the eligible five-year-olds.

The program's daily operations are carried out by Palestinians, who include the Director, head teachers, teachers, and teacher's aides selected from the communities around each center. Over the past several years, the program has given head teachers greater responsibility for the control of their center while involving parents more directly in the center's activities and operations.

Part of the reason communities have become more involved is due to the benefits parents have seen their children receive from the educational approach used in these kindergartens. Teachers in the elementary schools run by the United Nations Relief and Works Administration report that children from the AFSC/SCF preschools show a high degree of both social and academic development. These teachers want pre-school graduates in their classrooms, and some have begun to include pre-school techniques in their curriculum.

The pedagogical approach of the schools places great emphasis on meeting all of the developmental needs of the child, as opposed to other kindergartens in the area that offer, at one extreme, physical care alone and, at the other, academic training. This means that children learn through a diverse array of activities including not only pre-reading and numeracy exercises, but story-telling, field trips, and just plain play. The curriculum links the community and the classroom by using the immediate environment as both laboratory and source of instructional materials.

AFSC and SCF have recently established a Pre-school Resource Center to provide pre-school training to teachers throughout the
Gaza Strip. With experience gleaned from the kindergartens, the Resource Center is helping different communities develop the skills needed to improve or begin their own pre-school and daycare programs.

The Resource Center might also provide a vital nexus for the schools in the current AFSC/SCF program when they become independent, community-directed programs.
Many factors have been identified as responsible for the instructional poverty in schools, such as lack of textbooks, low teacher salaries, high absenteeism rates due to geographical obstacles or agricultural work. One highly important factor may be the poverty instructional practices of teachers. Lacking solid training, teachers may create an environment in which children (a) copy materials from the blackboard, (b) repeat in unison what the teacher says (sometimes in a language they barely understand), or (c) answer in unison facts-related questions on the material presented.

Verbatim repetition is a very ineffective method to retain material for long-term use, because the human mind shelves information in the long-term memory by classifying it on the basis of its meaning. In order for information to be remembered and later used in "real life" therefore, it must be (a) analyzed and understood and (b) its applications must be clearly explained. In many classrooms, children repeat strings of relatively unconnected material, the meaning of which is often not clear. This practice achieves neither long-term retention nor transfer of learning. As a result, children (a) tend to forget the material which did not make sense and (b) are unable to answer simple application and comprehension questions even if they remember the string of words. When formal examination or evaluation time comes, up to 60% of students in some countries may have to repeat the grade. The end result of repetition-based teaching strategies, therefore, is low internal efficiency.

Many countries have shown concern for the improvement of teaching practices and have attempted to improve them through inservice teacher training programs. These programs have often dealt with curriculum use rather than specific instructional practices. Even when instructional practices are dealt with the training often amounts to a simple, and highly effective instructional techniques must be developed or adopted for teachers.

Training teachers in both in and through these strategies is necessary if sustained effects are to be obtained. For reasons which are not clear, meaning-based teaching strategies seem to be uncommon, particularly in the developing world. Many students, even adults faced with subject matter to learn, merely read the material and repeat it. They do not restructure it, outline its main points, or connect it with other meaningful material. As a result, transfer of learning may be very poor. Teachers who do not use such strategies themselves, are unlikely to teach them to their students.

Many years of research on the subject of cognition have produced considerable insight on how to facilitate learning. The most recent answers of educational research to this problem have centered around how the information must be taken apart and elaborated on so that it will become memorable and useful. Simple strategies have been developed to help students and teachers make material memorable. Cognitive strategies can help a learner: (a) impose order on information; (b) extract the meaning of the material; (c) make as many
connections as possible with pre-existing knowledge and evaluate existing knowledge in light of the new material; (d) retain necessary but relatively meaningless items (e.g. foreign words); and (e) apply the information to daily life (e.g. the multiplication tables to the bazaar).

There is a large volume of data supporting the conclusion that children can elaborate on knowledge in all of these ways, provided they are clearly explained, with explicit, well-structured descriptions and demonstrations. Students also need to know when and where to deploy the procedures; otherwise, they may only execute them on demand. Elaboration to make the material meaningful is encouraged by (a) drawing implications from materials (b) explaining the difference between related and unrelated ideas (c) speculating about how ideas in materials might be used for practical purposes and (d) giving examples from everyday life. The use of elaboration skills is probably not automatic, rather, learners should be trained in it.

Some programs to teach learning strategies have been implemented in developing countries (e.g. Instrumental Enrichment in Venezuela) with positive results. These classroom strategies may be particularly important in very poor countries where materials are unavailable, classes are large, and there is very little a teacher can do other than make students repeat. How can the repetition process be changed to create maximum retention? In order to arrive at a workable methodology for the developing world, three questions must be answered: (a) How can appropriate learning strategies improve the quality of education in areas (e.g. rural sub-Saharan Africa) where there is a dire lack of materials and teaching is limited to repetition? (b) How can these learning strategies be taught and used in the long run by poorly educated teachers (e.g. teachers with 4th grade education in Northeast Brazil)? (c) What adaptations of these strategies are necessary for various developing countries?
Somalia - with an estimated per capita income of $190 - is one of the poorest countries in the world. The combination of an extremely fragile economy and government emphasis on the immediately productive sectors resulted in a sharp decrease in its investment in education over the last decade. Between 1984 and 1988 alone, the Ministry of Education's share of the ordinary (recurrent) budget declined from 8% to 1.5%. A similar decrease was realized in the capital/development budget, with less actually expended each year than allocated. The effects of this under-investment have become manifest in the form of increasing difficulty in recruiting candidates for teacher training, significant teacher absenteeism, reduced teacher morale and motivation, and school abandonment. Furthermore, these conditions, in an already deprived primary sub-sector, have led to increased student and parental rejection of the schooling. Primary enrollments have declined over the past eight years, and there is increasing evidence of that deterioration in the quality of primary education has taken a toll on subsequent levels of schooling.

Major donors' reluctance to invest in a sector increasingly undervalued by government, however, has led now to a reversal of government policy. In the past year (1988), teacher salaries were increased by 180 percent, raising education's share of the recurrent budget in 1989 to 4.5 percent. Further increases in government's contribution are a condition of the Fifth Education World Bank loan. The loan would be targeted on the primary sub-sector in three regions, (Lower Shebelle, Gedo, and Bay) providing funds for the production and distribution of textbooks and teacher guides; training of school inspectors, headmasters, and regional and district education officers; construction of housing for women teachers; and improving of the national examination system.

UNDP (United Nations Country Development Fund) will undertake to provide similar services to Middle Shebelle.

In 1986 the Ministry of Education, assisted by USAID's Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems Projects, developed a 'transitional strategy' to deal with the domestic financial crisis and the loss of external assistance from certain agencies. The "transitional strategy" drew on Somalia's unusually strong data base for planning that includes an Education and Human Resource Sector Assessment (1984), the Somali Civil Service Study (1984), the School Quality Enhancement Study (1985), and the Teacher Incentive Background Study (1986). The strategy was so well received that it was retitled the "integrated strategy" and accepted as the Ministry's main means of dealing with the challenges of rural and remote schools.

The Integrated Strategy was a response to the withdrawal of major donors from the education system and the substantial decline in enrollments in the primary subsector. It was designed to realize immediate improvements in the quality of primary education with or without substantial donor participation in the subsector. The strategy emphasized systematic provision of available inputs (teacher training, the new Reform Curriculum textbooks, teacher guides, teacher supervision, and teacher incentives) to schools. The first step in the operational plan was to develop teacher training modules in the Somali language and
mathematics for inservice programmes, based on the instructional approach of the New Reform Curriculum. These were finalized in 1988 and field tested in January 1989. The Teacher Training Department is now in the process of writing the Science, Arabic, and Islamic modules.

The strategy stresses integration of preservice and inservice teacher training; integration of the training curriculum with new teacher guides and textbooks; and integrated system of textbook development, printing, and distribution; and coordination of teacher recruitment, supervision, and incentives. The objective is to create the strongest field support system possible for primary teachers while encouraging local community support for schools and participation in their planning and administration.

The effects of the integrated strategy have been reinforced by a major policy change that encourages local financing and in-kind support for teachers, and schools. In addition, the Ministry's on-going studies of teacher incentives (monetary and non-monetary) and of the education management information system reinforces the strategy's probable effectiveness.

External assistance for the integrated strategy has been provided by such agencies as the World Bank, UNICEF, DANIDA, The British Council and USAID. While severe economic problems and current conditions of civil strife will continue to constrain Somalia's attempts to meet its basic learning needs, the integrated strategy greatly advances the opportunity for rural children to gain access to the knowledge and skills they require to play a role in building an improved future for their country.
Motivational Basis: Learning to Fly

Economic, political, social and very personal reasons motivate literacy learners.

In a village literacy center in Haiti, people expressed their motivations this way. One silvery-haired grandmother smiled wistfully and said in a quiet voice. "My children live far away and I want to learn to write so that I can tell them my secrets." A young woman stood proudly and answered, "I want to get a good job someday." A thin, wiry man raised his hand and said firmly, "I come to the center because of what happened in the Duvalier regime. If I learn to read and write, that kind of government will not be able to return." The literacy monitor encouraged another person to speak. Hesitating a little, the man answered, "So that my wife and I - well, so that we will be able to take a step forward together in life." On the other side of the class the wife grinned broadly.

Everyone in the center knew she was responsible for his presence there.

In Nicaragua, learners had similar reasons. When asked why they wanted to learn, a grandfather responded by waving his arm at his grandchildren and saying, "To be an example." One daughter, hesitating for a moment, searching for words, replied, "So when I go to market I won't be cheated ever again." Her husband answered, smiling at his newly printed letters on the page before him: "To defend myself, ... to learn about farming, and so I never have to suffer humiliation like before when they made me use my thumb to sign papers. "Now," he said proudly, "now, I can write my own name for all to see..." The child when asked the same question stopped for a long moment, looked up shyly, and said in a soft voice, halting as she spoke, "So someday ... well someday ... so maybe I can learn how ... to fly."
The profile of primary education enrollment in Bangladesh is similar to that of many countries throughout the world. Statistics may vary from one country to another, but the basic shape of the enrollment funnel does not. At the top of that funnel in Bangladesh, only 50 percent of the children of primary age enroll in school at all. A bit further down, three-fifths of those enrolled in first grade are gone two years later without the skills needed for basic literacy and numeracy.

The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), one of the largest and most successful national non-governmental organizations in the world, is trying to reshape that enrollment funnel into a sphere that embraces children whom government schools aren't able to reach or retain, especially the children of the poorest of the landless.

In 2,500 villages throughout Bangladesh, children eight to ten years old are studying in centers established under the BRAC Nonformal Primary Education program. In the equivalent of first to third grade, they learn basic literacy, numeracy, science, social studies, health and hygiene, and by the end, are ready to enter the fourth grade in government schools.

Daily attendance in these community classrooms exceeds 95 percent. More than 98 percent of the students who enroll in the first year of the program complete all three years, and only five percent of those completing the program do not continue their education in a government school. Most of the students -- 60 percent -- are girls, and women make up a similar percentage of teachers, compared with the eight percent of women who are primary teachers in the formal schools.

The Nonformal Primary Education program was designed to provide a low-cost alternative to government schooling in the hope of demonstrating that a nonformal model was a viable option until national resources could allow the expansion of primary education throughout the country.

The elements of the model were a curriculum appropriate to rural culture and needs that could be taught by paraprofessionals recruited from the community, a learning environment that did not alienate rural children, school hours that were adaptable to different local conditions, and community participation in the form of parent groups that oversaw the organization and management of each center.

The program has highlighted several aspects crucial to primary education in poor, rural areas that merit wider application. With 85 percent of the BRAC school graduates now entering fourth grade in public schools, it can no longer be said that the rural poor do not value education. What they do value are a curriculum and a school schedule that responds to their concerns. They are willing to spend their time in parent meetings and their labor to maintain school facilities.

The program has also demonstrated that quickly trained paraprofessionals can be effective, provided they are given sufficient support. Even though the BRAC teachers are paid one-quarter of the average formal school salary and receive no benefits, they have a greater sense of self worth and are more respected by their communities. Less than two percent of the teachers leave the program each
year, and those that do most often leave because their family is moving from the village.

The program currently costs about US$15 per student per year. BRAC anticipates that further expansion will reduce this cost, but the direction of the expansion at this point is not clear. Three thousand five hundred schools are now planned for 1991, and some donors have requested that BRAC expand even faster.

Crucial considerations about the role of BRAC in the expansion have yet to be addressed, such as whether BRAC should continue to experiment with new ideas for reaching those not yet reached or should concentrate its efforts on replicating existing approaches throughout the country. In addition to the first grade through third alternative, BRAC has also experimented with a pre-school component and program for older children (mostly girls 11 to 14 years old).

But these approaches are still a long way from assuaging the demand for education in rural areas. Quite the contrary, BRAC's experiment has actually augmented that demand as more and more people see possible alternatives to an exclusive educational system. Thanks to BRAC, the enrollment funnel now has a wider brim, but the true transformation of its shape into an inclusive sphere will require a much more radical restructuring of national priorities and educational objectives.
Four years after the Mkwiro Women’s Group decided to start up a ferry service, their ferry was still afloat, but their business was sinking. They wanted to run a boat from their island off the southern coast of Kenya to the mainland to generate income for community development projects and assure a regular connection with the health clinic that served their children.

Tototo Home Industries, a non-governmental organization in Mombasa, Kenya, was poised to help the women of Mkwiro keep both boat and business afloat. Mkwiro had already received training in group organizing from Tototo’s Rural Development Program, as had forty-six other women’s groups along the coast of Kenya.

In 1987, Tototo introduced a new aspect of its work with women’s groups -- training and technical assistance in business management. Tototo’s business skills training was specifically created for the needs of non-literate rural women, based on Tototo’s long years of experience with women’s groups and complemented by intensive anthropological research into those groups and the barriers that limited the success of their income generation projects.

Organized in the early sixties by the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Tototo initially marketed the handicrafts produced by women in the town of Mombasa. When the current Director, Elvina Mutua, joined Tototo in 1968, she saw that the marketing of handicrafts from individual producers had virtually no impact on the quality of life for rural women. She began to expand her organization’s focus to include community development and income generation work directly with rural women’s groups.

Prior to 1987, Tototo’s community development program reached over 1,200 women within a 200 kilometer radius of Mombasa, offering not only training in group organizing and leadership, but a revolving loan fund, assistance in health and family planning for a number of the groups, and a savings club program for group members.

A 1985 study of the effect of the rural development program on the women’s groups concluded that the businesses established by the groups were barely viable. Like Mkwiro, many of the groups who had started income generation projects did not have the skills needed to maintain them nor the ability to work creatively within or around the economic, social and cultural constraints under which they, as women, operated.

These findings led Tototo to revamp the income generation component of its program. Tototo created a business management training program that enabled women to rely on their existing knowledge of household enterprises and translate this understanding into basic practices necessary for the successful operation of group businesses. One of the key elements was a pictorial accounting system that allowed nonliterate members of the groups to read project accounts and understand the allocation of dividends.

The staff began working with an initial cohort of eight groups in 1986. Mkwiro was part of the second cohort of eight selected for 1987, and a third group of eight began training in 1988. The results from the first two years show that the businesses of the groups performed far better after the training.

Averages for the eight groups in 1986 reveal that dividends increased five hundred percent from the first to the second year of
training, with gross revenue doubling. Groups in this cohort paid out an average of US$700 in dividends to their members in 1986 and more than US$3,300 in 1987. To date, the second cohort has shown less dramatic results, but significant increases in both gross revenue and dividends are evident.

Elsewhere in Kenya, Tototo has worked on consultancies with a broad range of non-governmental organizations that, in turn, work with women’s groups. Tototo has already begun to apply its training model outside of Kenya with extension agents in Swaziland and Malawi. Through these efforts, Tototo hopes to show that it’s important not only to give credit but also training, where credit is due.
Background and Developments

China has a diversified system of adult education, in terms of operation, programs, mode of delivery, and clientele. Besides being operated in state and local government schools, adult education programs are also run by technical departments and other government agencies, enterprises, as well as other social groups and individuals. A variety of programs are offered to adults with different needs. Programs include: (1) compensatory basic education for workers with little schooling, (2) specialized secondary education and higher education with formal academic qualifications for adults, (3) on-the-job specific-skill training for workers, (4) continuing education with formal qualifications for workers to keep abreast of changing production conditions, and (5) non-vocational education for adults for personal enrichment. In addition to instruction in the classroom, adult education is also offered through the radio, television, and correspondence programs; there is also an examination system for self-taught students. Enrollees are mostly part-time or spare-time participants, full-time participants are relatively few. In China today, there are over 500 million people who are potential clientele of adult education. They include about 350 million young and middle aged farmers, 90 million workers of township and village enterprises, and 130 million urban workers.

The rapid development of adult education is a prominent feature of the overall development in education in China in the past decade. Literary education and technical schools for farmers have especially developed at a fast pace; and there are 29,000 cultural and technical schools for farmers now. In 1988, there were 14.59 million young and middle aged farmers receiving elementary technical training. In 1987, there were 1399 colleges of various types for adults with 1.86 million students, and 4742 specialized secondary schools with 1.65 million students. China education television began in October 1986. China now has one Central TV university, 36 provincial TV universities, and 540 TV universities at the prefectural and municipal levels. 179,000 students graduated from TV universities in 1987. Large numbers of self-taught students have sat in examinations at both the secondary and university levels since 1983. Finally, 23.7 million of government workers have taken at least 50 hours of on-the-job specific-skill training.

Two policy measures regarding the future development of adult education in China are noteworthy. First, training oriented to the requirements of specific jobs (or job-oriented training) will gradually become the focus of adult education so that workers will have training related to their specific jobs before beginning their work. Those who pass the examination in job-oriented training programs will be awarded certificates. Second, education institutions with adult education programs will continue to award qualifications, in the form of certificates; but certificates will be differentiated into three kinds. The first kind is awarded to trainees who have met the requirements of academic achievement for a certain level of education (e.g., specialized secondary education, and higher education). The second kind is awarded to trainees who have met the
requirements in a single subject within a field of study at a certain level. The third kind is for trainees who have met the requirements for a specific job.

In short, adult education in China is large in scale and is an integral part of the overall education system. Graduates receive certificates which are recognized in job recruitment and promotion. And training is oriented towards the acquisition of productive skills.

Expenditures on adult education in China

It is very difficult to estimate the total expenditure on adult education in China. First, adult education is offered by many institutions and organizations, some of which may not be identified. Second, there is generally a lack of data on expenditure on adult education programs. Thirds, even for education institutions with a good cost accounting system, the expenditure on adult education is often intractable because adult education is only one of several joint functions of the institutions.

Nevertheless, an approximate figure can be estimated for the total expenditure on on-the-job training for workers in government work units (such as government enterprises, departments, agencies, etc.). Such training covers adult education programs (1), (3), and (4) discussed previously for government workers in urban and semi-urban areas. In a government work unit, expenditure on adult training comes from two sources. First, a work unit is required to spend 1.5% of its wage bill on adult training. Second a worker pays 2% of his/her wage to the union, and 25% of the total union dues is spent on adult training programs. Thus, a total of 2% of the wage bill of a government work unit is spent on adult training. In 1987, the total wage bill for all government work units was 186.8 billion yuan. Thus, expenditure on adult training in government work units was 3.74 billion yuan (about one billion US dollars). This amounted to about 10% of total financial resources for education from all sources or about .3% of GNP in 1987.

Notes: (1) The figure, 3.74 billion yuan, does not included the direct and indirect costs of adult training for workers. (2) In 1987, there were 527.8 million people in the workforce, consisting of 390 million laborers in villages, 5.7 million individual laborers in small cities and towns, and 132.1 workers in urban and semi-urban areas (employed workers in urban areas and in small cities and towns). Among the 132.1 million workers in urban and semi-urban areas, 131.4 million were government workers and the wage bill for this group was 186.8 billion yuan. (3) No expenditure data are available on adult education for farmers in villages (i.e. rural areas) and for adults enrolled in specialized secondary schools and universities (mostly in urban or semi-urban areas). (4) If one makes the assumption that adult training for government workers accounts for about half of the total volume of adult training in China, then the total expenditure (excluding private costs) on adult education in 1987 would amount to 7.48 billion yuan (or about .6% GNP).
SUPPORTING AND GUIDING OUT-OF-SCHOOL TRAINING
THE SERVICE CONCEPT

In the mid-1970s, a new system for disseminating development information began to take shape, in the form of "Service Centers" (or Agencies). These new Centers had in common a perception that there was room for considerable improvement in the way development information was being transferred from the center to the grassroots, and more importantly in the minds of many educators -- in the way that community-based groups organize themselves to identify problems and gain access to the information and resources needed to solve them.

Recognizing those needs, several nascent Service Centers began work with little or no outside help. The Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre in 1974 was a new organization blessed with more talent than budget. Their service agency began selling its materials development and training services to other organizations, and to this day the service agency contributes to LDTC's overall running expenses. Nepal's Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education had an excellent series of literacy materials but virtually no budget for administering a literacy program. By providing their materials at cost to a variety of public and private development organizations, the Literacy Section has succeeded in linking literacy with the so-called core development needs of thousands of Nepalese.

Other service agencies were intentionally set up to address the recognized deficiencies in out-of-school training. Ecuador's National Institute for Campesino Training (INCCA) was created because the government recognized that their new integrated rural development program would be doomed if there were no organizational mechanism to address human resource issues. INCCA's contribution has been to strengthen the extension and training programs of all involved ministries, while at the same time linking training more closely than ever before to the country's research establishment. In the Gambia, the government drew on a study of literacy and numeracy needs of informal sector entrepreneurs for the design of its Nonformal Education Services (NFES) program. NFES staff cooperate with the training programs of virtually all departments of government to improve their effectiveness. From ox-ploughing instruction to holistic development theory, NFES staff use a wide range of technologies and participatory training approaches.

Some NGOs are functioning as service agencies. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) has a Training and Resource Centre (TARC) which conducts training sessions on need-based topics for landless peasants, government staff, and field staff of other NGOs. The size of the TARC program, which has been in operation since 1976, exceeds that of many national government programs. Another NGO program in operation since 1974, is the Centro al Servicio de la Acción Popular (CESAP) in Venezuela. CESAP, which covers about 60% of its budget from service income, annually offers hundreds of courses linked to social action for staff of development-related organizations and members of grassroots groups.

The service centers all have managed to accomplish what development planners have long espoused; they work across sectoral boundaries, and their efforts are focused on improving the quality of life at the grassroots. Their origins were diverse, and their sources of support are various. It remains to be seen what lies in their future.
Streets in the cities and town of Brazil are workplace and often home to an estimated seven million children. They are everywhere -- shining shoes, washing taxis, guarding parked cars, sorting through garbage for plastic bottles. Despite their ubiquitous presence, the public would rather not see them, and public authorities treat them as delinquents or misfits.

The problems of street children are not confined to Brazil. In other middle income societies throughout Latin America, such as Colombia and Mexico, the numbers of children living off the street are rising. While one-half of the world's estimated 30 million street children live in Latin America, street children appear wherever cities bulge with new immigrants from rural areas.

Throughout Brazil, several hundred community-based organizations sponsor programs that reach out to children on the street and try to find ways of helping children not only earn a living but also mature intellectually, socially and emotionally.

In 1981, UNICEF, the Government of Brazil, and the National Child Welfare Foundation began an effort to help these diverse programs learn from one another's experience. The Brazil Street Children Project also hoped to increase public awareness of children in difficult circumstances through broadening community involvement and enabling government agencies to be more effective.

Seventy programs have participated directly in the joint project. These programs differ in their philosophies, objectives and activities, but all share several features. Each program seeks to gain the child's confidence and then to solidify the bond between the child and the program through such things as meals, income-generating activities, health care, and discussion groups. Depending on the particular program, the child may then get involved in more formal training or employment. From initial contact onwards, the educational methods place primary emphasis on the child, not the program, as decision-maker.

The Salao do Encontro in the city of Betim, Minas Gerais exemplifies the type of program that has had the greatest success with street children -- one in which work is not only a means of generating income but also provides an education for life. The program produces a complete line of home furnishings and employs over 350 young people. The production process is labor intensive and tries to make use of locally-available resources. Young people not only manufacture the furnishings but also manage the enterprise. Salao do Encontro aims to build self-esteem through a positive attitude towards work. The program believes that this confidence creates a secure foundation for personal growth and development.

In order to assess the effect of this and similar programs, evaluators come up against the problem of how to determine whether a program's activities actually promote normal psycho-social growth; that is, whether they meet the long-term development needs of the child at the same time as they take care of short-term problems such as inadequate health care or insufficient income.

A 1986 evaluation of the Brazil Street Children Project isolated indicators of child development directly from field observations of eleven community-based programs. These indicators
covered social skills, career skills, personal growth and moral values.

Like Salao do Encontro, the programs that have the greatest success respond to the children's own needs, the first of which is income. In providing creative opportunities to earn a living, one reviewer noted that successful programs, "transform and dignify work itself". This view of work implies an educational aspect, not only to impart practical income generation skills but also to expose children to a broader community that will support their development and respect their individuality.

The Brazil project demonstrates that community-based organizations can work together and with the government to foster respect for street children and understanding of their plight throughout society. Advocacy efforts have taken the form of programs learning from one another as well as working together to change the attitude of the public towards children on the margins of society.

Rather than waiting for the federal government to act and bemoaning the lack of effective social institutions, community leaders and local government officials have begun to develop their own initiatives to help street children create new avenues of opportunity where once were only dead ends.
NGOs AND INDIA'S NATIONAL LITERACY MISSION

In January of last year, the Government of India announced a National Literacy Mission with the goal of imparting functional literacy skills to 130 million adults by 1995. In a country that holds half of the world's estimated one billion illiterates, the Mission marks a concerted effort to jump start a national literacy program and lay the foundations for a coordinated network of continuing education that incorporates both nongovernmental and governmental efforts.

The Mission targets 15 to 35 year-olds, among whom were 110 illiterates in 1981 or one-quarter of the country's total. The government expects that increased literacy in this group will have a catalytic effect both with the current generation and future generations.

The relevance of literacy as listed in the plan include such outcomes as increased participation of children in primary education, reduced infant mortality, heightened acceptance of family planning, as well as greater participation of women in the processes of development and social change.

Nongovernmental agencies play a substantial part in the Mission's strategy to reach this target audience and serve as nodes in a nascent, country-wide network. The plan anticipates the involvement of 2,000 NGOs in 1990, reaching 2.5 million people. In certain areas, NGOs will be given primary responsibility for coordinating all literacy activities.

The government anticipates NGO involvement in the development of learning materials and experimentation with innovative methods of teaching literacy. One NGO, PRIA, has already been identified as the national resource for training trainers of literacy instructors and supervisors.

Nongovernmental groups are also being asked to play a role in creating an environment conducive to learning, which ranges from fostering local-level participatory structures to mounting awareness campaigns.

Financial estimates for project expenditures through 1990 allocate ten percent of the Mission's funds directly to NGOs, five time the amount anticipated for a mass program that involves students and other volunteers. More than half of the general funds are dedicated to field programs and a fifth to continuing education, areas in which the government plans to involve nongovernmental organizations as well.

The Mission quotes Mahatma Gandhi, "Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated." The half century since he made this remark has shown that the metaphor of liquidating illiteracy is perhaps less appropriate than creating the conditions for spontaneous combustion. In its National Literacy Mission, the Government of India seeks those conditions, particularly through the increased involvement of nongovernmental agencies.
EDUCATIONAL AUSTERITY

The world economic recession and debt crisis of the 1980s have taken a toll on basic education, through absolute and relative reductions in education investment and through increasing pressure for economic activity by children and youth living in poverty. In Eastern and Southern Africa, median gross enrollment in primary education has fallen from 89% in 1980 to 83% in 1986. In most other developing countries, the signs of deterioration in primary education are less transparent than decreasing enrollment rates, but mounting evidence shows cause for alarm about the ability of primary education systems to meet the basic learning needs of those who enter them.

Different countries facing economic contraction have dealt differently with the education sector. While the percentage of government budget going to education has decreased in 63% of middle-income countries recently surveyed, among the least developed countries 61% have increased the share of national budget going to education. But this is a growing piece of a shrinking pie. Per pupil expenditure on primary education has fallen 50% in the least developed countries. Among middle-income countries, expenditure has dropped in 75% of African countries, 50% of the countries in Latin America, and 57% in Asia.

Accumulating evidence suggests that the result of declining per pupil expenditure is erosion in quality. Teaching conditions and remuneration are sliding backwards in the face of inflation, increased class sizes, and difficulty of some governments to meet payroll. Expenditure on teaching materials, already quite small in most developing countries, has dropped even further in the 1980s, to an average of less then $.60 per pupil in African countries, and only $3.00 per pupil in two much better endowed Asian countries. Restrictions on capital expenditure within the education sector have meant not only that new schools are not being built, but that old buildings are crumbling. A survey in one district of a low-income African country showed that 87% of the school buildings were in a state of extreme disrepair.

The effects of declining quality are beginning to tell in reduced efficiency and increased dropout rates. In half of the least developed countries, the average length of study required to produce one primary school graduate has increased in the past five years, which reflects growing inefficiency. Anecdotal evidence from Latin America and Africa suggest that rates of primary school completion, already as low as 30%-60% in many Latin American countries, may be falling as children leave school to assume economic activity.
In 1980, toxic chemicals from the tannery in the town upstream from Larry Wilson's farm had turned Yellow Creek black. Fish died, and some of Wilson's calves did, too, after drinking the polluted waters. Most people in the hills and hollows that bordered this creek in southeastern Kentucky were afraid to speak out -- afraid that their lack of education and poverty were no match for the tannery's science and the town's prized industry.

Wilson rallied his neighbors and formed the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens. They conducted health surveys, lobbied the federal government to intervene and finally forced the tannery to correct its abuses. Now that the town, prompted by Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens, has built a new sewage treatment plant, the waters are once again clear.

To learn the organizing and research skills necessary for the survival of their community, Wilson and other members of Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens attended educational workshops at the Highlander Resource and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee. The environmental effects of hazardous industries has become a central focus of Highlander's programs over the past ten years, not so much by design but due to the shifting concerns of the community groups Highlander serves.

Highlander has worked in the poorest regions of the United States for over half a century. Southern Appalachia and the rural areas that make up the "deep" South are part of the third world of North America -- infant mortality rates are higher and literacy rates lower than in any other regions.

Current economic trends have brought about de-industrialization as textile mills relocate to Asia and coal mines shut down due to lack of demand. Economic development for the region has depended on attracting heavy industry into areas where labor is cheap and investment in expensive manufacturing plants is secure because of a stable political environment. But, as Yellow Creek concerned citizens discovered, this has been at the expense of the environment.

Highlander's educational process builds upon the cultural foundations shared by members of local groups -- oral history, songs, drama, dance -- and uses these as a way of building confidence and conviction. Highlander has used its educational programs to help local groups understand the problems they confront, learn from others who've faced similar problems, experiment with new ideas, and finally build organizations that help define what responsible development means.

While the content varies according to the needs of different groups, the format is consistent. Residential workshops take place at the Center, lasting from two days to eight weeks. The number of participants ranges from 15 to 40 and includes representatives from diverse communities who share a common concern.

This was the same format Highlander relied on during the 1950's and early 1960's when it was known as the educational center of the civil rights movement in the United States. This is also the format used currently in its Southern Appalachian and Leadership Training, which has become the most successful leadership training program in the South. So far, 150 leaders of grassroots organizations have completed this series of six weekend workshops. The workshops cover the creation of learning plans, communication skills, community analysis and research,
using power analysis to define problems, and project design.

Larry Wilson is now helping Highlander with a new series of residential workshops, called "Stop the Pollution" or STP seminars. These workshops have included representatives from grassroots organizations not only in the South, but throughout the US, and the demand for the workshops, now in their second year, far exceeds what is currently being offered.

The thirty five participants in a recent workshop came from 10 states and included Native Americans, Blacks, Cajuns, Creoles, and Appalachians. The major themes they discussed ranged from disinformation to the health effects of toxic chemical on children. Similar workshops will be held every month throughout 1989.

The seminars are not graded, and the one criteria of their success is whether or not participants carry out the decisions made during the workshops. Based on this, the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens receive high marks, as do similar groups in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee who have stopped pollution and started economic development that responds to both environmental and human concerns.
A RENAISSANCE IN SENEGAL

The existence of an organization like the Association for the Renaissance of Pulaar (A.R.P.) in Senegal is strong evidence of people's motivation to read and write the language they speak. A grassroots organization with a national board in Dakar and four dozen chapters throughout the country, the A.R.P. has no paid staff and functions solely on the voluntary efforts of its five thousand members. The organization is an interesting amalgam of urban intellectuals educated in French and Arabic and Pulaar speakers in rural areas who have never been to school.

At a time when much of the discussion about literacy still revolves around its ability to help people meet their basic physical needs, the renaissance now occurring among the two million Pulaar speakers in Senegal can serve as a valuable reminder of the importance of those affective qualities that sustain the fundamental requirements of identity and community.

In Africa, the issue of community is especially vital to speakers of languages that extend across national boundaries. From Senegal in the west to Sudan in the east, the numbers of Pulaar speakers are estimated at thirteen million, so any renaissance occurring in Senegal has the potential to affect a much larger population.

The activities of the A.R.P. have included open-air concerts with Pulaar musicians, collections of oral traditions on tape theatrical presentations, and radio programs. As early as the mid-sixties, the A.R.P. added basic literacy in Pulaar to its other activities in recognition of the importance of literacy to the continuing vitality of the language. To do this, the national board encouraged the formation of local literacy classes, which were all dependent on the local chapters for support and organization.

The effectiveness of the local effort with only minimal outside support has been the most outstanding hallmark of the A.R.P.'s activities, as the entire initiative has been self-propelled by numerous students and volunteer teachers.

The success of the A.R.P. in raising its members' consciousness about literacy can be traced to both external pressure from other language groups and a long history in the culture of Pulaar speakers that has given great importance to education and study.

The external pressures experience by Pulaar speakers would be familiar to readers in almost any African nation. The linguistic environment of Senegal is complex. French serves as the official language of state while six African languages, including Pulaar, are recognized as "national languages". Among these, Wolof is spoken by the greatest number of people and has gained acceptance, especially in urban areas, as the lingua franca of Senegal.

In the years prior to independence, civil servants from many different areas of Senegal who had been educated in French institutions settled in St. Louis, Dakar, and other administrative centers, far from their place of birth. Many of those serving spoke Pulaar, but found there was little impetus to preserve their language due to the predominance of French and Wolof. The A.R.P. grew from the reaction of these civil servants to their new home coupled with their desire to keep a language, and thus a culture, alive and able to embrace not only the epic poetry of their ancestors but the world of their children.
The members’ embrace of the literacy program is not surprising, considering the historical importance of education among certain Pulaar-speaking groups. Those living along the Senegal River Valley in a region traditionally known as Fuuta Tooro have long placed great emphasis and value on study, first in Arabic and later in French.

In contrast to Pulaar speakers from the River Valley, herders have joined the movement more recently. Traditionally, pastoralists living in the Ferlo, a region just to the south of the Fuuta Tooro, had long disdained formal schooling in any form and were among the last to send any of their children to French schools. However, now that education is available in their own language, the participation of herders has been integral to the efforts of the A.R.P. over the last six years.

These disparate sources have shaped the A.R.P. of the nineteen eighties. The organization has become a meeting ground between Pulaar speakers who have been educated in French, those who have not been to school at all, whether from the River Valley, Ferlo, or urban areas. Because they all share the same enthusiasm for literacy, each group has been able to find common ground and promote literacy for all speakers of Pulaar.
Over the past twenty years the International Evaluation Association (IEA) has been a leader in the development of comparable measures of learning among developed and developing countries. Their work on reading and science in the 1970s had a galvanizing effect in that it documented the relatively low level of measured achievement among certain developed nations and especially the low science scores of many countries relative to Japan, Australia, and the Federal Republic of Germany. While extensive debates followed concerning the accuracy and interpretation of these comparisons, they are credited with directing a new emphasis toward education and, within education, toward indicators of measured achievement.

Now, over 35 countries have agreed to participate in a new IEA project designed to assess the reading literacy standards and practices of 9 and 14 year olds in their countries. An International Steering Committee made up of members from New Zealand, Sweden, USA, Venezuela, the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia and Fiji, has designed a four-year study, and the International Coordinating Center has been established in Hamburg.

The priority aims of the project are:

1. To develop a valid set of measures of reading-literacy, suitable for determining the literacy levels and practices of people in many countries. At present, countries differ in the way they report and interpret literacy levels, and (widely differing conclusions are drawn accordingly). IEA has developed policies, which allow for collaborative efforts at each stage of the project, to ensure that the instruments are as internationally valid as possible.

2. To estimate, for all participating countries, the percentages of students reading at specified levels of literacy. The project designers see literacy as a continuum, - not an all or nothing achievement, - and tied to the expectations and needs of each society. While a standardized set of literacy tasks and questionnaires will be used, each country will set its own expected levels of performance to aid interpretation of results. International comparisons of standards will also be made across educational systems.

3. To determine how much reading is undertaken by students in each country, for what purposes and in which contexts. A measure of typical reading activities will be administered to all participants, and used as one outcome indicator of the literacy scene in each country.

4. To identify the home, school, and society influences which are most closely related to the literacy levels and habits of 9-year olds in each country. Multivariate analyses will reveal, for instance, the extent to which various pedagogical and school policies are effective, over and above the influences of home and society variables. An international study provides the opportunity to compare policies which are uniform within countries, but differ between countries.

5. To establish a baseline data bank for each country, so that changes in literacy over time can be measured in the future. The hard data in literacy could also be related to various indicators of health, economics and other aspects of education and culture.

The definition of reading literacy adopted by the Steering Committee is "the ability to understand and use those written forms of language which are expected
by society and/or valued by the individual."

In all societies, individuals encounter the need for such literacy abilities in home, school, work, and society at large, and those who cannot understand and use print are usually at a considerable disadvantage. The specific tasks included in the reading-literacy tests will sample across the four common spheres of reading activity - home, school, work, and society - and the tasks set will include the processing of continuous prose (eg. narrative and expository) and of documents (eg. tables, directories, signs, recipes). The nine year old samples will be given tests of their ability to match pictures with print, and of their ability to read "environmental print" - public signs and notices. Other national option tests may supplement the international core tests, where desired.

The tests and questionnaires will be pilot tested and then given to nationally representative samples of students who will be selected from the grades in which the modal age is 9 and 14 years in the 8th month of the school year. The sampling procedures for each country will be carefully monitored by an international referee.

The main testing activities will take place in 1990 and 1991, and it is planned to produce a brief report of the major findings in June 1992. A fuller volume of results will be completed by December 1992. The expected findings will include indicators of levels of literacy in each country, international comparisons of levels, practices and policies, information on the influence of different school and national policies, and interpretations of these findings.

Paralleling the IEA effort is the activity on international indicators being conducted by the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. The CERI project emphasizes the development of educational indicators for individual countries, but with special attention paid to their international comparability in terms of definition, operationalization, data collection, and measurement.

While long-term plans are directed toward development of an international educational indicators program, regional programs have already begun to develop. In November 1988 a working group of the Nordic Committee of Education Statistics agreed to test a few common indicators within the 1989 school year.

Recognizing that such activities must not usurp individual country interests in data collection and use, the IEA and CERI activities do point the way to greater intranational and international comparability of educational statistics. The effect of better measurement and evaluation techniques that should result from these efforts will be a positive force for educational analyses and planning at all levels of the education and training system.
IMPROVING CHILD SURVIVAL AND NUTRITION IN TANZANIA

After years of economic advance, most of Africa is sliding back towards poverty. Children are bearing the heaviest burden of the debt and recession of the 1980s and many are being deprived of their most fundamental human right - the right to grow and to develop to their full human potential. This tragedy is manifested by the fall in the average weight-for-age of young children, a vital indicator of normal growth.

In the region of Iringa, Tanzania, the trend in weight-for-age is in sharp contrast. During the last five years in Iringa, the nutritional status of children has not only not deteriorated, it has significantly improved. Data from the community-based monitoring system show that between 1984 and 1988 severe malnutrition has been reduced by 70% and moderate malnutrition by 32%, and that the downward trend in malnutrition is being maintained.

The success of the programme has been attributed to the following key elements:

1. Strong advocacy and awareness-creating actions at all levels, including village campaigns, mass media actions, training, use of cultural groups and involvement of leaders;
2. The emphasis on monitoring systems that make the problems visible at all levels and hence easier to discuss, analyze and act upon;
3. Improved understanding of the causes of child deaths and malnutrition through better conceptualization - and, hence, understanding - of the problem by decision-makers as well as parents and community members;
4. Support to strengthening of services within a few critical areas such as immunization, diarrhea and malaria control, and child care and feeding;
5. Involvement and support in all the above activities to "mobilize agents", including important "allies" in the Party and Government, as well as specific functionaries such as Division and Ward Secretaries and Village Health Workers.

The Iringa Nutrition Programme is fully integrated into existing administrative structures. In the villages, the Village Health Committees, together with the Village Health Workers, are responsible for programme implementation and follow-up. Every three months they weigh all children under five years of age, compile the growth monitoring and child death information and discuss the reports with the village Councils, which then take action within their power to address the problems which have been identified. The reports are then sent to the higher administrative levels, which include the Ward, the District and the Region, so that problem areas or villages can be identified and provided with special support.

Critical activities aimed at increasing and sustaining people's capacity to tackle nutrition problems have included actions to increase accessibility to information about nutrition, the establishment of village-based nutritional status and health monitoring systems and integrated training. The programme also provides support to areas identified as crucial for the improvement of the nutritional status of children and women. These are:

- Maternal and Child Health - aimed at expanding and improving health services, with special emphasis on those disease factors responsible for maternal and child
malnutrition and infant mortality;

- Water and Environmental Sanitation - to improve the environment of the households in order to reduce disease-related risk factors;
- Household Food Security - to improve household accessibility to food throughout the year;
- Child Care and Development - especially to promote regular and frequent feeding of children;
- Income Generating Actions - directed at organized groups of women to increase income to be spent on improving family welfare;
- Research - focusing on operational research for use in further programme planning and implementation;
- Management and Staff - to ensure effective management of the programme.

The specific actions in these various areas have evolved in line with the process of continuous re-assessment and re-analysis fueled by the village-based monitoring system.

The main finding of the evaluation is that in the programme there has been a marked improvement in the nutritional status of infants and young children and a reduction of child deaths. Prevalence rates of underweight and severely underweight children in the second quarter of 1988 were 38% and 1.8% as compared with 56% and 6.3% respectively, for the corresponding quarter of 1984. The transformation of the conditions of life can be directly traced to activities strengthened by the programme.

Secondly, and perhaps of greater importance for the long term, the evaluation found that, owing to a major effort to mobilize villages and officials at all levels, awareness of nutrition has been enhanced and, through the ongoing monitoring system, decision-makers are consciously considering the growth and development of children as an objective in their daily work. Looking at the Iringa Nutrition Programme’s efforts to expand its activities beyond the original 168 villages to the entire region, the evaluation also concluded that the approach tested in Iringa can be adapted and transferred to other areas. Child Survival and Development programmes have already been initiated in six other regions using the basic elements of the approach developed in Iringa. The preliminary results of a study of this expansion confirm both the technical and financial feasibility of such expansion.
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| LESOTHO BOX 4114 7-12-89 6:16p |
| TOTOTO BOX 5055 7-11-89 6:49p |
| TANZANIA BOX 6545 7-12-89 6:02p |
29 June 1989

Nat J. Colletta, Deputy Executive Secretary
World Conference on Education for All
Unicef House
3 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Nat:

Enclosed please find the Highlander and Brazil boxes. I've also included the first two boxes to show you what they look like from a laser printer.

I'm now working on the NGO policy of the Indian government and the Middle East box. I'll do my best to have both of these as well as the Africa and Philippine boxes finished by next Friday. I can guarantee the former but not the latter due to the availability of information. However, as I told you over the phone, I'll try to get them all done for your external review.

I'll call you tomorrow to make sure you received this package. Have a good weekend.

Sincerely,

David Eddy
STREETS CHILDREN IN BRAZIL

Streets in the cities and towns of Brazil are workplace and often home to an estimated seven million children. They are everywhere -- shining shoes, washing taxis, guarding parked cars, sorting through garbage for plastic bottles. Despite their ubiquitous presence, the public would rather not see them, and public authorities treat them as delinquents or misfits.

The problems of street children are not confined to Brazil. In other middle income societies throughout Latin America, such as Colombia and Mexico, the numbers of children living off the street are rising. While one-half of the world's estimated 30 million street children live in Latin America, street children appear wherever cities bulge with new immigrants from rural areas.

Throughout Brazil, several hundred community-based organizations sponsor programs that reach out to children on the street and try to find ways of helping children not only earn a living but also mature intellectually, socially and emotionally.

In 1981, UNICEF, the Government of Brazil, and the National Child Welfare Foundation began an effort to help these diverse programs learn from one another's experience. The Brazil Street Children Project also hoped to increase public awareness of children in difficult circumstances through broadening community involvement and enabling government agencies to be more effective.

Seventy programs have participated directly in the joint project. These programs differ in their philosophies, objectives and activities, but all share several features. Each program seeks to gain the child's confidence and then to solidify the bond between the child and the program through such things as meals, income-generating activities, health care, and discussion groups. Depending on the particular program, the child may then get involved in more formal training or employment. From initial contact onwards, the educational methods place primary emphasis on the child, not the program, as decision-maker.

The Salao do Encontro in the city of Betim, Minas Gerais exemplifies the type of program that has had the greatest success with street children -- one in which work is not only a means of generating income but also provides an education for life. The program produces a complete line of home furnishings and employs over 350 young people. The production process is labor intensive and tries to make use of locally-available resources.

Young people not only manufacture the furnishings but also manage the enterprise. Salao do Encontro aims to build self-esteem through a positive attitude towards work. The program believes that this confidence creates a secure foundation for personal growth and development.

In order to assess the effect of this and similar programs, evaluators come up against the problem of how to determine whether a program's activities actually promote normal psycho-social growth; that is, whether they meet the long-term development needs of the child at the same time as they take care of short-term problems such as inadequate health care or insufficient income.

A 1986 evaluation of the Brazil Street Children Project isolated indicators of child development directly from field observations of eleven community-based programs. These indicators covered social skills, career skills, personal growth and moral values.

Like Salao do Encontro, the programs that have the greatest success respond to the children's own needs, the first of which is income. In providing creative opportunities to earn a living, one reviewer noted that successful programs, "transform and dignify work itself". This view of work implies an educational aspect, not only to impart practical income generation skills but also to expose children to a broader community that will support their development and respect their individuality.

The Brazil project demonstrates that community-based organizations can work together and with the government to foster respect for street children and understanding of their plight throughout society. Advocacy efforts have taken the form of programs learning from one another as well as working together to change the attitude of the public towards children on the margins of society.

Rather than waiting for the federal government to act and bemoaning the lack of effective social institutions, community leaders and local government officials have begun to develop their own initiatives to help street children create new avenues of opportunity where once were only dead ends.

Approximately 700 words
In 1980, toxic chemicals from the tannery in the town upstream from Larry Wilson's farm had turned Yellow Creek black. Fish died, and some of Wilson's calves did, too, after drinking the polluted waters. Most people in the hills and hollows that bordered this creek in southeastern Kentucky were afraid to speak out -- afraid that their lack of education and poverty were no match for the tannery's science and the town's prized industry.

Wilson rallied his neighbors and formed the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens. They conducted health surveys, lobbied the federal government to intervene and finally forced the tannery to correct its abuses. Now that the town, prompted by Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens, has built a new sewage treatment plant, the waters are once again clear.

To learn the organizing and research skills necessary for the survival of their community, Wilson and other members of Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens attended educational workshops at the Highlander Resource and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee. The environmental effects of hazardous industries has become a central focus of Highlander's programs over the past ten years, not so much by design but due to the shifting concerns of the community groups Highlander serves.

Highlander has worked in the poorest regions of the United States for over half a century. Southern Appalachia and the rural areas that make up the 'deep' South are part of the third world of North America -- infant mortality rates are higher and literacy rates lower than any other region.

Current economic trends have brought about deindustrialization as textile mills relocate to Asia and coal mines shut down due to lack of demand. Economic development for the region has depended on attracting heavy industry into areas where labor is cheap and investment in expensive manufacturing plants is secure because of a stable political environment. But, as Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens discovered, this has been at the expense of the environment.

Highlander's educational process builds upon the cultural foundations shared by members of local groups -- oral history, songs, drama, dance -- and uses these as a way of building confidence and conviction. Highlander has used its educational programs to help local groups understand the problems they confront, learn from others who've faced similar problems, experiment with new ideas, and finally build organizations that help define what responsible development means.

While the content varies according to the needs of different groups, the format is consistent. Residential workshops take place at the Center, lasting from two days to eight weeks. The number of participants ranges from 15 to 40, including representatives from diverse communities who share a common concern.

This was the same format Highlander relied on during the 1950's and early 1960's when it was known as the educational center of the civil rights movement in the United States. This is also the format used currently in its Southern Appalachian and Leadership Training, which has become the most successful leadership training program in the South. So far, 150 leaders of grassroots organizations have completed this series of six weekend workshops. The workshops cover the creation of learning plans, communication skills, community analysis and research, using power analysis to define problems, and project design.

Larry Wilson is now helping Highlander with a new series of residential workshops, called "Stop the Pollution" or STP seminars. These workshops have included representatives from grassroots organizations not only in the South, but throughout the US, and the demand for the workshops, now in their second year, far exceeds what is currently being offered.

The thirty five participants in a recent workshop came from 10 states and included Native Americans, Blacks, Cajuns, Creoles, and Appalachians. The major themes they discussed ranged from disinformation to the health effects of toxic chemicals on children. Similar workshops will be held every month throughout 1989.

The seminars are not graded, and the one criteria of their success is whether or not participants carry out the decisions made during the workshop. Based on this, the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens receive high marks, as do similar groups in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee who have stopped pollution and started economic development that responds to both environmental and human concerns.

Approximately 700 words
Four years after the Mkwiro Women's Group decided to start up a ferry service, their ferry was still afloat, but their business was sinking. They wanted to run a boat from their island off the southern coast of Kenya to the mainland to generate income for community development projects and assure a regular connection with the health clinic that served their children.

Tototo Home Industries, a non-governmental organization in Mombasa, Kenya, was poised to help the women of Mkwiro keep both boat and business afloat. Mkwiro had already received training in group organizing from Tototo's Rural Development Program, as had forty-six other women's groups along the coast of Kenya.

In 1987, Tototo introduced a new aspect of its work with women's groups -- training and technical assistance in business management. Tototo's business skills training was specifically created for the needs of non-literate rural women, based on Tototo's long years of experience with women's groups and complemented by intensive anthropological research into those groups and the barriers that limited the success of their income generation projects.

Organized in the early sixties by the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Tototo initially marketed the handicrafts produced by women in the town of Mombasa. When the current Director, Elvina Mutua, joined Tototo in 1968, she saw that the marketing of handicrafts from individual producers had virtually no impact on the quality of life for rural women. She began to expand her organization's focus to include community development and income generation work directly with rural women's groups.

Prior to 1987, Tototo's community development program reached over 1,200 women within a 200 kilometer radius of Mombasa, offering not only training in group organizing and leadership, but a revolving loan fund, assistance in health and family planning for a number of the groups, and a savings club program for group members.

A 1985 study of the effect of the rural development program on the women's groups concluded that the businesses established by the groups were barely viable. Like Mkwiro, many of the groups who had started income generation projects did not have the skills needed to maintain them nor the ability to work creatively within or around the economic, social and cultural constraints under which they, as women, operated.

These findings led Tototo to revamp the income generation component of its program. Tototo created a business management training program that enabled women to rely on their existing knowledge of household enterprises and translate this understanding into basic practices necessary for the successful operation of group businesses. One of the key elements was a pictorial accounting system that allowed non-literate members of the groups to read project accounts and understand the allocation of dividends.

The staff began working with an initial cohort of eight groups in 1986. Mkwiro was part of the second cohort of eight selected for 1987, and a third group of eight began training in 1988. The results from the first two years show that the businesses of the groups performed far better after the training.

Averages for the eight groups in 1986 reveal that dividends increased five hundred percent from the first to the second year of training, with gross revenue doubling. Groups in this cohort paid out an average of US$700 in dividends to their members in 1986 and more than US$3,300 in 1987. To date, the second cohort has shown less dramatic results, but significant increases in both gross revenue and dividends are evident.

The new accounting system allowed the women of Mkwiro to track their actual expenses and to allocate their profit more effectively. The group has since begun to work on other projects, as the improvement in both business performance and dividends enabled them to tackle community development efforts.

Elsewhere in Kenya, Tototo has worked on consultancies with a broad range of non-governmental organizations that, in turn, work with women's groups. Tototo has already begun to apply its training model outside of Kenya with extension agents in Swaziland and Malawi. Through these efforts, Tototo hopes to show that it's important not only to give credit, but also training, where credit is due.

Approximately 750 words
The profile of primary education enrollment in Bangladesh is similar to that of many countries throughout the world. Statistics may vary from one country to another, but the basic shape of the enrollment funnel does not. At the top of that funnel in Bangladesh, only 50 percent of the children of primary age enroll in school at all. A bit further down, three-fifths of those enrolled in first grade are gone two years later without the skills needed for basic literacy and numeracy.

The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), one of the largest and most successful national non-governmental organizations in the world, is trying to reshape that enrollment funnel into a sphere that embraces children whom government schools aren’t able to reach or retain, especially the children of the poorest of the landless.

In 2,500 villages throughout Bangladesh, children eight to ten years old are studying in centers established under the BRAC Non-formal Primary Education program. In the equivalent of first to third grade, they learn basic literacy, numeracy, science, social studies, health and hygiene, and by the end, are ready to enter the fourth grade in government schools.

Daily attendance in these community classrooms exceeds 95 percent. More than 98 percent of the students who enroll in the first year of the program complete all three years, and only five percent of those completing the program do not continue their education in a government school. Most of the students -- 60 percent -- are girls, and women make up a similar percentage of teachers, compared with the eight percent of women who are primary teachers in the formal schools.

The Nonformal Primary Education program was designed to provide a low-cost alternative to government schooling in the hope of demonstrating that a nonformal model was a viable option until national resources could allow the expansion of primary education throughout the country.

The elements of the model were a curriculum appropriate to rural culture and needs that could be taught by paraprofessionals recruited from the community, a learning environment that did not alienate rural children, school hours that were adaptable to different local conditions, and community participation in the form of parent groups that oversaw the organization and management of each center.

The program has highlighted several aspects crucial to primary education in poor, rural areas that merit wider application. With 85 percent of the BRAC school graduates now entering fourth grade in public schools, it can no longer be said that the rural poor do not value education. What they do value are a curriculum and a school schedule that responds to their concerns. They are willing to spend their time in parent meetings and their labor to maintain school facilities.

The program has also demonstrated that quickly trained paraprofessionals can be effective, provided they are given sufficient support. Even though the BRAC teachers are paid one-quarter of the average formal school salary and receive no benefits, they have a greater sense of self worth and are more respected by their communities. Less than two percent of the teachers leave the program each year, and those that do most often leave because their family is moving from the village.

The program currently costs about US$15 per student per year. BRAC anticipates that further expansion will reduce this cost, but the direction of the expansion at this point is not clear. Three thousand five hundred schools are now planned for 1991, and some donors have requested that BRAC expand even faster.

Crucial considerations about the role of BRAC in the expansion have yet to be addressed, such as whether BRAC should continue to experiment with new ideas for reaching those not yet reached or should concentrate its efforts on replicating existing approaches throughout the country. In addition to the first grade through third alternative, BRAC has also experimented with a pre-school component and a program for older children (mostly girls 11 to 14 years old).

But these approaches are still a long way from assuaging the demand for education in rural areas. Quite the contrary, BRAC’s experiment has actually augmented that demand as more and more people see possible alternatives to an exclusive educational system. Thanks to BRAC, the enrollment funnel now has a wider brim, but the true transformation of its shape into an inclusive sphere will require a much more radical restructuring of national priorities and educational objectives.

Approximately 730 words
The existence of an organization like the Association for the Renaissance of Pulaar (A.R.P.) in Senegal is strong evidence of people's motivation to read and write the language they speak. A grassroots organization with a national board in Dakar and four dozen chapters throughout the country, the A.R.P. has no paid staff and functions solely on the voluntary efforts of its five thousand members. The organization is an interesting amalgam of urban intellectuals educated in French and Arabic and Pulaar speakers in rural areas who have never been to school.

At a time when much of the discussion about literacy still revolves around its ability to help people meet their basic physical needs, the renaissance now occurring among the two million Pulaar speakers in Senegal can serve as a valuable reminder of the importance of those affective qualities that sustain the fundamental requirements of identity and community.

In Africa, the issue of community is especially vital to speakers of languages that extend across national boundaries. From Senegal in the west to Sudan in the east, the numbers of Pulaar speakers are estimated at thirteen million, so any renaissance occurring in Senegal has the potential to affect a much larger population.

The activities of the A.R.P. have included open-air concerts with Pulaar musicians, collections of oral traditions on tape theatrical presentations, and radio programs. As early as the mid-sixties, the A.R.P. added basic literacy in Pulaar to its other activities in recognition of the importance of literacy to the continuing vitality of the language. To do this, the national board encouraged the formation of local literacy classes, which were all dependent on the local chapters for support and organization.

The effectiveness of the local effort with only minimal outside support has been the most outstanding hallmark of the A.R.P.'s activities, as the entire initiative has been self-propelled by numerous students and volunteer teachers.

The success of the A.R.P. in raising its members' consciousness about literacy can be traced to both external pressure from other language groups and a long history in the culture of Pulaar speakers that has given great importance to education and study.

The external pressures experienced by Pulaar speakers would be familiar to readers in almost any African nation. The linguistic environment of Senegal is complex. French serves as the official language of state while six African languages, including Pulaar are recognized as "national languages". Among these, Wolof is spoken by the greatest number of people and has gained acceptance, especially in urban areas, as the lingua franca of Senegal.

In the years prior to independence, civil servants from many different areas of Senegal who had been educated in French institutions settled in St. Louis, Dakar, and other administrative centers, far from their place of birth. Many of those serving spoke Pulaar, but found there was little impetus to preserve their language due to the predominance of French and Wolof. The A.R.P. grew from the reaction of these civil servants to their new home coupled with their desire to keep a language, and thus a culture, alive and able to embrace not only the epic poetry of their ancestors but the world of their children.

The members' embrace of the literacy program is not surprising, considering the historical importance of education among certain Pulaar-speaking groups. Those living along the Senegal River Valley in a region traditionally known as Fuuta Tooro have long placed great emphasis and value on study, first in Arabic and later in French.

In contrast to Pulaar speakers from the River Valley, herders have joined the movement more recently. Traditionally, pastoralists living in the Ferlo, a region just to the south of the Fuuta Tooro, had long disdained formal schooling in any form and were among the last to send any of their children to French schools. However, now that education is available in their own language, the participation of herders has been integral to the efforts of the A.R.P. over the last six years.

These disparate sources have shaped the A.R.P. of the nineteen eighties. The organization has become a meeting ground between Pulaar speakers who have been educated in French, those who are literate in Arabic, and those who have not been to school at all, whether from the River Valley, Ferlo, or urban areas. Because they all share the same enthusiasm for literacy, each group has been able to find common ground and promote literacy for all speakers of Pulaar.
In January of last year, the Government of India announced a National Literacy Mission with the goal of imparting functional literacy skills to 130 million adults by 1995. In a country that holds half of the world's estimated one billion illiterates, the Mission marks a concerted effort to jump start a national literacy program and lay the foundations for a coordinated network of continuing education that incorporates both nongovernmental and governmental efforts.

The Mission targets 15 to 35 year-olds, among whom were 110 illiterates in 1981 or one-quarter of the country's total. The government expects that increased literacy in this group will have a catalytic effect both with the current generation and future generations.

The relevance of literacy as listed in the plan include such outcomes as increased participation of children in primary education, reduced infant mortality, heightened acceptance of family planning, as well as greater participation of women in the processes of development and social change.

Nongovernmental agencies play a substantial part in the Mission's strategy to reach this target audience and serve as nodes in a nascent, country-wide network. The plan anticipates the involvement of 2,000 NGOs in 1990, reaching 2.5 million people. In certain areas, NGOs will be given primary responsibility for coordinating all literacy activities.

The government anticipates NGO involvement in the development of learning materials and experimentation with innovative methods of teaching literacy. One NGO, PRIA, has already been identified as the national resource for training the trainers of literacy instructors and supervisors.

Nongovernmental groups are also being asked to play a role in creating an environment conducive to learning, which ranges from fostering local-level participatory structures to mounting awareness campaigns.

Financial estimates for project expenditures through 1990 allocate ten percent of the Mission's funds directly to NGOs, five times the amount anticipated for a mass program that involves students and other volunteers. More than half of the general funds are dedicated to field programs and a fifth to continuing education, areas in which the government plans to involve nongovernmental organizations, as well.

The Mission quotes Mahatma Gandhi, "Mass illiteracy is India's sin and shame and must be liquidated." The half century since he made this remark has shown that the metaphor of liquidating illiteracy is perhaps less appropriate than creating the conditions for spontaneous combustion. In its National Literacy Mission, the Government of India seeks those conditions, particularly through the increased involvement of nongovernmental agencies.
Mothers woke the head teacher of the Jabaliyah 'B' kindergarten at five a.m. on the morning of registration. Why wasn't she over at the school enrolling their children? There was a limit to the number of five-year olds this center could handle, and they wanted to make sure their children weren't going to miss the opportunity. Fathers had volunteered their labor and some materials to expand the facilities; yet the space still couldn't accommodate the demand.

These parents' enthusiasm for and involvement in preschool education are especially unique considering their community's location. Jabaliyah is a refugee camp for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories on the Gaza Strip. Because of their tenuous status and unstable living conditions, refugees everywhere in the world often look to the international community for basic services. They rarely have the chance to participate in the decisions that affect their lives or to take on the responsibilities of creating and sustaining their own institutions.

The Jabaliyah 'B' preschool and fourteen other similar centers in Gaza have encouraged the involvement of communities in each center's activities with the hope of building the base of an educational system that can be independent of outside support. These fifteen kindergartens are part of a program under the joint sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and Save the Children Fund/UK (SCF), two international private voluntary organizations. Over the past two decades, these centers have reached more than 18,000 children, and they currently serve 1,600 every year or about one-seventh of the eligible five year-olds.

The program's daily operations are carried out by Palestinians, who include the Director, head teachers, teachers, student-teachers and teacher's aides culled from the communities around each center. Over the past several years, the program has given head teachers greater responsibility for the control of their center while involving parents more directly in the center's activities and operations.

Part of the reason communities have become more involved is due to the benefits parents have seen their children receive from the educational approach used in these kindergartens. Teachers in the elementary schools run by the United Nations Relief and Works Administration report that children from the AFSC/SCF preschools show a high degree of both social and academic development. These teachers want pre-school graduates in their classrooms, and some have begun to include preschool techniques in their curriculum.

The pedagogical approach of the schools places great emphasis on meeting all of the developmental needs of the child, as opposed to other kindergartens in the area that offer, at one extreme, physical care alone and, at the other, academic training. This means that children learn through a diverse array of activities including not only pre-reading and numeracy exercises, but story-telling, field trips, and just plain play. The curriculum links the community and the classroom by using the immediate environment as both laboratory and source of instructional materials.

AFSC and SCF have recently established a Pre-school Resource Center to provide pre-school training to teachers throughout the Gaza Strip. With experience gleaned from the kindergartens, the Resource Center is helping different communities develop the skills needed to improve or begin their own pre-school and daycare programs. The Resource Center might also provide a vital nexus for the schools in the current AFSC/SCF program when they become independent, community-directed programs. The parents at the Jabaliyah 'B' center and others throughout the Gaza Strip have already begun to take small steps down a road that might lead to pre-schools staffed by well-trained teachers, filled with enthusiastic children, and supported entirely by the local community.

Approximately 600 words
TOTOTO HOME INDUSTRIES

In 1983, the Mkwoiro Women's Group was working where no women of their village had worked before -- at sea. The group had decided to start up a ferry service from their island off the southern coast of Kenya to the mainland in order to generate income for community development projects. The ferry also assured a regular connection with the health clinic on the mainland that served their children. Their only problem was that men worked on the sea and women on land in this fishing village. To operate and maintain their boat, their business had to depend on a local fisherman who acted as their pilot. Following the practice of fishermen, they quartered each day's income between the pilot, the purchase of petrol, the maintenance of the boat, and finally the group itself. The pilot purchased the petrol and maintained the boat and thus, received three-quarters of the income. The women, who took turns as the boat's conductor were, in effect, exploiting their own labor.

With the ferry service barely afloat four years after its inception, Tototo Home Industries, a non-governmental organization in Mombasa, Kenya, was poised to help the women of Mkwoiro sort through their problems. Mkwoiro had already received training in group organizing from Tototo's Rural Development Program, as had forty-six other women's groups along the coast of Kenya. In 1987, Tototo was introducing a new aspect of its work with women's groups -- training and technical assistance in business management. Tototo's business skills training was specifically created for the needs of non-literate rural women, based on Tototo's long years of experience with women's groups and complemented by intensive anthropological research into those groups and the barriers that limited the success of their income generation projects.

The business management training that Mkwoiro would take part in had evolved over the past decade from a pilot program in non-formal education for rural women. In the late seventies, World Education, an international private voluntary organization based in the United States, worked with Tototo to build the foundations of a comprehensive program in rural development. The initial phase of the program involved six women's groups along the coast of Kenya. The training methods encouraged all members of a group to participate in discussion, analysis, decision-making and collective action. The training did not require literacy, and its content, which ranged from health and nutrition to income generation, was determined by the participants themselves.

The focus of Tototo's programs prior to its collaboration with World Education was on individual women rather than groups. Organized in the early sixties by the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Tototo initially marketed the handicrafts produced by women in the town of Mombasa. When the current Director, Elvina Mutua, joined Tototo in 1968, she expanded the programs to include handicraft producers outside of Mombasa, many of whom were members of existing women's groups, including Mkwoiro. In addition to the retail shop through which Tototo did its handicraft marketing, Tototo began a vocational education program to train young women in tailoring and tie-dyeing and, subsequently, a tie-dye production workshop.
Mrs. Mutua saw that the marketing of handicrafts from individual producers had virtually no impact on the quality of life for rural women. She began to expand her organization's focus to include community development and income generation work with the women's groups themselves. In this way, Mrs. Mutua hoped that women would be able to move beyond handicrafts to more complex and potentially lucrative activities that could make their groups self-sustaining and improve the welfare of their families and communities.

By 1985, Tottolo and World Education had demonstrated that the methods refined during the experimental phase of the rural development program enabled groups to organize community development projects and to start small income generating schemes, such as baking bread, raising and selling poultry, or operating a nursery school. The first half of the eighties saw the program expand eight-fold to reach over 1,200 women in nearly four dozen groups within a 200 kilometer radius of Mombasa. With the close collaboration of World Education, Tottolo had created a comprehensive rural development program that included not only training in group organizing and leadership, but a revolving loan fund, assistance in health and family planning for a number of the groups, and a savings club program for group members. Tottolo also enabled certain groups to obtain local and, with the help of World Education, international funds for their projects. The Mkwiro ferry boat, for example, was paid for in part by a grant from MATCH International.

Although the participatory training coupled with increased access to credit through grants and loans had helped groups set up a range of projects, a 1985 study of the effect of the rural development program on the women's groups concluded that the businesses established by the groups were barely viable. Like Mkwiro, many of the groups who had started income generation projects did not have the skills needed to maintain them nor the ability to work creatively within or around the economic, social and cultural constraints under which they, as women, operated. The study took three years to complete and relied on intensive anthropological research that analyzed several representative women's groups and their local context. One of the most significant findings was that the groups ran their businesses like they ran their households and household enterprises. Their calculation of benefits, both social and economic, was based upon their knowledge of household enterprises and was far different from the calculation of benefits that would enable a group enterprise to survive in the marketplace.

These findings led Tottolo and World Education to revamp the income generation component of Tottolo's training. Rather than retreat entirely from the participatory approach of the past, Tottolo used this as a foundation for its new business management training. Although the businesses were marginal, the training in group process had increased the confidence and participation of members, as well as enabled the groups to define their organizational structure. For Tottolo itself, the staff of the Rural Development Program were now highly skilled in conveying complex ideas through nonformal education techniques to their audience of non-literate rural women.

With the help of a business consultant supplied by World Education, Tottolo created a business management training program that enabled women to rely on their existing knowledge of household enterprises and translate this understanding into basic practices necessary for the successful operation of group businesses. One of the key elements was a
pictorial accounting system that allowed nonliterate members of the groups to read project accounts and understand the allocation of dividends.

For four months, the staff of Totto worked with the business consultant to learn business management skills and also design a series of interventions meant to address specific problems encountered by the groups. At the end of that time, a specialist in nonformal education helped the staff create training exercises that they could use with their groups.

The staff began working with an initial cohort of eight groups in 1986. Mkwiro was part of the second cohort of eight selected for 1987, and a third group of eight began training in 1988. The results from the first two years show that the businesses of the groups performed far better after the training. Averages for the eight groups in 1986 reveal that dividends increased five hundred percent from the first to the second year of training, with gross revenue doubling. Groups in this cohort paid out an average of US$700 in dividends to their members in 1986 and more than US$3,300 in 1987. To date, the second cohort has shown less dramatic results, but significant increases in both gross revenue and dividends are evident.

And the women of Mkwiro kept their ferry afloat. The new accounting system allowed them to track their actual expenses. The more difficult part was changing the practice of dividing each day’s income, so that it reflected actual costs more accurately. Totto staff and the women of the group discovered a middle path between tradition and profit. A portion of the income went to group dividends, with the rest divided as before. The group began to work on other projects, as the improvement in both business performance and dividends enabled them to tackle community development efforts.

The business training succeeded with these groups because it built upon the members’ existing understanding of their enterprise and the environment within which those enterprises operate. The methods and materials used translated the concepts of bookkeeping and business management into terms that were directly recognizable by every group member. This was not the program either Totto or World Education anticipated at the beginning of their collaboration in the late seventies, but the ability of Totto to adapt to the needs of the grassroots groups with which it works coupled with World Education’s flexibility in responding to Totto’s needs as a growing organization resulted in the design of an innovative business skills program and an exemplary responsive relationship between a Northern and a Southern non-governmental organization.

At the present time, it is too early to tell whether Totto has come up with a model for rural development that can be applied to groups outside of those on the coast of Kenya. In other parts of Kenya, Totto has worked on consultancies with a broad range of non-governmental organizations that, in turn, work with women’s groups. Totto and World Education have already begun to work together outside of Kenya, applying the training model they have developed over the past decade with extension agents in Swaziland and Malawi. Through these efforts, Totto hopes to show that it’s important not only to give credit, but also training, where credit is due.

Approximately 1,600 words
NONFORMAL PRIMARY EDUCATION
IN BANGLADESH

The profile of primary education enrollment in Bangladesh is similar to that of many countries throughout the world. Statistics may vary from one country to another, but the basic shape of the enrollment funnel does not. At the top of that funnel in Bangladesh, only 50 percent of the children of primary age enroll in school at all. A bit further down, three-fifths of those enrolled in first grade are gone two years later, without the skills needed for basic literacy and numeracy. Those most likely never to sit in a classroom or to drop out after the first few years are the rural poor, particularly girls. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), one of the largest and most successful national nongovernmental organizations in the world, is trying to reshape that enrollment funnel into a sphere that embraces children whom government schools aren't able to reach or retain, especially the children of the poorest of the landless.

In 2,500 villages throughout Bangladesh, children eight to ten years old are studying in centers established under the BRAC Non-formal Primary Education program. In the equivalent of first to third grade, they learn basic literacy, numeracy, science, social studies, health and hygiene, and by the end, are ready to enter the fourth grade in government schools. Daily attendance in these community classrooms exceeds 95 percent. More than 98 percent of the students who enroll in the first year of the program complete all three years, and only five percent of those completing the program do not continue their education in a government school. Most of the students -- 60 percent -- are girls, and women make up a similar percentage of teachers, compared with the eight percent of women who are primary teachers in the formal schools.

Aside from these statistics, the most important outcome of the program to date is a clearer understanding of the variables that determine school attendance for poor, rural children in Bangladesh. It was long thought that the poorest children, particularly girls, did not attend school because their participation in the household and activities related to income generation was more highly valued than their education. But BRAC has learned over the four years of its program that relevant curricula, committed teachers, small classes, parent involvement, the proximity of schools to home, and low cost are better determinants of high enrollment and attendance than affluence.

When the program began with 22 villages in 1985, the organizers had little idea that the foundations they were then laying would be used to support such an extensive structure, nor could they foresee that they would have such dramatic results so quickly. The organization of the schools derived from the model of community involvement and participatory learning that had been the hallmark of BRAC's work with groups of landless adults over the past fifteen years. In fact, the success of BRAC with these groups led directly to the development of an experimental program in primary education. As parents in village groups gained better control over their own lives, they saw that the existing formal schools were not meeting the needs of their children. BRAC, which views itself as a "learning organization" in an
ongoing dialogue with those it serves, translated the concerns of the parents into a new mission.

From its inception, the Nonformal Primary Education program was to provide a low-cost alternative to government schooling in the hope of demonstrating that a nonformal model was a viable option until national resources could allow the expansion of primary education throughout the country. The elements of the model were a curriculum appropriate to rural culture and needs that could be taught by paraprofessionals recruited from the community, a learning environment that did not alienate rural children, school hours that were adaptable to different local conditions, and community participation in the form of parent groups that oversaw the organization and management of each center.

After two years of basic research, education specialists designed a curriculum that wove the most current ideas about pedagogical practice together with extensive knowledge of the conditions of rural life and information about the learners and their families. In order to achieve the three goals of basic literacy, numeracy and social awareness, the curriculum covers Bangla (the language of Bangladesh), arithmetic, and social science. The latter includes many subjects ranging from health to ecosystems to basic science. Each day includes time for "co-curricular activities" -- such things as singing, dancing, and storytelling -- that help develop the whole child and encourage high attendance.

The essential difference between the nonformal schools and the formal system is not the content of the curriculum but the teaching methods and the teaching environment. While government schools stress rote learning with the goal of passing the year-end exam, the BRAC schools emphasize the functional use of learning, building on each child's innate curiosity. In language learning, comprehension is more important than correct pronunciation. In social science, discussion, not memorization, allows the child to explore what she knows before turning to her book. Because of demands on a child's time outside of the classroom, very little homework is assigned, again in contrast to the expectation that families of children in the formal schools will help them with their lessons outside of school hours. To ensure that all children participate actively while in class, classes are half the size of those in government schools, with a maximum of thirty students to each teacher.

Between bamboo or mud walls, beneath a thatched or tin roof and on a woven mat on a hard-packed earthen floor, the children begin their schooling experience in a familiar environment. The program provides rent for upkeep of the facility, a salary for the teacher, teaching materials and equipment, and slate, pencils, notebooks and books for each student. But the parent groups have the crucial role of integrating the classroom with their community by obtaining and maintaining the facility, identifying potential teachers, and assuring regular attendance.

Parents also determine when classes will be held. Vacation periods are short, so as not to interrupt the flow of learning, and the timing of these vacations, as well as the daily schedule of the school itself, is left up to each village. This flexibility allows the nonformal program to keep its centers open an average of 268 days a year, three hours a day, as opposed to the 220 days of the formal school calendar.
At the core of the nonformal program are the paraprofessional teachers. The candidates must have completed at least nine years of formal schooling, and they undergo a careful screening process to gauge their proficiency in basic skills. Preference is given to women, particularly mothers, which has given rise to an important secondary outcome of the program. The ten to fifteen dollar monthly stipend gives women both a small, regular income and status as professionals in villages where employment opportunities for women are rare.

Paraprofessional training begins with a twelve day session in a regional training center and continues each month with a refresher day that brings together teachers of a particular level. All teachers also attend a more intensive annual in-service training that lasts six days. The commitment of the teachers to the program is evident in the low drop-out rate. Less than two percent of the teachers leave the program each year, and those that do most often leave because their family is moving from the village.

The management structure that supports the teachers and the parents' groups depends on Program Organizers (POs) at the field level. These are young men who have recently graduated from university, and their responsibilities include visiting the fifteen to twenty-five schools in their area, conducting the monthly refresher days, and attending monthly parent meetings. Their visits ensure that both the teachers and the community receive regular support and encouragement.

The POs are supervised by BRAC Area Field Officers who oversee an average of 150 schools in five to six areas. Regional Managers connect the field officers with the central office, which includes a staff of educational specialists, materials development experts, and the general Program Officer who sits on an oversight Committee with senior staff from other BRAC programs.

With a program now more than fifty times larger than anticipated in the original design, several key elements unique to BRAC have made such a rapid expansion possible. At the foundation is BRAC's experience working with the rural poor and its operational philosophy of listening to those it serves and responding to their needs. From this foundation, BRAC has built an extensive infrastructure over the past fifteen years that includes five regional training and resource centers at the periphery and, at the center, a personnel office that recruits program staff; an accounting department to handle expenses and donor requirements; a logistics network that oversees the distribution of materials and purchasing; a materials development unit; and a research and evaluation division. BRAC also owns the presses that print the school materials, which means that the organization has complete and autonomous control over all the production and training processes.

Aside from these unique internal conditions, BRAC has gained the necessary political space within Bangladesh to carry out its programs by fostering a relationship with the government that is constructive and based on mutual respect. One foreign consultant who has worked with BRAC over the years cited the willingness of BRAC field staff to help local officials with transportation when needed to carry out their responsibilities as a symbol of the cooperative, but not co-opting, relationship between the government and BRAC. For the
Nonformal Primary Education program this cooperative atmosphere has led the government to learn from BRAC's experiment and to launch its own nonformal primary program.

BRAC, due to its international reputation, has also been able to attract large amounts of funds needed to support the research, development and now the expansion of a primary education program. CIDA and Interprores in Canada funded the initial phase and have since been joined by NORAD of Norway, SDC of Switzerland, and Swedish SIDA.

While the unique national and international position of BRAC might belie the duplication of this model in other settings, the program has highlighted several aspects crucial to primary education in poor, rural areas that merit wider application. With 65 percent of the BRAC school graduates now entering fourth grade in public schools, it can no longer be said that the rural poor do not value education. What they do value are a curriculum and a school schedule that responds to their concerns. They are willing to spend their time in parent meetings and their labor to maintain school facilities.

The program has also demonstrated that quickly trained paraprofessionals can be effective, provided they are given sufficient support. Even though the BRAC teachers are paid one-quarter of the average formal school salary and receive no benefits, they have a greater sense of self-worth and are more respected by their communities. BRAC staff report that villagers ask why the government teachers can't be like those in the BRAC schools.

The program currently costs about $15 per student per year. BRAC anticipates that further expansion will reduce this cost, but the direction of the expansion at this point is not clear. Three thousand five hundred schools are now planned for 1991, and some donors have requested that BRAC expand even faster. Crucial considerations about the role of BRAC in the expansion have yet to be addressed, such as whether BRAC should continue to experiment with new ideas for reaching those not yet reached or should concentrate its efforts on replicating existing approaches throughout the country. In addition to the first grade through third alternative, BRAC has also experimented with a pre-school component and a program for older children (mostly girls 11 to 14 years old).

But these approaches are still a long way from assuaging the demand for education in rural areas. Quite the contrary, BRAC's experiment has actually augmented that demand as more and more people see possible alternatives to an exclusive educational system. Thanks to BRAC, the enrollment funnel now has a wider brim, but the true transformation of its shape into an inclusive sphere will require a much more radical restructuring of national priorities and educational objectives.

Approximately 2,000 words
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Many factors have been identified as responsible for the instructional poverty in schools, such as lack of textbooks, low teacher salaries, high absenteeism rates due to geographical obstacles or agricultural work. The most directly observable problem, however, is the poor instructional practices of teachers. Lacking solid training, they often create an environment in which children (a) copy materials from the blackboard, (b) repeat in unison what the teacher says (sometimes in a language they barely understand), or (c) answer in unison facts-related questions on the material presented.

Verbatim repetition is a very ineffective method to retain material for long-term use, because the human mind shelves information in the long-term memory by classifying it on the basis of its meaning. In order for information to be remembered and later used in "real life" therefore, it must be (a) analyzed and understood and (b) its applications must be clearly explained. Instructional practices observed in many countries make children repeat the recall strings of relatively unconnected material whose meaning is often not clear. These practices achieve neither long-term retention nor transfer of learning. As a result, children (a) tend to forget the material which did not make sense and (b) are unable to answer simple application and comprehension questions even if they remember the string of words. When formal examination or evaluation time comes, up to 60% of them in some countries may have to repeat the grade. The end result of repetition-based teaching strategies is low internal efficiency.

Many countries have shown concern for the improvement of teaching practices and has attempted to improve them through inservice teacher training programs. These have often been concerned with curriculum use rather than specific instructional practices. But even when instructional practices are dealt with the training often amounts to a speaker lecturing the teachers on educational theory. This method suffers from the same problems children have, and is not conducive to changing well-entrenched behaviors. If large-scale, expensive, and difficult inservice training programs are to have the expected results, a few, simple, and highly effective instructional techniques must be developed or adopted for teachers.

Training teachers in these strategies but also through them is necessary if sustained effects are to be obtained. In spite of a natural tendency to categorize items, there is a yet unresearched propensity for young children of less educated people not to rearrange the order of items while rehearsing them and to rehearse them in the order they came. Also, reasons which are not clear, meaning-based strategies seem to be uncommon, particularly in the developing world. Many students, even adults faced with subject matter to learn, merely read the material and repeat it. They do not restructure it, outline its main points, or connect with other meaningful material. As a result, transfer of learning may be very poor. Teachers who do not use strategies themselves, are unlikely to teach them to their students.

Many years of research on the subject of cognition have produced considerable insight on how to facilitate learning. The most recent answers of educational research to this problem have centered around how the information must be taken apart and elaborated on so that it will
become memorable and useful. Simple strategies have been developed to help students and teachers make material memorable to students from deprived backgrounds. Cognitive strategies can help a learner: (a) impose order on information; (b) extract the meaning of the material; (c) make as many connections as possible with pre-existing knowledge; (d) retain necessary but relatively meaningless items (e.g., foreign words); and (e) apply the information to daily life (e.g., the multiplication tables to the bazaar).

There is a large volume of data supporting the conclusion that children can execute many strategies, provided they are given explanations on how to sequence and carry out all the components included in the strategy. Direct explanation has been found to be a simple and relatively easy approach. It includes a presentation of explicit, well-structured descriptions and demonstration of the strategic process. Students also need to know when and where to deploy the procedures; otherwise, they may only execute them on demand. Elaboration to make the material meaningful is encouraged by (a) drawing implications from materials (b) explaining difference between related and unrelated ideas (c) speculating about how ideas in materials might be used for practical purposes and (d) giving examples from everyday life. They use of elaboration skills is probably not automatic, learners should be trained in it.

Some programs to teach learning strategies have been implemented in developing countries (e.g., Instrumental Enrichment in Venezuela) with positive results. However, these programs have also been lengthy and elaborate, and the difficult means of dissemination in the developing world necessitate a very simple methodology. These classroom strategies should be particularly important in very poor countries where materials are unavailable, classes are large, and there is very little a teacher can do other than make students repeat. How can the repetition process be changed to create maximum retention? In order to arrive at a workable methodology for the developing world, three questions must be answered: (a) Can cognitive learning strategies improve the quality of education in areas (e.g., rural sub-Saharan Africa) where there is a dire lack of materials and teaching is limited to repetition? (b) The teachers who are most effective most likely to use analytical skills are usually the better educated teachers; can cognitive learning strategies be taught and used in the long run by poorly educated teachers (e.g., teachers with 4th grade education in Northeast Brazil)? (c) Cognitive strategies and methods for transmitting them have been very effective the media-rich US. What adaptations are necessary for various developing countries?
PRIVATE EDUCATION IN HAITI

Educational opportunities for the vast majority of Haitians have always been limited. Curtailed access and poor quality continue to characterize all levels of education in Haiti. Nationwide, approximately 60% of school-aged children are enrolled in primary school. In rural and disadvantaged urban areas, the problems are even more acute: fewer than 30% are enrolled. Covering only 25% of the recurring costs of educational financing, the Haitian government has been unable to meet the aggregate social demand for education and has concentrated its investments in urban zones. The private sector—consisting of the Church, Protestant missions, communities, and individual entrepreneurs—has responded to the unmet educational need. Approximately 60% of primary school enrollments are in private schools (and two thirds of these in religious-affiliated schools) that receive little— if any—government subsidy. Inverting the common perception of private schooling, private sector schools in Haiti lack an adequate number of qualified teachers, serve the poorest strata of students, and have few material resources.

To improve primary education, the national government, with external assistance support, has developed a dual strategy:

1. The development of local institutions capable of organizing and servicing the large and historically fragmented private sector; and

2. The provision of direct support in terms of instructional materials and training to promote the identification of the most effective combination of inputs to improve school performance.

Two religious and one secular ongoing action have been assisted by the U.S. Agency for International Development to facilitate the organization of the private sector. These are the Commission Episcopale des Ecoles Catholiques (CEEC), the Federation des Ecoles Protestates d’Haiti (FEH), and the Fondation Haitienne de l’Enseignement (FONHEP). The external assistance funds are allocated either in cooperation with these agencies or, in an increasing number of cases, directly to these agencies for their administration and disbursement.

Activities already taken that should have positive impact on schools and the goals of developing efficient, appropriate responses to their support needs, including the following:

- provision of teacher and school director training—in 1988-89, training was provided to approximately 1,200 teachers;
- publication of the Timoun Lakay newsletter to 800 preprimary teachers and public officials (with so many additional requests from non-project affiliated sources that the production quota was exceeded); "popularization" and dissemination of a national preschool curriculum for preprimary school teachers in Creole and development of practical activity and lesson plans;
- development of a framework to assess school needs at grassroots levels;
- development of a performance contracting mechanism in the schools, a methodology which has been incorporated into by the World Bank into its Fifth Education Loan Plan;
- development of a battery of student achievement tests (in French, Creole, and mathematics) as well as teacher competency tests; and
- creation of parent-teacher communities in the schools to encourage active community involvements and support.
The institutional development component has proceeded at a much faster rate, far surpassing expectations and, in the process, somewhat redefining both future focus and activities. Even at this early date, it can be said with assurance that the impact of these activities on Haitian education has been notable and promises to be profound.

From an institutional standpoint, the creation of these private sector organizations clearly has responded to a perceived need in the international assistance community as well as in the hitherto disorganized private sector. Through their representation, the private sector has become a force in Haitian education whose impact has already been felt.

What began as a ecumenical working group of prominent Haitian educators has culminated in a new, albeit still inchoate, institution with educational impact and political influence. Organization of the disparate private education sector means that, for the first time, it can exert an influence on national decision making commensurate with the role it actually plays in providing two-thirds of primary education places. The relationship between FONHEP and the Ministry of Education has already settled into a new, more equitable balance of power in which, according to a prominent Ministry official, private-public relations have never been better.

The result of private sector efforts and initiative will be the implantation of an enduring mechanism to attract and channel external assistance support, as well as provide direct school support through information and resource sharing, rational planning and policy making, and coordination of educational improvement efforts.

In its efforts to identify and define the private education sector in Haiti, there has been a necessity to collect large amounts of data on schools, teachers and students. Although a complete management information system is not yet in place, a framework has been created for assessing teacher and student skill levels and performance improvements through a battery of tests, and a school profile and baseline data collection and analysis instruments have been developed through the school administration and evaluation programs. The result is that information and means of collecting and analyzing it (both through instruments and trained local staff) now exist where none had before.

The future will see the completion and refinement of these instruments, the continued application of the results they generate to formative evaluation and institutional development, and their use in assessing the impact and viability of the school support methodology now being implemented.

The mode of private school improvement now being developed in Haiti is generalizable to other private school-government alliances elsewhere; however, it also has relevance to the more global interest in community involvement even where private schools do not exist. The emphases on efficiency, local participation, data-base decision making, and performance standards for schools are all characteristics of learning administration that can be applied in both the public and private sectors.
After years of economic advance, most of Africa is sliding back towards poverty. Children are bearing the heaviest burden of the debt and recession of the 1980s and many are being deprived of their most fundamental human right — the right to grow and to develop to their full human potential. This tragedy is manifested by the fall in the average weight-for-age of young children, a vital indicator of normal growth.

In the region of Iringa, Tanzania the trend in weight-for-age is in sharp contrast to this too frequent African decline. During the last five years in Iringa, the nutritional status of children has not only not deteriorated, it has significantly improved. Data from the community-based monitoring system show that between 1984 and 1988 severe malnutrition has been reduced by 70% and moderate malnutrition by 32%, and that the downward trend in malnutrition is being maintained.

The success of the programme has been attributed to the following key elements:

1. Strong advocacy and awareness-creating actions at all levels, including village campaigns, mass media actions, training, use of cultural groups and involvement of leaders;

2. The emphasis on monitoring systems that make the problems visible at all levels and hence easier to discuss, analyze and act upon;

3. Improved understanding of the causes of child deaths and malnutrition through better conceptualization — and, hence, understanding — of the problem by decision-makers as well as parents and community members;

4. Support to strengthening of services within a few critical areas such as immunization, diarrhoea and malaria control, and child care and feeding;

5. Involvement and support in all the above activities to "mobilize agents", including important "allies" in the Party and Government, as well as specific functionaries such as Division and Ward Secretaries and Village Health Workers.

The Iringa Nutrition Programme is fully integrated into existing administrative structures. In the villages, the Village Health Committees, together with the Village Health Workers, are responsible for programme implementation and follow-up. Every three months they weigh all children under five years of age, compile the growth monitoring and child death information and discuss the reports with the village Councils, which then take action within their power to address the problems which have been identified. The reports are then sent to the higher administrative levels, which include the Ward, the District and the Region, so that problem areas or villages can be identified and provided with special support.

Critical activities aimed at increasing and sustaining people’s capacity to tackle nutrition problems have included actions to increase accessibility to information about nutrition, the establishment of village-based nutritional status and health monitoring system and integrated training. The programme also provides support to areas identified as crucial for the improvement of the nutritional status of children and women. These are:

- **Maternal and Child Health** — aimed at expanding the improving health services, with special emphasis on those disease factors responsible for maternal and child malnutrition and infant mortality;

- **Water and Environmental Sanitation** — to improve the environment of the households in
order to reduce disease-related risk factors;

**Household Food Security** - to improved household accessibility to food throughout the year;

**Child Care and Development** - especially to promote regular and frequent feeding of children;

**Income Generating Actions** - director at organized groups of women to increase income to be spent on improving family welfare;

**Research** focussing on operational research for use in further programme planning and implementation;

**Management and Staff** - to ensure effective management of the programme.

The specific actions in these various areas have evolved in line with the process of continuous re-assessment and re-analysis fueled by the village-based monitoring system.

The main finding of the evaluation is that in the programme there has been a marked improvement in the nutritional status of infants and young children and a reduction of child deaths. Prevalence rates of underweight and severely underweight children in the second quarter of 1988 were 38% and 1.8% as compared with 56% and 6.3% respectively for the corresponding quarter of 1984. A major conclusion was, therefore, that the transformation of the conditions of life can be directly traced to activities strengthened by the programme.

Secondly, and perhaps of greater importance for the long term, the evaluation found that, owing to a major effort to mobilize villages and officials at all levels, awareness of nutrition has been enhanced and, through the on-going monitoring system, decision-makers are consciously considering the growth and development of children as an objective in their daily work. Looking at the Iringa Nutrition Programme's efforts to expand its activities beyond the original 168 villages to the entire region, the evaluation also concluded that the approach tested in Iringa can be adapted and transferred to other areas. Child Survival and Development programmes have already been initiated in six other regions using the basic elements of the approach developed in Iringa. The preliminary results of a study of this expansion confirm both the technical and financial feasibility of such expansion.
ADULT EDUCATION IN CHINA

Background and Developments

China has a diversified system of adult education, in terms of operation, programs, mode of delivery, and clientele. Besides being operated in state and local government schools, adult education programs are also run by technical departments and other government agencies, enterprises, as well as other social groups and individuals. A variety of programs are offered to adults with different needs. Programs include: (1) compensatory basic education for workers with little schooling, (2) specialized secondary education and higher education with formal academic qualifications for adults, (3) on-the-job specific-skill training for workers, (4) continuing education with formal qualifications for workers to keep abreast of changing production conditions, and (5) non-vocational education for adults for personal enrichment. In addition to instruction in the classroom, adult education is also offered through the radio, television, and correspondence programs; there is also an examination system for self-taught students. Enrollees are mostly part-time or spare-time participants, full-time participants are relatively few. In China today, there are over 500 million people who are potential clientele of adult education. They include about 350 million young and middle aged farmers, 90 million workers of township and village enterprises, and 130 million urban workers.

The rapid development of adult education is a prominent feature of the overall development in education in China in the past decade. Literary education and technical schools for farmers have especially developed at a fast pace; and there are 29,000 cultural and technical schools for farmers now. In 1988, there were 14.59 million young and middle aged farmers receiving elementary technical training. In 1987, there were 1399 colleges of various types for adults with 1.86 million students, and 4742 specialized secondary schools with 1.65 million students. China education television began in October 1986. China now has one Central TV university, 36 provincial TV universities, and 540 TV universities at the prefectural and municipal levels. 179,000 students graduated from TV universities in 1987. Large numbers of self-taught students have sat in examinations at both the secondary and university levels since 1983. Finally, 23.7 million of government workers have taken at least 50 hours of on-the-job specific-skill training.

Two policy measures regarding the future development of adult education in China are noteworthy. First, training oriented to the requirements of specific jobs (or job-oriented training) will gradually become the focus of adult education so that workers will have training related to their specific jobs before beginning their work. Those who pass the examination in job-oriented training programs will be awarded certificates. Second, education institutions with adult education programs will continue to award qualifications, in the form of certificates; but certificates will be differentiated into three kinds. The first kind is awarded to trainees who have met the requirements of academic achievement for a certain level of education (e.g., specialized secondary education, and higher
education). The second kind is awarded to trainees who have met the requirements in a single subject within a field of study at a certain level. The third kind is for trainees who have met the requirements for a specific job.

In short, adult education in China is large in scale and is an integral part of the overall education system. Graduates receive certificates which are recognized in job recruitment and promotion. And training is oriented towards the acquisition of productive skills.

Expenditures on adult education in China

It is very difficult to estimate the total expenditure on adult education in China. First, adult education is offered by many institutions and organizations, some of which may not be identified. Second, there is generally a lack of data on expenditure on adult education programs. Thirds, even for education institutions with a good cost accounting system, the expenditure on adult education is often intractable because adult education is only one of several joint functions of the institutions.

Nevertheless, an approximate figure can be estimated for the total expenditure on on-the-job training for workers in government work units (such as government enterprises, departments, agencies, etc.). Such training covers adult education programs (1), (3), and (4) discussed previously for government workers in urban and semi-urban areas. In a government work unit, expenditure on adult training comes from two sources. First, a work unit is required to spend 1.5% of its wage bill on adult training. Second a worker pays 2% of his/her wage to the union, and 25% of the total union dues is spent on adult training programs. Thus, a total of 2% of the wage bill of a government work unit is spent on adult training. In 1987, the total wage bill for all government work units was 186.8 billion yuan. Thus, expenditure on adult training in government work units was 3.74 billion yuan (about one billion US dollars). This amounted to about 10% of total financial resources for education from all sources or about .3% of GNP in 1987.

Notes: (1) The figure, 3.74 billion yuan, does not include the direct and indirect costs of adult training for workers. (2) In 1987, there were 527.8 million people in the workforce, consisting of 390 million laborers in villages, 5.7 million individual laborers in small cities and towns, and 132.1 million workers in urban and semi-urban areas (employed workers in urban areas and in small cities and towns). Among the 132.1 million workers in urban and semi-urban areas, 131.4 million were government workers and the wage bill for this group was 186.8 billion yuan. (3) No expenditure data are available on adult education for farmers in villages (i.e. rural areas) and for adults enrolled in specialized secondary schools and universities (mostly in urban or semi-urban areas). (4) If one makes the assumption that adult training for government workers accounts for about half of the total volume of adult training in China, then the total expenditure (excluding private costs) on adult education in 1987 would amount to 7.48 billion yuan (or about .6% GNP).
In 1980, toxic chemicals from the tannery in the town upstream from Larry Wilson's farm had turned Yellow Creek black. Fish died, and some of Wilson's calves did, too, after drinking the polluted waters. Most people in the hills and hollows that bordered this creek in southeastern Kentucky were afraid to speak out—afraid that their lack of education and poverty were no match for the tannery's science and the town's prized industry.

Wilson rallied his neighbors and formed the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens. They conducted health surveys, lobbied the federal government to intervene and finally forced the tannery to correct its abuses. Now that the town, prompted by Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens, has built a new sewage treatment plant, the waters are once again clear.

To learn the organizing and research skills necessary for the survival of their community, Wilson and other members of Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens attended educational workshops at the Highlander Resource and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee. The environmental effects of hazardous industries has become a central focus of Highlander's programs over the past ten years, not so much by design but due to the shifting concerns of the community groups Highlander serves.

Highlander has worked in the poorest regions of the United States for over half a century. Southern Appalachia and the rural areas that make up the "deep" South are part of the third world of North America—in infant mortality rates are higher and literacy rates lower than any other regions.

Current economic trends have brought about de-industrialization as textile mills relocate to Asia and coal mines shut down due to lack of demand. Economic development for the region has depended on attracting heavy industry into areas where labor is cheap and investment in expensive manufacturing plants is secure because of a stable political environment. But, as Yellow Creek concerned citizens discovered, this has been at the expense of the environment.

Highlander's educational process builds upon the cultural foundations shared by members of local groups—oral history, songs, drama, dance—and uses these as a way of building confidence and conviction. Highlander has used its educational programs to help local groups understand the problems they confront, learn from others who've faced similar problems, experiment with new ideas, and finally build organizations that help define what responsible development means.

While the content varies according to the needs of different groups, the format is consistent.

Residential workshops take place at the Center, lasting from two days to eight weeks. The number of participants ranges from 15 to 40, including representatives from diverse communities who share a common concern.

This was the same format Highlander relied on during the 1950's and early 1960's when it was known as the educational center of the civil rights movement in the United States. This is also the format used currently in its Southern Appalachian and Leadership Training, which has become the most successful leadership training program in the South. So far, 150 leaders of grassroots organizations have completed this series of six weekend workshops. The workshops cover the creation of learning plans, communication skills, community analysis and research, using power
analysis to define problems, and project design.

Larry Wilson is now helping Highlander with a new series of residential workshops, called "Stop the Pollution" or STP seminars. These workshops have included representatives from grassroots organizations not only in the South, but throughout the US, and the demand for the workshops, now in their second year, far exceeds what is currently being offered.

The thirty five participants in a recent workshop came from 10 states and included Native Americans, Blacks, Cajuns, Creoles, and Appalachians. The major themes they discussed ranged from disinformation to the health effects of toxic chemical on children. Similar workshops will be held every month throughout 1989.

The seminars are not graded, and the one criteria of their success is whether or not participants carry out the decisions made during the workshops. Based on this, the Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens receive high marks, as do similar groups in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee who have stopped pollution and started economic development that responds to both environmental and human concerns.
Four years after the Mkwiro Women's Group decided to start up a ferry service, their ferry was still afloat, but their business was sinking. They wanted to run a boat from their island off the southern coast of Kenya to the mainland to generate income for community development projects and assure a regular connection with the health clinic that served their children.

Tototo Home Industries, a non-governmental organization in Mombasa, Kenya, was poised to help the women of Mkwiro keep both boat and business afloat. Mkwiro had already received training in group organizing from Tototo's Rural Development Program, as had forty-six other women's groups along the coast of Kenya.

In 1987, Tototo introduced a new aspect of its work with women's groups — training and technical assistance in business management. Tototo's business skills training was specifically created for the needs of non-literate rural women, based on Tototo's long years of experience with women's groups and complemented by intensive anthropological research into those groups and the barriers that limited the success of their income generation projects.

Organized in the early sixties by the National Council of Churches in Kenya, Tototo initially marketed the handicrafts produced by women in the town of Mombasa. When the current Director, Elvina Mutua, joined Tototo in 1968, she saw that the marketing of handicrafts from individual producers had virtually no impact on the quality of life for rural women. She began to expand her organization's focus to include community development and income generation work directly with rural women's groups.

Prior to 1987, Tototo's community development program reached over 1,200 women within a 200 kilometer radius of Mombasa, offering not only training in group organizing and leadership, but a revolving loan fund, assistance in health and family planning for a number of the groups, and a savings club program for group members.

A 1985 study of the effect of the rural development program on the women's groups concluded that the businesses established by the groups were barely viable. Like Mkwiro, many of the groups who had started income generation projects did not have the skills needed to maintain them nor the ability to work creatively within or around the economic, social and cultural constraints under which they, as women, operated.

These findings led to Tototo to revamp the income generation component of its program. Tototo created a business management training program that enabled women to rely on their existing knowledge of household enterprises and translate this understanding into basic practices necessary for the successful operation of group businesses. One of the key elements was a pictorial accounting system that allowed nonliterate members of the groups to read project accounts and understand the allocation of dividends.

The staff began working with an initial cohort of eight groups in 1986. Mkwiro was part of the second cohort of eight selected for 1987, and a third group of eight began training in 1988. The results from the first two years show that the businesses of the groups performed far better after the training.

Averages for the eight groups in 1986 reveal that dividends increased five hundred percent from the first to the second year of training, with gross revenue doubling. Groups in this cohort paid
out an average of US$700 in dividends to their members in 1986 and more than US$3,300 in 1987. To date, the second cohort has shown less dramatic results, but significant increases in both gross revenue and dividends are evident.

The new accounting system allowed the women of Mkwiro to track their actual expenses and to allocate their profit more effectively. The group has since begun to work on other projects, as the improvement in both business performance and dividends enabled them to tackle community development efforts.

Elsewhere in Kenya, Tototo has worked on consultancies with a broad range of non-governmental organizations that, in turn, work with women's groups. Tototo has already begun to apply its training model outside of Kenya with extension agents in Swaziland and Malawi. Through these efforts, Tototo hopes to show that it's important not only to give credit but also training, where credit is due.
Motivational Basis: Learning to Fly

Economic, political, social and very personal reasons motivate literacy learners.

In a village literacy center in Haiti, people expressed their motivations this way. One silver-haired grandmother smiled wistfully and said in a quiet voice, "My children live far away and I want to learn to write so that I can tell them my secrets." A young woman stood proudly and answered, "I want to get a good job someday." A thin wiry man raised his hand and said firmly, "I come to the center because of what happened in the Duvalier regime. If I learn to read and write, that kind of government will not be able to return." The literacy monitor encouraged another person to speak. Hesitating a little, the man answered, "So that my wife and I well, so that we will be able to take a step forward together in life." On the other side of the class the wife grinned broadly. Everyone in the center knew she was responsible for his presence there. She spent long hours prodding him until he finally agreed to come. "After all" he said at the time, "if she's going to study, I have to study. Otherwise she'll know more than me."

In Nicaragua, learners had similar reasons. When asked why they wanted to learn, a grandfather responded by waving his arm at his grandchildren and saying, "To be an example." One daughter, hesitating for a moment, searching for words, replied, "So when I go to market I won't be cheated every again." Her husband answered, smiling at his newly printed letters on the page before him: "To defend myself, ... to learn about farming, and so I never have to suffer humiliation like before when they made me use my thumb to sign papers. "Now," he said proudly, "now, I can write my own name for all to see." The child when asked the same question stopped for a long moment, looked up shyly, and said in a soft voice, halting as she spoke, "So someday ... well someday ... so maybe I can learn how ... to fly."
STREET CHILDREN IN BRAZIL

Streets in the cities and towns of Brazil are workplace and often home to an estimated seven million children. They are everywhere -- shining shoes, washing taxis, guarding parked cars, sorting through garbage for plastic bottles. Despite their ubiquitous presence, the public would rather not see them, and public authorities treat them as delinquents.

The problems of street children are not confined to Brazil. In other middle income societies throughout Latin America, such as Colombia and Mexico, the numbers of children living off the street are rising. While one-half of the world's estimated 30 million street children live in Latin America, street children appear wherever cities bulge with new immigrants from rural areas.

Throughout Brazil, several hundred community-based organizations sponsor programs that reach out to children on the street and try to find ways of helping children not only earn a living but also mature intellectually, socially and emotionally.

In 1981, UNICEF, the Government of Brazil, and the National Child Welfare Foundation began an effort to help these diverse programs learn from one another's experience. The Brazil Street Children Project also hoped to increase public awareness of children in difficult circumstances through broadening community involvement and enabling government agencies to be more effective.

Seventy programs have participated directly in the joint project. These programs differ in their philosophies, objectives and activities, but all share several features. Each program seeks to gain the child's confidence and then to solidify the bond between the child and the program through such things as meals, income-generating activities, health care, and discussion groups. Depending on the particular program, the child may then get involved in more formal training or employment. From initial contact onwards, the educational methods place primary emphasis on the child, not the program, as decision-maker.

The Salao do Encontro in the city of Betim, Minas Gerais exemplifies the type of program that has had the greatest success with street children -- one in which work is not only a means of generating income but also provides an education for life. The program produces a complete line of home furnishings and employs over 350 young people. The production process is labor intensive and tries to make use of locally-available resources.

Young people not only manufacture the furnishings but also manage the enterprise. Salao do Encontro aims to build self-esteem through a positive attitude towards work. The program believes that his confidence creates a secure foundation for personal growth and development.

In order to assess the effect of this and similar programs, evaluators come up against the problem of how to determine whether a program's activities actually promote normal psycho-social growth; that is, whether they meet the long-term development needs of the child at the same time as they take care of short-term problems such as inadequate health care or insufficient income.

A 1986 evaluation of the Brazil Street Children Project isolated indicators of child development directly from field observations of eleven community-based programs. These indicators covered social skills, career skills, personal growth and moral values.

Like Salao do Encontro, the programs that have the greatest success respond to the children's own
needs, the first of which is income. In providing creative opportunities to earn a living, one reviewer noted that successful programs, "transforms and dignify work itself". This view of work implies an educational aspect, not only to impart practical income generation skills but also to expose children to a broader community that will support their development and respect their individuality.

The Brazil project demonstrates that community-based organizations can work together and with the government to foster respect for street children and understanding of their plight throughout society. Advocacy efforts have taken the form of programs learning from one another as well as working together to change the attitude of the public towards children on the margins of society. Rather than waiting for the federal government to act and bemoaning the lack of effective social institutions, community leaders and local government officials have begun to develop their own initiatives to help street children create new avenues of opportunity where once were only dead ends.
SUPPORTING AND GUIDING OUT-OF-SCHOOL TRAINING
THE SERVICE CONCEPT

The first service centers (or agencies: the terms vary across national borders) began appearing in the mid-1970s. Their origins seemed to have in common a perception that there was room for considerable improvement in the way development information was being transferred from the center to the grassroots, and — more importantly in the minds of many educators — in the way that community-based groups organize themselves to identify problems and gain access to the information and resources needed to solve them.

Recognizing those needs provided the opportunity for several nascent service centers to get started with little or no outside help. The Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre in 1974 was a new organization blessed with more talent than budget. Their service agency began selling its materials development and training services to other organizations, and to this day the service agency contributes to LDTC's overall running expenses. Nepal's Literacy Section of the Ministry of Education had an excellent series of literacy materials but virtually no budget for administering a literacy program. By providing their materials at cost to a variety of public and private development organizations, the Literacy Section has succeeded in linking literacy with the so-called core development needs of thousands of Nepalese.

Other service agencies were intentionally set up to address the recognized deficiencies in out-of-school training. Ecuador's National Institute for Campesino Training (INCCA) was created because the government recognized that their new integrated rural development program would be doomed if there were no organizational mechanism to address human resource issues. INCCA's contribution has been to strengthen the extension and training programs of all involved ministries, while at the same time linking training more closely than ever before to the country's research establishment. In the Gambia, the government drew on a study of literacy and numeracy needs of informal sector entrepreneurs for the design of its Nonformal Education Services (NFES) program. NFES staff cooperate with the training programs of virtually all departments of government to improve their effectiveness. From ox-ploughing instruction to holistic development theory, NFES staff use a wide range of technologies and participatory training approaches.

Some NGOs are functioning as service agencies. The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) has a Training and Resource Centre (TARC) which conducts training sessions on need-based topics for landless peasants, government staffers and field staff of other NGOs. The size of the TARC program, which has been in operation since 1976, exceeds that of many national government programs. Another NGO program in operation since 1974, is the Centro al Servicio de la Acción Popular (CESAP) in Venezuela. CESAP, which covers about 60% of its budget from service income, annually offers hundreds of courses linked to social action for staff of development-related organizations and members of grassroots groups.

The service centers all have managed to accomplish what development planners have long espoused; they work across sectoral boundaries, and their efforts are focused on improving the quality of life at the grassroots. Their origins were diverse, and their sources of support are various. It remains to be seen what lies in their future.
Background and Development

China has a diversified system of adult education, in terms of operation, programs, mode of delivery, and clientele. Besides being operated in state and local government schools, adult education programs are also run by technical departments and other government agencies, enterprises, as well as other social groups and individuals. A variety of programs are offered to adults with different needs. Programs include: (1) compensatory basic education for workers with little schooling, (2) specialized secondary education and higher education with formal academic qualifications for adults, (3) on-the-job specific-skill training for workers, (4) continuing education with formal qualifications for workers to keep abreast of changing production conditions, and (5) non-vocational education for adults for personal enrichment. In addition to instruction in the classroom, adult education is also offered through the radio, television, and correspondence programs; there is also an examination system for self-taught students. Enrollees are mostly part-time or spare-time participants, full-time participants are relatively few. In China today, there are over 500 million people who are potential clientele of adult education. They include about 350 million young and middle aged farmers, 90 million workers of township and village enterprises, and 130 million urban workers.

The rapid development of adult education is a prominent feature of the overall development in education in China in the past decade. Literary education and technical schools for farmers have especially developed at a fast pace; and there are 29,000 cultural and technical schools for farmers now. In 1988, there were 14.59 million young and middle aged farmers receiving elementary technical training. In 1987, there were 1399 colleges of various types for adults with 1.86 million students, and 4742 specialized secondary schools with 1.65 million students. China education television began in October 1986. China now has one Central TV university, 36 provincial TV universities, and 540 TV universities at the prefectural and municipal levels. 179,000 students graduated from TV universities in 1987. Large numbers of self-taught students have sat in examinations at both the secondary and university levels since 1983. Finally, 23.7 million of government workers have taken at least 50 hours of on-the-job specific-skill training.

Two policy measures regarding the future development of adult education in China are noteworthy. First, training oriented to the requirements of specific jobs (or job-oriented training) will gradually become the focus of adult education so that workers will have training related to their specific jobs before beginning their work. Those who pass the examination in job-oriented training programs will be awarded certificates. Second, education institutions with adult education programs will continue to award qualifications, in the form of certificates; but certificates will be differentiated into three kinds. The first kind is awarded to trainees who have met the requirements of academic achievement for a certain level of education (e.g., specialized secondary education, and higher education). The second kind is awarded to trainees who have met the requirements in a single subject within a field of study at a certain level. The third kind is for trainees who have met the requirements for a specific job.
In short, adult education in China is large in scale and is an integral part of the overall education system. Graduates receive certificates which are recognized in job recruitment and promotion. And training is oriented towards the acquisition of productive skills.


Expenditures on Adult Education in China

It is very difficult to estimate the total expenditure on adult education in China. First, adult education is offered by many institutions and organizations, some of which may not be identified. Second, there is generally a lack of data on expenditures on adult education programs. Third, even for education institutions with a good cost accounting system, the expenditure on adult education is often intractable because adult education is only one of several joint functions of the institutions.

Nevertheless, an approximate figure can be estimated for the total expenditure on on-the-job training for workers in government work units (such as government enterprises, departments, agencies, etc.). Such training covers adult education programs (1), (3), and (4) discussed previously for government workers in urban and semi-urban areas. In a government work unit, expenditure on adult training comes from two sources. First, a work unit is required to spend 1.5% of its wage bill on adult training. Second, a worker pays 2% of his/her wage to the union, and 25% of the total union dues is spent on adult training programs. Thus, a total of 2% of the wage bill of a government work unit is spent on adult training. In 1987, the total wage bill for all government work units was 186.8 billion yuan. Thus, expenditure on adult training in government work units was 3.74 billion yuan (about one billion US dollars). This amounted to about 10% of total financial resources for education from all sources or about .3% of GNP in 1987.

Notes: (1) The figure, 3.74 billion yuan, does not include the direct and indirect costs of adult training for workers. (2) In 1987, there were 527.8 million people in the workforce, consisting of 390 million laborers in villages, 5.7 million individual laborers in small cities and towns, and 132.1 million workers in urban and semi-urban areas (employed workers in urban areas and in small cities and towns). Among the 132.1 million workers in urban and semi-urban areas, 131.4 million were government workers and the wage bill for this group was 186.8 billion yuan. (3) No expenditure data are available on adult education for farmers in villages (i.e., rural areas) and for adults enrolled in specialized secondary schools and universities (mostly in urban or semi-urban areas). (4) If one makes the assumption that adult training for government workers accounts for about half of the total volume of adult training in China, then the total expenditure (excluding private costs) on adult education in 1987 would amount to 7.48 billion yuan (or about 0.6% GNP).

I would like to argue that education and advocacy are not the "other" missions of PVOs, as Larry Minear suggests, but rather are an integral part of PVOs' basic goal of promoting development. They are other means, other tools, which PVOs can use to respond to certain kinds of development challenges. This has come about in recent years primarily as a result of the following basic changes in the environment in which PVOs work:

1. The greater integration of the global economy means that PVOs can no longer work solely at the "grassroots" level, funding or implementing the kinds of community projects which in the past have been considered the hallmarks of our success. Of course, much useful work remains to be done, and it is at the grassroots level that change can sometimes best be instituted, but the new reality which we confront is that our work with individual farmers (training in improved techniques, providing credit, etc) can be totally ineffectual if national governments pursue pricing policies which discourage production or if the European Community and the U.S. choose to have a grain export subsidy war. We are compelled now to situate our interventions in a much broader context, and that calls upon us to understand and to act, where necessary, in education and policy advocacy as well as through concrete projects in the field.

2. A greater emphasis on education and advocacy also arises from the new "division of labour" between Northern and Southern PVOs, in which our counterparts are taking on the major role in direct project work and calling on us to address the need for greater public awareness and for more appropriate governmental policies in our own countries.

3. Finally, and most importantly, donor PVOs are having to reassess their effectiveness in view of the substantial deterioration in conditions in many parts of the world. We cannot overlook the fact that incomes per head fell by 9% in Latin America and by 15% in sub-Saharan Africa between 1980 and 1985; that health and education services are being drastically cut back in much of the South; that the accumulated Third World debt rose a further 8.5% in 1987 and now stands at $1,200 billion with no resolution in sight. In the past we have excused ourselves from any responsibility for this state of affairs, arguing that we are too marginal to impact on the "macro" problems, but this is no longer credible: there is simply too much money, and too much activity, for which PVOs are responsible for us to claim immunity from broader accountability.
In saying that development education and advocacy are other tools PVOs can use in their work with the poor, we are saying that PVOs need to look more strategically at their possible resources, whether money, expertise, political influence, ability to communicate, or whatever, in the light of the specific situations they confront. This is a return, for most PVOs, to a conception of development which stretches beyond just aid.

As donor organizations, we have an institutional bias to viewing the development relationship solely in terms of money. It is, after all, the resource which we control. But it is also true that we have specialized over the past decade in our management of money, in raising, allocating, accounting for and controlling it. To move beyond this limited definition of what we can bring to development will require other measures to be effective:

- we need an organizational constituency, a defined group which gives the organization a base going beyond a small circle of professional administrators;

- we need solid experience and direct contacts with Southern counterparts, to ground our views, to give us credibility, and to allow people of the South to speak through us of their reality, their perceptions, their needs;

- we need to develop our own capacity to analyze the situations in which we work, to test that analysis in dialogue with others, and to communicate it effectively to the public - neither indulging in mystifying jargon nor facile sloganeering.

It will not be easy to educate ourselves and our publics to this "expanded" PVO mission, particularly now when it seems our niche in the aid game is most secure! The welfare motivation of PVO work runs deep, and we must recognize that some of our colleagues will require support to transform themselves.

It may be that a coordinated campaign around Africa or debt would help us to put education and advocacy in its proper perspective. Africa, because it highlights the present contradictions between fund-raising and development education, based on the notion that since our primary function is to "do" projects, fund-raising considerations must necessarily take precedence over all other factors. The result, in relation to Africa, is that we have reinforced a fundamentally misleading and incorrect image of Africa. In a poll, 85% of people associated Africa with hunger or famine, while 80% of people polled in Ireland equated Africa with Ethiopia. Three quarters of the news in Germany of the famine presented no context or analysis, no mention for example of the role of conflict in the Horn or destabilization in Southern Africa. The result is a reinforcement of northern stereotypes, a reassuring image of northern benevolence and generosity contrasted with a perception of Africans as desperate, and dependent.
It is not simply that the public image of Africa is fragmentary, uninformed or self-serving, it is that it is wrong - and PVOs bear a share of the responsibility for this. African governments and organizations have been active in combatting drought and famine, the worst affected parts of the continent are the theatre of internal conflict or external aggression (in part supported or countenanced by Western governments), and our view of ourselves as generous donors is contradicted by the fact that we in the North are the net beneficiaries to the tune of some $6.5 billion a year. This fact alone would do more to explain the true nature of development "assistance" and the failure of aid in Africa than all the PVO messages detailing the success of our efforts.

We cannot determine what media say any more than we can determine what people should think. But we can control what WE say, and place that message in the context of our overall development mission. There is a risk involved in changing that message, but we will find no refuge in trying to protect a status quo which cannot hold.

Very often it seems to me that the greatest constraint we face is that imposed by our own imaginations. When we say something can't be done, we probably mean we don't know yet how to do it, or we are not aware of other organizations which have already done it. Perhaps in future we shouldn't limit ourselves to what in the past we have done, but rather challenge ourselves to do what must be done if PVOs are to succeed in contributing to a more just and sustainable global order!
For more specific suggestions:

Para. 6.52 The sentence "However, the sectoral experience 'on-tap' is not sufficient to offer clear guidance on critical matters." should be dropped. I neither think that it is true nor of any use. If anything, we know too much, particularly about the real political commitment of elites toward mass education as demonstrated by budgetary behavior, among other things.

Para. 6.52 "only" relevant education can offset opportunity costs is a bit too strong. Please remove "only". Later you make the additional argument for child care as a means of offsetting female opportunity labor costs and thereby increasing female enrollment. Also, please be careful on the implication that "rural education" should be different than "urban". There may be an argument for this, but many would say that this is creating inequalities and biases toward rural poor. Furthermore, you would need to say more about how curriculum should differ between urban and rural environments if you want to enter that debate.

Para. 6.54 You may want to link various decentralization concerns together and make a stronger argument for increased "local control". What we are really talking about is restoring "accountability" of the primary school system to those most affected, the parents. In the absence of financial and other material incentives, or brute force reminiscent of totalitarian governments, the best instrument of motivation is "peer pressure". Therefore, I would emphasize the need to make manifest the latent community norms toward education for their children as a human right and basic need. These norms would be manifested through increased peer pressure on the schools by local controlling bodies, e.g. village education committees. Such mechanisms for local governance of education would be central to realizing universal basic education in a context of scarce resources. The call is for the depoliticization of the teaching force by establishing mechanisms which shift teacher loyalty and responsiveness to parents rather than politicians and bureaucrats. One practical example of this approach is now working in Ethiopia where village education committees recruit, place and remunerate teachers, not District level political and bureaucratic officers.

Page 26 I totally support the emphasis on primary enrollment first, followed by the phased integration of non-formal education channels to address the needs of dropouts. Regarding the footnote on this page, I suggest that it is the "credibility" and not the "strength", per se, of institutionalized NFE that is at issue.

Paras 6.56 and 6.57 As you may or may not know, I helped developed the learning group approach and employment-oriented learning fund deployed in the Pennas project in Indonesia over a decade ago. You may want to look at the project completion report and some other materials I have when you come to Washington. There
are two key points which underpin the success of this approach: (a) movement from a psychological learning or behavioral change model whereby an opinion leader(s) are identified and trained to effect village change to a sociological learning or behavioral change model in which extension staff serve as technical facilitators working with indigenous leaders (from the village) in the context of "natural" functional groupings in a village (farmers, women, youth, teachers, civil servants, boy scouts, etc.). The idea is that the social learning model uses the existing individuals and group dynamics to close social distance, give credibility to new messages and techniques, psychologically share risk, and sustain new behaviors; and (b) consumptive power is the critical concern in situations of deprivation, therefore it is better to build cognitive changes such as information on fertility, health and nutrition behavior, and literacy on programs that provide employment or consumptive power, rather than to expect such programs to drive or be a precursor to productive investments. Thus, the "employment oriented learning group" experiment in Penmas has proven to be highly successful mechanism to piggy-back literacy and other development communication efforts on.

One more quick point on the ICDS material. I really think you should make the necessary but not sufficient argument regarding the education element. This is to say that while nutrition and maternal and child health care are necessary, they are not sufficient in that they focus on survival and not development.

Hope these thoughts are of some entertainment, if not use. See you in Washington,

Nat
January 22, 1989

Sandy,

I know you are quite busy so rather than take your time in a meeting, I thought that I would give you a few written notes on the education section of the CEM for whatever they may be worth. Before proceeding, let me say that you have fulfilled my wildest expectations and written a more intelligent, insightful, and balanced CEM (macro and micro mix, economic and non-economic perspectives) than has here-to-fore appeared in any poverty-oriented social sectors CEM. In short, I liked it very much. Now for some constructive criticism.

First, a few general comments before specific para comments. The suggestions you imply and/or make regarding policies and practices of social service delivery and consumption may benefit by being separated and summarized in end of section paragraphs. For example, you refer to over subsidization of higher education early on, but it is lost as a major policy recommendation which should come out in the end. The same could be said about teacher recruitment and placement policies. Such policies need to appear summarized and separate from a summary of recommendations for improved practice like continuous in-service training and strengthened management and supervisory systems.

It seems to me that the beginning of the section on basic education could benefit by a more comprehensive paragraph that discusses the importance and costs of India’s not having achieved mass or universal basic education, despite repeated pronouncements since independence. Such a paragraph could make the following point: That the international experience, from Horace Mann’s "common school movement" in the 1800s in America to the recent attainment of UPE by the emerging NICs of Southeast Asia, has unquestionably confirmed the economic, political and social importance of achieving mass education for: (a) instilling attitudes, values, skills and a scientific outlook requisite to improved productivity, (b) curtailling population growth, (c) fostering political participation and national integration, and (c) creating an informed citizenry capable of consuming social services. There is really very little new about the New Education Policy. Indian history should remind one that it is the financial commitments and implementation of such pronouncements that is critical. I remain convinced that India’s major problems of unabated population growth and ensuing ecological devastation, continued political fragmentation, poor service consumption (even when delivery exists), and low economic productivity are fundamentally rooted in the country’s failure to realize a broadly based “cognitive transformation” only enabled through the achievement of mass education. It is against the current profoundly inequitable human condition perpetuated by the current elite educational structure that the rest of your analysis should follow.
Moni Nag

The Kerala formula

Although many of Kerala's socioeconomic indicators have lagged considerably behind those of India as a whole, this state has the lowest fertility and mortality levels in the country. With a view to explaining this paradox, the areas of land reform, social equity, education, women's status, and health care—among others—have been examined in both Kerala and West Bengal. Equity in health care and education are undoubtedly important, but underlying factors also have to be taken into account, notably the development of political awareness and action among the masses.

The Indian state of Kerala, with a population of about 28 million, presents a paradox to many population theorists, as described earlier in *World Health Forum* (1, 2). Its mortality and fertility rates have declined faster than those in the rest of India. Yet, in contrast to what has been observed elsewhere, Kerala has lagged behind the other Indian states in industrialization, income, and urbanization. How is it, then, that Kerala has the lowest mortality and fertility levels in the country?

Kerala and West Bengal, the two most densely populated states of India, are well known for their traditional emphasis on education and for left-orientated political activities. However, whereas West Bengal has always been more advanced than Kerala in economic development, its mortality level has been higher than that of Kerala.

The infant mortality rate (number of babies dying up to the age of one year per 1000 births) in 1982 was 32 in rural Kerala, 93 in rural West Bengal, and 114 in rural India as a whole. The figures were lower in urban areas: 24 for Kerala, 52 for West Bengal and 65 for the entire country. The crude death rate (number of deaths annually per 1000 population) in 1982 was 7 in rural Kerala, 12 in rural West Bengal and 13 in rural India (3). Rural Kerala's mortality level has been lower than that of rural West Bengal and rural India as a whole, at least since the third decade of the twentieth century.

Economic development

Per capita income has always been lower in Kerala than West Bengal. It has been argued that the comparatively equitable distribution of income and assets in Kerala has been a major factor affecting the state's demographic trends. However, empirical evidence does not suggest that this has been so, at least until the end of the 1970s. A survey has indicated that inequality in rural household incomes was greater in Kerala than West Bengal (4). Furthermore, surveys conducted by the Reserve Bank of India in 1961 and 1971 showed that the distribution

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of land and total assets in rural households was less equitable in Kerala than in West Bengal.

Since economic factors apparently cannot explain the lower mortality in rural Kerala, some other possibilities are considered below.

Climate and water

Climatic conditions are not significantly different between these states. However, rural Kerala has a safer water supply than does West Bengal, and the Kerala tradition of drinking water that has been boiled with cumin seeds (jerampani) and the water remaining after rice has been boiled (kanji) may have contributed towards lower morbidity and mortality.

Nutrition

Surveys conducted in the 1960s and 1970s suggested that both calorie and protein intake were consistently lower in rural Kerala than in West Bengal. However, large amounts of staple foods consumed in rural Kerala, including coconut, tapioca, fish and banana, are available from sources likely to be overlooked in responses to survey questions. It is often argued that more effective land reform, the extensive public distribution of food through fair-price shops, and successful free school-feeding programmes in Kerala are likely to have made food consumption more equitable there than in other states, but the available data do not support this hypothesis.

Health services

As regards the number of beds per 100,000 population in hospitals and dispensaries, there has been no consistent difference between the two states. West Bengal has always had the higher doctor/population ratio, whereas Kerala has always had the higher nurse/population ratio. Kerala and West Bengal differ little in per capita government expenditure on health, but a more equitable distribution of health services in Kerala is reflected in its proportionally higher spending on primary health centres and subcentres. West Bengal has always had more difficulty than Kerala in finding doctors for the primary health centres because of greater reluctance to serve in rural areas.

In both Kerala and West Bengal, local medical facilities are popular, particularly in rural areas. They are aided to some extent by the state governments but depend mainly on the support of the general public. There is clear evidence that people in Kerala use their health facilities much more than do people in West Bengal. This is reflected in the figures for institutionalized births and births attended by trained personnel. In 1978, for example, institutionalized births amounted to 49% of the total in rural Kerala, whereas in rural West Bengal and rural India as a whole the corresponding figures were 29% and 16% respectively. In the same year, 13% of births were attended by trained personnel in rural Kerala, compared with only 3% in rural West Bengal and 9% in rural India as a whole.
A major reason for the greater use of health facilities in rural Kerala is their easier accessibility, which depends to a considerable degree on the geographical area covered by each of them and on the availability of transport. Since the population density is higher and the number of primary subcentres per centre is larger in Kerala than in West Bengal, the area covered by each facility is smaller in Kerala. Road and water transport is more extensive in Kerala than in West Bengal. Furthermore, there are more public service vehicles per unit of population in Kerala.

**Educational services**

Education contributes towards better health, not only by imparting knowledge and encouraging the use of modern health facilities but also by inducing people to adopt sound habits of hygiene and sanitation and to give adequate attention to children's welfare. Rural education, women's education, and primary education are especially important in the fight to reduce mortality rates.

In 1971, 76% of Kerala's urban population aged five years and above were literate, compared with 62% in West Bengal. For the rural populations the corresponding figures were 69% and 31%. In the same year, 61% of Kerala's rural females were literate, compared with 18% in West Bengal. In 1981, 74% of children aged 5-9 years in rural Kerala were enrolled in primary schools, whereas only 32% were so enrolled in rural West Bengal (6).

In order to understand the factors responsible for the more equitable distribution of educational services in Kerala it is necessary to analyse the educational structures in the two states.

By the second half of the nineteenth century there was a considerable demand for primary education in Malayalam, the vernacular language of Travancore and Cochin states, now comprising the major part of Kerala. This arose mainly because official communication was in Malayalam and because of increasing economic development and trade. The caste organizations, formed in response to the exceptional rigidity of the caste system in Travancore and Cochin, agitated for increasing government educational facilities and often opened their own schools. Some indigenous rulers were interested in the spread of education among the rural masses and were often influenced in their endeavours by the British administration as well as by Christian missionaries. The matriarchal tradition in Kerala, particularly among the Nayar caste, helped the spread of female literacy and education.

The educational history of Bengal was, to a major extent, shaped by a land tenure system introduced by the British administration at the end of the eighteenth century. This gave rise to a class of landlords ( zamindars) and their agents who had very little interest in educational and other advancement among those who worked the land. The new class was attracted to Calcutta, and, along with a growing middle class of urban professionals, became strong advocates of secondary education in the English language in urban areas rather than primary education in the vernacular in rural areas.
The resources allocated to education have always been greater in Kerala than in West Bengal. The proportions of expenditure on different sectors of education in the two states reflect their different priorities. Thus in 1969-70, 59% of Kerala's educational funds were spent on primary education, compared with 38% in West Bengal. In the same year, the proportions going to university were 5% and 16% respectively. During the 1980s the priorities in West Bengal have changed considerably in favour of greater equity in educational services, but at least up to the end of the 1970s, these were more equitable in Kerala—an important factor contributing to the lower mortality in this state.

Political awareness

It has been suggested, with good reason, that the progress of literacy and education has not only increased the awareness of the rural population in Kerala about the need to use health facilities but has also made the people aware of their rights in this field. People's realization that they have the right to health facilities is an aspect of political awareness, something for which the inhabitants of Kerala and West Bengal are well known. However, political awareness seems to be greater in Kerala than in West Bengal, apparently because of more effective caste organizations, peasant movements, and educational structures.

The caste organizations of Kerala, which grew up since the beginning of the twentieth century with the objective of raising the spiritual, social and political status of the lower castes, succeeded in creating awareness among caste members of their rights and in motivating them to agitate for their fulfilment. By the 1930s, political parties of various colours were attempting to win the support of these organizations. In West Bengal the caste system has been more fluid than that of Kerala. A few organizations of lower castes developed but they were mainly concerned with winning higher social status from the census authorities. They did nothing that could generate political awareness among their members.

During the 1920s and 1930s, left-wingers in the Kerala branch of the Indian National Congress gradually became dominant in this most influential of political parties. They also strengthened their base among the industrial, transport and plantation workers, as well as among the peasants. Since the late 1940s, the main pressure for land reform in Kerala has come from peasant movements. The first trade union of agricultural labourers in India was organized in Kerala. The eagerness of the political parties, both left and right, to win the favour of the peasants has been a very important factor in generating their political awareness.

The formation of the British Indian Society, precursor of the Indian National Congress, in 1843, reflected early political awareness among the landed gentry and urban intelligentsia of West Bengal, but for the most part the Bengali leaders were not interested in forging links with peasant movements. In 1936 one of the political parties in Bengal formed a separate organization for peasants but its achievements were rather limited because the rural base of the party was very weak. In the late 1960s, another party started giving priority to the organization of peasants and landless labourers. Political awareness in rural West Bengal probably increased significantly during the 1970s but as yet this has not affected mortality indices or demands for health services.

With regard to education, newspapers have perhaps been the most effective medium...
through which political awareness and openness to change have been generated. Indian newspapers, particularly those published in vernacular languages, have a long tradition of mobilizing public opinion on social, economic and political issues. In terms of the circulation of daily newspapers in the vernacular, Kerala has always been far ahead of West Bengal. Village schoolteachers have also played an important role in this connection. The main radical party in Kerala has, since the late 1930s, had a policy of using schoolteachers to strengthen its rural base: in 1939, for example, it organized a strike of schoolteachers in the Malabar area. It is not easy to find a parallel in West Bengal.

Kerala provides a good example of good health at low cost, relative to other Indian states. The relatively rapid decline in mortality in rural Kerala, in comparison with that in West Bengal, can be attributed mainly to Kerala’s more equitable distribution of health facilities and to their better utilization. This has been possible because of their greater accessibility, the more equitable distribution of educational services, and a higher degree of political awareness among the people in rural Kerala.

The more equitable distribution of educational services in Kerala can be traced to the relatively greater primary, rural and female-orientated educational structure in this state during both the British and post-independence periods. In West Bengal, at least until the late 1970s, there was an elitist, urban, male-orientated educational structure. The higher degree of political awareness in rural Kerala seems to have developed because of the peasant movements, stronger caste organizations, and a more equitable educational structure in this state.

The above analysis suggests that in countries or regions with large proportions of economically and socially deprived people, interventions aimed at reducing mortality should give higher priority to social equity, i.e., in the fields of education, health, transport and so on, than to economic equity. A decline in the mortality rate can be expected to contribute towards equity in economic development.

The specific circumstances that led to a high degree of equity in social development and political awareness in rural Kerala are not likely to be found elsewhere. Nevertheless, similar analyses to the present one could contribute towards the creation of alternative strategies for the achievement of these objectives in other regions and countries and towards the formulation of general theories of demographic transition and development.

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References

Chapter Six

IMPROVING MANAGEMENT AND DELIVERY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

A. Introduction

6.01 The health, education, and nutritional status of India's poor remains deplorable. Yet, as discussed in Chapter Five, the programs designed to improve social conditions have been underfunded, resulting in shortages in infrastructure and trained staff and quantitative and qualitative deficiencies in services. It is important that the Center and the states find additional resources to support critical social initiatives. This will likely involve shifts in sectoral spending priorities (e.g. allocating more to education and health and less to food subsidy schemes which are insufficiently targeted) as well as reductions in subsidies to higher education, curative medical care and other services and facilities which generate few externalities and which are heavily used by the non-poor.

6.02 At the same time, it is important to look for opportunities to make better use of the resources allocated to primary health, education and related initiatives. This chapter explores ways of improving service delivery in these sectors. The issues and key choices that arise in the context of individual sectoral programs are discussed first. Suggestions are then offered on how to reorient and sharpen the focus of service delivery activities.

6.03 Government social service initiatives in different sectors have much in common. They all seek, for instance, to reach the poor by establishing an institutional presence, including trained staff handling various service delivery tasks and functions, at the village level in rural areas. (The neighborhood is the focus of attention in cities and towns.) Community-based staff are backed up by supervisory and specialized support personnel operating at the district, block and sub-block levels. Arrangements for delivering various social services in rural settings are depicted in Figure 6.1.

6.04 In the health and family welfare system, services are delivered by three cadres of "peripheral workers", including male and female multipurpose workers (MPWMs, MPWFs), and village based health guides (VHGs) and village dais (midwives) who have been trained by the Government. A male and female pair of MPWs caters to approximately 5000 people dispersed in four or five villages. There are currently over 100,000 MPWFs, 90,000 MPWMs, 390,000 VHGs, and 538,000 trained dais working within the rural health system. MPWs operate out of Sub-Centers (SCs) located in nodal villages--there are 100,000 such centers.
Improving Management

A Introduction

1.0 The penultimate goal of education is to prepare the young to become responsible and contributing citizens of society. Yet, in order to achieve this goal, there are certain prerequisites that must be met. One of these prerequisites is a well-educated and literate population. Literacy is crucial for personal and social development. It allows individuals to access information and knowledge, which is essential for making informed decisions and contributing to society.

2.0 The purpose of this initiative is to provide literacy training to residents of the community in order to improve their reading and writing skills. This will enable them to access educational materials, participate in decision-making processes, and communicate effectively with others. The initiative will also focus on improving the overall quality of life by fostering a culture of learning and intellectual curiosity.
FIGURE 6.1
Social Service Delivery Arrangements in Rural Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health/Family Welfare</th>
<th>ICDS</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Surgeon @ District Hospital</td>
<td>District Health Project Officer</td>
<td>District Education Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Asst., Medical Officer Female</td>
<td>Block Child Development Officer</td>
<td>Assistant Education Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Block</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-purpose Workers: Sevika: 5000 pop. (Female, Male)</td>
<td>Mukhya 20,000 pop.</td>
<td>School Inspector 30-40 schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: /a Only in districts which are >= 70% covered. /b Under Operation Blackboard and New Education Policy.

6.05 Health services are also delivered by para-medicals and doctors at Primary Health Centers (PHCs). PHCs formerly served an entire block (100,000-120,000 people). These establishments are being upgraded and renamed Community Health Centers (CHCs), which are to provide surgical, gynecological and other specialized curative services (in theory on a referral basis), while PHCs are being set up for every 30,000 people at the "sub-block" level. Over 14,000 PHCs are currently in existence. The scaled-down PHC team is expected to consist of a medical doctor (designated as officer-in-charge), a community health officer with administrative and supervisory duties, a block extension educator who organizes training, education and mass media programs, male and female health assistants who supervise MPWs, a laboratory technician and a data processor.
6.06 The ICDS scheme has village-based Anganwadi Workers (AWWs), with other personnel, Mukhya Sevikas (MS, one per twenty AWWs) and Child Development Project Officers (CDFWs, one per block) being responsible only for supervision and administration, and not for service delivery per se. There are over 160,000 AWWs, 5,000 MSs and 1,000 CDPWs currently working in ICDS. The primary education system is structurally analogous to ICDS. There is one category of peripheral worker, the village school teacher, with supervisors in place at the sub-block and block levels. However, unlike ICDS, there is supposed to be more than one functionary per village school. Some functional specialization like that in the health set-up also occurs in the education system, i.e. separation of lower and higher primary (middle) schools and secondary schools. There are over 500,000 primary schools and 60,000 secondary schools in operation.

6.07 A second common feature of these programs is the assignment of numerous and diverse activities and responsibilities to field staff. For example, the job description of the "multipurpose" female health worker lists 47 separate tasks to be undertaken on a regular basis, including curative care for a wide range of ailments, various duties relating to promotion to family planning and the health of mothers and children, training of midwives and female leaders, vital registration, and numerous record keeping, administrative and maintenance functions. The work of the ICDS field worker, the AWW, encompasses a whole host of nutrition, health, and child care (pre-school-related tasks, while the community teacher's activities include conducting classes for students of differing ages and backgrounds, tutoring, assistance to adult literacy programs, community liaison activities, and record keeping.

6.08 The large number of jobs allocated to field workers is clearly linked to the objective of providing integrated packages of services to broad audiences. For instance, the National Health Policy aspires to provide "health for all" by tackling "the entire range of poor health conditions," while the mandate of ICDS is to facilitate the "total development" of the child by making available mutually reinforcing health, educational, and nutritional inputs.

6.09 However, the multi-purpose character of the field worker's assignment is also related to another shared characteristic of service delivery initiatives, uncertainty as to the scope and intensity of demand for specific services. This imprecision arises in part because some of the items being offered, e.g. temporary contraceptive methods, immunization, growth monitoring, adult literacy, etc., are relatively new and not well understood by many in the potential audience. Uncertainty about the strength of demand is also due to the presence of competing private providers in many settings. Studies typically find that consumers, including the poor, turn to private physicians, ayurvedic workers, pharmacies and so forth, for most curative needs (Stout). Meanwhile, private providers of primary level and other education services are commonplace, especially in urban areas. Uncertainty as to what the market wants also stems from the ineffective linkages established with local communities, probably because fieldworkers are overburdened and lack the time or motivation to build rapport with clients, ascertain local circumstances and needs, and respond to their requirements.
Finally, task multiplicity is associated with management problems at different levels -- these difficulties have been encountered in all of the programs under review. For fieldworkers, a paradoxical outcome of this overloading of jobs, including many ad hoc tasks allocated by superiors, is to impart an open-ended, "to be filled in" dimension to all field activities. This is because there are often too many tasks of apparently equivalent priority to be performed in the time allotted. This gives workers some freedom in deciding how to manage their time, what to attend to and what to ignore. Additional degrees of freedom (and uncertainty) derive from the fact that functionaries may receive instructions from several supervisors, and from the delegation of similar or at least overlapping tasks to several workers operating in the same locality. The challenge for supervisory level staff is to manage cadres of often hard to reach field personnel, many of whom are not well trained, lack professionalism, motivation and adequate understanding of their responsibilities, and are unconcerned and unable to provide quality service.

Each of the programs under review relies on pre-service and in-service training to improve fieldworker performance. There is clearly scope as well for better defining workers' activities and responsibilities and setting realistic and appropriate priorities.

A final shared characteristic of these management and staff intensive social service programs is their vulnerability to funding constraints. All of these programs are currently making do with a less than full complement of staff and less than adequate infrastructure support. Resource shortfalls are reflected in reductions in service supply in the short run and in a lowering of service quality which can have costly longer term effects on demand and on the public image of programs. Since funding is likely to remain scarce, it is important to identify the incidence of resource constraints, to prioritize functions and activities and to focus service delivery on the tasks which can have the greatest social impact. These issues are now addressed in the context of individual sector programs.

B. Health

The primary health care system has achieved an impressive physical presence in a relatively short period of time and at low levels of investment. However, because of shortages which persist in infrastructure and trained manpower, this extensive coverage has not been accompanied by intensive use, especially by the rural and urban poor. The number of facilities at the beginning of the Seventh Plan is shown below. The Mid-term Appraisal of the Seventh Plan indicates that additional FHCs and SCs were opened as scheduled during 1985/86 and 1986/87, but there was a shortfall in the number of new CHCs. However, the establishment of centers is not itself a valid indicator of the availability of usable facilities -- studies show that many centers have been hastily opened in unsuitable locations, while rented offices, which predominate in the case of the most crucial of all facilities, the SC, are often located in poorly maintained structures which lack living quarters for staff. By the end of the Seventh Plan only 42 percent of SCs are expected to be housed in facilities designed and constructed according to service requirements.
Table VI-1

SEVENTH PLAN: PRIMARY HEALTH CARE INFRASTRUCTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Required</th>
<th>Position as of 4/1/85</th>
<th>Target for 1985-90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Community Health Centers</td>
<td>5,417</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Primary Health Centers</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sub-center</td>
<td>137,000</td>
<td>83,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sub-centers with own building</td>
<td>137,000</td>
<td>33,475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


@ As per coverage according to population norms.

6.13 The position as regards vacancies of crucial staff is shown below:

Table VI-2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Vacancies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PHC medical officers</td>
<td>3,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Assistants (male)</td>
<td>3,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Assistants (female)</td>
<td>4,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-purpose worker (male)</td>
<td>5,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-purpose worker (female)</td>
<td>7,283</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The figures suggest substantial shortages in the medical officers and supervisory staff (Health Assistant) categories. There are more serious shortages at the state level. For example, Andhra Pradesh has a 25 percent shortage of medical officers (who run the local primary health system); similarly Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Kerala, Orissa and West Bengal have severe shortages of MPWFs, and Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have many vacant MPWM positions.

6.14 The effects of these and other manpower shortages is exacerbated by poor preparation and direction of existing staff. Surveys and case studies have pointed to various consequences of unsatisfactory pre-service and in-service training, and inadequate supervision of workers in different positions. These include the limited technical competence of MPWFs (50 percent of those interviewed in a 1988 survey did not know how to prepare oral rehydration salts or the length of time to sterilize a syringe between injections); serious gaps
in the knowledge and basic skills of health guides (VHGs); limited appreciation on the part of different PHC staff of the need for teamwork and the specific tasks assigned to other workers; difficulties experienced by staff at all levels in interacting with and establishing good working relationships with community leaders, indigenous medical practitioners as well as prospective clients; and poor management skills of block medical officers (no longer required to have a diploma in public health) who face daunting challenges running a multifaceted program that is supposed to serve up to 100 villages.

6.15 Inadequate in-service orientation and supervision may account for the often cited rudeness of workers, and the indications that staff are overburdened. (Field workers often admit to feeling isolated, helpless, confused about their priorities, incompetent and frustrated). For instance, the Ministry of Health’s handbook on Job Responsibilities of Staff of the Primary Health Center does not specify how to set priorities among the 47 tasks assigned to MPWFs. This allows workers some scope for determining use of time, but also increases the likelihood that most effort will be devoted to meeting targets. It is estimated that more than half of all health worker activities are directly associated with family planning, simply because Centrally determined targets need to be met (Krister). The targets assigned for other schemes, such as the Universal Immunization Program (UIP), have added new imperatives. Given such “guidelines,” there is little encouragement for medical officers and staff to carry out the local situational analysis needed to respond to clients’ needs.

6.16 Operational difficulties do not stem entirely from deficiencies in staff training and supervision. Selection criteria are sometimes faulty. For instance, female VHGs would have dealt more effectively with village health problems than the males initially chosen. Other factors include inadequate supplies of drugs, a health information system which scarcely functions, interference in personnel matters by politicians, and poor living conditions which lead to high turnover and frequent absences.

6.17 These problems account for the low use of facilities by the poor. Studies show, for instance, that only a third of the rural men and ten percent of the women in Orissa, Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh utilized PHC services. Participation rates were even lower in tribal areas where staff vacancies are endemic (Krister). These studies attribute non-use to ignorance of poor people about the range of PHC functions and the duties of staff; unpopularity of the health system, in part because of past coercive initiatives in family planning, previous unsatisfactory experience of medical officer or staff unavailability, lack of drugs, and charges for so-called “free” services; and a rarity of outreach by health workers in more remote villages and tribal areas.

6.18 This discussion suggests that thought needs to be given to strengthening the performance and quality of PHC services and establishing the system’s credibility in the public eye. Larger injections of resources are clearly needed to reduce staff vacancies, improve training and so forth. However, stepped-up budgetary support needs to be accompanied by a clearer vision of the purposes and priorities of the multi-tiered, staff-intensive PHC network.

6.19 Currently, the health care system aspires to provide a broad spectrum of services irrespective of the epidemiological and other characteristics of
particular areas. This uniform package covers all age groups and encompasses everything from emergency treatment and specialist curative care on an out-patient or in-hospital basis in CHCs to "low tech" field-based initiatives with preventive and/or motivational objectives. There is copious evidence that the system cannot deliver all of these services at acceptable levels of quality. Therefore, service provision needs to be focused somewhat more sharply and staff tasks, training, and management need to be adjusted and toned-up in line with a reorientation of purpose. Some suggestions follow on reordering program priorities in the PHC system.

-- The focus should be on women, infants, and young children. Women, especially those in the reproductive ages, are a crucial entry point because of their vulnerability to health problems (see discussion in Chapter Five), their low utilization of existing facilities and because they are instrumental in the health care and practices of other household members. A key premise here is the centrality of the household as a physical setting (shared water, cooking, sanitation and sleeping facilities) and a decision-making unit in which health (as well as reproductive and nutritional) outcomes are determined. Providing nourishment, maintaining cleanliness, and caring for the young and the sick remain the preserve of women, making them the "guardians of health."

-- The main objective of health policy, in this approach, is to improve the capacity of women in their role as the primary health resource and decision maker in families. This represents an activist, out-reached based strategy aimed at establishing a durable relationship and dialogue with female interlocutors. This "channel" can be used to broaden health skills and competence generally, and to convey information on specific health problems and preventive and curative options. It follows that the primary responsibility of field workers is not the delivery of particular services but the establishment of a sustained dialogue with local women.

-- The exact services to be provided ought to be determined through a consultative process, which includes a careful review of disease patterns, nutritional needs, household perceptions and preferences, and locally available resources, and which results in a package of services that fits local needs. Clearly, the same package is unlikely to be appropriate in all circumstances. For instance, the attention given to diarrhoea control, nutritional deficiencies, and treatment of respiratory infections may be larger in some areas than that allowed in the existing uniform "menu" of services. Interventions could comprise a 'core package' of services which would be delivered state or nationwide, and which would probably include at least a full cafeteria of contraceptive choices; immunization; diarrhoea control; detection and referral of high risk pregnancies; and treatment of acute respiratory infections. The services made available could also respond to particular local needs—for example, to treat diseases such as goitre or lathyrism which may be concentrated in particular areas or among particular client groups—and to local felt needs, even where these may not seem to be of the highest priority in epidemiological terms.

-- The MPWF is the crucial actor in this approach. Her assignment needs to be made more tractable and her work more effective. Currently this field worker is supposed to perform 47 separate tasks, while serving a population of 5000 (3000 in tribal areas), including approximately 800 eligible couples, 400
children under four, and 150 pregnant women at any given time. In theory but only to a limited extent in practice, the MPWF's efforts are supported by other village level staff—the MPWM, the VHG, and the trained dai. Most MPWFs are unaware of central government guidelines limiting their attention to households with ante- or post-natal cases or infants (about 400-500 families). Most work to instructions which call for a monthly visit to all households, i.e. 50 or so a day, an impossible task. Unable to do everything, MPWFs concentrate on easier tasks (they spend most time with families living near SCs) and on those they are pressured to perform (e.g. assigned targets for sterilization and now, immunization).

Since not all potential clients can be visited regularly a system of rationing or prioritizing is needed to enhance the MPWF’s effectiveness. Calculations suggest it would not be reasonable to expect this worker to keep in regular contact with more than 256 households (16 days a month x 4 hours daily x 4 visits an hour) as opposed to the present “target” of 400-500 families. Two rules may be suggested for determining which 250 or so households to select for intensive coverage. First, all pregnant women and women with children 0-6 months (about 150-200 per subcenter area) should be visited. There are strong technical reasons for this. On the health side, ante-natal care and the identification of high risk pregnancies are high priority interventions; so is special care for the young infant, given high rates of infant mortality. On the nutrition side, better feeding and vitamin and mineral supplements during pregnancy are critical for the avoidance of low-birth-weight babies at higher risk of both mortality and morbidity; and good nutrition during lactation is important to ensure adequate supplies of breast-milk. On the family planning side, the relationship built up through continuous care during pregnancy and lactation is likely to be the strongest basis for the acceptance of family planning. A second, more flexible set of criteria revolves around those in most need of service, defined to include households where follow-up is required to services already given (for example, new acceptors of contraception, those (other than those with pregnant women and women with young infants) identified as being at high health or nutritional risk, and those from particularly disadvantaged social groups, who currently have little access to services because they are low in social status and often physically distant from subcenters. Special attention would need to be given to tribals, whose children are often severely malnourished and who may be particularly discriminated against in their access to services.

Efforts should be made to eliminate the social distance between MPWFs and clients. Local women from the same community as most clients should be recruited, while provision of housing will increase accessibility (at all hours) of MPWFs for the poor. Those hired need to work closely with VHGs, a position which should be revived and also filled by women; village dais (who need more support from their own MPWF); the ICDS worker, the AWW (see discussion below); private practitioners and indigenous medical providers, and other locally based individuals. Village health committees and informal groupings can greatly facilitate the MPWF’s work. PHC-based female Health Assistants (HAF), the MPWF’s immediate superior, need to be closely involved once they are better trained in supervision techniques.
More and better training for MPWFs and HAFs will be required to bring about changes in work focus and practices, and to inculcate an emphasis on quality of care. Training needs to encompass work planning, including task and client prioritization; technical skills; supportive supervision (of dais, VHGs and others); community organization techniques; interpersonal counselling and motivational work. There appear to be strong advantages, in terms of team-building and taking account of local needs and conditions, in training staff from the locality together in situ. In-service training capacity at the district or CHC level needs to be developed. Finally, training needs to be supported by an effective Management Information System supplemented by regular surveys which provide feedback on service quality (particularly how clients from different backgrounds are treated by PHC staff).

The results of a Bangladesh government decision (based on many years of experience with the Matlab research project) to increase the ratio of its Family Welfare Workers (the local equivalent of the MPWF) from 1:4,000 to 1:2,000 clients need to be closely studied. However, a move to a similar ratio in India would probably not be a sensible course of action, for several reasons. First, it would be an extremely costly decision, which might divert funds from filling gaps in the still incomplete existing infrastructure network. Second, it may be a higher priority to put limited training resources into filling the many existing MPWF vacancies and upgrading the quality of MPWFs already in service, than to create new posts. Third, and most importantly, the large discrepancies between the performance of individual MPWFs working in similar environments suggests that substantial overall productivity increases could be achieved within the existing staffing pattern by measures to bring the performance of poor and average MPWFs closer to the high performers.

Lines of authority, management "style" and other facets of the PHC set-up will need to adjust if the outreach-based strategy is to work. Medical Officers (MOs) need to develop the large and diverse PHC staff into an effective team that can have a catalytic effect on health practices in the area. To be effective, MOs need to be free of routine duties, highly mobile, and fully cognizant of local conditions and capacities. This implies a shift from norm-based, target-driven operations to one featuring the orchestration of diverse

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1 The salience of quality comes out clearly in a recent United States Public Health Service study of the "Determinants of HMO Success." Successful Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) were characterized by a concern for quality, manifested in a thorough knowledge of and a commitment to being accepted in the marketplace. This entailed continuous monitoring of customer preferences, careful selection of advertising messages, attention to the physical appearance of doctors' offices, a willingness to respond to feedback from consumers, careful selection of staff (based on technical, inter-personal and management skills) and the use of incentives to encourage high performance from staff (1986, United States Public Health Service).

2 The anomalous practice of financing staff costs from different program headings needs to be reviewed.
initiatives taken by PHC staff in response to local needs. Some NGO-run schemes, e.g. Jamkhed, Narangwal, and so forth, offer clues on how to motivate staff (and to establish a concept of team responsibility), and establish support and credentials with the local community. MOs will need special training to improve their planning and management skills - pre-assignment training covering management and public health problems should be mandatory. MOs could also be guided through use of systematic audits covering in-service training, worker productivity, resource use, community relations, service utilization and coverage. Indonesia has developed a system of this kind which rates health centers (and outreach) on performance. Based on such audits, incentives and rewards for distinguished service by MOs could be developed. Currently, promotion prospects are mainly linked to seniority.

Some elements in the primary health system will need rethinking. For example, it is doubtful whether the emerging tier of CHCs, a third of which are in place, is needed at this time. The aim was to provide first line hospital (30 beds, four medical specialists, including surgery and obstetrics) and emergency services in each block (100,000-150,000 people). However, utilization is likely to be disappointing because higher level hospitals are sometimes in reach and due to difficulties of recruiting and retaining specialist staff. Also, provision of nurses, technicians, equipment and supplies and opportunities to visit PHCs and SCs is not adequate to support the work of specialists.

After 15 years the role of the VHG remains to be defined. Evaluations suggest that this part-time worker can handle minor curative tasks but has had little impact on health promotion. Selection of females, careful task selection, training and community oversight will all be needed to upgrade performance. The increased outlays required for stipends and supplies are probably worthwhile as a relatively cheap way of providing general preventive and some curative services in villages.

Priority in pursuing an outreach-based strategy needs to be given to low performance states, but this requires new funding arrangements. The disappointing impact of the PHC system in these states is due (in part) to limited resources for operational purposes. As infrastructure expands, more funds are needed for travel, training, supplies, energy, maintenance, salaries, DA, and so forth. (But as long as utilization remains low, these inputs will be unproductive.) Increased plan allocations are needed, perhaps as a regionally oriented program analogous to the Special Rice Scheme in Eastern India. In addition, ways of sharply stepping up non-plan support need to be devised. Combined Central and State government task forces might be used to recommend options. A special planning fund could be placed at the disposal of these task forces. Efforts are needed in all states to devolve planning and allocation of health funds. The out-reach based strategy is a non-starter without such increased regional and local autonomy in resource management. Experiments with full or partial fiscal delegation (with built-in incentives for cost recovery) could begin immediately in high performing states (e.g. Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra).

An outreach-based approach can be effective in resolving health problems of the urban poor. Here there are two broad options. One is to establish urban health posts providing all except higher levels of medical care
on the pattern of SCs, with outreach by MPWs. These units, which would operate independently of existing hospitals and clinics, would be relatively expensive to build, staff and operate, even if located mainly in slum and development areas. Moreover, there is a strong possibility that bypassing them to the large city hospitals would be commonplace (and hence they would tend to be under-utilized). The second option is to establish local health offices, such as the Health Administrative Units developed in Calcutta. These are small centres created for supervision of outreach rather than direct provision of care; they rely mainly on referral facilities and on training volunteer health workers to establish close contact with slum households. Such Health Districts could establish a network with existing hospitals, NGO clinics and possibly private practitioners. A joint management board, including community leaders, would establish management practices, information systems, preventive goals, referral patterns and the organization of outreach services.

C. Family Planning

6.20 The accomplishments and deficiencies of the family welfare program are well known, as are the general lines of remedial action which need to be taken. An estimated 32 percent of all couples are now effectively protected against unwanted pregnancy. However, the heavy reliance on sterilization, which accounts for 70 percent or more of all births averted in eleven of fourteen major states, limits prospects of substantially decreasing fertility. India's fertility transition is likely to resume only when couples begin using temporary methods on a large scale. This is unlikely to happen without farreaching changes in the orientation and approach taken in the family welfare program.

6.21 A major disadvantage of a sterilization-based approach is that this method is typically adopted only by those who have reached their family size target, particularly the desired number of sons--mean age of tubectomy acceptor was 30.3 in 1985/86 (down only slightly from 31.4 in 1973/74) while mean number of living children per acceptor has remained at 3.5 since 1977/78 (Stout). These age-parity characteristics define an upper bound for the demand, ceteris paribus, for sterilization which states like Maharashtra appear to be approaching. Given this market ceiling, prevalence can only rise through "recruitment" of younger acceptors, but these are the clients who have not attained their family size (and composition) goals and who have shown the least interest in irreversible methods. (If the current method mix does not change, then sterilization would have to be adopted by a quarter of women aged 20-24 and over half of those age 25-29 if replacement level fertility is to be achieved by the year 2020--a most unlikely scenario. See Stout for further details.)

6.22 It is clear then that much greater use of reversible methods, e.g. pills, IUDs, condoms, withdrawal, implants, injectables and so forth, is needed if prevalence rates are to rise. An important obstacle to such a contraceptive transition is the continuing strong programatic and institutional orientation towards sterilization. Despite the beginnings of change, the entire PHC system, with support from staff from the Revenue and other departments, continues to be geared toward achieving targeted numbers of sterilizations. This has brought the sorts of problems alluded to earlier, including an unflattering public image due to various abuses (overzealous pursuit of targets and side-effects of surgery
itself) and the diversion of field workers' attention (and that of the rest of the PHC) from crucial tasks such as outreach, health and family planning education and motivational work, and provision of temporary methods. Most critically, the program's revealed emphasis on terminating childbearing on the achievement of desired family size weakens its capacity to influence high infant mortality which continues to underlie weak contraceptive demand. (Meanwhile, better-educated and wealthier individuals, who prefer smaller families, have bypassed the public system with its gaps in the availability and quality of services and turned to private providers.)

6.23 The way out of this programatic cul-de-sac is known, at least in broad outline. For instance, the Revised Family Welfare Strategy (1986) acknowledged that "poor quality of services, non-availability of staff, lack of empathy of the staff, poor management" and other flaws have resulted in unfavorable public perceptions of the scheme. The way forward that is envisaged involves filling vacant posts, delineating job tasks more carefully, upgrading skills, improving service incentives and conditions, emphasizing temporary methods, and so forth. This strategy also gives centrality to the use of communications techniques, with messages differentiated according to the characteristics of specific target groups.

6.24 The thrust of this broad approach is unexceptionable. However, some of the key components and implications of the revised strategy have yet to be fully recognized. The outreach-based mode of service delivery discussed above appears to be an indispensable feature of a revised strategy. This approach will strengthen the capacity of the PHC system to inform and serve key target groups (in this case, women under age 30). A widening of the coverage of services to include temporary methods will entail more detailed planning of the location of facilities and the allocation of workers, while improved quality will require considerable investment in staff training and redefinition of the tasks of field workers and their superiors (see above). Developing systematic procedures for ensuring frequent and high quality interaction with beneficiaries will be especially challenging.

6.25 However, the outreach-based approach cannot work unless the present reliance on targets as an administrative and motivational tool is dispensed with. All field workers currently have targets (formulated in terms of expected numbers of sterilization and IUD acceptors) which reflect objectives established at the state and district level. In principle, target-setting may be useful in monitoring performance. The content and format of this evaluative mechanism system can have a profound effect though on the overall direction (including quality and viability) of a program, since targets are the clearest signal available to managers to guide workers. It is worth noting that State level program managers in each of the nine states reviewed in a recent study (ASCI, 1988) candidly and consistently spoke of their frustration with the near exclusive focus on family planning targets as a performance measure. Because of the negative repercussions that are widely reported, the abandonment of

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3 This section draws on the Population Council's 1987 review of Population Policies and Programs in India, undertaken for USAID.
targets and target-driven administrative methods has become a sine qua non for further advances in family planning prevalence in India.

6.26 Target-based procedures need to be replaced by evaluation techniques which are meaningful and helpful to workers at different levels. Currently the Management Information System (MIS) does not produce family planning output indices, including method-specific acceptance rates, discontinuation rates, and so forth based on local denominators. Instead, the MIS relies on estimates of total coverage (based on figures for eligible couples imputed from census data as the denominator and assumptions about actual use effectiveness and continuation rates) to yield an estimate of births averted. As a result, the key evaluative indicator is the absolute number of acceptors. The lack of local denominator data makes the MIS useless for administrators who must allocate resources wisely in their own area of operation. The service statistic system is also handicapped by an orientation toward data extraction rather than utilization. Recent estimates suggest that 25-30 percent of the MPW's time is spent on maintaining 15-18 different registers, with little understanding of why the data are being collected (Stout).

6.27 Bangladesh’s experimental Matlab project has shown that improving the availability and use of data on key indicators of family planning and MCH performance is both feasible and helpful in improving performance. Key aspects of the system include a demographic surveillance system which allows program managers to assess performance indicators, including acceptance and continuation rates for known (denominator) groups, and rapid feedback systems to facilitate use of data in program planning. The MIS used in Matlab is user-friendly and provides each worker with case history information for all individuals in her area. The same system provides supervisors with feedback about the pace of work, the content of services, and workers' problems. Accountability for performance is enhanced through regular group discussions and peer comparison of performance (Phillips, et. al. 1988). In India, the Bavala experiment is using microcomputer technology to facilitate rapid data analysis, and provide block and district level medical officers with timely information on output rates and worker performance. An obvious direction for MIS reform is to develop indicators based on a refined definition of program focus (see above), using locally measurable denominators, such as numbers of currently pregnant women. Such a step would need to be accompanied by regular contraceptive prevalence surveys, which can provide a check on service statistic reports while also covering both private and public sources of care.

6.28 Stepped-up, more carefully targeted marketing activities are part and parcel of the outreach-based approach suggested above. To date, the still highly centralized information, education, and communications (IEC) effort has relied almost exclusively on the electronic and print media, thereby failing to recognize that the most important opportunities for gauging customer reactions and changing attitudes, beliefs, and practices occur at the point where field workers and clients come into contact—in clinical settings and during household visits and group meetings. In fact, no amount of radio, television, newspaper-based publicity can replace the impression that clients receive if PHC staff or medical supplies are not available, if doctors charge for services which are nominally free, or if staff are unresponsive to needs and requests. In short, satisfied "customers" are the best advertisement. Improving outreach capacity
and the quality of services are critical IEC interventions which depend on specific procedures and skills, e.g. eliciting feedback from clients on the use and likely side-effects of particular temporary methods, providing effective answers to clients' questions and advising on specific aspects of maternal and child health. In addition, staff need to have appropriate materials to work with as well as training in how to use the materials in organizing group discussions and transmitting specific messages. Here it is noteworthy that district level IEC staff in Andhra Pradesh have succeeded in producing their own materials, with results more salient to local needs than materials emanating from Hyderabad or Delhi.

6.29 Careful message design and pretesting to achieve a close fit between the audience's beliefs and practices and message content is also a prerequisite for IEC success. In a break with the past, family planning messages in Hindi are now stressing the importance of women's health, the right to education and personal growth of girls, the benefits of contraceptive use by young brides and so forth. Building on and "localizing" these messages will require considerable decentralization. It is inappropriate for IEC campaigns to be run from Delhi or even state capitals. A variety of low cost tools--focus group research, participant observation, point of sale surveys, and the like--are now available for local use, while local firms can be hired to carry out market research and develop media campaigns. A lack of staff trained to manage IEC activities at state and district level is a major constraining factor. Vacancies for district level media officers have persisted in several states, making it difficult for thinly staffed state level mass media and health education officers (typically two per state) to interact effectively with Block Extension Educators or their district level counterparts.

6.30 Compensation for sterilization and IUD acceptance is another strong signalling device employed in the family welfare program. Outlays on compensation account for 20-35 percent of program expenditures in different states, with the Centrally recommended incentive payments, Rs. 150 for sterilization and Rs. 11 for IUDs, frequently topped off by State and District authorities, and in several cases NGOs or private firms. Although little is known about how compensation payments affect demand, the use of incentives should be altered since they signal a strong positive attitude with respect to sterilization, and provide no reward or positive reinforcement to clients (or to service providers) for temporary method (besides IUDs) or utilization of other PHC services.

6.31 Some recent experiences in India and elsewhere may be helpful in formulating an incentives policy which encourages adoption of "spacing" methods. One such experimental approach, being tested by an NGO in Ammanpettai in Tamil Nadu, uses small bonus payments to encourage village women to use oral pills and other temporary methods. Eligible women, e.g. those who are married, between 18 and 35, not sterilized and whose youngest child was not less than 6 months nor more than 10 years old, are given Rs. 30 per month for trying contraceptives of their choice, for each month of participation in which they do not become pregnant. The program has been very popular, with more than 80 percent of the eligible women joining; temporary method use rates among participating women have remained high relative to a 'control' population in a nearby PHC. Meanwhile, in Karnataka, the Family Planning Foundation has helped a local Mahila Mandal
to invest the incentive outlays which would normally have been used to compensate sterilization acceptors. At the same time, the Mahila Mandal has promoted temporary contraceptive methods, leading to an increase in prevalence from 12 percent to 76 percent in 3 - 4 years. This approach resembles the community incentive schemes which have been successfully tested in Thailand.

6.32 Finally, a hallmark of an outreach-based approach is cooperative "networking" with other potential service providers who are accessible to and retain credibility with the poor. There is evidence that both rural and urban poor perceive private sources of care as more readily available and as providing higher quality of care. Current utilization of private health services by the poor is primarily for curative purposes. There are many opportunities, though, for a beneficial public-private partnership in preventive health care delivery. Indeed, there have been several important collaborative efforts in India, including cooperation with organized sector firms like TISCO and Hindustan Lever. For instance, TISCO’s current family welfare program for employees and residents of Jamshedpur has shown remarkable success in targeting family planning messages to particular groups and in involving trade union personnel and leadership in the development of the program. The results include significant annual increases in ante-natal care and contraceptive prevalence (now about 60% in Jamshedpur) for employees and among residents in the area.

6.33 Experience in other Asian developing countries and in developed countries has shown that active partnership with private for-profit providers of care, institutional as well as individual, provides a valuable means of extending service coverage. Thailand’s remarkable success in family planning seems to stem from the Government’s active cooperation with private and NGO sources (Klitsch and Walsh). Family planning programs in developed countries already rely heavily on private providers, particularly for the distribution of spacing methods (which require resupply), often using government subsidies to attract private participation in service delivery, and to provide a mechanism for assuring service quality.

6.34 Although close study of the potential effectiveness of different alternatives is needed, the range of options for promoting private sector provision in developing countries is becoming clearer. One model of potential applicability in India is to continue to rely on public sources for provision of clinical methods, while using private providers to increase access to non-clinical methods. This would include greater use of commercial outlets (including pharmacies), and marketing channels to distribute subsidized condoms and resupply of other spacing methods. In addition, steps can be taken to induce private physicians and privately-run clinics to play a larger service-delivery role (thereby broadening coverage, and allowing limited public resources to be used for services targeted at the most indigent). This option is likely to be more feasible in urban settings, in the short term. Possible facilitative measures include contracting out services to private providers, use of reimbursable vouchers for purchase of family planning services, technical and managerial assistance, subsidized loans to potential suppliers, removal of price controls and tariffs, and tax relief.
The various initiatives just discussed, e.g. adoption of an outreach-based orientation in PHCs; emphasis on attentive, high quality care backed by good IEC messages and materials; and collaboration with private providers, can help foster greater use of reversible contraceptive methods amongst the key target group of women under 30. These measures will not be easy to implement since they involve reorientation of attitudes, tasks, and procedures within and outside the family welfare program. Clear direction and informed, supportive management and supervision, particularly of the large cadres of field staff, will be needed if a shift in direction is to be achieved. Political commitment to improved family welfare performance will also need to be demonstrated. Health still appears to have low priority, and much more can be done to bring health and family welfare issues into the public arena. (For example, family welfare could be discussed within the National Development Council; state Chief Ministers could be more energetic and resourceful in backing the scheme; and state health ministers could do more to enforce basic rules, e.g. those concerning recruitment, in their departments.)

It should be noted though that measures such as those suggested are unlikely to yield immediate results, i.e. a sharp increase in prevalence and reduced fertility rates. This is because the factors like high infant mortality, low female literacy, and reliance on family for old age widowhood and "contingency" insurance which underpin large family size targets and strong son preference are changing slowly, and will continue to be influential in the medium term. Surveys continue to show that the great majority of couples want three or more children, including at least two sons. These demand-side forces cannot be overcome merely by improving the supply and quality of services, although demand will certainly respond to services which entail lower monetary, social, and psychological costs. Consequently, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare cannot be expected to bring about rapid changes in the family planning picture by itself. (Nor will the "drastic" disincentives to high fertility sometimes discussed achieve anything other than increased public aversion to the primary health system.) In this context, "beyond-family planning" programs, which give prior access to publicly provided goods and services to low fertility couples, are sometimes seen as a way of affecting the demand for children. However, such schemes, besides raising ethical issues, are staff and data intensive, leakage-prone, and cumbersome to operate. It seems best instead to press ahead vigorously with improvements in female literacy (adult, adolescent and primary level) and health services, expanded programs of employment, life and old age insurance, measures contributing to labor demand and other initiatives likely to undermine the traditional supports to high fertility.

4 The above-cited Population Council study concluded that "There is little doubt in that some unmet demand for reversible methods exists in India... At the same time, the available evidence strongly suggests that the extent of unmet demand, including the potential that can be realized through IEC efforts, is lower than the levels required to achieve national demographic objectives" (page 77).
D. ICDS

6.37 Changing over to a full-fledged outreach-based approach will make it easier to coordinate the activities of PHC staff with those of the anganwadi-based ICDS worker, the AWW. This is important because health is often felt to be the weakest of the various services which the AWW delivers. ICDS, which began in 1975, had brought its package of basic health, nutrition and pre-school education services to roughly 1800 blocks by April 1988. Coverage of additional blocks is limited by funding constraints mainly at the state level. States are responsible for the food expenditure component, notionally expected to amount to 60 percent of total ICDS outlay. Food aid defrays some of these costs. Still, some states prefer to finance alternative programs (e.g. mid-day meals and subsidized rice schemes) which also bring some nutritional benefits. This leads at time to long delays before sanctioned ICDS projects begin operating, and also shows up in a relatively slow expansion of the overall program. Thus, approximately 160 new blocks per year were added during the Seventh Plan (first three years), with 3200 blocks still not included in the program. Funding problems are evidenced in other ways. For instance, key supervisory staff (the block level Mukhiya Sevika, MS, and the district level Child Development Project Officer, CDPO) are not in place in some areas; supplementary food is sometimes not available for long periods; and facilities and materials for pre-service and in-service training are often lacking. Such gaps in the training and supervision of staff at different levels underlie the concerns just mentioned about how effectively ICDS delivers health (or other) services.

6.38 ICDS has compensated to some extent for resource constraints by giving priority to areas with greater health and nutritional needs. During the Seventh Plan, blocks with concentrations of scheduled caste and tribal groups and urban slums are slated to get precedence. ICDS also has other features which increase the likelihood that services will reach target groups. For instance, there is a clear definition of those to be served, e.g. children 0-6 and pregnant and lactating women. In addition, the AWW unlike the MPWF has a fixed village base, the anganwadi. Another great strength of ICDS is its (intended) use of local workers as AWWs--these women should have an entree into the community and an understanding of local needs. Unfortunately, the potential of this feature of the scheme is threatened by the installation in some areas of political appointees who may be uncommitted or ineffective because they are from higher castes than their clients, and by the need in tribal areas to bring in more educated candidates. The latter workers have proved less able to establish rapport with local communities. ICDS may want to provide functional literacy

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5 One study showed that average number of "feeding days" in a three-month period varied from 35 in Maharashtra to 89 in Tamil Nadu (Copalan).

6 Studies show marked variation in performance at the state, block, and anganwadi levels. As discussed though, the comparability of findings from different evaluations is in somewhat doubt because of small sample sizes, lack of control groups, differences in focus and so forth.
training for local candidates, at the cost of delaying the start-up of new anganwadis by a few months.

6.39 Despite a number of exemplary programmatic features, the AWW like the MPWF faces the problem of deciding which of numerous tasks and services are to be provided to her diverse clientele. This focusing issue arises in part because of differences in the emphasis which states give to particular components. Some states treat ICDS as a pre-school program, and health and nutrition aspects receive less emphasis. Elsewhere, it is viewed as a supplementary nutrition (or a pure feeding) scheme, with health and education getting less attention. Studies suggest that, like the over-extended MPWF, the average AWW focuses on those parts of her work which are easiest and where she has most pressure to perform, and spends less time on other aspects of her duties. Apart from state-level directives, there is usually strong pressure from the local community for the child feeding program and for preschool education, and it is these activities which are emphasized in practice, although often at low levels of quality. Thus, preschool usually consists of learning repetitive jingles, and memorizing letters and numbers rather than well-conceived early learning experiences. In nutrition, the focus is often on bringing in enough children to satisfy local mothers and use up the available food, rather than making sure that all needy children (especially those under three who remain at home or at work with mothers) are included in the program and that the severely malnourished get rehabilitated - in other words, the program becomes a feeding rather than a nutrition program. This is particularly the case where, as in most areas, there are limits "recommended" to the number of children that can be fed; once the AWW has filled her unofficial quota of, say, 60, she has no strong incentive to go out and find other malnourished children for inclusion.

6.40 What tends to be neglected are services for pregnant and lactating women who may find it demeaning to come to the anganwadi for supplementary feeding; health and nutrition care for the under threes, who are harder to attract to the anganwadi; health and nutrition education, because there is little demand for these preventive activities; and home visiting, because the AWW’s day is taken up with center-based activities, and because such visits are likely to turn up additional clients for service, further increasing an already full workload.

6.41 The activities that take most of the anganwadi worker’s time are feeding and preschool; together, they require 4-5 hours a day. The dilemma faced by the program is that there is little scope for freeing up the AWW’s time without cutting out one of these activities, a step which is not in practice feasible—or desirable—because it would destroy the basic character and purpose of the ICDS scheme. One way of enhancing the quality of service delivery and insuring that some activities are not neglected is to increase the number of anganwadi workers. For example, two AWWs might be employed, one to look after pre-school, feeding, and health referrals at the anganwadi and the second to concentrate on the under-threes, pregnant and lactating women, and educational work largely through home visits (Subbarao). This would raise program costs, and possibly inhibit expansion of ICDS into new blocks or delay improvement in existing service areas. Accordingly, the two-AWW model might best be taken up only in those blocks, say a quarter, with high levels of malnutrition. This would entail an additional outlay of Rs. 160 million. (Ways may be found, though
to reduce incremental costs. For instance, adolescent girls might be employed as assistants for a nominal wage together with supplementary food.)

6.42 An alternative, less expensive means of strengthening program impact is to change the range of duties and to prioritize the AWW's tasks.\(^7\) For instance, some health-related tasks can be dropped or adjusted once closer cooperation with MPWFS is achieved. The 16-day-a-month MPWF home visit program suggested earlier would reduce some of the burden on AWWs. A rational division of duties would be for the AWW to provide monthly weighing, supplementary feeding and other services to pregnant women at anganwadis, and for the MPWF to supply the health aspects of ante-natal care during home visits.\(^6\) The suggested work program (para 6.19 above) would have the MPWF visit a given anganwadi area three or four times a month. The first stop at each village visit should be the anganwadi, in order to carry out routine health checks, exchange information with the AWW on new arrivals and problem cases, define priorities for counselling, referrals to PHCs,\(^8\) and home visits (some of which could be undertaken together that afternoon), and jointly plan activities of mutual interest e.g. immunization, particular IEC efforts, or strengthening of community involvement.

6.43 With her health load thereby reduced, the AWW would have more time for other tasks. One possible additional responsibility, which need not be time-consuming, is to provide family planning counsel and resupply of pills. This task, which is consistent with a mandate to improve maternal and child health and nutrition, would give MPWFS a further incentive to work with AWWs. The addition of family planning activities is suggested though with two caveats, a focus on birth spacing methods (which would be congruent with the health and nutrition goals of ICDS) and insuring that no "acceptor" targets are set for the AWW.

6.44 It is also suggested that the AWW give greater priority to some of her existing duties. For instance, no systematic attention has been given to pre-school activities, which represent little more than lightly supervised day-care

\(^7\) The relative effectiveness of the one-worker and two-worker models should be tested in different blocks, with all areas involved in the experiment receiving the same improved supervision and training inputs.

\(^8\) It is not clear, in any case, how under the current system the AWW can provide worthwhile ante-natal care, since this should involve blood pressure and urine testing and the identification of high risk pregnancy cases, activities which are more within the competence of the MPWF.

\(^9\) Given the poverty of the typical ICDS client, it is likely that some financial compensation will be required for those referred to the PHC for further care. It would be worth experimenting with a system where a referral slip given to a patient by the MPWF would entitle the patient to a refund of bus fare on arrival at the PHC. The same slip, kept by the patient, could be used by the MO to record diagnosis and treatment, so as to enable MPWF and AWW to provide appropriate follow-up care on the patient's return to the village.
for children age 3-6. Close cooperation is needed with the village school teacher (as with the MPWF) in designing a stimulating early childhood education program which will prepare the way for subsequent schooling, explaining this to parents, monitoring progress, and insuring that children continue on to primary school.

6.45 Meanwhile, the nutritional consequences of ICDS can be strengthened by giving greater attention in high risk areas to counseling and education (which will require good IEC materials) and by insuring, through periodic surveys, that all potential clients are registered and visited. Finally, growth monitoring, the regular monthly weighing and growth charting of children, is a critical AWW activity, because all but the most extreme malnutrition is hard to identify by eye. However, in some areas, weighing and charting are not undertaken at all; elsewhere, AWWs attempt both, but weigh and plot inaccurately; and in most areas, not all children are weighed monthly, with a particular bias against the under threes. The inevitable consequence is that the program fails to identify significant numbers of malnourished children. Improved basic and in-service training (see below) as well as greater priority to these activities on the part of AWWs and supervisors is required to correct these deficiencies. One way of reducing the AWW's workload would be to confine growth monitoring to children under age three.

6.46 Policy-makers might also consider introducing regular weighing and charting of pregnant women, since maternal nutrition currently receives less emphasis than child nutrition, despite its determining effects on the latter. In addition, entry and exit criteria to the child feeding program might be adjusted. Here the issues relate to the relative merits of feeding only those with moderate or severe malnutrition (ICDS) or also those who are normal but whose growth is faltering (as is done in the Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Project); whether children who are mildly malnourished but on a positive growth path need feeding; and the appropriate length of time malnourished children should spend in the feeding program. These technical but extremely important issues can best be resolved by careful field experiments on the impact of different approaches on malnutrition.

6.47 These changes in the field worker's tasks and responsibilities need to be supported through better supervision and stepped-up training. The current supervisor-worker ratio of 1:20 makes it impossible for the supervisor to spend enough time with each AWW to have a real impact on her performance. The brevity of supervision visits encourages the current emphasis on checking registers rather than support and on-the-job training. It is therefore recommended that the number of ICDS supervisors be doubled, and that they be provided with mopeds (or transport allowances as appropriate) so that a minimum of time is spent travelling between anganwadis. Supervision is also hampered by the inexperience of direct recruit graduates. A second desirable policy change would therefore be to fill as many supervisor posts as possible by promotion of outstanding anganwadi workers--a move which would not only increase the quality of supervision but would also act as a performance incentive for AWWs. Also, thorough retraining of existing supervisors in the practical aspects of anganwadi work is essential. Finally, supervision could be focused and workers made more accountable by the development of a small number of summary performance indicators which could be displayed publicly at the anganwadi.
Concerning training, the rapid expansion of ICDS has brought an understandable emphasis on pre-service rather than in-service instruction. However, it will not be possible to bring in new work practices for AWWs until this imbalance is rectified. Accordingly, state-wise investment and manpower plans should be drawn up to ensure that each AWW receives formal in-service training at least once in two years. Also, the existing curriculum should be reviewed to ensure that the correct emphasis is given to the task priorities identified above. A third imperative is to professionalize AWW training, and to increase consistency in the quality of training between AWW schools. Finally, as in the case of family welfare, serious consideration should be given to instituting in-service training at block and district level, since a biannual round of formal in-service training is too infrequent to adequately refresh workers’ skills.

Finally, ICDS resembles the primary health program in its failure to generate extensive community participation. This is related to the common perception in communities that ICDS is a government feeding and pre-school program rather than a community self-help program. In some areas, progress has been made by using mahila mandals for community health and nutrition education, but in many places, these organizations appear unsuitable for this purpose, since they focus mainly on income-generation or political goals. It may be preferable to develop new groups of motivated women specifically to support ICDS and family welfare activities in the village. For example, the AWW could set-up Women’s Working Groups to assist her with assembling mothers and weighing children, health and nutrition education activities, and so forth. A key task though would be to help in communicating both the content of the program (in terms of services available at the anganwadi) and its philosophy (in terms of its emphasis on family self-reliance), both of which are currently poorly understood by the program’s actual and potential clients. Analogous groups of adolescent girls could discuss the health, nutrition and family planning aspects of their impending motherhood; assist in educating their own family members in these areas; and help in anganwadi service provision.

E. Basic Education

The Government’s forthright 1985 Challenge of Education paper recognizes the serious problems caused by low funding of basic educational services, and there is little purpose in covering the same ground here. The National Policy on Education (NPE) represents a broad effort to achieve universal primary educational (UPE) attainment by 1995 for all children age 6-14, by eliminating crucial programatic gaps. This will involve, in the first instance, a large increase in resources allocated to the sector. In this respect, the Center’s contribution to NPE includes Operation Blackboard (OB), a centrally-sponsored scheme to make available essential primary school facilities, specifically two all-weather classrooms, and various teaching materials, games and toys, and a second teacher, preferably a woman, in all single-teacher schools. Under OB, states are to plan and finance the building of classrooms. Based on construction plans submitted by the states, the Center will pay for the salaries of additional teachers (so far, only during the Seventh Plan), and the package of educational materials.
6.51 As discussed earlier, the funds needed to fully implement NPE have not been budgeted. The Center, after more than doubling its spending in 1987/88, was unable to increase education outlays in 1988/89. Meanwhile, resource constraints have forced many states to put off, to the Eighth Plan period or possibly later, the sizable non-recurrent allocations needed for the construction component of OB and for other NPE schemes. For example, NPE envisaged covering all blocks under OB by 1990. However, many states got off to a late start and now anticipate achieving full state coverage by the early 1990s at the earliest. It is questionable, in fact, whether any “additionality” has been achieved via OB. For instance, several states including Karnataka have shifted teachers now supported by non-Plan funds into posts created and financed under OB. No additional teaching positions have been recruited (Chatterjee).

6.52 Vigorous efforts will be needed then to restore the funding momentum generated in NPE. This will need strong leadership and commitment from the Center as well as creative approaches to mobilizing resources. At the same time, the most must be made of the funds, facilities and manpower which are available. This will require identification of measures which are crucial for attaining the goal of UEE, and setting priorities accordingly. In this respect, the situation in education resembles that in health a decade or so ago when, drawing on much NGO work, the health guide scheme was launched and the PHC system began to take shape. There is a tradition of innovative NGO educational activity in a few states (notably Maharashtra) and some broad lessons are available from other developing countries, e.g. Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Tanzania and China, which attained UEE through concerted national programs. However, the sectoral experience “on tap” is not sufficient to offer clear guidance on critical matters. What follows is a review of areas in which detailed thinking-through of issues, and experimentation with (and evaluation of) alternative approaches appear warranted.

There needs to be a concerted focus on high risk groups, i.e. those who never enroll or begin late and those likely to drop out. Indeed, universalization of primary education (or, in fact, any further increase in enrolment over current levels) necessarily entails the inclusion and retention of previously under-represented groups in the school room, particularly girls, scheduled Caste and Tribe children, and the poor in general. There is also a geographical pattern of education risk--three quarters of all out-of-school children are found in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. (As enrolment grows toward 100% coverage in net terms, the proportions of these various children will have to increase.) OB requires states to give preference to educationally disadvantaged blocks having large concentrations of scheduled caste, tribal and other minority households. The same emphasis should be present in other initiatives like those relating to curriculum, teacher training and supervision, attendance incentives, reform of management and so forth.

Reaching high risk groups is relatively difficult and costly, and requires simultaneous action on several fronts. Adequate facilities remain indispensable. OB is directed at the 190,000 localities which lack a primary school, and at those whose school has no proper building (40 percent), basic equipment (40 percent), or drinking water (60 percent). Detailed planning of
school locations, based on censuses of children, and expected “consumer behavior” including the timings (and walking distances) likely to attract children, especially girls, required staffing patterns, and so forth is required to ensure that OB’s resources are well used. Currently, planning is essentially an arithmetical exercise based on specific population per facility norms. The same micro planning exercises can help in making better use of existing infrastructure. Here experience from Sri Lanka and Maharashtra suggests that utilization as well as instructional quality may improve by establishing clusters of core and smaller peripheral schools, which undertake joint activities and share resources, facilities and expertise (Colletta, Chitnis). Teaching classes in shifts, and setting up composite schools, which combine lower and higher primary levels and sometimes the secondary stage, may yield comparable efficiency and educational gains in other settings.

Initiatives to widen and rationalize access to services need to be accompanied by efforts to make the content of schooling interesting and useful. This issue is fundamental to the retention of children in schools. In the past, schooling even at the primary level has been “academic”-oriented largely to pushing a select few up the educational ladder. While examinations and “merit promotions” have been abolished at the primary stage more recently, their continuation at the middle level (which allows the selection of a proportion of children for free secondary education in state schools) inevitably influences the primary level curriculum and methods, making them knowledge- rather than skill-oriented. Basic education thus loses a mass orientation and becomes irrelevant to the majority of children. However, only education that is relevant in the rural environment can offset the opportunity costs of schooling to poor families. Accordingly, starting at the pre-school level (see the ICDS section and below) and continuing all through the primary stage child and family interest in learning need to be stimulated by imparting numeracy, alphabetic and simple skills, in place of the current pedantic approaches which rely on recitation by rote, and blackboard-style instruction rather than tactile or visual stimulation, etc. These aims call for attention to the school curriculum and to learning materials in the classroom. Although some heed has been paid to these issues, efforts are still dispersed, and inadequate in the aggregate. The large quantum of textual and support materials required, for example, and the need to revise, rewrite, redesign, translate (into local languages) and evaluate them call for full-fledged state-level institutes to handle their production as well as research and training tasks vis-a-vis basic skills (i.e. revamped and expanded State Councils for Educational Research and Training, SCERTs, linked to a dynamic national coordinating body, NCERT). The arms of these at the district-level (the District Institutes of Education and Training, DIETs proposed in NPE), must also be active in evolving strategies and disseminating inputs at the taluk-level.

Different means need to be examined to enhance private and social demand for schooling, especially education for girls. As with family planning, demand is influenced by many factors, e.g. labor market trends, nearby availability of fuel, fodder and drinking water, social and cultural developments and so forth which are not within the purview of education authorities. Nevertheless, ways do exist to stimulate demand. For instance, several programs have aimed at overcoming the particular constraints faced by high risk groups. The abolition of school fees, and incentive schemes, such as the provision of free books and clothes, have reduced the direct costs of schooling to poor
families, while the free meals and boarding facilities available in some areas compensate them further. Other schemes, such as monetary scholarships or "foster child" programs, have addressed both direct and indirect costs, while special strategies, such as increasing the number of women primary teachers, providing tutors or locating schools near Scheduled Caste hamlets, etc. are concerned with social handicaps. Greater efforts could be made though to provide day care (which would allow older sisters to attend school) through, for instance, sharing of ICDS and primary school facilities. Such a step deserves attention as a means of raising current and future school attendance.

6.53 Recourse to measures like these has been limited by the expenses involved. The costs of free books, meals and clothes are considerable, but there can be relatively little leakage in these schemes so that resources are spent efficiently. On the other hand, the high cost of residential schools limits their potential coverage and makes it imperative to locate them appropriately and monitor their use and management. Scholarships invite leakage unless linked more closely to actual attendance. Use of incentive schemes has also been inhibited by a lack of awareness among target groups.

6.54 Measures like these need to be carefully evaluated and then adopted in appropriate circumstances. While it is often alleged that such schemes create a dependence among the poor, it is perhaps more true that they do not enhance real demand for education. They have limited success unless accompanied by concerted efforts in the mass media and on the part of teachers, school inspectors and other authorities and community leaders and members to "motivate" families to send their children to school regularly and long enough for any educational effects to occur. But motivation efforts remain scattered and tentative, often lacking the support of political and bureaucratic authorities. The need for such public support is especially critical to increase girls' enrolment, along with attention to supply-side issues (e.g. distance factors, female teachers, separate girls schools, and day care centers). Follow-up of non-attenders should be a routine aspect of school management, entrusted to both teachers and inspectors. Universalization, in fact, requires an appreciation by education personnel as well as parents of all children's "right" to education and that the enforcement of existing compulsory education legislation is the joint responsibility of "the people" and of government.

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A number of steps need to be taken to improve the performance and commitment of the field worker, the village teacher. Selection, recruitment, training, placement and retention of qualified teachers all appear to matter. Despite the impressive qualifications (85 percent are "trained") of existing staff, high drop-out rates must stem in part from poor attendance and instruction by teachers, and possibly factors such as gender or caste. (Surveys in Pakistan suggest that lack of a female teacher is the most critical disincentive to attendance by girls. This finding may be salient to Rajasthan and other north Indian states.) Close study is needed of different hiring, assignment and compensation practices, including whether to recruit only from target groups, whether (and how) to attract older women, whether entry qualifications for primary level teachers should be lowered, and what incentives are needed to get
women to teach in rural areas.\textsuperscript{10} Also needing attention are successful experiments in other countries (including Tanzania, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka) and in India with in-service training for primary teachers.\textsuperscript{11} Among other things, such training needs to provide guidance on setting priorities among numerous pedagogical, managerial, “demand”-enhancing, community-oriented and other responsibilities.

Improved management and supervision will be critical in strengthening the performance of teachers. Perhaps the most important ‘management layer’ in the educational structure is the school inspection system which relies on infrequent surprise visits by a peripatetic supervisor who concentrates on establishing school enrolment and attendance. Staff shortages, lack of funds for bus transport and huge distances combine to limit the effective coverage of these inspectors. There is little doubt that the supervision system needs improvement, both for the purposes of bringing accountability to the school room (in terms of teacher’s attendance, quality of teaching, etc.) but equally-important in order to provide systematic support and professional guidance to teachers. Thus, besides requiring administrative adjustments (e.g. increases in travel allowances) the philosophical underpinnings of the “inspection” system need drastic revision—to turn the school inspector, as it were, into a ‘super-teacher.’ In lieu of the current ‘over the shoulder approach’ which renders teacher supervision extremely subjective, it may be well to think of periodic objective assessments of teacher knowledge and skills, linked, for example, to in-service training. It may also be worthwhile to experiment with “learning coordinators” who are being used in some Pakistan districts to supervise and provide intensive on-the-job support to a small number (15) of schools. Finally, there is clearly a need for an efficient management information system in education which will provide timely “diagnostic” information from the village school to the taluk and district levels to allow flexible decision-making and appropriate follow-up actions.

Problems experienced in funding OB and NPE as a whole suggest that new approaches to financing education in “high risk” states need to be explored, initially on a limited basis. For instance, ways (e.g. establishing a special fund to make grants, or a special education tax) must be sought of increasing support in the poorest states for non-plan outlays which account for 90 percent of educational expenditures. Other measures also need to be examined to cope with limited resources. Communities might, for example, be asked to donate or construct buildings. However, this could conflict with the goal of UEE by leading to long construction delays, inappropriate location choice, poor design

\textsuperscript{10} A pilot project in Rajasthan is evaluating the effectiveness of Shiksha Karmis, educational workers with elementary level qualifications and a month’s training who teach for 2-3 hours a day in remote areas which have trouble attracting regular teachers.

\textsuperscript{11} One interesting idea being evaluated in Andhra Pradesh is establishment of Local Teacher’s Centers for use as meeting places for sharing professional experiences and disseminating information and new practices.
and construction standards, and inadequate maintenance (especially in poorer villages). On the other hand, greater involvement by local bodies in school management, supervision of teachers and so forth might open the way to more generous community funding. Experiments in functional decentralization and local participation should be encouraged therefore for financial reasons, and also to improve accountability, and to legitimize (i.e. bolster social demand for) schooling. One interesting effort involves village School Betterment Committees in Karnataka which have been given various oversight responsibilities.

In view of funding constraints, it would be prudent to concentrate resources on achieving the key objective of UEE (i.e. insuring eight years of school attendance for those in the 6-14 age range). Accordingly, policy makers may want to take a second look at the Navodaya Vidyalayas (NVs), the model secondary schools, one per district, which are being set up under NPE with Central assistance. The NVs are not only very costly -- the envisaged outlay amounts to a quarter of that for OB which covers a thousand times as many students -- but the provision of improved facilities to a necessarily small group of students (no matter how qualified) is inconsistent with the principle of "education for all" propounded in NPE. Funds from the NV scheme would be better spent on upgrading the larger number of village primary schools, preparing the way in due course for wider access to and greater demand for secondary schooling.

The envisaged use of non-formal education (NFE) initiatives to reach those who do not enroll, dropouts and illiterate adults runs the risk of diverting attention from the need to attain formal system coverage of all newly eligible children (i.e. 6 year olds). Scarc personnel time and funds are best spent on this latter group, insuring their complete enrolment and retention for the full five years. Alternative programs could be introduced more effectively as this cohort reaches the problem stage (e.g. when they are most likely to drop out, around the age of nine, by which time they would have had three years of formal schooling - and, presumably, have developed some interest in learning). By that time the schooling system could develop program norms for children who must work and the skill-oriented curriculum and better quality education required to offset the opportunity costs to them of schooling, as well as appropriate mechanisms to follow them through the alternative programs. The goal of insuring equitable access is perhaps better met by a phased strategy integrating formal and non-formal education than the proposed 'cafeteria approach' which may not detect the non-attendance of children. In short, the educational system seems to be attempting too much at once, and would do better to focus on a one-year cohort at a time, motivating parents through various incentive schemes as well as through detailed attention to quality improvements in a phased manner, as only these are likely to be sustainable.

A strategy of phased, targeted implementation, covering specific areas and groups, particularly illiterate women, also seems to make sense for the new

There is little in the research literature to justify NFE's expectations that NFE can accommodate all of those missed by the formal system in the drive for UEE, and is capable of delivering "equivalent" services. As NFE becomes institutionalized, it is likely to develop the rigidities of the formal system but will lack the latter's strength.
National Literacy Mission (NLM). An earlier scheme, the National Adult Education Program (NAEP), fell far short of its coverage objectives. Moreover, those who passed through NAEP appear to have retained few reading and writing skills. NLM's emphasis on increasing the number of female instructors, and improving the quality of instruction (by applying new learning techniques and materials) should help strengthen acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills. Similarly, the proposed establishment of Jana Shikshan Nilayams (JLNs) each serving 4-5 villages, to provide reading materials and other facilities for the continuing education of the newly literate has much merits.

Despite these encouraging features, NLM's goals of enrolling 80 million adults by 1995 appear to be too ambitious -- NAEP reached only 17 million of a projected coverage of 100 million in the 1979-1984 period. Moreover, the intended reliance on different voluntary agencies to assist in training literacy instructors, operating learning centers and JLNs may have overrated the capacities of these organizations. A possible strategy would be to direct NLM at areas with the greatest backlog of female illiteracy, e.g. districts in the BIMARU states, Andhra Pradesh, and Orissa. An upper limit of 10 or 15 percent might be used to identify target districts. Based on 1981 census data, 133 districts would be selected using a 10 percent ceiling. Within such districts, priority should go to lower literacy talukas and to areas with concentrations of scheduled castes and tribes.

Moreover, means need to be explored of eliciting and sustaining interest in adult literacy programs. PENMAS, Indonesia's acclaimed community education program offers interesting lessons (Bock). This scheme is implemented by field officers, who cover the equivalent of an Indian taluka, work with volunteer facilitators of village-level learning groups and hire part-time instructors to teach literacy and practical vocational skills courses to such groups. Tutors and facilitators offer village groups several different learning modes including self-study, apprenticeship, teacher-centered courses, and group-based activities which combine instruction and work. A learning fund supports the latter mode with loans for prospective income-generating activities.

The PENMAS model suggests interesting ways of linking NLM and related literacy skills programs with the activities of other schemes or activities which benefit the poor. For instance, the ICDS mukhiya sevika and CDPO could form village learning groups made up of potential AWWs, while AWWs and MPWFs could use NLM to set up village support groups. Similarly, farmer's training centers, the Khadi and Village Handicrafts Corporation, village panchayats, NGOs, agricultural extension agents, private input suppliers and private firms in general can all help form learning groups comprising those for whom literacy skills is a prerequisite for further formal or informal "training" or technology transfer. NREP, RLEGP and EGS also provide a promising venue for the formation of learning groups. With assistance from NLM, such programs could set aside one paid day a week for literacy training. (Such funds might be withheld unless sufficient numbers of local women attend literacy classes and learn to write their names).

Finally, there is a natural affinity between this suggested approach and the Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) scheme within IRDP. TRYSEM offers poor beneficiaries skills training (with expenses and opportunity
costs defrayed by a stipend) which is then followed up with project preparation assistance, credit, raw materials, and marketing assistance. Rural banks and district authorities involved in IRDP could form NLM learning groups of prospective TRYSEM trainees; groups could also be made up of existing recipients of IRDP loans.

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Early childhood education activities need to be seen as crucial elements in a strategy to reduce drop-out rates. Research results make a compelling case for supporting programs which foster cognitive development during infancy (ages 0-3) and early childhood (ages 3-5). ICDS represents a logical vehicle for such efforts. However, the AWW needs training and continuing encouragement and guidance which appropriately trained primary school teachers and education department supervisors can provide. Pre-primary schools (PPS) catering exclusively to the educational needs of 3-4 year olds represents an alternative model which is being tested in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. PPSs employ women from the concerned community, but are run by the education department -- this has helped to facilitate coordination with the village school teacher. The effectiveness of these and alternative models needs to be carefully evaluated.

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Resource constraints and the large potential audience that remains to be reached suggest that opportunities for collaboration with private sector providers be explored. The scope, diversity and depth of the services already provided through the private education sector in India have yet to be recognized. In urban areas, private suppliers have established a strong presence, even in low income neighborhoods, in all of the formal stages of schooling (including pre-school), while private providers, on an individual basis or organized in firms, dominate the large and still growing coaching and vocational skill field (Chadha and Singh). The widespread use of tutors by students of all income levels is itself a powerful indicator of the poor quality of services delivered by government schools. The "informal" education sector also responds to an imbalance in the job market for teachers. Rising salaries and benefits and slow increase in employment opportunities in government schools have left a large pool of would-be teachers prepared to work on a part-time basis, often as a means of gaining experience. The potential advantages of private suppliers include broad coverage (area-wise), ability to offer some services even to the poor, flexibility in responding to needs and circumstances, less complacency amongst teachers and managers, and better facilities and equipment (Hariharan). A constant concern is that the services offered, are highly variable and are "regulated" only by the market, not by public authority. This disadvantage can be overcome and the positive features of the private education sector retained through a combination of supply and demand initiatives. Specifically, demand could be fostered through use of tuition vouchers, varying with parental income, which students could present to private suppliers which had been certified following a thorough but open and expeditious review by municipal or state authorities.

F. Common Features and Challenges

6.59 India's primary health system, its revised family welfare strategy, Operation Blackboard and other components of NPE, and ICDS are bold and
imaginative social sector interventions of great potential significance to the poor. Each of these initiatives provides diverse services to an impoverished, and often dispersed, uninformed and sometimes disinterested audience. The delivery strategy is similar in each case -- government personnel establish direct and regular contact with prospective clients, undertake educational and motivational (demand-creation) work and carry out specific service delivery tasks (e.g. provide curative medical care, nutritional supplements, etc.). Field workers are supported and supervised by specialized staff and institutions (CHCs, PHCs, secondary schools) located at the district, block and sub-block levels.

6.60 These social service endeavors have many admirable conceptual features. For instance, the primary health system represents a brave attempt to establish an institutional framework to implement the Alma Ata resolution of "health for all". ICDS stands out as an ingenious response to the interrelated health, nutritional, skill and social development problems of a much neglected group, children age six and younger. Yet as just discussed, the common approach which has been adopted brings in its wake a number of critical challenges and constraints. Specifically, program success depends heavily on the quantity and quality (training, motivation, supervision etc.) of the staff who are deployed. Even without funding restrictions, these initiatives would have to solve difficult management problems, many having to do with working out, in a trial and error fashion, the tasks, reporting and peer relationships and other features of a host of new field positions. For instance, answers must be found to questions such as: What are the felt-needs of the poor and others in local communities? How can service delivery initiatives acquire a credible image with the public? What sort of individuals can and should be recruited for different positions? What incentives, living arrangements, training, supervision and monitoring practices will favorably affect workers' performance?

6.61 Many of these questions have been explored intensively in pilot efforts run by NGOs. For example, the Jamkhed health delivery project has yielded interesting lessons. However, efforts to work out effective and tractable operational guidelines in the different publicly run social service programs have been undermined by funding constraints. Multi-tiered administrative and technical support systems, infrastructure requirements, and high staffing levels make these schemes costly by nature, and thus inherently susceptible to resource cut-offs. Such funding shortfalls would be tolerable for a time in older, ongoing programs served by experienced and motivated staff who have strong public support.

6.62 However, India's service delivery programs are still establishing themselves and thus are quite vulnerable to underfunding, which interferes with the evolution of effective delivery arrangements. Here, the dilemma that arises is whether, in view of funding restrictions, to confine the scope of service delivery until start-up problems are solved and effective delivery procedures are worked out, or instead to try to provide some, albeit lower quality services to the widest possible audience. The imperative of "prematurely" expanding program coverage is understandable. But the risks inherent in this course also need to be kept in view. A likely result in fact is a syndrome, which is noticeable in India, of underutilization of lower tiers of the health system, non-enrollment or non-attendance in primary schools and anganwadis, continued extensive patronage of private providers and so forth.
6.63 The goal of delivering social services to the poor should by no means be abandoned as impractical or excessively costly. However, the sector-specific suggestions discussed here amount to a strategic "pause" which will permit service delivery priorities to be more sharply defined, various operational issues to be resolved and additional resources to be generated through greater cost-recovery, relying on private providers to supply a greater share of service and other means. The theme which runs through the sectoral reviews is the need to concentrate resources on high risk groups and critical tasks, and to forego, at least temporarily the aims of comprehensive coverage of the population and delivery of complete, integrated service packages.

6.64 More specifically, there are some common elements in the sectoral recommendations enumerated above. These include the desirability of focusing service delivery efforts on the most vulnerable, lowest performance groups and regions; determining the mix of services and a limited number of priority tasks through close consultation with client groups and scrutiny of social and epidemiological data and MIS-supplied service statistics; using out-reach workers to improve the capabilities and skills of clients, therefore insuring that service delivery has multiplier effects; recruiting workers who will be credible and acceptable in local communities; using induction and in-service training to change work objectives and practices and impart a concern for quality of care; shifting from target-oriented administrative and evaluative procedures to team-based approaches; coordinating field-based activities with media campaigns; developing strategies to share facilities, coordinate activities of field workers and achieve convergence of various service delivery efforts; and exploiting opportunities to "network" with private service providers, especially those already established in poor areas.
A project entitled, Training and Participation of Village Women in Pre-School Education, is the 1988 recipient of the Nabila Breir Award. This project in the West Bank is a popular programme whereby village women from all-women committees and other voluntary networks are being involved and trained, from a self-help perspective, to take charge of services for pre-school education and upgrade their quality. This is done through:

1. The training of preschool supervisors and teacher-trainers according to Piaget’s principle of cognitive development. These supervisors are developing the philosophy and the practice of preschool teachers through an interactive approach, where the supervisor’s role is to support and facilitate the teacher’s efforts to develop her professional and personal philosophy as well as her competence.

2. Educational and curriculum materials (for pre-school teacher training) are being developed and produced as an integral part of the training process.

On April 08 this year, the Coordinator of the Training and Participation of Village Women in Pre-school Education Project, Jacqueline Steir, was in Toronto participating in a conference on children and state violence. The Secretariat of ICAE was grateful to be able to meet Jacqueline and to have the opportunity to offer her the Nabila Breir Award in person.

Helene Moussa, ICAE Director of Planning and Administration (R) presenting Nabila Breir Award to Jacqueline Steir

The $2,000(CDN) Nabila Breir Award is given each year to women’s organizations engaged in innovative educational programming or projects for Palestinian women. The objectives of the Award are:

* to support women’s educational programmes aimed at enhancing the socio-economic development of Palestinian communities, and the quality of life and self-sufficiency of women in particular;

* to provide opportunities for Palestinian women grassroots educators to exchange educational experiences with women educators from other regions;

* to provide opportunities for participation in ICAE’s regional and international workshops, seminars and conferences for Palestinian women educators.

Women’s and other education organizations are encouraged to submit proposals to ICAE giving a brief history and description of the organization. Nominations should be received by July 01; selection will be made in October.
(ICAЕ Executive Meeting, from page 1)

Dame Nita warned the Executive not to become “adult education tourists”. She said, “Learn something about the country and its people - then, we will be educating ourselves in order to educate others”.

Cultural Gala in Solidarity with the People of South Africa

A gala was organized to express solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid featured plays, songs and lyrical music. The groups performing were:

☆ the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre, whose theatrical performance included mime;

☆ Pan African Congress youths from South Africa sang under the leadership of Elliot Mfayxa;

☆ Los Leones de la Sierra de Xichu, a Mexican troubadour group that was touring the front-line states under ICAЕ sponsorship;

☆ Thami Mnyele, a singing group stationed in Zambia representing the African National Congress.

Women in ICAЕ Structures

A Task Force on the Participation of Women in ICAЕ Structures has been created. The one-year mandate is to:

1. Propose a policy for strengthening the participation of women in ICAЕ activities and structures at all levels.
2. Carry out a survey of the role of women in leadership positions in the ICAЕ Executive, other committees, Secretariat, and in the national, regional and sectoral associations.
3. Monitor the participation of women in ICAЕ activities.
4. Devise a plan to increase the number of women sitting on the ICAЕ Executive Committee.

The Convenor of the Task Force is Francisco Vio Grossi, Secretary General of Latin American Council of Adult Education (CEAAL). Other members are Jong-Gon Hwang (ICAЕ VP for Asia), Hélène Moussa (ICAЕ Secretariat), Leni Oglesby (European Bureau for Adult Education), Maria Bawubuya (African Association for Literacy and Adult Education), Lynda Yanz (ICAЕ Women’s Programme)

This task force will present its findings and recommendations to the next Executive Meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, in January 1989, just prior to the World Assembly of Adult Education.

Participants at the ICAЕ Executive Meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, January 1989:

**Back Row LtrR:** Yusuf Kassam (ICAЕ Sec.), Lean Chan (Malaysia), Jon-Gong Hwang (Korea), Ed Gleazer (ICAЕ Treasurer), Eustacio Anthony (Cuba), W.M.K. Wijetunga (Sri Lanka), Rajesh Tandon (India), Bernard Smagghe (France)

**Second Row LtrR:** Jack McNie (Canada), Charlene Gleazer (USA), Lynda Yanz (Canada), Ian Morrison (Canada), Nita Barrow, (ICAЕ President), Samuel Small (Guyana), Jacques Prouix (Canada), Francisco Almeida (France), Rocio Rocero (Ecuador), Jane Gurr (Canada)

**Third Row LtrR:** Hashim Abu Seit (Iraq), Karin Anderson (USA), Jacob Horn (Germany), Alfonso Lizarzaburu (France), M. Bosunga (Zaire), Dr. Sannong (Thailand), Susan Vander Voet (ICAЕ Sec.), Francisco Vio Grossi (Chile)

**Back Row LtrR:** Mary Ngechu (Kenya), Leni Ogelsby (England), Budd Hall (ICAЕ Sec.-Gen.), Poul Erik Kandrup (Denmark)
DATE : MAY 22, 1989
TO : MS. ROSEMARIE RINALDI WCEFA SECRETARIAT
FAX : 212 326 7133
FROM : NAT J. COLLETTA
       C/O SHEILA QUEANO-COLLETTA, WORLD BANK EXTPA
PHONE : 202 477 8832
RE : PAPERS FOR DAVID EDDY

KINDLY FAX ON THE ATTACHED TO DAVID EDDY, CONSULTANT ON NGO
MINI-CASES. MUCH THANKS. NAT.
1988 Nabila Breir Award

A project entitled, *Training and Participation of Village Women in Pre-School Education*, is the 1988 recipient of the Nabila Breir Award. This project in the West Bank is a popular programme whereby village women from all-women committees and other voluntary networks are being involved and trained, from a self-help perspective, to take charge of services for pre-school education and upgrade their quality. This is done through:

1. The training of preschool supervisors and teacher-trainers according to Piaget's principle of cognitive development. These supervisors are developing the philosophy and the practice of preschool teachers through an interactive approach, where the supervisor's role is to support and facilitate the teacher's efforts to develop her professional and personal philosophy as well as her competence.

2. Educational and curriculum materials (for pre-school teacher training) are being developed and produced as an integral part of the training process.

On April 08 this year, the Coordinator of the Training and Participation of Village Women in Pre-school Education Project, Jacqueline Steir, was in Toronto participating in a conference on children and state violence. The Secretariat of ICAE was grateful to be able to meet Jacqueline and to have the opportunity to offer her the Nabila Breir Award in person.

The $2,000(CDN) Nabila Breir Award is given each year to women's organizations engaged in innovative educational programming or projects for Palestinian women. The objectives of the Award are:

* to support women's educational programmes aimed at enhancing the socio-economic development of Palestinian communities, and the quality of life and self-sufficiency of women in particular;

* to provide opportunities for Palestinian women grassroots educators to exchange educational experiences with women educators from other regions;

* to provide opportunities for participation in ICAE's regional and international workshops, seminars and conferences for Palestinian women educators.

Women's and other education organizations are encouraged to submit proposals to ICAE giving a brief history and description of the organization. Nominations should be received by July 01; selection will be made in October.
Dame Nita warned the Executive not to become “adult education tourists”. She said, “Learn something about the country and its people - then, we will be educating ourselves in order to educate others”.

Cultural Gala in Solidarity with the People of South Africa

A gala was organized to express solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. Featured plays, songs and lyrical music. The groups performing were:
- the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre, whose theatrical performance included mime;
- Pan African Congress youths from South Africa sang under the leadership of Elliot Mfakaza;
- Los Leones de la Sierra de Xichu, a Mexican troubadour group that was touring the front-line states under ICAE sponsorship;
- Thami Mnyele, a singing group stationed in Zambia representing the African National Congress.

Women in ICAE Structures

A Task Force on the Participation of Women in ICAE Structures has been created. The one-year mandate is to:
1. Propose a policy for strengthening the participation of women in ICAE activities and structures at all levels.
2. Carry out a survey of the role of women in leadership positions in the ICAE Executive, other committees, Secretariat, and in the national, regional and sectoral associations.
3. Monitor the participation of women in ICAE activities.
4. Devise a plan to increase the number of women sitting on the ICAE Executive Committee.

The Convenor of the Task Force is Francisco Vio Grossi, Secretary General of Latin American Council of Adult Education (CEAAL). Other members are Jong-Gon Hwang (ICAE VP for Asia), Hélène Moussa (ICAE Secretariat), Leni Oglesby (European Bureau for Adult Education), Maria Bawubya (African Association for Literacy and Adult Education), Lynda Yanz (ICAE Women’s Programme)

This task force will present its findings and recommendations to the next Executive Meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, in January 1989, just prior to the World Assembly of Adult Education.

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Back Row Ltr: Mary Ngechu [Kenya], Leni Ogelsby [England], Budd Hall (ICAE Sec.-Gen.), Poul-Erik Kandrup [Denmark]
this may be offset by shifts in the pattern of production toward more skill-intensive goods. In Table 5.4, the rates of return to primary education in countries with adult literacy rates above 50 percent, while somewhat below those in countries with adult literacy below 50 percent, are still strikingly high. And in the few countries where studies have been done at different periods, rates of return have usually declined, but only mildly. There are also favorable effects on equity. As primary education becomes more widespread, additional spending will be increasingly concentrated on backward rural areas, girls, and the poorest urban boys. In general, primary education tends to be redistributive toward the poor (see Table 5.5). In contrast, public expenditure on secondary and higher education tends to redistribute income from poor to rich, since children of poor parents have comparatively little opportunity to benefit from it.

Primary education, especially of girls, has favorable effects on the next generation’s health, fertility and education (see box overleaf). Finally, it enriches peoples’ lives. Many would regard this as sufficient justification for universal primary education, independent of its other benefits.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION. Renewed emphasis on the importance of primary education, and its high returns relative to secondary and higher education, should not start the pendulum swinging too far in the other direction. High levels of knowledge are necessary for many people who serve the poor, both directly as teachers, health workers and agricultural extension workers, and indirectly as researchers, technicians, managers and administrators. While their skills must be developed to a considerable extent through practical experience and in other ways, there is for some purposes no better or cheaper substitute for the formal disciplines of conventional schooling. Even allowing for doubts about the estimated rates of return to secondary and higher education, and for the existence of some educated unemployment (see box on next page), there are unquestionably severe shortages of skilled people in many developing countries.

More economical ways of producing skilled people need to be found. First, greater use of in-career and on-the-job training should be

### Table 5.4 Rates of return to education (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country group</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Higher</th>
<th>Number of countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All developing countries</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income/adult literacy rate under 50 percent</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle income/adult literacy rate over 50 percent</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialized countries</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In all cases, the figures are “social” rates of return: the costs include forgone earnings (what the students could have earned had they not been in school) as well as both public and private outlays; the benefits are measured by income before tax. (The “private” returns to individuals exclude public costs and taxes, and are usually larger.) The studies refer to various years between 1957 and 1978, mainly in the latter half of the period.

a. In this sample of 30 developing countries, those countries with low incomes also had literacy rates below 50 percent (at the time the studies were done). All the middle-income countries had literacy rates above 50 percent.

### Schooling, screening and productivity

The interpretation of rates of return to education—especially secondary and higher education—is still controversial. It has often been argued that educational qualifications are simply a “screening” device, signaling an individual’s productive qualities to an employer without actually enhancing them. In some developing countries, moreover, the public sector—and some heavily protected parts of the private sector—are the main employers of university and even secondary-school graduates: it has been suggested that the salaries they pay are often artificially inflated and bear little relation to relative productivity; and that educational requirements serve merely to ration access to those inflated salaries. In both cases, earnings differences associated with different levels of education would overstate the effect of education on productivity.

On the other side, it is argued that school “screening” is by no means all wasteful and is preferable to such other screening methods as caste or family connections. It is also argued that labor markets are not so monopolistic, and thus that relative wages are not such imperfect indicators of productivity, as those who have concentrated on their institutional characteristics and determinants have supposed. In developed countries the relative wages of different occupations have gradually but steadily changed in response to increases in the supply of educated labor. That the same process operates even in the public sector in developing countries is suggested, for example, by the fact that the relative salaries of teachers and civil servants are much higher in Africa, where educated manpower is much scarcer, than in Asia, where it is more abundant.

The conventional economic interpretation of the association between schooling and wages is further strengthened by a few studies showing that more educated workers have increased output in specific manufacturing industries, by evidence of substantial returns to education even in agricultural and other traditional small-scale activities, where one would expect educational credentials to be much less important, and by the macroeconomic evidence discussed in the box on page 38.
The benefits of women's education

Educating girls may be one of the best investments a country can make in future economic growth and welfare—even if girls never enter the labor force. Most girls become mothers, and their influence—much more than the father's—on their children is crucial:

- In health. Studies in Bangladesh, Kenya and Colombia show that children are less likely to die, the more educated their mothers, even allowing for differences in family income.
- In nutrition. Among households surveyed in Sao Paulo, Brazil, for any given income level, families were better fed the higher the mother's education.
- In fertility. Education delays marriage for women, partly by increasing their chances of employment, and educated women are more likely to know about, and use, contraceptives.
- Yet in most parts of the developing world, there are many more boys than girls enrolled at school (see Figure 5.1).

True, female enrollment grew faster than male between 1960 and 1977; but when boys' enrollments were where female enrollments are today, they were growing even faster. The educational bias is most pronounced in South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa; but it exists to some extent in every region.

Why? From the parents' point of view, education for their daughters may seem less attractive than for their sons. They may fear that education will harm their daughters' marriage prospects, subsequent domestic life and even spiritual qualities. A girl's education brings fewer economic benefits if there is discrimination against her in the labor market, if she marries early and stops working or if she ceases after marriage to have any economic obligations toward her parents.

But parents and their daughters do respond rapidly to changing opportunities. When women took on key roles in the Anand Dairy Cooperative in Gujarat, India, education for girls became more valued. When a nutrition project in Guatemala offered employment to educated girls, the test scores of younger girls improved.

More generally, education does increase the chance of paid employment for girls. In Brazil married women with secondary education are three to four times more likely to be employed than those with primary education only—who in turn are twice as likely to work as women with no education at all.

Table 5.5 Public education spending per household, by income group (dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income group</th>
<th>Malaysia, 1974</th>
<th>Colombia, 1974</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Postsecondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richest 20 percent</td>
<td>5 1</td>
<td>5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorest 20 percent</td>
<td>4 5</td>
<td>5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richest 20 percent</td>
<td>4 3</td>
<td>5 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorest 20 percent</td>
<td>4 2</td>
<td>6 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Households ranked by income per person.
b. Federal costs per household.
c. Subsidies per household.

d. For example, the number of university specializations can be reduced, relying on foreign universities (not necessarily in developed countries) for specialized training in areas in which small numbers of students lead to excessive teaching and equipment costs per student. Care must be taken to encourage repatriation and to prevent foreign training from being exclusively the privilege of the children of the rich and influential.

- Correspondence courses can dramatically reduce the cost of secondary and higher education and teacher training. The Korean Air-Correspondence High School, for example, provides secondary education at about a fifth the cost of traditional schools, and allows would-be students who have to earn a living to continue their education at the same time. Recent studies (in Brazil, Kenya and the Dominican Republic) have also concluded that correspondence courses have effectively taught people in remote areas.

- In many countries the families of postprimary students pay too little for education. They are generally much better off than the national average: in Tunisia, for example, the proportion of children from higher income groups is nine times larger in universities than in elementary school. Since the rewards from higher education are large, it is highly desirable (though often politically difficult) to charge tuition and other fees to cover costs. Scholarships can be given to students whose families cannot afford to pay.

The cost of secondary and higher education makes it inevitable that in most countries demand for places will exceed supply for the foreseeable future, although some countries, such as South Korea, already have very high enrollment rates. But economic considerations are not the only relevant ones: secondary education often helps in lowering fertility and reducing child mortality (over and above the effects of primary education). All developed countries have found universal free secondary education to be desirable in its own right. The question for developing countries is less "whether" than "when." Higher education clearly also has scientific, cultural and intellectual objectives, as well as economic ones.

Vocational education and training. Experience shows that it is often inefficient to rely heavily on schools (as opposed to the workplace and short-term training.
percent of the development budget. The Tanzanian government typically provides construction materials for projects, and the local communities provide the labor. Self-help organizations exist in many developing countries: one example is Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (see box). Most self-help projects in the developing world involve building such things as wells, schools and health clinics. But they do not stop there: in many countries local people provide food and housing for primary school teachers. It is more difficult, however, to mobilize sustained support for recurrent costs than for one-time efforts, such as construction projects.

Self-help in Sri Lanka

From small beginnings in 1958, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement now employs some 6,000 full-time workers and reaches more than 10 percent of the country's rural population. It has full-scale programs in some 300 villages, but is active in another 2,500. It has organized education, health, nutrition, sanitation and housing; set up agricultural and handicraft programs; and is starting to promote other small-scale rural industries.

The village of Panakura, in the poor hilly district of Kegalle, provides a good example of the Movement's work. Simon Jayawickrama had graduated from Panakura's primary school and was doing well in the secondary school two miles away; then he had to drop out in the tenth grade to help support his family. Through his former teacher and the local Buddhist monk, he made contact with the Movement; with the help of the local Sarvodaya workers in nearby Anulugama, Simon began working amongst Panakura's 81 families. After intermittent visits over a two-week period, a first Shramadana work camp was organized—to build a road to the village. A second camp began building a community center—both projects chosen by the villagers themselves.

The Sarvodaya Movement provided cement, reinforcing rods and skilled labor. For 15 weeks, 80 percent of the villagers put in 6-8 hours of manual labor a day. With the help of 100 young workers from Sarvodaya groups in other villages, they established a community kitchen where everyone pooled and prepared their food; took part in community meditation, singing, dancing and other cultural activities; and held two daily community meetings (called "family gatherings") where everyone, young and old, had an opportunity to discuss their problems and ways of solving them.

Following the workcamps, Simon and 12 others went to the Sarvodaya regional training institute at Kegalle for a two-week leadership training course. On their return they began forming what Sarvodaya calls the "social infrastructure"—groups for mothers, farmers and so on. Representatives from each group made up the Village Reawakening Council, which has initiated various productive activities, such as growing bananas and passion fruit as cash and food crops, and set up a cooperative store.

In the community center built during the Shramadana camp, one of the Sarvodaya trainers has helped the mothers organize a community kitchen and day-care center. Here young children are taught about health and hygiene, and are vaccinated by a visiting government health worker (who received part of her training from Sarvodaya). The school-age children's group is responsible for a garden that helps to supply the community kitchen, and for keeping the community center clean. The local Buddhist monk took a four-month course in village development at the special Sarvodaya training school for monks.

As well as extending its coverage, the Movement is improving the follow up to the initial Shramadana work camp phase, to prevent backsliding. Although the long-term effect of Sarvodaya's work remains to be properly evaluated, most observers have been strongly impressed by the way it has involved people in development. It has attracted widespread international support.

How much has all this cost? The Sarvodaya budget for 1979-80 was $2.3 million, an average of less than $1,000 per village assisted. Voluntary labor and other payments in kind contributed many times that amount. Of the cash budget, some 80 percent came from international assistance (both private and official), 10 percent from Sri Lankan donations and 10 percent from the sale of commodities produced in Sarvodaya's training farms and schools.

As people become more mobile and the cash economy more widespread, the strength of traditional self-help efforts may wane. But instead of providing resources in kind, local communities can raise money (through local taxes or charges) to support their efforts. Like other forms of self-help, this can be stimulated by matching grants from the central government in support of locally initiated and managed activities. In Kenya, for example, the government assists *harambee* (self-help) projects that meet official guidelines. But sluggish administration in central agencies can suffocate local participation and self-help—enthusiasm and initiative may wane if decisions take too long or promised assistance does not arrive on time.

Self-help is not always the right answer. In education, for example, local financing can lead to such an uneven distribution of qualified teachers, books and equipment as to intensify the inequities the country is trying to reduce. Northern Brazil and northern Nigeria provide two cases in point. In both regions, low incomes partly explain why the wages and quality of teachers fall below the national average; they also partly explain the low enrollment rates in these regions. If local economic and social progress lags well behind the national average, financial and technical assistance from the central government will be crucial.

Developing administrative strengths

Institutional constraints are in many cases at least as serious a barrier to human development as shortage of funds or lack of political support. Effective administration usually requires more than the efficient working of official bureaucracies; it depends on such factors as the availability of middle-level
Private costs of using public services

Data on the private costs of using public human development services are scarce. A recent study of Peninsular Malaysia, however, estimated them for education, water and health care.

- Education. Malaysian families had to cover—in addition to examination fees and purchases of texts and supplies—the costs of shoes, uniforms, snacks, transport and special fees. In 1974 these averaged $47 a year for a student in primary school, $123 for a student in secondary school.

The table shows that families in the lowest income quintile spent a fifth of their incomes on out-of-pocket school costs. Even allowing for some bending of the truth by respondents, this is impressive—and it understates the burden. A fifth of the income of a poor family represents a far greater sacrifice than a fifth of the income of a wealthy family. And the cost of forgone earnings—what students could earn by working if they were not in school—is excluded.

- Water. Fewer than a third of the families in the lowest 40 percent of the income distribution bought piped and treated water (nearly all of which is supplied on a metered basis in Peninsular Malaysia). Of these, 14 percent spent more than 5 percent of their incomes on it. The average burden for the poorest quintile was 4.1 percent. There may again be some bending of the truth involved. But the burden of water charges was high enough to deter at least a third of the poorest 40 percent who had ready access to piped water from purchasing it.

- Health care. The Malaysian study showed a strong relation between household income and expenditure on private health care—but almost no relation between income and consumption of public health care. Most patients paid no fees for public inpatient or outpatient treatment. Nor were expenditures on transport to the place of treatment related to income, although there was a weak inverse association between travel time and frequency of treatment. Thus the need for medical care of the poor and most of the rest of the population was met through the public system at little private cost.

### Out-of-pocket costs, Peninsular Malaysia, 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family income quintile</th>
<th>Percentage of households with students</th>
<th>Percentage of their income spent on out-of-pocket school costs</th>
<th>Percentage of households with piped and treated water</th>
<th>Percentage of their income spent on water</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Foods is regarded as a sign of low social status.

Higher incomes and better education will clearly help to overcome many of these obstacles. Traditional social and cultural structures can sometimes also be adapted to new uses rather than ignored or swept aside. The Indonesian family planning program has been notably successful in this respect, as well as in decentralizing responsibility for implementation (see box overleaf).

The more that programs require people to change their behavior (the pattern of distributing food within families), threaten established norms (family planning), challenge vested interests (professional associations) or offer few immediately obvious benefits (sanitation), the more patiently they must be introduced. Public education and persuasion are needed, and it will take a long time to reap the economic and political benefits.

**Coercion**

In attempting to spread human development, many countries have gone beyond information and persuasion to use various forms of coercion. Laws establishing compulsory primary education are perhaps the most widespread example. Using laws is sometimes regarded as more unfairly coercive than, say, manipulating costs, since it allows no parental choice at all. But because children usually suffer more than their parents, such measures as compulsory schooling should be seen more as protecting the rights of children than as restricting those of parents.

Just how much coercion is considered to be acceptable will vary according to a country's culture and political values. In some places, traditional social structures have been enlisted to exert pressure on their members. This has been a characteristic of the Indonesian family planning program. Among the Hausa in northern Nigeria, a program to eradicate sleeping sickness has been successfully sustained through strong leadership. Every year the villagers clear the undergrowth along the banks of rivers and streams. They do not fully understand the reasons, but they are willing to do what their traditional leaders ask. Nevertheless, programs of education, health, nutrition and family planning have more chance of success if the beneficiaries come to see the programs as serving their interests.

**Affecting behavior within the family**

Especially in poor households, the interests of parents, children and old people can diverge, causing distribution of food, education and medical care within the family (see pages 61–62). Raising family incomes can reduce or eliminate the economic reasons for unfair shares; more education of parents, especially of mothers, can mitigate the cultural reasons (see box on page 50). In addition,
The banjars of Bali

Indonesia's family planning program combines central direction with decentralized implementation. The program has strong political support from the president, to whom its chairman reports directly. Family planning is an integral part of national and provincial development plans—ministers and provincial governors are responsible to the president for their execution. And the program maintains a central data system to monitor performance and ensure that no region or even village runs short of contraceptives. But the task of implementing specific goals rests largely with provincial and local staff, and political and community leaders in the villages.

The program offers strong (but non-monetary) incentives for managers and staff at all levels, because it was designed to give credit for success to local managers. Most of the contact with families is by village volunteers. The program rewards them, too—outer-island midwives can earn trips to Bali for training, while Balinese chiefs whose villages have made the most progress in family planning are taken to see the successful East Java program.

The approach is tailored to specific local needs; it fosters local initiative and experiments with unconventional projects. People at provincial and village levels submit ideas for new campaigns, and funds are quickly provided for the ones approved. The program has also made use of the private sector—traditional traveling herb vendors (called rakan jaman) have been enlisted to supply contraceptives to remote villages as well as urban areas.

In the province of Bali, the traditional community council (called banjar) has been harnessed to promote family planning. For centuries banjars have been the hub of village life. There are more than 3,700 of them today; adult men in Bali belong to their village banjar and attend monthly meetings. In 1974 the government in Bali started to work through banjar leaders to create an awareness of family planning, to identify people who might be keen on planning their families, and to help them do so. Typically, the monthly banjar meeting now begins with a roll call; each man responds by saying whether he and his wife are using contraceptives. Replies are plotted on a village map—prominently displayed.

The results have been striking. An estimated 49 percent of eligible couples have adopted family planning in Bali, compared with 29 percent for the country as a whole. The World Fertility Survey showed that the average number of children a Balinese woman could expect to have had fallen from 3.8 in mid-1969 to 3.6 in 1976.

International assistance

International aid for human development programs has been provided for decades and has contributed to several notable successes. It has played a major role, for instance, in helping to spread education; in eradicating smallpox and sharply reducing several major diseases (including yaws, malaria, leprosy and African sleeping sickness); and, perhaps most significantly, in increasing the production of basic foods.

On the other hand, some aid programs have failed—or have succeeded while indirectly contributing to inappropriate policies. Until the early 1970s, there was an emphasis on showcase universities, large urban hospitals and large-scale agriculture—consistent with development thinking at that time. Not surprisingly, such international assistance involved transferring some technologies or institutions from developed countries without adequate recognition of how the circumstances of developing countries differed.

Since the benefits of human development are received partly by today's children but even more by their children and grandchildren, governments that are hard pressed financially may find it difficult to justify spending as much on human development as is desirable for long-run economic growth, let alone for alleviating poverty. This dilemma—which will be acute during the next few years of financial stringency—is one for which external assistance can be particularly helpful. Many other measures—from small-farmer programs to power generation and industrialization—are also needed to reduce poverty and raise average incomes; these merit strong international support as well.

If donors providing assistance to a country are unwilling to finance human development programs, these programs in most cases will be smaller than they otherwise would have been. Similarly, if donors are willing to finance only "bricks and mortar"
Dear Nat:

I very much enjoyed our lunch today. Talking to you restores my faith in international organizations (for at least 10 minutes).

Enclosed is a very preliminary draft of a proposal I would like to pursue. I have not shown it to anyone else yet, and I do not know to what extent the Bank's research committee would be interested in the details of the instructional process. If you think the idea is worthwhile, I can approach Dennis de Tray through my division chief. After a careful study of the matter and the alternatives that various agencies (e.g. USAID, IDRC, or the Noetics Society) have implemented, you and I could co-author a full-fledged research proposal. Included could be some peripheral research questions on innovative approaches to instructional organization (see a memo to Don Holsinger with copy to you).

This is what I could make legible for you within 1/2 hour. I have another lengthier document, an outline for a paper, which is, however, too disorderly to fix up while I have to work day and night to make a convincing case that women deserve a place in the higher education sun of Arab countries. That document explains the significance of cognition in detail and deals with cognitive learning theory in the context of other classroom variables (e.g. time on-task, instructional objectives, the supervisory chain, direct instruction methods, assumed and actual use of textbooks, homework, etc.) and their effects on the quality of education and internal efficiency. I plan to work on that outline after I return from Greece, on Jan. 10, in hopes of contributing to the various quality of education EDI seminars planned.

If your division can assign me some staff weeks (we can discuss how many) I will research the cognitive literature at depth and write a paper to your specifications on how to bring about cognitive transformations effectively in low-income, resource-poor countries and what that will mean for the Bank's operations. That could be the preamble to a good research proposal, if you agree with the idea. Since I have a contract with EDIST for the next few months, you do not have to hire me or house me. I will simply note on the monthly time-sheets the staff weeks I will work for AS4PW under a specific code your division will give me. I earn a 23-level salary. Such a task will greatly please my division chief, Timothy King, and reassure him that my ideas have some appeal in the Bank.

Please let me know what you think. I am going home (to face the Papandreou debauchery first-hand) on December 22.

Love,

Helen Abadzi

Handwritten Note:

Helen Abadzi

48210
World Bank/International Finance Corporation

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date: August 29, 1988
To: Timothy King, EDIST
From: Helen Abadzi, EDIST
Ext. 73138
Subject: Instructional Practices: Cognitive Processes Research

1. For the past two weeks I have been reviewing recent literature on the cognitive processes involved in adult learning. Though my review is far from complete, here are some important issues which relate to EDI's instructional practices.

Transmittal of Knowledge or Restructuring?

2. In EDI as well as in higher learning institutions, a great deal of attention is paid to imparting information. What the trainee will use, however, is not the information per se but its structure into networks with sets of rules and lists of features (schemata) and the relationships among these schemata. When these networks are structured in detail, people "understand". When they are sketchy, people remember little of what they learned, mostly interesting details. Trainees are usually left to their own devices to come up with a structure of knowledge, and in a seminar session they have little time to do so. A syllabus offers help in developing the networks, but only if trainees have the time to read it and if relationships among concepts are clearly outlined.

3. Schemata about a domain of knowledge usually exist; people know a lot about a lot of things when they go into a course. But the cognitive networks of laymen (e.g. how the knowledge of economics is outlined in the mind of a psychologist) are quite different from those of experts. With expertise, new concepts are developed and schemata change; the knowledge contained is restructured. But to get there, cognitive bridges must be built. What may count most in memory is the establishment of ties between the information already stored and the new information coming in. Good professors (a) know what their own schemata of the domain contain, (b) know what the schemata of laymen contain, and (c) develop in the course extensive relationships between the two.

What if Insufficient Attention is Paid to Cognitive Networks?

4. Information is stored in the long-term memory (permanent storage from which very little, if anything, is erased) on the basis of its meaning. From a very early age, children build categories of objects, concepts, etc. and incorporate new knowledge by classifying it into
categories, forming new ones, and changing them as they grow. Knowledge is retrieved for use through the same code it was stored, by finding the network at the end of which a piece of information is attached. An "orphan" piece of information (e.g. an economics term in an introductory microeconomics workshop) will have much less chance of being retrieved two weeks later than if schemata built multiple relations to it. Also, when incomprehensible information is imparted, trainees find it hard to pay attention, and their mind wanders. The best strategy trainees use when they have to learn something for which they have deficient schemata is to memorize it and/or remember related things (mnemonics) about it that have little to do with its meaning. The forgetting rate of memorized items, however, is particularly high, and two weeks after final exams (or the end of the seminar) very few can be recalled.

What can be done to stabilize information in memory?

5. Many alternatives exist, but they involve clarification of what a seminar should be doing. Should EDI impart the maximum amount of information or should it maximize the probability that two years later its participants would be utilizing the information when appropriate?

Some global advice:

(a) Take the time to build the cognitive networks and semantic bridges necessary if the concepts are to be committed into memory and retrieved when needed: dwell on the organization of the concepts, not the salient details (e.g. spend much more time on the meaning of supply, demand, and importance for the rest of microeconomics rather than on the direction of the supply and demand graphs);

(b) Elaborate concepts (attach meaning, emphasize ties with existing information). The more elaborated the concept, the more memory cues will be made for later recall. Terms must be used in sentences, compared and contrasted, not just repeated (it used to be thought that mere repetition would commit a piece of information to long-term memory, but storage through meaning creates much easier retrieval). Summarize, ask questions which require use of facts rather than facts themselves. Preparation for a final test or a final product (not used by EDI) is an excellent way to elaborate concepts.

(c) Use a multilevel approach; teach all the general categories of a domain of knowledge and the relationships among them before you get to the specifics. People remember general categories much longer, and schemata are formed this way. That is, instead of covering in five days a series of 10 topics in detail for 4 hours each, cover the most important points of all topics in two days and return to details of each topic for the remaining three. Multilevel texts for multiple passes also exist, and I will later give more information about them.

(d) Prepare for transfer of knowledge. Retrieval and use of information stored under similar but not identical circumstances is much more likely when schemata exist to connect with that information. (This is why children may be able to recite the multiplication tables perfectly but may not be able to use them in the bazaar.) To create connections, spend the time to
Deep elaboration, development of relationships is the core of effective teaching or direct instruction (or whatever else it is called). Memorization and recitation mean "shallow" (i.e., not meaning-oriented) processing, and this is what mostly happens in 3rd world classrooms. It means that students can retrieve the info under very restrictive circumstances, and the info becomes effectively unusable. Therefore, the education is low-quality.

The big challenge is to teach teachers to "elaborate" concepts and to teach that to them cheaply, quickly, and with lasting effects. It's tricky for known logistical reasons but also because most teachers themselves do not use the cognitive strategies they should teach their students.

I am getting some ideas about how to train teachers. My thinking will be more clarified by the time my paper is out.
show why, when, and how the information imparted should be used. Applications to similar circumstances (very well used in EDI) are very important.

6. This information poses a few dilemmas, and ideally, the opportunity for reflection and discussions:

(a) EDI primarily hires subject-matter, not methodology experts, and the two are often mutually exclusive. Though information is efficiently imparted through lectures followed by discussion, this is not the optimal method to build schemata, elaborate on concepts, prepare for transfer, and thereby enable trainees to apply the information two years later.

(b) Attention to cognitive processes takes more time than what is allotted in EDI seminars now. Should EDI continue maximizing information transmittal and risk wastage or should it place more emphasis on cognitive processes and cover less material?

(c) Some professionals are of the opinion that EDI is not supposed to be teaching, it is supposed to be exchanging views, informing, etc. It is difficult to establish instructional goals when we are not supposed to be teaching.

7. In this memo I presented general instructional implications. There is considerable relevant motivational, cultural, and psychophysiological research, on which I will report later. I will also have specific methodological proposals to make. I will appreciate your feedback regarding the utility of information and the orientation of my research review.
A health and nutrition oriented educational program presents special challenges because diet and eating habits are influenced by socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes. Knowledge and respect for such beliefs and the ability to integrate them into acceptable health messages requires great sensitivity on the part of program developers. To meet the needs of teaching a health curriculum in Bolivia, EDC conducted extensive field research in the areas of health and nutrition before developing the program plans. To ensure the design of an appropriate health curriculum for primary schools, ethnographic research was carried out in the following areas: cultural beliefs and perceptions of health issues, family health practices, attitudes towards written and audio materials, children's roles in health and nutrition and traditional stories and legends related to health and nutrition. This information will be incorporated into the IRI lessons.

To maximize impact, activities and practices that children have control over and can do for themselves (such as washing their hands) will be emphasized in the curriculum. Complementary IRI program materials will include take-home exercises designed to involve family participation, and teachers' guides to provide teachers with practical hands-on activities to strengthen children's understanding of basic health concepts. Short in-service training sessions will prepare teachers to facilitate radio classes and carry out post-broadcast activities with students.

The potential of IRI for improving student and teacher understanding of health and nutrition is only beginning to be recognized. Future parallel activities to reinforce the objectives of the primary health IRI project could include broadcasting messages to parents which support what children are learning in the schools. An integrated and comprehensive approach will be key to improving the quality of health education in Bolivia.

This article was prepared by Molly Maguire Teas and Thomas Tilson of Education Development Center, Newton, MA, USA.
18 August 1989

Dr. Nat Colletta
World Conference on Education for All
Unicef House
Three United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Nat,

I want to thank you for the opportunity to work on the Background Paper. I found the assignment challenging and, ultimately, rewarding. I hope you find the rewards reflected in the boxes themselves!

Please let me know if I can be of further help. The materials you lent me are ready at any time to be returned. I very much appreciate the help you gave me in finding appropriate background materials.

I look forward to seeing a final draft of the paper. Best of luck with the hard work ahead.

Sincerely,

David Eddy

P.S.: I've enclosed a copy of the letter I sent to Rosemarie in case she asks you about my statement.
18 August 1989

Rosemarie Rinaldi
World Conference on Education for All
Unicef House
Three United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Rosemarie:

Nat Colletta has given me final approval on the seven case-study boxes that I sent him last month. Enclosed please find my statement for the remainder of my fee.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call. I will give you a call in two weeks to check on the processing of this statement.

Best of luck to you in your preparations for the Conference. I look forward to seeing the completed Background Paper.

Sincerely yours,

David Eddy

cc: Dr. Nat Colletta
PANEL ON GLOBAL EDUCATION

What is Global Education?

The aim of education for development, sometimes called global education is to prepare and equip students for life in a rapidly changing global society. It provides a holistic approach to education which is equally applicable and relevant in the South as in the North, and embraces disciplines which previously were seen as distinct but are in fact overlapping; for example development education, world studies, environmental education, futures education, gender education, health education, human rights education, multicultural education and peace education.

One of the most coherent presentations of the philosophy of global education emanates from the Centre for Global Education at York University, which identifies the aims of global education, in summary as consciousness of systems, perspective and a sense of process, awareness of the larger environment and readiness to see and grasp opportunities for involvement. Globality is defined by four principal and profoundly inter-related dimensions are defined - three "outer" dimensions (those of space, time and issues) which interact dynamically, and are complementary and mutually illuminating with the fourth "inner" dimension of the individual. The spatial dimension focuses on the increasingly interdependent nature of the geographical world. The temporal dimension perceives past, present and future not as separate entities but as dynamically relating parts of a continuum. The issues dimension points out that most major contemporary global issues, (human rights, peace, environment, poverty, etc.) are profoundly interlocking. Finally, the inner dimension explores the globality of man, as "an emerging awareness of the world necessarily goes hand in glove with a growing level of self awareness."

In a global society, where change is occurring so quickly that it would appear essential to continuously reassess one's values, beliefs and patterns of behaviour, the question posed is: "Have we developed the capacities, insights and skills that would enable us to carry out that process of constant reassessment?" The Centre for Global Education suggests knowledge, skills and attitudinal objectives which comprise the most important components of global education and learning for the twenty-first century. Knowledge objectives cover not only economic and social development, but the environment, peace and conflict and rights and responsibilities - as well as a knowledge of systems and an awareness of self and the personal perspective. Preferred skills include information management, the development of personal potential, management of change, the making of informed decisions and the solving of problems. Attitudinally, the objectives include a positive self image, proper appreciation of diversity, commonality and the value of new perspectives, a tolerance of uncertainty, a willingness to explore and consider "alternate visions and versions of reality" and a world-mindedness which recognizes the interdependence of the world system.

Global Education places great emphasis upon the learning environment and the education process, giving free and equal rein to cognitive and affective learning, to the complementary capacities of reason and emotion, intellect and imagination, and analysis and intuition. In practical terms, this has led to the development of a wide and varied range of innovative classroom activities, to encourage communication, cooperation, negotiation, perspective sharing, and decision-making; role play, experiential and simulation activities to promote the exploration of one's own and others' perspectives and viewpoints, and the use of guided fantasy and visualization to activate values clarification, creative thinking and problem-solving processes.
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