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ABSTRACT

The document was prepared as part of a UNESCO contract to train 16 counterpart officials of UNESCO-sponsored literacy projects. Functional literacy was studied in three parts, all dealing with the total planning process. First was project planning. Literacy projects must consider national educational plans and be related to relevant economic development plans. They must be selective in certain aspects, yet intensive and integrated with economic knowledge. They should plan for social change using system analysis. Achieving the desired system change requires social engineering taking into consideration the change agent, linkages, the environment, and available resources. The second area deals with programing by objectives using the behavioral approach and scheduling operations and activities through PERT--Program Evaluation and Review Technique. The third area of study concerns the administration of functional literacy. This area is complicated by the lack of managerial skills in underdeveloped countries and the necessary government involvement. Five organizational problems were considered, and sensitivity training and project administration were offered as solutions. Program budgets must harmonize with reality. (AG)

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PLANNING, PROGRAMING, AND ADMINISTRATION
OF FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

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This paper was prepared as part of a Unesco contract to the Center for Innovation in Human Resource Development, Indiana University during 1971-72 and 1972-73. The contract involved the training, on Indiana University campus, of sixteen counterpart officials of Unesco-sponsored literacy projects comprising the Unesco/UNDP Experimental World Functional Literacy Program. The counterpart officials included teacher trainers, supervisors, evaluation specialists, materials specialists, and administrators and came from Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Iran, Sudan, Tanzania, and U.A.R. The views expressed or approaches suggested in the paper do not necessarily represent the views and orientations of Unesco.

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PLANNING, PROGRAMING, AND ADMINISTRATION
OF FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

Planning is essentially the process of designing and choosing between alternatives. Indeed, human life itself can be seen as a plan, a series of choices between alternatives: we may choose to walk or go by bus, take a rest or go skating, court one girl instead of another, and so on. But, planning, when applied to our social, economic, or educational endeavours, is more formalized if not completely rational. It is also much more directly related to objectives and purposes.

The planning process does intend to be rational and technocratic, but that does not mean that choices between alternatives are always made on the basis of inherent merits of each alternative. Political and pragmatic considerations do enter the planning process. The key word is formalization in the processes of design and choice.

What does it mean to formalize the processes of design and choice? It means that planners clarify their general and specific objectives; objectify the process of generating possible solutions; evaluate the possibilities of implementation and of impact of invented solutions; and clarify the assumptions made throughout the planning process.

The scope and significance of sets of alternatives that a planner might be dealing with at different times can differ considerably. A planner may be choosing between two different development approaches for a nation. This type of planning may appropriately be called policy planning. At another level of decision making a planner may be choosing between two regions for priority in the provision of services. Or, a planner may be making a choice between two approaches to teacher selection or two different instructional schedules.

We would probably call this program planning. Lastly, there may be choices related to renting one office building rather than another, appointing one supervisor rather than another, developing one promotion policy for staff rather than another. This we might call administration. Indeed, planning is a continuum with policy planning on the one end of this continuum through program planning to day-to-day administration on the other end.

In the following we will slice the total planning process in regard to functional literacy in three main parts: (1) Project Planning, (2) Programming, and (3) Administration.

I Project Planning

Any planning effort would have some built-in constraints. Some of those constraints would be ideological; some would be conceptual. The concept of functional literacy also has some built-in "instructions" for the planner of a functional literacy project. We have already referred to some of these built-in instructions or constraints. For example, a functional literacy project must be planned on the one hand as part of the national educational plans and on the other must be related to the economic development plans of the country for that region and for that economic sector. Again, a functional literacy program must be selective: selective in terms of the regions it covers, selective in terms of the economic sectors it concerns itself with, and selective in terms of the demographic attributes of adult men and women included in the program. While it is selective, a functional literacy program also has to be intensive. Again, a functional literacy program has to

have an integrated program--literacy and economic skills must be taught in integration.

No planner can ever begin his planning from the start. There are indeed no beginnings in life or work: there are only middles.¹ A planner of functional literacy project, especially in the Unesco Experimental Functional Literacy program, may find out that some important decisions have already been made for him. Some planning has already been done. He picks up the planning process in the middle!

If we may digress a little, one does get the impression that Unesco projects are often planned in a hurry. Most planning missions are of 3 to 6 weeks duration. In the case of functional literacy, they are typically composed of two people: an economist and an adult educator. Only seldom may one of these men be a trained planner or a system analyst. In fact, it is likely that both these people are not technical and all that they may have is 4 years of college and 20 years of being around Unesco or some place in the Third World.

The result is a document called the Plan of Operations which, to say the least, is a misnomer. It is not a plan of operations and cannot be used as one. It is a contractual document that lays down a minimal framework for mutual obligations. While it is not much too helpful as a plan, it is restrictive enough, however, for those who come to work on the Project. Some really consider it to be a plan of operations and do not then make a plan of operations.

¹Words borrowed from Professor Michael Chiappetta, School of Education, Indiana University.

There is also a lot of politics and grants-man-ship involved in the whole affair. Since Unesco most often finds itself dealing with governments, they find themselves subjected to the biases of those various governments. Wrong regions and wrong economic policies may be accepted, especially so when the mission itself is minimally informed about the country, its various regions, and its problems. It is a requirement that some things must be promised by governments even if the promises may never be realized. Some things must be written into the Plan of Operations because they have been included in some other country plans; a minimum number of experts must be inflicted on the host country; some estimates must be deliberately inflated because somebody in Unesco or UNDP likes to see bigger though unrealistic percentages of government contributions. And again, the government must get some equipment, some cars, some landrovers, cameras, projectors, and printing machines.

Altogether there is too much commonsense about planning Unesco functional literacy projects. Some things can be done to correct the situation from the planning mission stage. Some other things can be done by those who come to implement those projects. As we suggested earlier, all functional literacy teams would find that some decisions have already been taken for them. This is all right and usual part of life. However, before starting headlong on the project and later to find itself blocked and frustrated, the project planning personnel must undertake a system analysis of the area or region or occupational group they have been called upon to work with and must review some of the earlier decisions. Such an exercise may not always change matters drastically, but will certainly sharpen some of the decisions and adapt some others.

Planning Functional Literacy Projects

Planning may be seen as having two aspects: strategic and instrumental. That is, planning needs a stance, a strategy, and it needs a tool or a set of tools. The stance or the strategy in planning of a functional literacy project should be that for planning social change. The tool or the instrumental technique in planning a functional literacy project should be that of system analysis.

The Strategy: Plan it as a Social Change Project

In the planning of a functional literacy project, planners are not planning an instructional project alone, or a project with instructional and extension contents. Not only do literacy and economic skills have to be taught together in integration, but the total program has to be linked with the total socio-cultural development of the community. The literate man should use his literacy skills in playing a more effective role as a productive man. The productive activity itself has to be so transformed that literacy skills are needed and may actually be useable in its modernization. More production may need more processing, marketing, and storage facilities which have to be created. If farmers would need credit, credit banks need to be established. If a cottage industry needs modern design inputs to compete with international markets or with mass produced goods at home, artists and designers need to be brought together under some institutional arrangement to provide that input. Money that farmers and workers earn needs to be well spent in better housing, nutrition, and health and education or re-invested in tools and materials. It may have to be ensured

that individual and family expenditure does not go into traditional channels of spending--in buying more wives, more gold, more cows, on funerals and marriage ceremonies and in pombe drinking.

A synoptic, total look needs to be taken on the community or the client groups concerned. This is done by using the tools of system analysis.

The Instrument: Use System Analysis

System analysis at one level of operation can be a highly complex process requiring use of mathematical equations and computers. However, the basic paradigm of system analysis is quite simple. Social systems are seen as consisting of interdependent parts, that is, of sub-systems in a dynamic relationship. Any one part, then, is interlocked with every other and to change one part we may have to free it from other parts. Also, by changing one part we may change some others and we must anticipate what kinds of changes might come about in other parts of the system before we set about changing one part. System analysis is interdisciplinary. It considers individuals and groups to be part of intricate social, political, cultural, economic, and educational systems at the same one time. While in system analysis we may choose one or the other perspective--economic, or social, or educational--it enables us to examine other relationships at the same time. It doesn't leave any important thing out. For example, we may find that in a community where a functional literacy project is being run for cotton growing, farmers' cotton production is increasing, but the standard of living of farmers is not improving. The economic strategy--more cotton production and more money for the farmers--has succeeded, but the overall model designed

for the community's fuller development has failed. A system analysis might show that cotton production increased at the cost of food production. While the farmers brought more land under cotton cultivation, they worked less and less on food crops and had less to eat from the family food plot. The cash they got from cotton went not in buying more food for there was not any to buy. So, the money earned went into drinking more pombe. Or a system analysis might show that while more money was available from more cotton there were no facilities for putting that money in savings or in re-investment. There were no banks or credit unions around, nor agricultural tools and supplies to buy.

A system analysis alone can bring out the relationships between the various aspects of a community and help in the design of a future alternative system to fulfill objectives of the project. It is the duty of a planner of functional literacy to analyze the Present System and to design the blueprint of a Future System.

How to get from the PRESENT SYSTEM to a FUTURE SYSTEM? That would be the next question.

How to Engineer Change?

Moving from a present system to a future system is a problem of social engineering. In any situation of social engineering or social change¹ a planner must take in view the following four factors: (Next Page)

¹See H. S. Bhola, "The Configurational Theory of Innovation Diffusion," Indian Educational Review, Vol. 2, No. 1 (January, 1967), Pages 42-72.
[ERIC System: ED.011.147].

1. The nature of the relationship between the change agent and the clients of change brought about by the intended change or innovation: we may call it the configuration of change;
2. The linkages (formal and informal) within and between the change agent system and the client system;
3. The environment, both immediate and remote, surrounding the change agent and the client system; and
4. The resources available to the change agent for use in bringing about change and those available to the client system for accepting the change and for meeting future obligations--economic, social, and psychological--accruing from the adoption of change.

The functional literacy planner must begin with defining his innovation or planned change. Indeed one could guess that he would be planning for economic change, and changes in the levels of literacy among his client groups, but he has to clarify what other social and institutional changes might be necessary to bring about the change he wants. The innovation must be unpacked. The various implications of the change being planned must be worked out in detail and its long and short term cultural implication understood.

The next thing for the change agent would be to understand the change agent system to which he himself belongs. Is he acting alone? Is he acting on behalf of a group or an institution? Are more than one group or institution involved in the change effort? If so, how are these groups and institutions related to each other? Do they perceive themselves to be working toward achieving the same objectives? Do they see themselves competing or cooperating? Are the multiplying resources or are they working at cross purposes?

At the same time, the change agent must define his clients? Is it the individual farmer or is it the farmer's family? Is it the small landholder or is it the big farm operator? Is it the worker or the factory owner? Is it the farmer-in-the-community?

Such understandings of the innovation, and the implications of the innovation once it is introduced; an articulation of the change agent system and of the target system and the nature of the relationship between the change system and the target is necessary before any change effort could be usefully introduced. An understanding of the nature of the relationship between change agent and client systems itself would suggest what kinds of strategies might be used by the change agent. Clearly the relationship between a father and his sons is of one kind, between the landowner and his tenants is of another kind, between the teacher and his pupils is of a different kind, and that between the social worker and his clients is different from all the rest. Again, the quality of these relationships differ from culture to culture. A functional literacy planner would find that at various levels of operations he is dealing with different kinds of relationships and must take their limitations and possibilities in view while planning instructional, extension, and overall social change strategies. He must understand the configurations of change.

The second factor mentioned above in terms of social engineering is that of linkages. Linkages may be defined as channels, both personal and impersonal, for flow of information and influence between and within the change agent system and the client system. Linkages will determine whether the desired and possible information and influence will actually be transported and

delivered to the client system. This transportation and delivery may be achieved through reading, writing, printing, talking, listening, picturing, broadcasting, demonstrating, viewing, observing, upholding, threatening, or coercing. Linkages are needed within the change agent, within the target system, and between the change agent and the target systems. It is common knowledge that quite often within the change agent system there are no common understandings of the objectives of change nor shared perceptions or agreements on the change strategies being employed. There thus develops within the change agent system different groups that begin to compete rather than cooperate with each other. There is conflict rather than communication between these factions. The same thing might happen within the target systems. Part of the target system may want to be the willing adopter; some parts may want to defend the status quo simply because there is no open communication between them and the change agent; there is instead suspicion arising from lack of free and frank discussion and exchange of views. In other cases new attitudes and skills may not filter from a group to the community or from a community to another community because no appropriate linkages have been established or energized. These linkages can be formal (official) and informal as indicated earlier. The channels used by these linkages can be symbolic or material, cars and telephones being forms of the latter.

The functional literacy worker acting as a change agent must also take in view the environment in which the project is being undertaken. The social context of any change effort is important. Social change efforts succeed in environments of hope and high ideological commitment. They also need among the people a commitment to the future and a feeling of stability. Functional

literacy projects or for that matter any developmental projects are unlikely to succeed in a situation of insecurity and trauma or sheer hopelessness. Of course, functional literacy workers cannot always create the environments of hope and security that they need to support their work. However, they can create immediate environment in the community that are supportive of the work they are doing and they can keep remote but inhibiting environments from unduly influencing the fate of their work.

Lastly, the resources are crucial in any change program whatever its conceptual underpinnings and irrespective of the strategies used in executing it. Resources are needed both by change agents and by target and client groups. Resources are of many kinds: material and non-material. The material resources may include new plows and fertilizers and agricultural wells. Or, they may include such items that are subsumed under infrastructure--roads, bridges, communication, marketing facilities. Non-material resources may include manpower pools, facilities for training, management and institutional resources. Psychological and social expense should also be considered as important resource available to social change agents and their clients. The functional literacy planner has to make sure that he conserves his resources, builds them up and multiplies them by working together with institutions that have similar interests and might be working in the same area. He also has to ensure that in his efforts to bring about a particular change he does not destroy the cohesiveness of the community he is trying to help and does not commit it to expenditures it may not be able to meet later on when left to itself and its own devices.

With these ideas on social engineering we may shift to another level of planning that we have labeled as programing.

II Programing By Objectives

In the preceding we have defined planning as a process of designing and choosing between alternatives. We have indicated also that the process of planning becomes the process of programing when the alternatives and choices between alternatives relate to activities that might be conducted, instrumentalities and strategies that might be used to attain objectives.

Programing may then be seen as the process of (a) developing immediate and intermediate objectives from the overall planning objectives; (b) translating objectives into actions, operations, and activities; and (c) sequencing or synchronizing different operations and activities on a time scale.

Converting overall planning objectives into a second generation of intermediate and immediate program objectives is not an easy task. It is indeed a task both analytical and creative. Again, the problems of translating objectives into actions and operations is a significant task and forms the backbone of the programing process. While second generation and segmental objectives relating to various components of a program are developed, the program designer will have to think in terms of actions that must be undertaken, operations that must be conducted and inputs that must be obtained, made available and applied.

Time is an important dimension of the programing process though this is the one most often neglected. The various action and activities and operations designed to achieve objectives must be orchestrated in sequence or synergistically to ensure that the program moves without blockages toward achievement of its objectives.

As part of the programing effort the program planner will be answering a great variety of questions on all the various aspects of the total project. For example, he will consider not only actions, but actors who will perform those actions for him. That is, he will consider questions regarding the design of particular roles to undertake those actions and operations. He will design job specifications for those roles and if such role performers are not available--already trained by other institutions like schools, universities, or vocational and technical institutions--he will have to train them within the project. Developing needed training programs would thus be an important programing activity. Before role performers are trained they will have to be recruited and once they are recruited they have to be administered. Here we are moving perhaps from programing into the sphere of administration and we will have more to say about these questions in a latter section.

Again, actions and operations have to take place within some social or institutional settings, some of which may already exist, but some of which may have to be created. That is, different groups may be created, different institutional arrangements may have to be devised. This would be a programing problem. Creating support services and making the support available to the various program activities is again a programing question as also the question of relating the total process of planning, and implementation to an evaluation effort.

These "specialized" programing problems like training and evaluation referred to in the preceding paragraph cannot be discussed in any detail here in this chapter. We will deal with them in subsequent chapters on training, methodology, materials, and evaluation.

Relating Program to Objectives

Here we like to emphasize one key idea in programing, and that is: programing by objectives.

Any program planner would claim, of course, that he is planning programs according to objectives. But, the fact is that most often objectives are not ever articulated. Everyone working on the program may have some private vision of what the program is intended to achieve, but they may have difficulties articulating those objectives when requested. When different people are obliged to articulate the objectives of the program they are working on, they may state different sets of objectives and one is likely to wonder if they are talking of the same program.

Program planners and workers indeed keep on revising unconsciously the objectives they privately hold for the program. They keep on revising as if it were the oral histories of their failures and successes. Again, when objectives are stated at all they are stated globally and no objectives are available for different components of a program or for different phases of the program. Then these objectives as stated may be impossible to test. And, there is seldom a statement including the criterion for success and failure of a program.

The Behavioral Approach

The behavioral approach requires that: (a) objectives for a program be stated in writing and recorded as a program is designed and before it is implemented; (b) general objectives be broken down into specific objectives (specific in terms of program components and program phases); (c) all objec-

tives be stated in testable form (that is in a form in which it is possible to confirm by observation or by testing that the objectives have been fulfilled,) and the criteria of success or failure for the achievement or otherwise of an objective must be stated also from the very beginning.

It is being claimed and perhaps rightly that the behavioral approach to teaching, extension, and community work has changed forever the whole complexion of work in these areas. It is a very influential movement and a considerable body of literature is available in this area.¹

In the functional literacy context the following diagram (next page) may demonstrate graphically as to how the various segments and components of a program must be integrated and how the immediate, intermediate, and long-term objectives for various components of a program must be interlocked.

In the figure on page 16, we have shown seven different components of a functional literacy program. These components are selected arbitrarily and by way of example only. Different projects may give different labels to their program components and may have more or less than the number of components suggested in the diagram. It should be self-evident that long-term objectives for a total/regional program cannot be accomplished without working on intermediate objectives. Again, intermediate objectives of a total/regional program cannot be accomplished without working on objectives by phases. One can then say that objectives by phases cannot be accomplished without fulfilling objectives by stages. Of course, objectives by stages

¹See Robert F. Mager, Preparing Instructional Objectives, Palo Alto, California: Fearon, 1962, for a brief but most useful introduction to this area of stating objectives for instruction, programing, and planning.

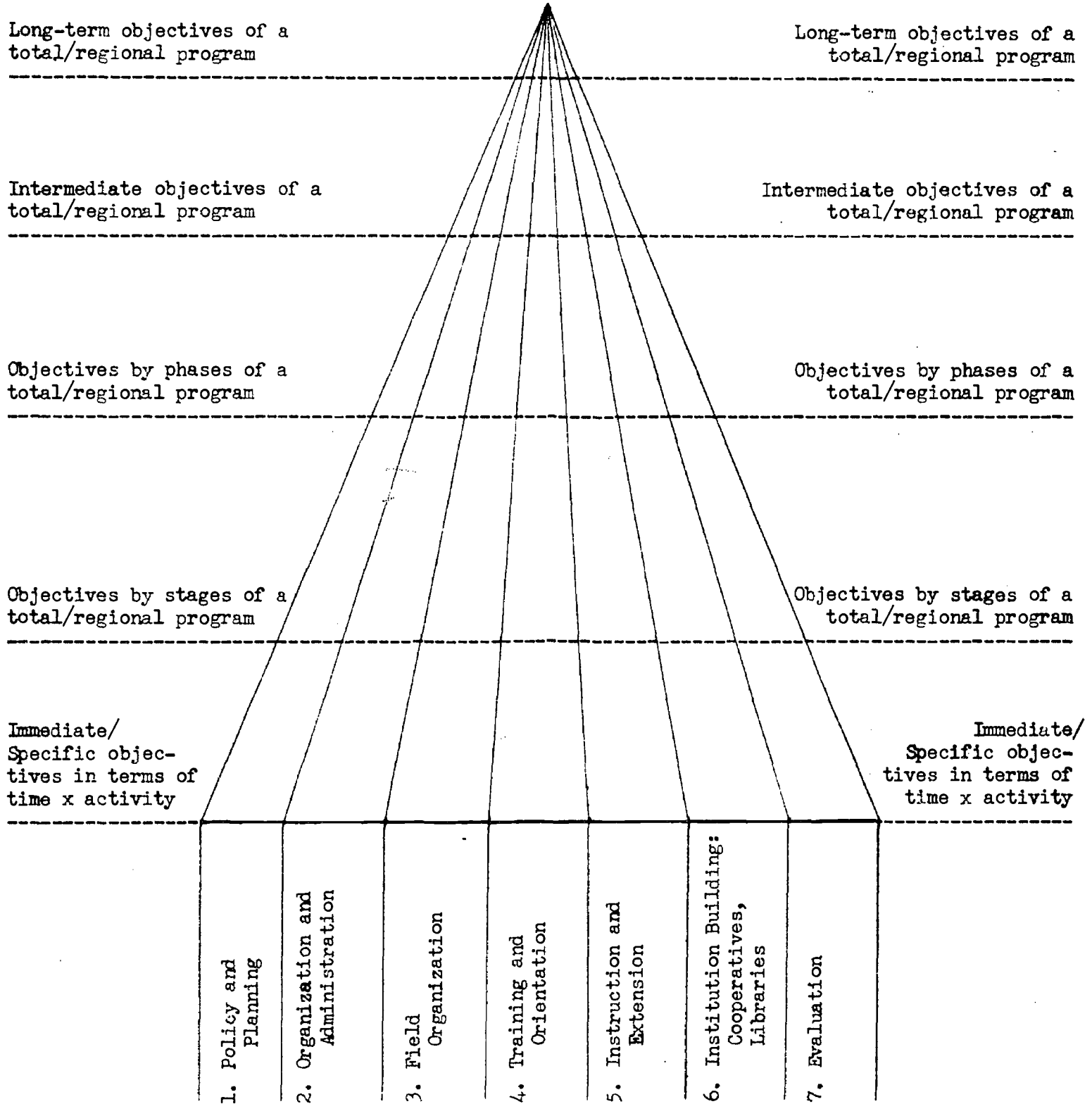


Figure: Interrelations between different program components and between specific to general objectives of a total program.

will be accomplished only if immediate and specific objectives are clarified and described for each program activity day by day, or week by week, or month by month, as the case may be.

We have indicated in the preceding that time is the most crucial ingredient of the programming process and yet this is the aspect most neglected. There are different techniques available now to enable a planner or a programmer to schedule operations and program activities. One such approach is called PERT--Program Evaluation and Review Techniques.

Programming by Perting

All successful administrators, field organizers, trainers, evaluators, writers, printers, unconsciously use this technique, often without being aware of it themselves. They pert in their "head". They pert intuitively. They don't know what they do and nobody else knows what they do.

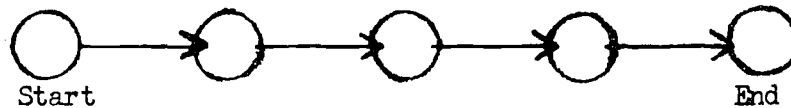
But, if one perts consciously and on a large sheet of paper that everyone can see and work with, the chances of the success of a program are increased manifold. Sometimes it means the difference between success and failure.

Perting helps you plan, schedule, and control your work, whatever it is. The basic activity in perting is network planning. Network planning, essentially, must answer the following questions:

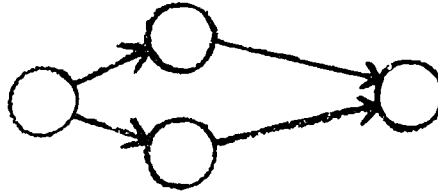
- (a) What is the starting time of an operation and what is the ending time?
- (b) What separate activities must be performed to complete the operation by the specified time?
- (c) Which activities must be performed in sequence and which can be undertaken simultaneously to finish project on time?

A sequential network (where activities must be performed in sequence)

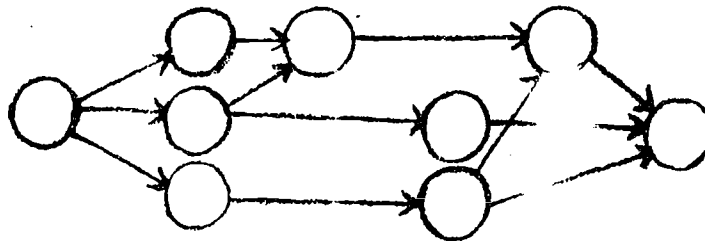
looks like the following:



A network showing activities that may be performed simultaneously may look like the following:



A more complex network may look like the following:



Let us try some PERTING for a hypothetical program in a functional literacy project. Let us imagine that the program in question is--"Opening of 100 literacy classes for the second phase of a work-oriented adult literacy project in the sub-project area of Tarakki". Let us begin by making a list of activities that must be performed to achieve our objectives. It should be remembered that such lists must be drawn cooperatively by all project staff sitting together.

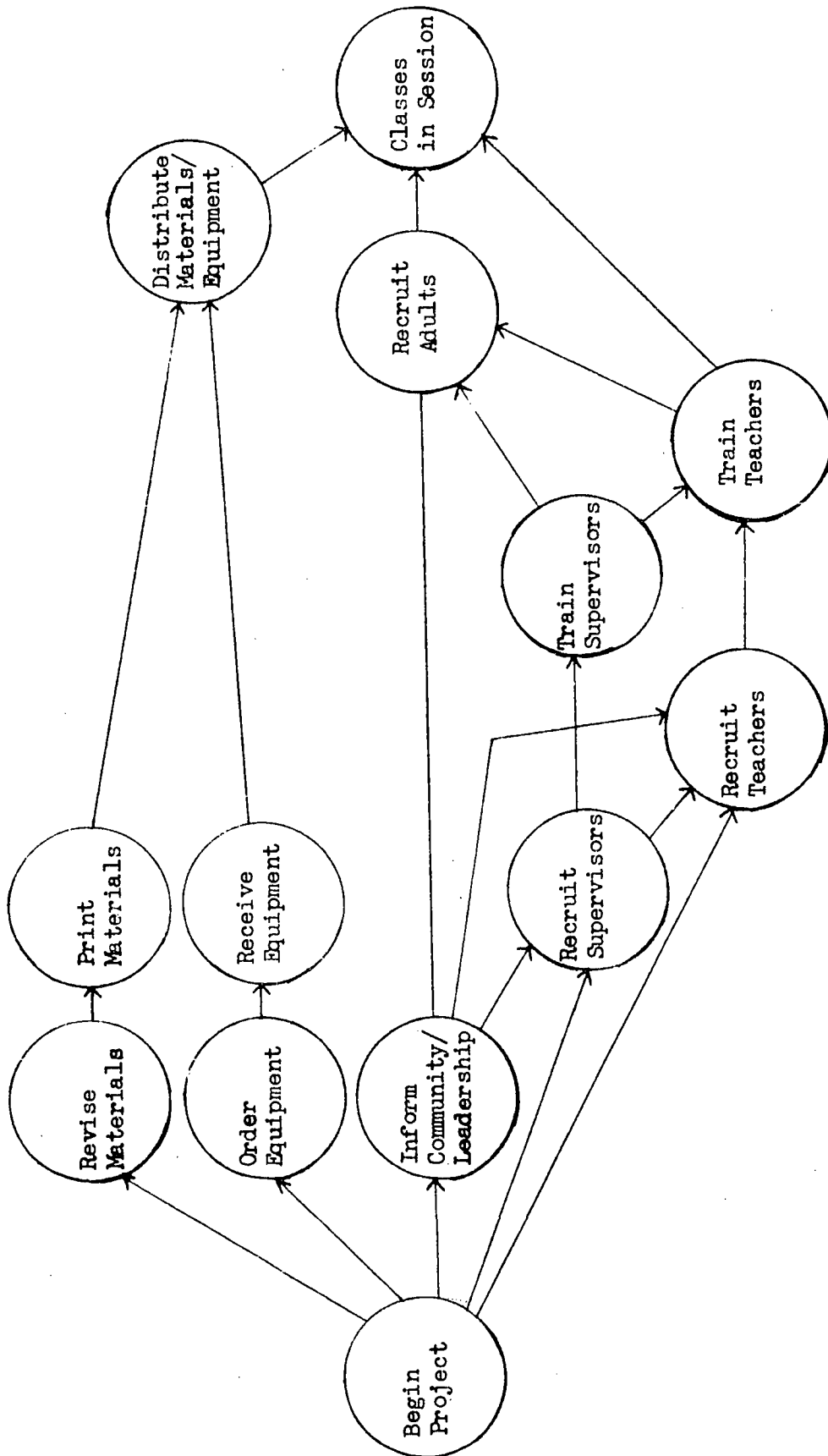
1. Class sites should be selected.
2. Class sites should be cleaned/prepared.
3. Each class should be supplied with the required equipment--26 primers (25 for adults, 1 for teacher), 1 set of graphic materials, 25 exercise books, chalkboard, pointer, chalk, duster, mat, etc.

4. Equipment should be ordered.
5. Equipment should be distributed to classes.
6. Primers and graphics should be printed.
7. Primers and graphics should be distributed.
8. Teachers should be trained.
9. Teachers should be selected.
10. Adults should be recruited for the program.
11. There should be information, dissemination, and publicity for recruitment of adults.
12. Supervisors should be trained.
13. Supervisors should be recruited.

This may be an inadequate list, but can be considerably improved upon by discussing it in a staff meeting. As we can see, some activities must be performed in a sequence, but many must be performed simultaneously. An activities network may look like the following: (See next page for graphic illustration).

This again is a network that can be made more detailed. Indeed, different separate networks can be developed for (a) revision, printing, and distribution of materials, (b) recruitment and training of supervisors and teachers, and (c) for field organization.

Preparing an activities network is only half the job in PERTING. The other half, and the more important one, is to schedule the activities to put the network on a time line, to supply dates, and months for the various activities to begin and to end. (The network, as it is, does include some sense of time, but it is rough and ready and must be made much more specific and detailed).



It is not always possible to figure out exact dates for each activity. But, again, together as a group a project team must visualize all possible mishaps, uncertainties and problems involved and work on three different time estimates:

- (a) The optimistic estimate
- (b) The pessimistic estimate, and
- (c) The most likely estimate

Activities that can be undertaken simultaneously must be begun. As work proceeds and things get done, time estimates should be revised in subsequent staff meetings.

This is only a commonsense type introduction to the PERTing technique. One can read more,¹ and by using it, one can develop sophistication.

III

Administering Functional Literacy

The integrated nature of a functional literacy program poses some very special problems. We have been describing functional literacy as one approach to social change. It should not be too difficult to deduce, therefore, that the problems of administration of functional literacy would be similar to the problems of development administration as such. There are two sources that compound the problems of administration further. First, functional literacy programs are conducted almost always in underdeveloped countries where managerial skills are generally in short supply. The second set of complications arise from the international nature of the Unesco Experimental Functional Literacy Program. All the projects under the Unesco program have teams of in-

¹Robert G. Johnson, PERT for Managers, Argyle Publishing Corporation, (A Programed Book), 1968.

ternational experts working with national counterparts. The intercultural nature of the teams introduces some very special administrative and organizational problems that must be handled if the program is to succeed at all.

The kinds of administrative structures that we usually have in underdeveloped countries, whatever their political structures, are bureaucracies. Almost all of us have at one time or another been annoyed with bureaucracies because some things did not happen or took too long to happen, or required too complicated a procedure to bring about.

Historically, bureaucracies were invented to get things done in the army, in the factory, and in the civil service to collect revenues or to maintain law and order. For these kinds of functions, bureaucracies have done extremely well. They specialize in terms of functions. There is a well defined division of labor and responsibility. There are clear lines of hierarchy so that one knows all the time as to who works to whom. There are rules to follow and most of the time these rules are included in codes and schedules. The decision making is rational and impersonal.

However, the various good points of bureaucracies which worked well for the army and the factory and the law and order administration do not work well for developmental administration. In development administration, it is not people who have to be administered, but programs and activities. The decision-making does not have to be depersonalized, on the other hand, personal commitments have to be articulated. The criteria for good work is not how well the files are maintained or the quality of minuting. Good performance is determined by the sensitivity and despatch with which support is provided to programs in the field. There is need to be in touch with

the field to get the feedback on administrative actions and there is need for responsibility not to be diffused, but to be assumed.

The first set of problems in administering functional literacy arise then from the fact that one or the other ministry in a government must be made responsible for running a functional literacy program. These ministries are bureaucracies with their own specialization and with their own very special points of view. If a functional literacy project is located in the ministry of education the project emphasizes the teaching of reading and writing and neglects, sometimes totally, the economic concerns of the project, thereby destroying the whole justification of the program. If, on the other hand, a functional literacy project is located in a vocational ministry like that of agriculture or industry, it tends to become an extension program in agriculture or a vocational training program and literacy is forgotten. In either case, the general socio-cultural aspect of the total program may become a casualty. Sometimes separate offices are created for handling functional literacy projects, a fact, which if nothing else, isolates the projects and its programs. On other occasions, functional literacy programs are located within the ministry of planning which seems often to have greater ability to coordinate its work with other ministries in the same government.

The fact that in the functional literacy projects now current there are also international experts working as advisors and consultants, complicates even more the organizational and administrative problem.

The various administrative and organizational problems in functional literacy programs can be clustered as given on the next page.

- Those arising from relations between ministries and departments within ministries;
- Those arising from flow of information from higher levels to lower levels in the government;
- Those arising from differential backgrounds and institutional affiliations of people on the international teams;
- Those arising from lack of coordination between international agencies; and
- Those arising from relationships between the national officers and the international expert teams.

Inter-Ministerial Organizational Problems

A literacy project has to be assigned to some ministry. Generally, a literacy project goes to the ministry of education. Sometimes, however, ministries of education are inward looking concerned only with primary schools and secondary schools. They do not get interested in something involving field work. Then, if a functional literacy project is related to agriculture it goes to the ministry of rural development. All ministries in a government are equal and, therefore, none are ready to play a cooperative role--which is seen as a subsidiary role--with another ministry. In some countries such integrated projects like functional literacy are located in the ministry of development or the planning commission or the President's secretariat. Thus, a minimum of cooperation is assured.

One of the most widely used strategies for creating inter-ministerial cooperation is the coordination committee. If the administrative ministry can share credits with cooperating ministries, coordination committees work quite well. In other cases they become ceremonial and cumbersome.

Inter-Level Coordination

Gentlemen who come to serve on national coordinating committees are often reasonable people. They are not against coordination or against working together. The cooperative sentiments of the national committee, however, seldom become known to officers in the region or the district. In the field, the representatives of the various central ministries may still not coordinate with each other. Also, the field officer may find it hard to fulfill the new demands made upon him by the head office. The head office, after a coordination committee, may ask the field officers to undertake new work without providing any resources of men or materials or including performance of new tasks in the existing reward and incentive system.

International Teams

The international nature of teams on functional literacy projects offers administrative and organizational problems. The teams generally include an agricultural specialist or an industrial engineer or mining expert. It is hard to assimilate such a person into the team. He wants to do agricultural or industrial work and he finds he has to do agricultural education and industrial education work--at a rather elementary level. Since the Chief or the Team Leader is more likely to be an adult educator, the leader-follower relationships become difficult to establish.

Then, there is the evaluation specialist whose role is again rather undefined. A more detailed discussion of the evaluator role is included in the Chapter on Evaluation.

Inter-Agency Problems

Some people on the functional literacy team may belong to Unesco, one or two may belong to FAO, one to ILO and another to Unicef. All of them have to perform some maintenance functions to exist in their own parent organizations. As a result, there develop disparate loyalties--the agricultural man is after something that he can show to FAO and the ILO man is naturally interested in kinds of things that are legitimized in ILO as an institution. After all, it is not Unesco that is going to extend his contract! The UNDP does not provide enough cohesion and common front for all the agencies to work as one.

Expert--Counterpart Relationships

This is the most delicate area of organizational behavior in functional literacy. The roles of the experts are ill-defined. What does it mean to be an advisor or consultant? What kind of power does a consultant have on decision-making? Some national workers may like to use the experts as so many additional subordinate workers! They expect from them field work as they expect from the rural development officer, and draft-writing as from the clerical officer. Routine displaces the generating and testing of ideas. When this happens, the team members submit drafts and run errands for the national director or his deputy. When experts try to function as experts and advisors, they are seen as not doing anything!

Personalities of counterpart officials who come to work on UN sponsored programs would differ, but newly independent countries are highly politicised communities. Many of them got independence in the early sixties which is not

many years ago. They still slip back into seeing the expert in the old stereotype of the colonial officer who ran things for them. Some national officers then become very sensitive about who gives orders to the typist or to the driver. Postage is controlled, duplicating machine is controlled, and the national director or the deputy director spends all his time in projecting himself and keeping the experts under control.

Professional questions are often discussed with emotion and in the background of political speeches made by the Vice-President the day before. When everything fails, questions are put to vote or the expert is asked: How do you know more about my country than I do?

Some further problems of administration are discussed below and some solutions are proposed for creating cohesive organizational structures wherein groups can work together to achieve objectives and at the same time, individuals can derive personal satisfactions.

Staff Selections

Staffing criteria for the old world literacy programs do not hold good in functional literacy programs. Teachers and social workers, mostly voluntary, are not enough. Functional literacy as we have said again and again, is social change requiring technical personnel with the training to do the social engineering jobs. Functional literacy projects need system analysts, sociologists, economists, agriculturists or industrial engineers (depending upon the project direction), curriculum specialists, trainers, editors, audio-visual specialists, broadcasters, and media men, field workers, and researchers. We cannot do with less.

It is not easy to find staff of the quality needed for running these projects. Functional literacy will have to compete with the universities and other professional organizations for high quality staff. Unfortunately, functional literacy projects cannot draw even the minimally satisfactory staff through international channels. Most often, instead of technicians and social scientists, experimental projects get stuck with erstwhile colonial officers who know the area and know the language and hardly anything else. North America and Europe is certainly not giving its best to Asia and Africa: quite often it is dead wood not timber that one could build with.

In international projects, again, and so far most functional literacy projects have been international, problems of national counterpart personnel also arise. They are of two kinds. First, there just are not enough bodies. Some countries in the Third World have acute shortages in trained manpower. Then, the prestigious international project may attract not the very competent, but the very powerfully supported.

Sometimes the staff bring to their work their pre-Independence history. The white man had been the colonial officer and now he is the international expert. The Asian had been the trader (the exploiter in the vocabulary of neo-nationalism) and is now here as an expert. The personal equations get inhibited. There creeps diffidence and mistrust, if not overt hostility.

Personnel Problem at the Field End

One of the most crucial personnel problem arises at the other end--in the field. Who will be teaching functional literacy classes? In the in-

ustrial field generally; the technician is trained as a literacy teacher as well but in the agricultural field problems arise. There is no such thing as a modern farmer who can be trained as a literacy teacher. The agricultural extension workers are few: sometimes there may be as few as eight to ten such workers in an area of 1000 square miles. Teams have to be created--teacher and extension worker teams--and they present organizational problems which must be solved. Also involved are the supervision problems. In agriculture, again, they pose special problems though in industrial settings things are easy because everything happens under one roof.

Field Organization

Field organization is such an important matter and equally so often neglected that it should be given a short separate treatment.

Bureaucrats are short-sighted people. Very often they do not see beyond the confines of their room in the comfort of the principle city where the secretariat always is. Some think the whole country is like the capital city. Some, in fact, lose any sympathy with the rural people--the human junk in shanties and slums. For many, the completed job means that muniting has been done on the file in a way that no one can now hold them responsible. In such circumstances, some bureaucrats may not even think it necessary to bother about the field organization. They take field organization for granted; they think that once they have passed the order it will take care of itself and filter down to the farm.

It can only be stated here that not only should a realistic system of field organization be created, but tested for trouble-shooting and removing the bugs. Often supervision duties are assigned to the staff already there. For them it is often additional work and thereby an additional irritant.

Two suggested Solutions

Two solutions may be suggested with regard to the staffing and organizational problems hinted above. One relates to personnel and is called sensitivity training. The other relates to organizational structures and is referred to as temporary systems or project administration. We will discuss these in the following briefly.

Sensitivity Training

Sensitivity training is a psychological approach used with groups to enable members of groups to understand and accept each other; build trust and feelings of mutuality in place of anxieties and insecurities; build cooperative relationships and open communications between themselves. Sensitivity training, also called laboratory training, comes closest to group therapy and it is not always possible for functional literacy workers on a national or international team to handle it alone and by themselves. They would need consultant help which might have to be requested from abroad and might be expensive. However, investment in a laboratory or sensitivity training workshop may be a good bargain--a useful long-term investment.

If professional laboratory training is not available, the second best approach may be for the project team to have experiences in group discussion methods and to have their meetings monitored by an observer for study of interaction patterns.

Some training would be required even for this type of experience, but such training might be easier to attain and may be within the resources of a functional literacy project.¹

Temporary Systems

Most often when new administrative structures are created for functional literacy (or any other developmental activity) they tend to parallel the bureaucratic model. There are the inevitable departments and sections and there are people with different designations heading those sections. The tendency is for different sections to look inward and not to relate with other sections avoiding competition or conflict. Again, officials start responding to their designations in a narrow fashion. The literacy trainer does not concern himself with the training of writers of follow-up materials because there is another person on the team with the designation of Follow-Up Materials Specialist. The Follow-Up Materials Specialist does not train writers of follow-up books because he is not a Trainer. Again, many important activities may remain undone by default--because no section sees it as its own responsibility.

The most suitable approach to remove these difficulties is to create temporary systems, or task groups for each activity or group of activities

¹See also Richard Beckhard, "The Confrontation Meeting," Harvard Business Review, XLV, No. 2 (1967), 149-153.

that needs to be done and to dissolve the task force when that particular task is done. Then a new task may be defined, a new task force may be created out of all the sections and assigned responsibility for accomplishing that new task. This approach, also called the project method, seems eminently suited to the needs of functional literacy programs.

Budgeting Functional Literacy Projects

One last point should be made here and that is about budgeting functional literacy projects.

Literacy workers are so habituated to their endemic poverty that they have a serious crisis of aspirations while developing project budgets. While they may be persuaded that functional literacy is a problem of social change and social change is not cheap, at an operational level they still respond in terms of older habits. Money is budgeted for primers, and chalk and exercise books. Money is not budgeted for in-service training, developing instructional materials, testing, and evaluation and for material inputs--fertilizers, new seeds, workshop equipment. Nor are consultations held with other departments and ministries who may be responsible for providing those facilities but would still need to budget resources to fulfill the special obligations arising under a functional literacy project. The result is a complete collapse of a program resulting in a series of what a wag once derisively described as 'adult kindergartens'.

Attached with literacy work is the concept of voluntary work. Indeed there is something graceful about the concept and the vision of men volunteering to help other men to read and write, to creep out of their ignorance

into light of reason, rationality, and modernity. But, volunteer work may be offered and cannot be claimed. Also, it cannot be claimed from people desperately trying to get linked with cash economies by making some money, some honoraria--even 3 dollars a month. Also, one cannot plan projects on the expectation that unlimited voluntary work will be available for exploitation.