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ABSTRACT
        Formal education has traditionally played the
conservative role of transmitting values, culture, skills, and
knowledge from one generation to the next. Its role has become
dysfunctional in societies such as those in Asia and the Pacific that
are characterized by rapid change. In societies such as these, the
need now is for education for development. This is why both the
concept of life-long education as a principle on which the overall
organization of an educational system is founded, and the concept of
nonformal education as an indispensible part in all national schemes
for education, are of vital significance in Asia and the Pacific.
When developing nonformal educational programs for countries in Asia
and the Pacific, planners must consider both the common features and
experiences that give countries of the region a common outlook on the
nature and role of education in relation to future development and
the uniqueness of each country's experiences and needs. Particularly
needed by most countries of the region are training programs in the
areas of employment skills, rural transformation, and health and
nutrition. Other areas of concern include conservation of natural
resources, public safety and justice, and literacy. (MN)

Asian Programme of Educational Innovation for Development **APEID**

NON-FORMAL
EDUCATION
IN ASIA
AND
THE PACIFIC

An Overview

UNESCO REGIONAL OFFICE
FOR EDUCATION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
Bangkok, 1982

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

There is a growing awareness among educators and administrators in Asian countries of the inadequacy of the formal systems of education in providing education for all, or at least minimal literacy, and in meeting the needs of the society. A variety of constraints, both social and economic, have prevented millions of young people and adults from gaining access to educational opportunities. Education systems, though having been greatly expanded at enormous cost, cannot keep pace with increasing needs and aspirations. In addition, there are problems of mismatch between what the education systems provide and the developmental needs of the societies, resulting in a rising number of educated unemployed, illiterate adults and in sharp disparities in the distribution of educational benefits among the various population groups. It is coming to be recognized that past educational development strategies based on the sole use of formal education will not suffice. Other alternative approaches should be adopted.

In this publication the inadequacy of the existing formal education is explained in detail along with the recent development of non-formal education in Asia and the Pacific. The concept of non-formal education as well as the regional thinking on the subject are discussed. An analysis of some available written records and summaries of recent educational innovations in the region are provided. Reference is also made to the applications of non-formal education to literacy, rural development, acquisition of productive skills and health and nutrition.

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Chapter 1

TERMS AND MEANINGS

We ought ideally to begin by defining what we mean by non-formal education and any other terms central to this publication. Unfortunately this is not simple. A brief scan of Unesco's summary of national inventories of educational innovations in nine countries, published in 1978, illustrates the difficulty of defining in a consistent and useful way what we mean by non-formal education. As it happens the very first entry (IND/1) is called non-formal education, but after that there are many entries from India and elsewnere which are relevant but do not have such words in their title. Some are about forms of outreach, alternative rural delivery systems, and volunteer programmes in the community. Others are about curriculum innovations and other changes within the formal system. Our scope includes alternatives to, and possibly within, the school system as well as non-formal community-based approaches. The difficulty is that we may choose to take note only of things occurring outside the school system and treat these as non-formal. But in the process we imply that all 'schooling' must remain formal and be set apart permanently from non-formal developments. This contradicts our belief that the objective must be to develop a more flexible and variegated system rather than leave the formal system untouched and create a rival non-formal alternative.

We are therefore forced to consider the different senses in which 'non-formal' may be used, and to admit that no one sense of definition is appropriate for all purposes. A recent article by Marvin Grandstaff of Michigan State University (*Prospects*, VIII, 2, 1978) sets out various grounds on which formal and non-formal education may be distinguished. These are: administrative affiliation (the one that comes most quickly to mind); pedagogical style (according to which non-formal education may be found as part of 'schooling' and very formal education in out-of-school settings); function; clients; reward systems; and 'cultural congruence', meaning the tendency for education to harmonize or conflict with established learning patterns. 'In summary, it is clear that there is no single "right" way to define the concept of non-formal education. Instead, definitions must depend upon context'. Grandstaff ends with a plea for clarity and consistency in the way we talk about non-formal education rather than trying to 'stake out an ideological claim for the correctness of any one of the many plausible definitions'.

We have to recognize, then, that no one rigid definition of non-formal education (NFE) is going to be helpful. It might seem to clarify discussion but is likely instead to rule out important questions and areas of change. On the one hand NFE includes educational activities undertaken outside what is usually called the education system. On the other hand we are also interested in the development of alterna-

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tives to and within formal schooling which may make it less formal, or more adapt-able. One point over which there need not be confusion is that non-formal educa-tion includes alternatives to normal schooling for those defined as of school age in the society, as well as pre-school and post-school opportunities for the young and educational opportunities for adults. Education for adults can be very rigid and formal, for instance when teachers use the same facilities to teach adults to pass the same examinations by the same methods as they use to teach school children in the day time. Generally, however, adult education in all its forms is included within non-formal education. Since education is traditionally equated with school-ing for the young and since most adult education is relatively non-formal in its approach, we may for convenience consider it as including all adult education as well as some child and youth education. Of course adult education is itself a con-fusing term. In some countries it is taken to mean literacy, or basic remedial educa-tion akin to that in primary school, while in others it tends to mean general or liberal non-vocational education. We might do best to follow Unesco's lead in the 1976 Recommendation for the Development of Adult Education and regard it as applying to all education of those regarded as adult by their society, whatever the particular educational objectives. Even this Unesco definition might be thought too narrow, since it could exclude some of the least formal community-based and community development-oriented approaches.

A term which has tended to give way to non-formal education is out-of-school education. It is simpler and clearer in meaning than non-formal education, and perhaps rather narrower in scope; it clearly rules out anything taking place within school. As it is tending to go out of use, and also because it leaves out the mixed models which may break down the school/non-school dichotomy and so foster 'deformalization' of the formal system, we tend not to use it in this publication.

Other terms which we will use include basic education, the basic cycle, and the core curriculum. Terms such as fundamental education refer to the same idea, that there is some essential minimum of education, or minimal or basic package of knowledge, skills, concepts and maybe attitudes, which one requires to cope adequately in society. The idea and the terms are mentioned here because they represent another approach to educational reform quite closely related to non-formal education, a way of trying to define objectives and so to make possible viable alternatives to formal schooling, clear in the knowledge of what the educa-tion is required to achieve.

Other necessary terms include 'extension', normally used of agricultural or university extension but in principle applicable to any taking out of knowledge and resources beyond their main institutional base; 'functional', commonly applied to literacy but used also more widely to cover all education; and mobilization and conscientization, words in some ways philosophically opposed to 'extension'. There can be no doubt that the concept and term non-formal education has become very widely established in most countries of the Asian region during the 1970s. Most countries now use it quite freely, although not always in the same way as do other countries, or even consistently within the one country. Many hundreds of books and thousands of papers have been written about the concept and its applications.

Indeed there is some irritation with the term, some feeling that too much energy goes into clarifications and definitions which should better be applied to getting on with the work itself, and one recent monograph calls for the 'demystification' of NFE.

It is also noticeable that terms not widely used in the Asian region other than in one or two countries are being adopted more widely. This is likely to cause further confusion. Continuing education, which has recently been adapted by many institutions and associations in Australia and New Zealand in place of adult education, sometimes with a narrower and sometimes with a wider meaning, is now coming into use in India and some other places. Recurrent education, mainly used in the idustrialized Western countries (members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development OECD) has also begun to make an appearance, not only in the documents of the three OECD countries of the region (Japan, Australia, New Zealand) but in regional documents, for instance, of The Asian Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID). Other terms like community and social education are used more in a few countries, and can cause further confusion as they may be English translations of terms in Japanese, Korean or Indonesian which have a slightly different national connotation than what is usually understood in the English.

Given this confusing situation, the great variety of situations and usages in the region, and the impossibility of imposing rules and definitions for the use or abandoning of different terms, it is recommended that educationists pay attention more to what is referred to, the objectives, values, strategies, programmes and methods, than to the different terms. Rather than argue that one term is more right or better than another we may need to follow the practice in the Philippines, where the relevant national association is called Non-Formal/Community Adult Education. New Zealand has just changed at the national level from 'adult' to 'continuing' education and the Australian National Association after a number of discussions, appears to be keeping the older term. India keeps 'adult aducation' for its national association but the government has a Directorate of Non-Formal (Adult) Education. Using two or three terms as in India and the Philippines may actually be much quicker than trying to argue for one rather than another. We de however need to be clear that our scope includes education for the very young, those of school age and adults, and that we are interested in improvements and alternatives within the formal system which may be suggested by adult and other non-formal education, rather than developing what might otherwise eventually become a rival 'system'.

A regional seminar on lifelong education, the curriculum and basic learning needs (Thailand, 1976) found that giving a precise definition to lifelong education was difficult, indeed, some of the participants thought that attempts to do so should be discouraged'. Since the concept of lifelong education is an important theoretical underpinning of non-formal education we include here passages from the report of that seminar, which indicate its character rather than prescribing a definition. Passages are from pages 4 to 7 of the report.

Extract from the report of the Seminar on Lifelong Education. the curriculum and basic learning needs

Lifelong education -- a response

The seminar was of the view that the concept of lifelong education is essentially a response to the persisting problems of education and development. While the nature of the problems varies from one country to another and in different socio-political contexts, the goal of national endeavours is the same i.e., the liberation and development of human potential, both individual and societal. The role of education in this process of liberation and development has tended to be circumscribed by a variety of factors, some of which have their origin in the socio-economic structures of the societies and some which derive from the ways in which education is organized in such societies.

The variety and complexity of these socio-economic circumstances are such that a clear cut and precise schema of how they operate was not possible. What are the relative weights to be assigned to national ideals, national development goals, national resource limitations, district or community urgencies, popular aspirations and existing educational systems and structures in explicating the concept of lifelong education? The national experiences expressed by the participants highlighted the importance of these questions but no final answers, if there be such, were offered.

In the developing region of Asia, one of the major concerns of the governments is to link education with national development. A variety of constraints including social and economic have however prevented millions of young people, and adults from gaining access to educational opportunities. This vast reservoir of human potential remains untapped, wasted. The education systems, though they have been greatly expanded at enormous cost, cannot keep pace with the exponentially increasing needs and aspirations. Dropouts and examination 'failures' take a heavy toll even of those who do get access to education. Then, there are the problems of mismatch between what the education systems provide and the development needs of the societies. The symptoms of this mismatch are to be seen in the number of educated unemployed (even while the stock of knowledge and skills in the communities continues to be deficient), in the rising number of illiterate adults and those whose knowledge lapses through disuse, in the sharp disparities in the distribution of educational benefits among various population groups; and in the pervasive phenomenon of poverty, with all that it implies in terms of malnutrition, low productivity, and inert attitudes. Nowhere is the mismatch so glaringly in evidence as in the rural sectors of the national economies. The direct contribution of education to the development of rural population which constitutes by far the largest proportion of the total human resources in an Asian country has been limited and inadequate. Those in the rural areas who enter the education system are either impelled to migrate to urban areas by the reward system and income differential of the wage sector or stay on in rural areas in sullen discontent, unable or unwilling to put to use the skills and knowledge that the education system would have purveyed to them.

Lifelong education — energizing force and organizing principle

The Seminar viewed the concept of lifelong education as an energizing force to open up education systems to the problems of life and of development, and as an organizing principle by which the various components and types of education can be brought together in a coherent strategy for integrating education with development. Lifelong education is not, the seminar stressed, an Idea, a priori; or a utopian blueprint to be imposed on education. It is first and foremost a strategy for re-vitalized education action.

Lifelong education as an energizing force and as an organizing principle relates on the one hand to societal goals of development, and on the other hand, to individual learning. The societal goal of providing learning opportunities for continuous development to the entire population at all ages and in all places can only be realized in a series of approximations. A conscious recognition of this goal as a societal function and obligation is however essental in planning the intermediate goals. which define the approximations. At the level of the individual the process of education is to be built on the principle of lifelong learning; that is, the competencies in terms of skills, knowledge, attitudes and values, which impel, and make possible, further learning. Therefore, the seminar saw lifelong education as a characteristic which should inhere in societal development goals; and lifelong learning as the characteristic of the process of education.

Clearly, lifelong education was recognized as an individual right with a significant social dimension, and governments should provide opportunity for it and motivation to promote it. Its precise objectives, however, seemed more likely to emerge from the experiences of various countries than from an abstract definition of the concept. In fact, it was suggested that the concept cannot be defined as anything other than as an aspect of education itself, as it is now defined. Nothing would be less conducive to lifelong education becoming an energizing force than the elaboration of it as a dogma or a mystique. Possibly, therefore, the innovative experiences of countries in Asia and other regions might prove to be a more influential factor than a long philosophical treatise in determining the objectives, methods and 'target' audiences of curriculum in lifelong education.

Lifelong education — guiding considerations for a strategy

Viewing lifelong education as a strategy for educational action for development, the seminar discussed some of the considerations which should underlie the conception of such a strategy.

First is the recognition that education does not take place only in schools. Though education organized in the form of schools is important (some current ideologies denigrating it, notwithstanding) the education process does not start with the first schools and certainly should not end with the last one attended.

In this connection the seminar discussed various aspects of non-formal and informal education. A number of different definitions were offered for 'formal', 'non-formal' and 'informal' education. While there was no concensus on the matter of definitions or even terminology, the seminar agreed that they were all modes of

learning forming a spectrum, at one end of which were highly structured and consciously planned learning experiences associated with schools, and at the other end, informal, incidental learning which takes place almost sub-consciously through the medium of culture, home, work places, and media. Non-formal education spreading itself between the two ends of the spectrum offered alternatives to formal education while sharing with it the characteristics of flexibility and immediate relevance.

The point to emphasize is that education should not be equated with only formal forms of it. It comprehends all three modes; and any strategy of educational development should aim at harmonizing and integrating them into a coherent system. In operational terms, this implies that learning that takes place in informal or non-formal settings is recognized in the formal system as a vital resource input. Quite as importantly, it implies that the formal system itself becomes less formal and structured, acquiring greater flexibility. It is placed in a new relationship with the community, with the learners and with the world of work.

Secondly, the seminar accepted the need for an unfettered, creative approach to applying the principles of lifelong education. Only a psychological freedom from commitment to existing systems and structures seemed likely to generate the imaginative responses demanded by new and changing socio-economic circumstances.

The third component of the strategy discussed by the seminar was 'democratization'. While universalization of learning opportunities was an important element in equalizing access to education, it was by no means a guarantee of equality. An important aspect of democratization is that learning opportunities should be in a form which utilizes the full potential of each individual learner, thus ensuring equal chances of success.

The above leads to the fourth component, individual learning needs. Learning opportunities to be effective have also to be adapted to individual learning style and needs. This happens perhaps more often in informal education and less so in a formal, structured and highly organized school system. Adaptation to individual needs would call for diversification of learning opportunities within and without the formal system and recognition of alternative learning paths. Here motivation to learn and the capacity to put learning to use are seen as closely related to how learning takes place.

Barriers to lifelong education

The seminar then discussed some of the barriers which prevent the concept of lifelong education from becoming an energizing force in education. These include:

a) The assumption that the school is the terminal point of education and learning, and that learning can take place only in school (which incidentally leads to progressive overloading of the curriculum);

b) That there is only one way of learning and that any other path (e.g. learning at the work site or self learning) is not to be recognized as valid learning;

c)   That no free and two-way movement is possible, between formal and non-formal modes of education; and

d)   That the ages when learning can take place are fixed and calendared.

The barriers are raised by the rigidities of the existing systems, and while they frustrate learning even within the system, they also close it against the aspirations which are astir in the society at large.

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Chapter II

THE NATURE AND ROLE OF EDUCATION

To understand the reasons for the greatly increased interest in education in most parts of the world it is necessary first to remind ourselves of the nature and place of education. Education is narrower in scope than learning, and schooling is narrower again than education. There has been a tendency in most societies over the past hundred years (different periods for different societies) increasingly to equate education with what occurs within formal educational institutions — schools, colleges and universities. Such institutions have become the responsibility directly or indirectly of increasingly large, often complex and specializing ministries and departments of education. Education policies to extend the education provided by a society to more people and for more years have in the main been policies to extend the quantity of schooling.

As the quantity of formal education through schools has increased, so in many societies has the scope of what it is expected to achieve. In western societies the industrial revolution and accompanying urbanization largely destroyed traditional community and extended family structures. At the same time the more complex and specialized social and economic system, especially the urban, industrial production and distribution systems, required many new skills and kinds of competence in order for people to cope. These and other factors combined to strip the traditional family and community of many of their educational functions, which were transferred to the growing school system. That system also acquired such non-educational functions as the custodial one - even more recently to keep young people out of the employment market when jobs are scarce — and the functions of selection and accreditation for the different specialized positions in society, especially the most coveted, honoured and remunerative.

Thus there has been specialization of educational functions and activities into the sub-system of society called the education system, mainly through the medium of formal schooling. Meanwhile that system has tended to acquire more and more functions and responsibilities, some of them operating as obstacles to teaching and learning, as well as to the ideals of equity frequently held by educators themselves. And within the education system there has been increasing specialization and compartmentalization, notably in the teaching of subjects and disciplines which become more specialized at more and more senior levels. Such specialization has serious practical and philosphical implications well-exposed by Ivan Illich in *Deschooling Society* and other studies. Knowledge becomes an exclusive commodity. Special expertise for the few means loss of capacities for the many. The modern complex education system tends thus to disable and to cause dependency if

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people believe that they can only usefully learn when taught in a classroom by a teacher. Similarly a society becomes less able to sustain and foster its health if it believes that health can only be attained through a doctor in a hospital.

It was generally recognized that learning occurs in many places and forms other than through the formal education system, even before 'lifelong learning' and 'the learning society' became widespread ideas. But the tendency has been to ignore the practical implications of this in seeking to extend the formal system, with possible consequences as indicated by Illlich. Studies have shown that 80 per cent or more of adult learning projects take place entirely without any kind of educational assistance, and that people go first to their family, peers and other personal contacts for assistance when they need it, and only to more formal resources such as libraries and educational institutions when such first-level resources cannot meet their needs. This suggests another perception of the education system, as a resource for both young persons and adults, in their life-long learning activities, which is expressed in curriculum objectives such as 'learning to learn' but has little bearing on the main characteristics and resource allocations of most of the world's education systems today. Gradually, however, there is emerging a redefinition which recognizes the universality of learning, and perhaps speaks of 'informal education' as various means whereby such learning can be semi-deliberately assisted, and of the more restricted scope of education, both formally through the school system and by many other deliberate non-formal and community-based means.

In a society where change is not rapid, the education system naturally plays the rather conservative role of transmitting values, culture, skills and knowledge from one generation to the next. The APEID 1975 report on the 'Management of educational innovation' makes the point that the role of education is traditionally a stabilizing one; this has become dysfunctional in societies characterized by rapid change. The report suggests that the need now is education for development: that is to say, education to prepare people to initiate and manage change, not just to adapt to it. The 1976 report on 'Curriculum for development' remarks that 'the structure and function of the schools tend to remain static unless special conditions are generated to make the system flexible and prone to change'. Alvin Toffler's *Future shock* is only one of many studies which has called attention to the accelerating, uneven, multi-dimensional character of contemporary social change and the implications for the education system. If such change is a problem for an advanced industrial or post-industrial society like Toffler's (the United States) its consequences may be more traumatic for very traditional societies confronted quite suddenly with highly sophisticated technologies and the social assumptions and values which tend to accompany them. We should note here that whether the context is a traditional or a post-industrial society, the idea of education for change contains an inherent tension for education, which has traditionally been charged with conserving and transmitting. Indeed we may have to ask how far it is possible to expect education systems in the short or even the longer term to serve as the leading edge for change. Certainly so long as they are a largely distinct and self-contained subsystem of society rather than integrated with other institutions and functions, it may be too much to hope.

It is not surprising that for ten years or more there has been a great wealth of literature about a 'world crisis in education', with many suggestions and strategies for change ranging from most ambitious blue-prints to piecemeal reforms. The consequences of the factors mentioned above have included irrelevance of much schooling for the students, leading to boredom, alienation and dropping-out, and to unemployment or underemployment of the educated subsequently. Communities are said to suffer from the segregation into specialized institutions of the young for some number of years, and in the case of members of various cultural and ethnic minorities the students themselves may lose their living membership of their own community and culture without gaining access to another. Meanwhile it has become apparent that formal education can continue to demand ever more resources without attaining the over ambitious objectives and expectations set for it, and that most societies are unwilling and unable to sanction any further increase in the proportion of the budget allocated to formal education. Indeed it seems in a number of countries that expenditure on formal education may actually decline somewhat, relative to total public expenditure.

There are many examples in the educational literature of the Asia and Pacific region today to indicate awareness of this situation and an attempt to come to terms with it through new approaches to education. The crisis is most acute in the more traditional rural societies which comprise the majority of the peoples of the region, partly because the formal school as the exclusive agent of education is still less appropriate here, where traditional family, community and cultural arrangements are rich and strong. The first preparatory Programme Development meeting for APEID in 1973 considered it 'important to question many of the basic assumptions of existing systems such as. (a) the division of life into two periods, one learning without working, and the other working without learning; and (b) the idea that all learning should take place in schools and all teaching be undertaken by teachers. This is why both the concept of life-long education, as a principle on which the overall organization of an education system is founded, and the concept of non-formal education as an indispensable part in all national schemes for education, are of vital significance.'

Opening a seminar on Work and Learning in 1977, the Director of the Regional Office for Education in the Asian region,

> pointed out that traditionally, work and learning were combined in the educational process but with the emergence of the formal system of education, education focused on the cognitive aspects and began to be organized outside the context of social life and productive activities. This divorce between learning and life, and learning and productive work has weakened the process of education and created a wide gulf between those who are educated and those who were denied such opportunities. Many ills of the education system, with devastating effects on individuals and societies, spring from this divorce. In the recent past, there has been a growing realization that work and learning should be brought together in a creative way, both

at the individual and social plane. The move has been justified
on social as well as pedagogical grounds.

The damaging effects of this education system and the need for general system-
wide change is most marked in rural settings, as a handbook from APEID, the same
year, on *Preparing teachers for education in Rural Development* notes:

> . . . in the context of rural development with focus on the rural
> poor, education cannot be considered in the abstract or as an
> entity which is externally introduced in the mix of interrelated
> factors which comprise the strategy for rural development.
> Educational systems, particularly as they have been evolved
> in the developing countries, are not only urban-based and
> urban-biased but also are selective in a way which tends to
> militate against non-urban environments. For education to
> function as a force for social and economic transformation,
> its forms, methods and content would also have to be trans-
> formed at the same time.

Other examples of this awareness may be found in the Unesco Bulletin series
of studies of education in the region. The introduction to the 1974 study of admi-
nistration, for example, included this passage:

> The simple equation of earlier periods – education is schooling
> is teaching – no longer holds. With the expansion of enrol-
> ments, the composition of the student population has changed
> and represents now a much wider range of ability, aptitudes,
> motivations and aspirations. That teaching does not necessarily
> result in learning is demonstrated vividly in drop-out rates or
> examination failures; that even successful passage through the
> set regime of the school may fail to prepare for life is attested
> by the increasing number of unemployed...

A paper in the 1977 Bulletin on science education asks 'Where is education
going?' and is quoted below.

> The crisis which continued throughout the 1950s and early
> 1960s eventually came to ignition point in the late 1960s with
> the student movement which struck at many parts of the world.
> Since then there has been much heart searching . . . and an old
> idea has been steadily gaining ground, being reinforced by
> subsequent educational developments and assuming in its
> expression various forms, some very radical and some less so.
> This idea is that the concept of traditional skills (i.e. the con-
> centration on the process of acquisition of knowledge and
> skills in a sharply defined special and temporal domain) is a
> concept that must be transcended. Some of the more radical
> critics of the schools go so far as to advocate deschooling
> society; others, less ambitious or perhaps not so reckless,
> believe that more forms of educational activity must be

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> developed within and outside the schools in such a way as to
> approximate gradually to an ideal situation where education
> becomes a purely social activity, and in which every member
> of society engages in learning throughout his active life. The
> advocates of this approach — that of the 'learning society' —
> maintain that this idealized state will be long in coming. But
> in our changing world few things are as Utopian as they may at
> first seem, and something tending in this direction becomes
> more and more mandatory as time goes by.

There are many other examples of the awareness of the need for a major change of strategy in response to perceived failure of the formal education system to meet the demands placed upon it, both within the region and beyond. In the industrialized OECD countries there has been much talk of recurrent education, in which the principle of alternation of work and education is central, and which is seen as a strategy for gradual movement towards a lifelong system of educational provision. Council of Europe countries have promoted over a longer period now the idea of *education permanente* and a similar concept, integrated life long education, has been given universal consideration, following discussion of the report of the Faure Commission, *Learning to be.* This report was considered in the APEID Programme Development Meeting in 1973, the report of which listed its basic concepts: the learning society; democratization; lifelong education; the inter-relationship of work and learning; and the inter-relationship of school and out-of-school learning activities. This report, in defining APEID's first programme area, New Orientations and Structures in Education, made the following observation.

Education has in the past been treated mainly as a structured set of institutions and not enough as a societal function; its expansion or improvement has been equated with the expansion or improvement of the school system. Consequently other educative agencies and influences within homes, communities and public agencies have been ignored; and there has been a distortion of priorities in allocating human, social and financial resources within the educational system and, in short, the potential of society as a whole for providing learning has been overlooked. With the growing awareness of the inadequacy of the formal school system, the Member States have responded by initiating curricular changes in the formal school system and devising special programmes for the out-of-school population. These curricular changes are largely related to work experience of one type or another, and curriculum developers generally have neglected the specific needs of the non-formal educational systems. Attempts at using human or material resources from outside the educational system have been limited. The resources for learning available in society have nowhere been even systematically investigated, let along mobilized.

This brief review may be sufficient to indicate not only that the nature and function of education in contemporary societies generally warrants serious reconsideration, but also that such reconsideration is a serious matter in the region. There has been amassed by now a weight of evidence and opinion that the segregation of education from society cannot continue as it has, that the imported model of the school is only one, far from perfect, means of education, to be complemented by

other more diverse, and more deliberate non-formal means of education. As education is seen more as an inter-active sub-system of society, inseparabble from the economic, political and cultural structures, its objectives in turn are coming to be defined more clearly in the context of national principles, goals and development plans. Inevitably this means a change in perception of the place of formal and non-formal education (what we call in Chapter 5 a new paradigm). Formal education becomes merely one part of educational provision, not all of it through a Ministry of Education, once the nature and role of education is clarified, and education itself is seen as a resource and aid to community-wide and lifelong learning. In the process realistic goals may then be set for the education system - both formal and non-formal - realizing that its traditional conserving function plays an important role, and also that however well it is conceived and conducted there are limits to what it can achieve. While education thus comes to be seen in its complex socio-economic-political-cultural milieu, it may still not be reasonable to expect it to create jobs which do not exist (though it may better prepare people for those that do), nor to create social equality so long as those in power at the national or local level have the will and capacity to prevent equalization from occurring.

We may conclude this brief chapter with the list of possible areas and fields of study suggested for APEID at its preparatory programme development meeting in 1973. They are included here as an indication of the many settings and ways in which the changing function of education may manifest itself in non-formal and alternative structures.

Listed below are some areas or fields of study from which projects may be developed for analytical studies:

i)   Community schools (a comprehensive use of formal school institutions);

ii) Transformation of schools into community education centres in urban areas;

iii) Evolution of universities into educational institutions for life-long learning (for regular and other learners, correspondence courses, open university, etc.);

iv) Organization of educational activities in factories;

v)   Education as a component of development projects (functional literacy, adult education in an employment generating project);

vi) Organization of self-learning schemes (self-study centres, services for learners, library services);

vii) Shortening of education cycles (condensation of formal schooling);

viii) Role and practices of institutions for out-of-school youth (programmes for young people in the age-group of 12-25, etc.)

ix) Non-formal schemes or programmes in rural areas, particularly for the development of agricultural production;

x)   Organization of civic education;

xi) Formal and non-formal education activities linked with family life and family planning;

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xii) Schemes for universalization of elementary education (simultaneously, through formal, non-formal and informal ways);

xiii) Experiences with part time education (for children, adolescents and adults; on the primary, secondary and post-secondary levels);

xiv) Organization of continuing education for employed people (professionals, skilled workers, officials; refresher programmes, mini programmes);

xv) Schemes for education and training in view of future employment opportunities;

xvi) Use of learning centres; and

xvii) Ways of equalizing (putting on an equal footing) formal and non-formal ways of learning (interlinks between different paths of learning).

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Chapter III

THE ASIAN SITUATION

In this chapter we make some broad and general observations about the situation in Asia so far as non formal education is concerned, particularly widely shared problems and concerns which might be called the 'causes' of non-formal education. In the next chapter we consider more directly the diversity within the region of Asia and the Pacific, and in the following one trace the recent emergence of the concept of non formal education to its present quite sudden and unmistakable prominence in the majority of countries of the region. We may summarize the situation by referring to a general realization that formal schooling is unable to meet the objectives set for it, that it is having some unintended and undesirable effects, and that even if more resources were to become available than can be visualized to catch up with the increasing demand for formal education, alternative structures and forms of provision would still be needed to fulfil the various objectives.

One question is how far the Asia and Pacific region can be considered different from the rest of the world. We have already noted the universality of a sense of crisis and questioning in education throughout the so called developing and developed worlds. Asking 'Where is education going,' in the Unesco Regional Office Bulletin no. 18, a member of the former Faure Commission noted that difficulties in education were particularly acute in developing countries; however, he considered this to be a magnifying glass effect. His over-riding impression, working on the *Learning to be* report, was of the 'unity of the world of education within the diversity'. Differences were more of intensity than of kind.

At the same time we should keep in mind that the modern formal school was more of an alien imported model for most countries in this region than for the western societies where it evolved as a response to industrialization. It is noted in the work plans for APEID's 1978 81 programming cycle that the strong urban bias and the 'sieving' process of selection implicit in the working of the formal education system 'are ill suited to provide educational opportunities for the under-privileged and the disadvantaged sections of the population'. The disadvantaged rural poor constitute the large majority in many of the countries of the region. This is brought home forcefully as one reads the national goals and related educational objectives of the different countries. These include many fine and ambitious purposes such as social justice and true democracy, respect for the principles of quality of opportunity in education and elimination of every kind of discrimination and preference. The preceding is from Afghanistan's statement to the APEID 1976 Curriculum for Development meeting. From the same report we read for Bangladesh about educa-

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tion for civic responsibility, humanism and world citizenship, moral values, leader-
ship, creativity and research, and motivating people for the creation of a new society
which is efficient at everyday problem solving. India, emphasizing national devel-
opment, sees education as the only instrument of peaceful social change 'on a
grand scale'. Indonesian educational objectives are aligned with the national philo-
sophy of Pancasila (five principles) and intended to create physically and mentally
healthy Indonesians with knowledge, skills, creativity and responsibility who value
democratic attitudes and mutual understanding. Malaysia emphasizes effective
communication among the peoples of Malaysia, perpetuating and enhancing the
values of a democratic society, and providing equal educational opportunities
among its various objectives. The Philippines, like many countries, emphasizes
assisting each individual to attain his potential while enhancing the quality and range
of individual and group participation. Indeed most statements of objectives, while
including reference to specific skills and the capacity to contribute to national
development, reflect values of equality, democratic participation and similar terms
broadly in harmony with the universalization and democratization advocated by
the Faure Commission as well as, in a number of instances, objectives relating to
traditional values and religion, and national unity or integration.

A Unesco account of first level education in the region (Bulletin, no. 14, 1973)
begins with a useful review sub-titled 'An unfinished business'!

> In most countries of Asia, the tradition of education goes back
> to the very beginnings of their history. It was bound up as an
> integral part of the great religious and moral systems which
> nursed the cultures and civilizations of the Asian continent
> such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism and Islam. The
> continuity of this tradition was interrupted, and even broken,
> by the economic and social forces released by emergent indus-
> trialization in Europen in the nineteenth century. While
> many countries of Asia were caught up in these forces and
> became colonial possessions, no country, colonial or free,
> remained unaffected by the pervasive changes set in motion by
> industrialization and its outward thrust.

It is noted that this coincided with a trend towards development by States
of education 'systems' in place of purely philanthropic and religious endeavour:
'It would appear that one of the reasons why Western educational influence made a
quick impact to supplant the traditional indigenous forms of education, even in
those Asian countries which were free of colonial rule, lay in the fact that education
in the Western countries had developed into systems in which the State played a
significant role.'

A second trend in the West was towards compulsory mass primary education,
which also made a powerful and rapid impact. 'the fact is not without significance
that in countries which were colonial possessions, the implantation process was
very much slowed down, while the countries which were free were quicker in
adopting the imported patterns of education with their drive for mass education.'

Over a period of about one hundred years new systems of education were installed almost completely in every country of the region: 'in all cases the systems were transplantations of one or the other of the metropolitan models', models, we might add, which had grown up in response to socio-economic circumstances not then or now prevailing for the majority of the people of the Asia and Pacific region. The account then notes the differet variants on this implantation in South Asia, South-East Asia, and the Philippines. The different experience of Japan is also noted. The 1940s are described as a watershed for the whole region, with the attainment of political independence and the drive for economic and social develop ment, and like the 1950s a decade of massive effort to expand first level education in most countries: 'Undoubtedly some significant changes were made in the content and structure education at the first level . . . But, by and large, expansion took place within the existing structures and framework'.

In an appendix to a 1976 APEID workshop report on Curriculum for Development, the Secretary and Director General of Education in Sri Lanka remarked on the newness of curriculum development in the region and the continuing tendency to look in a dependent way to the models of Western universities.

> We are guided by their theories, their knowledge and the problems of implementation discussed in such texts. These textbooks certainly are useful guides in our overall thinking but their details may not be so valuable in formulating our own devices for curriculum development. . . We have to evolve our own strategies and ways and means of curricular reforms and implementation.
>
> We who have emerged from a colonial occupation and have had our education in a foreign language should also be aware of certain problems of our own creation. In curriculum development we are obsessed by the body of knowledge that we acquire in our learning at whatever stage we imbibed it. Hence, we believe that knowledge has quality if imported from the West. We also believe that conceptualized and useful knowledge is of value if it appears to us in a foreign language which has been given authority by some famous writers or professors. Hence, we have neglected indigenous knowledge of our classics of Sanskrit, or Chinese or Pali and also of our people. In fact, in some places we have totally forgotten their existence.
>
> Besides this total dependence on knowledge which emerged from outside, we also tend to feel superior to the so-called uneducated masses of our countries. Hence, the depth of knowledge and the wisdom of our people have not really entered the knowledge base of our curricula. If education is to cope with its environment, people who have lived in that environment for centuries cannot be ignored.

The synthesis of an APEID joint operational study on Work and Learning published in 1978 has reflections which are in harmony with these passages, al-

though the particular application is different:

> The educational systems of most of the countries in the Asian
> region are prototypes of foreign models. They were not con-
> ceived and developed on the basis of the actual problems and
> needs of the people. Their contents and purposes are not
> geared to the goals of national development. They are too
> academic and theoretical so that they are of very little help,
> if any, in improving the economy of the developing countries.
>
> During the last three decades, however, the countries in the
> region have obtained their political independence from their
> foreign colonizers. With independence, new problems and
> needs have arisen. The leaders of the new nations have realized
> the limitations of the existing systems of education to meet
> the new demands. This realization has led the educational
> authorities in these countries to review their educational pro-
> grammes with a view to reforming their systems of education
> so as to meet the challenges posed by the new demands. In
> many of the Asian countries attempts are being made to give
> more practical orientation to their systems of education with
> emphasis on the development of productive skills relevant to
> economic development by relating learning with work. These
> attempts of linking work and learning have taken different
> shapes and forms and are being carried out in both formal and
> non-formal education. . .

To this could be added many, many other examples, from reports at both
national and regional level, of concern and awareness sharpened by a historical
sense both of what was imported and of what the future might hold, which is the
context for the emergence of non-formal education reconceptualization, policy-
making and planning. The report of the second APEID consultation meeting in
1975 referred to the 'heightened awareness at the national level of the urgent need
for changes in education. These changes are compelled by new political, economic
and cultural factors.'

For alternative structures to become effective rather than rehetorical it is
necessary to identify and learn how to mobilize resources not now recognized and
used; necessary, that is, in as much as these need to be drawn within the acknow-
ledged ambit of 'education' rather than left as natural on-going community learning
arrangements. A report on this subject in 1975 found that many countries were
seeking alternative forms of education and new resources more relevant to the
needs of their vast populations: 'attention is being paid to exploring and mobilizing
non traditional potentialities and increasing the utility and efficiency of existing
resources. However, efforts in this direction are still limited and have not made a
permanent impact on education as a whole.' Later we take note of a study in
Rajasthan by the Social Work and Research Centre, Tilonia, of the wealth of unused
and under utilized educational resources in one area, which could provide flesh for
the conceptual bones of non-formal education.

The 1975 report noted the inadequacy of existing resources to meet demands, and the failure in terms of relevance of present educational provision: 'education systems created under Western colonial rules cannot serve the needs of free citizens and sovereign nations. As more community resources are put to use, greater relevance in education can come about . . . Traditionaly monetary resources generated through an unjust economic system nurtured an education system which tends to perpetuate inequalities and disparities. In order to remove the inequalities, resources transcending socio-economic stratification should be used for the education of the people.' This suggests greater self-reliance at local as well as national levels, an aspiration with features in various national principles and development strategies, and is noted in the report on Work and Learning mentioned above in connection with many of the pilot projects visited by the study team:

> A striking feature of the projects as indicated in their objectives is the emphasis on self-reliance. The Self-Help Project of A.H. University College, Bogra was basically initiated to make students financially less dependent upon their parents. The concept of self-reliance was later extended to the community which now covers the whole country. Self-reliance has also been emphasized in the Under-Priviledged Children's Educational Programme of Dacca. The children continue to earn and support themseves while they attend school. In the Package Plan for Rural Development through Education in Madras and the Rural University Project in Ahmedabad, development of self-reliance is a major goal.

One aspect of self-reliance is the ability to solve problems. In Thailand this has been described as the development of the 'Khit-pen' man. The Adult Education Division of Thailand has described the 'Khit-pen' man as one who can,

> see through problems, locate the causes or the origins of problems, and eventually identify the solution most appropriate for himself and his community. He will also be able to achieve what he has set out to do. In case he fails in his attempts he will understand the reason and the truth and will be able to face the truth and seek other means or revise his previous attempt in order ultimately to achieve his goal.

> The emphasis on teaching of technical knowledge or book knowledge tends to hinder the development of khit-pen ability. When technical knowledge is used as a sole criteria for making decision with inadequate concerns for personal strengths and limitations, social norms and availability of resources, such decision often results in unrealistic and unattainable goals and aspirations which can only lead to disappointment, despair, hatred or alienation. To develop 'khit-pen' ability and through 'khit-pen' to achieve happiness which is the ultimate goal in life, knowledge about oneself and the society in which one lives should be promoted and given equal importance to technical knowledge as factors in decision making.

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The change in perception of the Asian situation is indicated by the movement from the formulation of Karachi in 1960, and the subsequent reaffirmation, as the 'Asian model' in 1965, of a target of universal primary education by 1980, and the subsequent acceptance that this school-based approach would not alone be success-ful. Despite the geat numerical progress towards universalizing first level school education, subsequently it was found that the target itself was moving too fast. A study of educational planning in the Asian region published in 1975 consequently observed a shift in the basic assumptions underlying planning, with recognition also of unintended and undesirable consequences. the manpower emphasis with expan-sion of the institutional infrastructure which had contributed to the problem of the 'educated unemployed', the emphasis on modern sector employment which had exacerbated the problem of migration from rural to urban areas. 'The viability of the education systems as they are can no longer be taken for grated. This has led to an increased interest in, and exploration of, "non-formal" education. . . Non-formal education is seen as a counterpoise to the selective and screening function by which institutionalized education lives and perpetuates itself.'

'More and more, therefore, an educational plan, whether as a part of a national development plan or as an independent plan, is viewed as an expression of a govern-ment's total strategy for meeting the learning needs of the people, in-school and out of-school, through formal education or non-formal education for individual advancement as well as for serving the collective needs of all the people.' APEID's work plan in 1973 took a similarly broad view, considering the problems of educa-tional development to be rooted in 'what is taught, how, for what objectives and with what results'. Among the problems enumerated were: a mis-match between what schools prepare for and what society needs, imbalance in terms of a heavy academic bias; inflexible and out dated examination systems, low productivity indicated by high drop out and repetition rates, and excessive emphasis on rote learning and the memorization of facts. On the other hand the work plan held that it was now meaningful and possible to tackle these concerns of the Asian region through non formal education, the integration of general with technical education, integrated primary education, and the replacement of the existing systems of exami-nations by diagnostic evaluations and subsequent remedial procedures. New per-spectives and tools gave grounds for hope.

Rather than add to the examples of awareness of the wide and deep systemic nature of the problems of education throughout the region, and to the evidence of awareness that possibly quite radical alternative approaches and structures might be essential, we may pause to note the status of this awareness. The preceding discussion and quotations have come from senior educationists, mostly policy-makers and experienced administrators, including a number in explicit change agent roles. It is a long step for these new perceptions and the required changes to flow down as understanding, much less as action which will affect the life-and-learn-ing experiences of the great majority of students and teachers throughout the schools and villages of the region. We must keep this in sight, as well as the gap between perception of need and successful implementation of change programmes, in the chapters which follow. Otherwise a quite distorted impression will be con-veyed by the many exciting and innovative projects mentioned here which, however,

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have made only a negligible impact on education systems and teaching practices overall. This is not to deny that the new perception of the Asian situation and potential of new approaches is indeed heartening and exciting, even though it may be only one first step.

We might also note, in the assertion of the need for an 'Asian model' or an Asian way, a healthy desire not to throw out the baby with the bathwater. A paper by H.S. Bhola in the June 1977 Unesco Bulletin on science education makes a plea to not completely reject Western science as necessarily antithetical to Asian traditions. It calls for a synthesis between rational science as a logical approach to problem-solving and the intuitive and even the magical. The old deterministic unilinear model of development' which had the economically poorest (but maybe culturally richest) countries peering hopelessly through the wrong end of a telescope at the receding vision of wealth in the most highly industrialized nations, and which condemned the traditional as laggards and late adopters, appears now to have finally dissolved before a richer, more complex and more complete appreiation of the pluralism of development goals and paths. Obstacles to old-style 'development' are now more commonly seen as a means to chosen socio-cultural as well as economically desired ends, while the short comings and undesirable side-effects of some earlier development successes are also better recognized and understood. Choice, self-reliance and a measure of national and local self-determination thus come to be seen as desirable in themselves, as well as perhaps the only long-term viable way to develop. In terms of balance this may mean choosing highly sophisticated technology in some circumstances rather than rejecting it automatically in favour of low or intermediate technology. Appropriate technology thus comes to mean literally what is appropriate to the circumstance, the operative word being choice, just as Bhola calls for an appropriate use of and place for 'Western science'.

Nevertheless, the differentness of Asian rural society, and the continuing and pressing nature of its needs, cannot be dismissed. The Minister for Education of India, addressing a recent meeting on literacy, emphasized the urgent problems shared by the countries represented, the staggering backlog of lilliteracy despite the great efforts of recent years. India's own population included some 232 million illiterates. Faced with this awesome problem the government had taken decisions for sweeping changes in education policy including a programme to universalize elementary education, as well as new measures for non formal education of dropouts. 'We take this as a sort of package because if we miss one of these measures it will certainly affect our efforts in the other fields.' It is the massive and systemic approach now being adopted in India, for instance, which justifies our use of the phrase 'a new paradigm'. The need for such a shift of perception, rather than simply struggling to provide 'more of the same', is suggested also by this passage from an earlier address by the Secretary of Education for Sri Lanka to a Curriculum for Development meeting:

> In underdeveloped societies the school itself becomes a factor
> of under-development. In the rural setting the school appears
> as an alien institution, purveying learning of a sort that is out-
> dated and eventually the pupils are misinformed. In compari-

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> son with the well-equipped and well-organized urban school
> the rural one creates an environment of despair. The curricula
> and the teaching method destroy whatever hope the masses
> have built in themselves in their struggle against man and
> nature. This rural symbol of underdevelopment should hamper
> progress no more in our societies in providing basic general
> education to our masses.

These examples and observations suggest not only that most of the region has a common experience of failure with the formal schooling system, alone and in its present commoner forms, to meet the daunting needs of the rural poor, but also that there is a quite general awareness, at regional level and among many leading policy makers and administrators, of the need for significant alternatives, including non-formal approaches, if better progress is to be made. Persisting inequality, even increasing inequality socially and economically in many of the countries of the region, is out of accord with the expressed values of universalization and demo-cratization. For many, formal education is an irrelevant experience so far as community and working life is concerned, and for nations the disjunction between the achievements of the education system and the aspirations of national development plans is too stark to be ignored. Moreover it is clear that for many countries, including those which between them include the large part of the peoples of the region, linear expansion of compulsory schooling for more students and for more years is economically unattainable. Distressing as such a realization may be, if it is accompanied by recognition both of the inappropriateness of the imported Western school to the Asian context and of potentially more fruitful endogenous educational forms, then it is the basis for hope rather than despair. It is also a prerequisite for competent facilitation of non-formal education.

This chapter has already quoted observations by Dr. P. Udagama in his former position as Secretary and Director General of Education in Sri Lanka. It concludes with some further challenging passages from his 1978 APEID Occasional Paper, 'Basic functional education: concepts and approaches'.

Extracts from APEID Occasional Paper No. 1, May 1978 Basic (Functional) Education - Concepts and Approaches. 'Education is an act of love, and thus an act of courage'. Paulo Freire

Political independence after colonial domination has no meaning to most citizens of the Asian states. With good intentions and gigantic efforts in development, the lot of the poor and, especially the poorest thirty per cent, has deteriorated. The rich have become richer. The maldistribution of wealth and the injustice and inequity of this widening gap between the rich and the poor is well documented. The GNP growth rates shown in some Asian countries are spectacular. They are but an infinitesimal drop in the ocean of poverty. The development process, it is now believed by some, breeds poverty and inequity.

The poor in Asia are basically rural. They have an 'earth-bound' economy. The urban poor, too, are increasing. The poor form the base in the dichotomy of life in Asia   urban/rural; modern/traditional; western/national, educated/unedu-

cated. In this division, the poor invariably are the rural, traditional, national, and the uneducated. They are marginal people. They belong to the 'small tradition' in their respective cultures. Some are termed semi-peasants by anthropologists, as they are not economically bound to the urban centres. They are also the landless. The urban poor in the slums of the glittering metropolises form the other sector of poverty in Asian societies. They have become the bane of planners in urban renewal programmes. The urban poor are, however, the more adventurous of the poor.

The culture of poverty in Asian societies has not been studied in depth. A few studies have emerged in recent times. Poverty is not only a question of deprivation. The poor live in a desperate situation and are powerless. They feel inferior; the family conditioning and the community living create in the children a concept of helplessness, of inferiority and lack of a motivating factor. The condition and culture of poverty are important for the renovator and the innovator in education.

The small elite groups are the controlling power in the Asian states. They are mostly littoral in their habitat; literate in foreign languages; live on yesterday's politics, economics, culture and social relations. Never has a power group in recent times expressed its political intentions in a radical vocabulary in their concern for the oppressed and the under-privileged. However, the poor are objects of their politics rather than its subjects. Some of these groups do not even have an identity or consciousness of their own, and are even not authentic.

The elite mostly are modern and 'cosmopolitan', and bound to the littoral regions in most states. There are exceptions, of course, in the landed gentry, business and industry, feudal aristocracy, and the bureaucracy. But basically the moderns are the littoral literati, legitimized by education, and thus captives of western academic snobbery. They are, in Freire's analysis, educated in the mores of the earlier oppressor, and oppressing the people in the image of the colonial oppressor.

These elite in power are outward looking. They have been prevented by their education to look inward. They have been trained not to look at their own people. They have learnt science without technology, medicine without compassion, humanities without humanism, and arts without creativity.

Some of them, true to earlier traditions of the 'noble savage' believe in the 'Arcadian myth' of the happy and contented peasantry and rural people. The true culture of the poor, their marginality and their deprivation have not drawn the attention of the elites in the Asian situation.

After Vasco da Gama's period of Asian history, the indigenous education systems and methods went through periods of denigration, dislocation and slow death. These systems may have enriched the past feudal aristocratic culture. Yet they grew in a milieu that recognized the total cultural identity and consciousness, and existed in a symbiotic relationship with their respective bio-systems.

In place of, and in parallel with, these systems, an education system of the missionary, of the bureaucrat, of the social worker, of the local religious leader and the political activists, emerged in the city and larger rural settlements in Asia. Whatever the origin and the nature may have been, the 'modern' education sector

developed 'in the image and the culture of the western colonial powers. After political independence, the thin veneer of western education, which was a trickle earlier, spread beyond urban centres. Yet its class character remained. It must be said that colonial education systems were efficient and economical in their narrow aims. In a matter of a generation or two, a class of people of various social origins was 'modernized' and routinized to work with a dominant extraneous power.

When political power came to these elite groups in the late forties and early fifties, they extended this formal education system, in some cases phenomenally, to the rest of the country. It was, however, an education of elitism and consumerism and different from the ethos, identity and consciousness of the mass culture of the people. Nevertheless, it was pervasive and powerful. This education provided social mobility for the few, but aspirations for the many. Few centuries in some, a century or less in others, were the time expansion for this educational process to be an ideal one.

The process of economic development that went with this educational transformation was inalienably aligned to the GNP in the fifties and sixties. Idealism was riding high to provide education for all, and also equality of educational opportunity. Adult literacy campaigns and universalization of primary education were strategies announced and acted upon with vigour. National financial commitments, too, were high in their times for the educational effort.

Many national, regional and international exercises in education were undertaken in these decades. The Karachi Plan, the Asian Model, the Development Decade, and various national plans, were developed. The futility, in some cases, of these exercises in planning, financing, aiding and expertising become apparent in the Second Development Decade of a New International Economic Order. . .

Educational expansion was not the great equalizer as accepted in colonial times. After the first spurt of success through education for many, the national development plans could not create opportunities of white-collar jobs. The second and third generations of the educated of humble origin face unemployment, which is 'tragic in human terms and disastrous for political stability. The entrenchment of the elite in the corridors of power in politics, administration, education and other spheres, was virtually complete in most countries. The schools have become certificating systems through selection, and they legitimized the mobility of the power groups.

The school was once a symbol of light and hope for the underprivileged, as the mythical red-school house was in the United States. It has now become the symbol of power to the elite group in the urban and affluent rural sectors. Those that receive the benefits of formal education take to the highway that leads to the city, as much as the elitist groups provide the members of the exodus to the developed countries, now described as 'brain-drain.'

Equity and efficiency in the formal education system have not been maintained as a result of the problems of spatial distortions in siting schools, in retention rates, and the irrelevance of the curriculum. Even if it were possible to guarantee equality of access, success in the system was not guaranteed. Unemployment and

underemployment have become stark realities for the school products, selected and 'certificated' by the system.

There has to be political conviction and sustained action to see that the poor are schooled and the social distortions remedied in any society. Equity can only be sustained through vigilance and novel approaches in the educational process. 'Positive discrimination' , changing structures, methods, content and evaluation may help; but all these measures are futile without a firm political commitment. Familiar examples are found in the eradication of illiteracy in communist countries. Malaysia, too, gave equality of access to ethnic groups in tertiary education in a matter of seven years.

Some attempts at equity and justice are thwarted by the elite groups and the intelligentsia by subtle methods. Open action against such actions are not unknown. After independence, the wealthy land owners and civil servants in India saw that the expansion of education was increasing the competition for prestigious jobs. Elite opposition came out openly, and was clouded by claims of adulteration of an educational pattern that upheld a cherished way and style of living. In Sri Lanka, too, free education from the primary to the tertiary level was opposed in debates in and outside Parliament in the mid-forties. Similarly, the nationalization of school systems as in 1960 in Sri Lanka has been opposed. . .

However, with all these problems of power groups, the entrenched interests, and in spite of these institutional and personnel obstacles, the governments in Asia made great efforts to develop education in their respective nation-states. The situation in Japan was an exception in Asia in that literacy spread within the total population in a matter of fifty odd years. The fundamental code of 1872 declared: 'There shall in the future be no community with an illiterate family or a family with an illiterate person'. And this code became a reality. The communist states in East Asia, too, are examples of great efforts in the eradication of illiteracy. China took twenty-five years. Viet Nam eradicated illiteracy after unification in a matter of two years.

In the other countries, enrolment increased in the first decade (1950-60) after independence by 71 per cent, and in the next decade by 69 per cent. The growth rate of enrolment was twice as fast as the population increase. Perhaps in no other period of history was such a comparable effort made in the educational enterprise to bring the masses into the formal system. This expansion slackened subsequently, while the secondary and tertiary level enrolments increased phenomenally. In a report submitted to the Third Conference of Ministers of Education in Asia, it was stated:

> It will be seen that in 1968 nine out of 18 countries of the
> region had achieved an enrolment ratio of 90 per cent and over,
> five countries in the region 60-80 per cent, while the remaining
> four are below 50 per cent.

Equally impressive were the advances made in adult literacy. Adult illiteracy was 76 per cent in 1950, 66 per cent in 1960 and 58 per cent in 1970, but the population growth was catching up fast with this effort. The absolute number of

ill.terates continued to increase. By 1950 the total number of adult illiterates was
307 million, which rose to 322 million in 1960 and about 355 million in 1970.
Differences regionally, ethnically, linguistically, and in men and women, were quite
con. picuous in every country. Women, the rural poor, and those living in geographi-
cally remote regions, were sorely neglected.

However, this growth belies the educational effort when tertiary enrolments
began to take a sharp upward turn in almost all the countries. This is one level
where the impact and power of the elite groups seem to operate to their advantage.
The educational ladder was held open for all, but few could get it, except for the
classes and peoples geographically located in the regional capitals or the large rural
settlements. A vast educational proletariat has been created through this process in
Asia...

The alarming fact is that even to maintain the present enrolment ratios, 50 per
cent of school facilities have to be increased in about 15 years. This is beyond the
capacity of many Asian countries which are already spending 2-6 per cent of the
GNP on education. Even if the finances are obtainable, land will not be available
in a country like India.

Access to education may not be guaranteed by mere expansion at critical
points. Expansion also becomes in the long run a relative contraction. Curricula
cannot be made relevant by piecemeal change and innovation. Remedial actions
may sometimes not satisfy the clientele of primary education. The division of the
formal systems into three levels, and the division of education into such fields as
academic, technical, vocational, rural, and literacy does not give that improvement
or upliftment of the formal system.

The role of the power groups in the political and the education systems (if they
can be thus separately identified) has been discussed earlier. A useful observation by
Elliott in a remarkable book on developing countries may be mentioned in this
context.* Elliott argues that in the developing societies, the elite have developed
a confidence mechanism (con-mech) by which they control their societies. Their
power is legitimized by allowing a small percentage to obtain benefits of develop-
ment in their societies. In action, the underprivileged groups have some evidence
that they are benefiting from the system in education, industry, agriculture, and
land reforms. But the system is so organized that many cannot benefit, though the
system is legitimized through acceptable rules. Student violence, peasant revolts
and political actions of the masses show that this mechanism is at the breaking
point. How this mechanism works in the context was discussed earlier in the field of
education and the elite power groups. Elliott's concluding remarks in his book are
worth quoting:

> If the con-mech is one of the major structural devices that holds
> the system together and distributes products and mobility to
> the rich, it is the erosion of confidence in the existing me-

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*Charles Elliott *Patterns of poverty in the Third World. a study of social and economic stratifica
tion*. New York, Praeger, 1975.

chanisms that will bring about the most rapid distribution of
both. In our belief, it is to that erosion that local and inter-
national effort can most fruitfully be addressed.

In this tragic situation is Asia, in its failure to provide education for all, or at
least minimal literacy, various proposals have been made in recent times. Improve-
ment of the non-formal systems, creating new approaches to school education, new
adult education strategies, education for rural development, and the like of these
many innovative approaches to solve the problem of education at the first level of
education are considered appropriate useful strategies.

With all these theories, plans and strategies, the Asian situation seems to be
deteriorating in efficiency and quality, in reaching the whole population and in the
contribution that education makes to the process of development. Japan is always
the exception in Asia. In many other countries, education as a process of develop-
ment leaves much to be desired, when the social products are examined.

A brief summation of the criticisms made of the systems may be cited:

1. Colonially enforced systems developed through missionaries, political and
    social reformers and idealists, have not measurably contributed towards
    development in and through education, especially (for) the underpri-
    vileged;

2. Exact replications of extensive systems from western countries are out of
    tune with the cultures and ecosystems of the Asian countries;

3. Educational planning did not bring a new dimension of development to
    education, however theoretically refined planning may have become in
    recent times;

4. Education, its growth and development, has not led to desired changes
    in the society;

5. Priorities in educational reforms were misplaced earlier, as man as an
    agent and cause of change has been neglected;

6. Education removed from its cultural base leads to the alienation of the
    fortunate few from the unfortunate masses. Mis-education as well as
    education for poverty continues;

7. Education has become another form of oppression in the armoury of the
    power groups in the Third World countries;

8. No meaningful pedagogy of the poor has emerged in the Third World,
    except perhaps that of Freire;

9. Many processes and theories have been developed to reinforce the duality
    of education, one for the poor and the other for the rich; and

10. The so-called 'rural', 'social', 'adult' education methods have not uplifted
    the masses, whose economic conditions have deteriorated in the last two
    or three decades.

The imported and contrived systems of formal education, in most countries,
have benefited only the traditional or educational elite in Asia. The efforts at

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providing literacy or functional education, though praiseworthy, are neither statistically nor culturally adequate. The number of those unschooled and illiterate is increasing. Many children are not in the formal system. Even if they enrol, they are found to leave the system without completing the cycle of basic education. The internal inefficiency of the system is well known and documented.

The products of the system, too, do not inspire confidence or enrich the state and the nation. The increasing unemployment of the educated and the increasing gap between the affluent and deprived groups form a dismal feature in many Asian countries.

Three decades of educational development and a concern of the disadvantaged have not ameliorated the conditions of the masses of Asia. With innovative approaches in many sectors in education, an enlargement of the catchment-area of education among the people has been attempted. Of the many innovations suggested to make formal education relevant and to make non-formal education cater to the disadvantaged groups, basic education or basic functional education may be considered a new approach to the education of the masses; and a reconsideration of this concept is attempted.

New strategies, content, methodologies and new approaches to the integration of the formal and non-formal systems may be a realistic process to make individual and community growth, as well as development, a reality. Financing, correct timing, involvement of all people and a political commitment may give some hope to the masses in their search for human dignity in Asia.

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Chapter IV

The Diversity of Asia and an Asian Way

We have suggested that there is a sense of disaffection or crisis about formal education which is felt very widely throughout the world. At the same time we recognize that Asian countries share certain common features and experiences which give them some common outlook on the nature and role of education in relation to future development. This commonality, referred to in the previous chapter, is summarized in a report on Work and Learning published in 1978:

> The educational systems of most of the countries in the Asian region are prototypes of foreign models. They were not conceived and developed on the basis of the actual problems and needs of the people. Their contents and purposes are not geared to the goals of national development. They are so academic and theoretical that they are of very little help, if any, in improving the economy of the developing countries.

> During the last three decades, however, the countries in the region have obtained their political independence from their foreign colonizers. With independence new problems and needs have arisen. The leaders of the new nations have recognized the limitations of the existing systems of education to meet the new demands. This realization has led the education authorities in these countries to review their educational programmes with a view to reforming their systems of education so as to meet the challenges posed by the new demands.

> In many of the Asian countries attempts are being made to give a more practical orientation to their systems of education with emphasis on the development of productive skills relevant to economic development by relating learning with work. . . In the area of non-formal education, many programmes are being developed for the youth and adults not only to make them literate but also to provide them opportunities to develop work skills necessary for national development and for self-employment.

Our theme in this chapter is the balance and reconciliation between this common and shared Asian experience - the idea of an 'Asian way' — and the uniqueness at the same time of each country's experience and needs. For the larger countries in particular this goes further, for non-formal education, with its emphasis

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on needs-orientation and diversity of response, tends to emphasize the differences that occur within countries, and the consequent need for decentralization of planning, direction and provision. In asserting what is common to Asia and uniquely Asian we must take care not to deny the diversity contained within the region of Asia and the Pacific.

The commonality of Asian experience has been a persistent theme in recent regional meetings, and underlies the continuing high level support given by member countries to APEID itself. The Director-General of Unesco, addressing the Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for Economic Planning in Asia in 1971, commented on the quest for regional co-operation and the sense of an Asian identity, but distinguished this from any standardized form of unity. One delegate spoke of Asia's 'cultural fragmentation', but the Director-General referred rather to 'the deep-rooted diversity to be found in Asia'. The same common purpose was expressed in the next, very recent, meeting of the same two kinds of Ministers at Colombo in July 1978. This meeting took so firm a stand on a number of common concerns, including the importance of non-formal and adult education, that the Asian region delegations were able to present a common position on many educational matters at the 20th General Conference of Unesco at the end of that year.

The difference between a measure of unity and uniformity is well demonstrated in the criteria and objectives of APEID, which emerged out of the 1971 meeting and further discussions in the following years. From the preparatory programme development meeting for APEID in 1973 we learn that:

> In the Asian context the main goal of educational innovation was agreed as being 'development'. However, the term 'development' means various things, and different countries might be expected to give different emphases to economic development and social development. For this reason it was agreed that the main objective of the APEID programme should be to *increase each Member State's capacity to solve its own problems of development and reach its own goals.* . .

> Members stressed the need for innovations to be tailored to national needs and circumstances and cautioned against 'instant adoption' of innovations developed elsewhere, particularly outside the region. Instead they recommended careful adaptation and the transfer of ideas rather than whole systems. High-cost technologies should be avoided unless there is evidence that they lead to substantial reductions in unit cost. But the importance of developing an 'intermediate technology' specifically suited to the Asian context was frequently stressed.

The guiding criteria for APEID, as set out in 1973, well express the balance between regional co-operation and national identity and integrity suggested in this chapter as the essence of 'the Asian way'. APEID seeks: to serve the Member Countries' various development objectives; to increase their *own* capacities as countries in this respect by engaging through relevant activities; to have a multiplier

effect; to enhance problem solving capacities, to enhance cost-effectiveness and mobilize unused and under used capacity, and to foster inter-country transfer of experience within the region. APEID's spirit is not to develop its own programmes as a regional agency, but to recognize, foster and amplify local and endogenous developments of and within the countries of the Asian region. The region thus affirms and assists each different country; countries of the region are not however distorted to subserve the ends of regionalism. The new population education programme of the Unesco Regional Office similarly emphasizes that the local social and cultural context is crucial to successful population education.

In Chapter 5 we turn specifically to the rapid recent rise of non-formal education in many countries of the region as a new approach to solving intransigent educational problems — problems of scarce resources and of disappointing returns on investment in the formal system. It may be that non-formal education is emerging as a uniquely Asian phenomenon, despite the caution which greeted the Faure Report, *learning to be*, when first it appeared in the Asian region. This is not to claim that Asia has a monopoly of non-formal education. There are certain countries elsewhere in the Third World which have placed great stress on adult non-formal education as a key to their development strategies, Notable among them is Tanzania, whose President, known as 'the teacher', has stated that the country cannot wait for a generation of children to go through school and grow up but must immediately educate its adults. While individual countries have espoused and partly adopted the concept of non formal education as a strategy for development, it may be that Asia and possibly also Oceania, precisely because of the sense of regional commonality and the existence of regional informati xchange, is adopting NFE in a way that a less well-articulated region would be unable to follow.

To accept this would not mean laying down one single path which all countries of the Asia and Pacific region would feel obliged to follow. Non formal education may be thought of more as a common philosophy and approach than as a single model, blueprint or prescription. It suggests various means of adapting an unsuitable post-colonial educational heritage to the needs of different societies in accord with the particular requirements and traditions of each. In this sense non formal education, with its emphases on needs, situations and diversity of communities, may provide the necessary protection against the possible dangers of a single, post colonial, 'Asian way' in education.

How important is it that there be a sense of regional identity and purpose? We have seen in recent years the severe questioning, if not yet the literal passing, of the old dominant paradigm of development. This was (though unintentionally) heavily Western oriented and ethnocentric in its assumption that there was one road only for progress, a road already marked out and trodden by the wealthy industrialized nations of Europe and the European tradition. According to this point of view, progress meant adapting the technological innovations which contributed to the material progress of the West. Techniques were sought to remove obstacles to such adoption. social structures, cultural traditions, religious beliefs and traditional attitudes were seen as barriers to progress. The cultures particular to each country and area were an impediment, negatively labelled as traditionalism.

Early adopters and innovators were praised and traditionalists or late adopters stigmatized. In the process incidentally, new sources of cheap labour, sources of raw materials, and markets for consumer goods were opened up for the globally oriented economies of the industrially advanced nations. Education and communication services within this 'old paradigm of development' tended to be conceived, imposed and increasingly perceived as another form of colonialism or imperialism not necessarily in the best interests of the students or target groups.

To some extent the dangers of externally imposed technological determinism have been reduced during the seventies. Partly this is because of a loss of faith in technology and narrow economic progress within precisely those countries which had led the field. The concept of the eco-system or 'spaceship earth', with its diminishing reservoir of non renewable resources, has contributed to this. So too has the evidence of environmental degredation which has accompanied industrial progress, and the continuing inequality, social disharmony and other signs of the failures of modern society and economic prosperity to ensure enhanced human wellbeing. A loss of faith in science, technology and progress may mean that they are less confidently thrust upon others.

From within the region there are many signs of disenchantment with high technology and the indiscriminate transfer of such technology to the different socio-cultural and economic circumstances of the countries of the region. A report on the management of educational innovation in 1975, referring to the need to maximize the use of resources, stated that:

> The idea is not to depend too much on modern technological
> hardware and software in the implementation of innovations in
> Asian countries, but to explore creatively the possibilities of
> using available resources maximally. Human resources are
> usually abundant in Asian countries, while material resources
> are scarce. Why not exhaust all ways of maximum use of the
> former? The goal of maximizing the utilization of available
> resources will not only help handle the logistics problems but
> will also foster the innovative spirit in the solution of logistics
> problems.

This contains an essential redefinition of large populations as an asset rather than a liability. The tendency hitherto has been for countries to internalize the perception of the West   the implicitly ethnocentric 'teeming hordes of Asia' - and to think, if not to write, of the human flotsam of these countries, a tendency easily understood when life and work are insecure and while caste structures or attitudes prevail.

While new attitudes within the region to the region's own peoples and traditions, as well as a new scepticism about the merits of technologically-driven, narrowly economic progress, provide some protection against economic and cultural imperialism from outside, regional autonomy is by no means thus secured. The economic interests in a global economic order remain very strong; they are as yet little affected by the New International Economic order and the North-South dialogue. Loss of confidence in progress among western intellectuals   the passing

of the dominant paradigm — does not mean an end to economic and cultural imperialism. For reasons like this as well as for more positive reasons of mutual enrichment it remains very desirable to think in terms of an 'Asian way'. Concepts like non formal education, intermediate technology, a Third World news service and regional or national self reliance probably require the nurturing protection of a strong regional identity and organizations and agencies for regional co-operation.

A passage from the then Director General of Education in Sri Lanka is quoted in Chapter 3. This suggests that Asian leaders tend to internalize Western values, prejudices and assumptions in the course of their own socialization. Such socialization could have a very damaging effect on their attitudes to the traditional outlooks and wisdom of their own societies. In this we may discern a possible danger from within to Asian and Pacific endogenous development, arising in part from the very success of regional co operation. There are two Asias, the Asia of the villager and the Asia of the capital cities and the bureaucracies. Regional co-operation and an 'Asian way' might look at the villager in a remote province not very differently from old style colonialism unless we are sensitive to the danger. It would be no great gain to Papua New Guinea or Nepal to have cast off the imposed systems of the colonial era, only to have imposed upon them an equally irrelevant external model, perhaps from a highly urbanized and industrialized Asian country which is culturally and economically very different, just because it happened to come from within the region.

Assumptions about economic and technological progress may therefore still be made and inappropriately imposed on an unwilling population from within the region and within the one country, even though this may be done less insensitively than in the colonial past. Nepalese participants at a recent regional workshop in Malaysia remarked of their experience in that country, that it was as advanced and far removed economically speaking from Nepal as was Malaysia itself from the United States. When we speak of an Asian way we should mean a philosophy and an approach rather than one model or path.

If non formal education is to realize its potential for development this must be on the basis of letting many flowers bloom. Self determining peoples and communities must play an active part in choosing and giving expression to their different learning needs. Development thus integrated with traditional values and structures will be enhanced rather than delayed, meanwhile the destructive results which have followed narrowly conceived and rigidly imposed development plans may be avoided.

This does not mean a Luddite rejection of all advanced technology but the capacity to select and discriminate between different technologies according to the development directions and preferences of the country, and in a way that balances expansion of the gross national product with social goals and indicators such as distribution or redistribution of employment, income and opportunity between different groups and regions. Nor does it mean the complete rejection of western scientific thought and the approaches of Western social science. A new approach may however assist the recognition that these are quite limited in outlook and culture specific rather than universal, it is hard for instance to disentangle devel-

opment theories clearly in the interests of the industrial West from the general bed of social science theory from which they are drawn. One consequence of this regional independence of thought is the respect for traditional medicine, which in several countries is now being integrated with modern scientific medicine. An excellent example of this is provided by the Comprehensive Community Health Programme of the University of the Philippines in which the understanding and teaching of medicine itself is being revised as a result of community involvement with traditional forms of medicine. A few years ago traditional medicine was regarded almost without exception by development agents as an obstacle to be removed.

Similarly, following an Asian way will mean taking the preoccupations and problems of the industrialized world on their merits, neither automatically copying them nor automatically, because they come from beyond the region, rejecting them out of hand. Environmental conservation and pollution have become majo. preoccupations of the West. There may be a tendency to define these as luxury concerns which Asians cannot afford. But it may be wiser to adopt a 'leapfrogging approach and select the technologies or regulatory systems which appear relevant and effective, and adapt them to local circumstances, rather than to ignore the problems until they have become impossibly severe. Western regulations governing the preparation and consumption of food in public places would be superfluous and destructive in many countries of the Asia and Pacific region. This does not mean that emission controls on vehicles in Asia's densely populated cities should also be rejected.

The problems of leisure, and education for leisure, have likewise been dismissed on occasion as Western luxuries irrelevant to Asia. Yet many Asian countries face the not very different problem of a disaffected unemployed or under employed graduate class, and more recently countries like Japan and the Republic of Korea have come to express among their concerns education to make constructive use of leisure time, and the humanization of education itself. It is unwise to deny such problems and issues when they occur, on the ground that they are intrinsically non Asian. It would be equally unwise to assume that they must occur, and in the same form, in all countries at the same stage of development. This would be to re-instate the myth of unilinear, deterministic development along one path and through the same sequence of unavoidable experiences. Following an Asian way means using selectively the experience of others, neither denying nor being enslaved by it.

A number of recent reports reflect a healty awareness that innovation in education mu t take account of local culture and circumstance. A report on teacher education and curriculum for development in 1975 insisted that curriculum development must be indigenous, rather than based on foreign models. There was a danger of neglecting the cultural and social values of the different countries. Traditional values were not necessarily dysfunctional: 'change strategies should suit the milieu. Some innovations are successful, not because of excellence of conception, but because change has been so designed as to blend with the culture of the people who are to adopt it.'

A report on the management of educational innovation the same year argues for bridging cultural differences and suiting the change strategy to the milieu:

Some innovations fail because their sub-culture is inconsistent with the socio-cultural background of their clientle.   Some are successfully implemented not so much because of excellence but more because the change intended blends very well with the culture of the people for whom it is proposed.

A good example of the first situation is the experience of one Asian country that wanted to popularize the use of individua- . alized instruction in the schools. There was resistance because it militated against the group orientation or co-operative spirit of its people. 'Why does the school want our children to be individualized and independent when or culture dictates that we be group oriented?' the parents remonstrated. Of course, the innovation failed because it carried with it its own seeds of destruction.

An example of the second situation above is the successful experience in a closely knit village of establishing a co-opera- tive. The existing family type organization of the village was an ideal base for the establishment of a village co-operative. There were no conflicts among the villagers who were chosen as officers of the co-operative, because they were the same leaders whom the people looked up to for advice and assistance.

A particularly difficult type of innovation is one that requires a change not only in practice but also in the culture of the group that is affected by it . . . when people who have had no autonomy at all are given autonomy, it is implied that they must become more self-reliant and creative rather than too dependent on their superiors for guidance.

Another example of the culture-specificity of innovation is provided by the Kejar Programme of Indonesia, described by the Indonesian Director-General of Non-formal Education and Sports:

The word *Kejar* means three things: one is the literal meaning of the word, "to catch up"; the abbreviation of the words *bekerja* (to work) and belajar (to learn); and third, again abbreviations, of the words. *kelompok* (group) and *belajar* (to learn). Thus a non formal education programme must be devised as a work-study programme implemented by a learning group with the purpose of catching up what is lacking.

The *Kejar* programme, both as a policy and strategy, is, indeed, based on the *gotong-royong* (mutual assistance) social system; that is the main reason why Indonesia is very optimistic that it will work. This policy, by definition, requires that one should make use of the acceptable ways and manners in which people are used to do things in order to elicit their full participat- tion. . .every educated person in the country will be challenged and motivated to look around his or her residence to decide

whether some people need help through non-formal education
programmes, and to see the possible use of his or her regular
social gatherings for non-formal education purposes. This is the
principal thinking underlying the *Kejar* programme. How can
an educated person multiply himself or herself? How can she or
he, using a chain-reaction system with a geometric progression,
bring about improvements in the life of the community?

The importance of each unique cultural context for non-formal education is
highlighted when one reflects that such an approach would be almost inevitably
doomed to fail in culturally very different neighbouring Australia. Similarly an
Indonesian study team visting Singapore in 1977 reported on the great differences
between that near neighbour and their own country   size, access to resources, the
apparent likelihood that all educational problems were solvable there. This did not
prevent the team taking great interest in and learning from Singapore's 'education
for living' curriculum to promote awareness and acceptance of a multi-cultural
society with four languages. Thus regional identity and co operation need not be at
the price of denying national difference and uniqueness. within 'an Asian way'
there are many different Asian and Pacific ways.

It is therefore possible to assert the existence and the desirability of a distinc-
tive Asian identity and future without imposing unilinear development on each
different country. Where the requirements of national security and integrity permit,
decentralization and diversification may reach down deep within the country
in response to the different traditions and aspirations of the communities and
cultures that go to make up the modern nation state. To speak of a community
and commonality of Asian and Pacific peoples is not to deny this diversity or to
repeat the errors of earlier development strategies and experts with their economic
and technological determinism and their social and cultural insensitivity. And it
may help to provide the protection necessary, especially for the smaller and more
vulnerable countries, against the continuing economic and intellectual domination
from outside which leads to cultural erosion or degradation.

It would not be sensible to attempt a single list or rank order of the countries
of the Asia and Pacific region in order to demonstrate their diversity. To do this
is indeed impossible. If we consider some of the main criteria by which they are
differentiated we come to realize that there is not any one rank order from the least
to the most wealthy. Such a ranking would be to repeat the mistake of the tunnel
vision development agents against whom this chapter sounds a caution.

One popular form of ranking among adult educators is on the basis of literacy
levels. A report on research and training in literacy late in 1978 notes the diversity
in terms of percentages of literates:

> Some cuountries in the region have already achieved universal
> literacy, whereas other countries are facing the problem of
> illiteracy as a very grave menance to their development. The
> countries which are facing the problem of illiteracy are classi-
> fied into three categories in terms of their literacy percentage.
> The countries with high illiteracy rates (over 66 per cent) are

Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Iran, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan and Papua New Guinea. The countries with·medium illiteracy rates (33 per cent to 66 per cent) are Burma, Indonesia, and the Socialist Republic of Viet.Nam and the countries with low illiteracy rates (less than 33 per cent) are the Philippines and Thailand.

Turning to other than educational characteristics, one obvious criterion is size, both of country and of population. Despite some political changes from time to time it is inconceivable that the region.will not continue to contain very large countries – countries with the largest populations in the world – as well as very tiny countries, notably the island states of the Pacific.

It is also clear that some countries will remain overwhelmingly rural in the distribution and occupation of their populations, despite a widely shared problem of rural urban drift and a common quest for industrialization. Some countries on the other hand will remain essentially urban or metropolitan in terms of location of population. In some countries, like the Republic of Korea, urbanization and industrialization may be rapid, but not necessarily at the expense of those who remain rural. Australia is showing signs of some move of population out of the metropolitan areas; but depopulation of cities on the scale experienced in Kampuchea is unusual, perhaps unique in modern times. On the other hand Singapore cannot but remain a city state.

Other distinguishing criteria are more economic, though demographic in part. Some countries are thinly populated or under-populated, depending on what this term assumes. Others are densely populated in whole or in part, clearly over-populated in areas like Java in Indonesia where there is a policy of resettlement to less crowded parts of the country. Access to natural resources also varies immensely and although some new kinds and sources of wealth may be discovered, very major changes in access to resources are unlikely without war or annexation, which illustrates the importance of maximizing the use of human resources. The basis and style of prosperity will therefore continue to vary between largely agrarian and mainly industrial or commercial. So too will the value placed on international markets and trade compared with self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Social and cultural factors further manifest the diversity of the Asia and Pacific region. There is an extraordinarily rich diversity of social structures and systems, civilizations, cultures and traditions, including all the major religions of the world. Often this diversity is almost as marked within the boundaries of one country, where it is a source both of pride and concern. Papua New Guinea and Australia have very many indigenous languages; in Australia some formal and non-formal education is conducted in these, or bilingually as in the languages of different immigrant communities. Religious, ethnic and cultural diversity is a source of the richness and variety of Malaysia and Singapore as well as the central preoccupation of much of government policy. Other countries have been less successful or less fortunate in containing potential conflict between major community groups, and in many places requirements of national unity have borne heavily on traditional life-styles and even languages of tribal and other minorities. Both in their societies and

cultures and in the degrees of homogeneity or diversity within countries there is great variety among the countries of this region.

Finally, and obviously, there is a great variety of political and administrative philosophies and systems. The region includes not only a large proportion of the world's population but also the whole spectrum of political beliefs and arrangement for their management. Not only is there a great variety of philosophies and systems; there is also great variety in the extent to which present systems appear more or less temporary or permanent, more or less committed to rapid or gradual social change.

In speaking about an Asian way, then, we must take care not to overlook or under-estimate the many differences contained within the region. For many purposes the region is now taken to include the Pacific. It remains to be seen how far this area with its dispersed populations, huge ocean distances, and consequent difficulties of communication, will feel anything in common with Asia, and how far it will remain in the minds of its peoples a distinct region. Within Asia itself there is clear evidence of common interest and purpose vis-a vis the non-Asian world, mainly from common experience of the recent past and present relations with the industrialized 'first world'.

The theme of this chapter is important for consideration of non-formal education which cannot sensibly be considered apart from the social, economic, political and cultural milieu. In the next chapter we consider the emergence of this concept in recent years within the region. Before turning to this let us conclude this chapter by noting, from the 1978 APEID summary of inventories of educational innovation in nine Asian countries, the very different position that non-formal education holds from country to country in that summary. This exercise illustrates both the difference among countries in their approach to non-formal or alternative structures, and also the problems of categorization itself in this very fluid and dynamic situation.

As a generalization we observe that the more industrialized countries appear to be concentrating more on the formal system and on adaptations within this, for instance by means of experimental schools. These countries use educational technology especially for remote and for out-of school populations, but other than this little of a radical non-formal kind is mentioned. These represent alternative delivery systems, but the purpose and content of the education is as within the traditional formal system. Countries with lower GNPs tend to look to more radical alternatives – India and Indonesia, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. Some very poor countries appear to be rather more cautious, perhaps still holding more closely to more formal school-based approaches.

The Indian entries, for example, are introduced with a note that 'most of the innovations described in the report indicate an emerging concern for bringing the school and the community together. Most appear to have originated in efforts at identifying and mobilizing unused or under used community resources for educational purposes. A noticeable feature is an effort to interlink school and out-of-school education.' Twelve of the sixteen Indian examples are at least partly within the category of non-formal education. In Japan, by contrast, 'educational innova-

tion is largely limited to the improvement of teaching methods and guidance for children's learning within the classroom, respecting the school administration'. In Sri Lanka 'most of the innovations described in the report indicate an emerging concern for curriculum reform, restructuring of the school system, examination reform and the in-service education of primary school teachers. The dominant feature of the innovations is an effort to interlink school and out-of-school eudcation'. In the case of Malaysia only 5 in 53 entries could be considered even partly relevant to non-formal education, and in the case of Nepal only 2 in 18 relate to NFE. The tabulated summary with which this chapter concludes demonstrates the main theme of this chapter that within Asia there is very great variety in the status of and in attitudes to and even understanding of non-formal education.

Summary of experiences in educational innovation (APEID, 1978)

Country	Fully relevant to non-formal education	Partly	Combined	Total of all entries
India	8	4	12	16
Indonesia	5	4	9	14
Japan		1	1	19
Korea		2	2	6
Malaysia		5	5	53
Nepal		2	2	18
Philippines	34	12	46	82
Sri Lanka	6	4	10	24
Thailand	11	6	17	47

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Chapter V

Non-formal Education A New Approach and Paradigm

The word paradigm has become quite fashionable and is perhaps used too freely. It is used here partly to emphasize the connection between non-formal education and development, in view of the debate of recent years about the passing of the 'dominant paradigm' in development theory, referred to in the previous chapter. The term itself is, however, unimportant. We might write instead of a reconceptualization of education, its role in society and its modes of delivery, such that the school ceases to be equated with education and to be the centrepiece of all educational planning. We might speak of a new outlook or 'set' about education, a new way of seeing and understanding what education can and should mean to countries of the region, a new perspective which has implications for every aspect of planning and administration. Not that non-formal education itself is entirely new; non-formal or community education has occurred in all societies before formal education through schooling was established, but it has been largely ignored or even destroyed by the provision of a school system. In speaking of a new paradigm we mean an act of recognition of what already exists, such as the unused and under-used educative potential of the community, and what in addition might come into being by deliberate contrivance as a result of this act of recognition.

This new perception and redefinition depends on a new concept or paradigm of development, and on how this will affect education. This was well described in the keynote address given by the President of the University of the Philippines at a meeting on teacher education and curriculum for development in 1975. Dr . Corpus highlighted three areas in his definition of skills training — employment, rural transformation, and health/nutrition: 'in fact, these are three of the areas in which the performance of the national community is going to be measured. I think the conventional name for this is "social accounting" or "social indicator" He went on to speak of the importance of equitable participation in the production of wealth (employment) as in the sharing of the production outputs. He sketched a strategy for progressive redistribution of new wealth increasingly to benefit the most disadvantaged, very much on the same basis as Malaysia's long term develop- ment plan for its Bumiputra or Malay population. Other areas of concern in this social accounting system included capital and non-human resources — the conserva- tion of natural resources and the environment, public safety and justice, social mobility and political values the degree of popular participation in the national community and government made available to the citizens. All of this also implied nation wide, not merely metropolitan, development. 'by increasing the sharing of the "good things of life", by dispersing development opportunities, by dispersing

the enjoyment of the values of development, we are consolidating the nation.'

This approach to development reflects a general disillusionment with progress in the Second Development Decade, a realization that increasing national productivity and relying purely on gross economic indicators may go hand in hand with further deterioration of the lot of the poor. Dr. Corpus observed that it had been estimated that just by operating 50 commercial plantations on a highly technological basis the Philippines could meet all its rice requirements and produce a surplus for export: 'but then what would happen to about one million farmers' families if we decided to produce our material requirements in a high technological way involving very little human employment?' The new emphasis on broad socio-economic development, with special attention to the lot of the least developed countries regionally and the 'poorest of the poor' nationally, provides the essential context and rationale for the new paradigm of non-formal education. The 'value context' of universalization and democratization as espoused in the Faure Report is equally important. This also explains why, if the commitment to these values is absent, or is token rather than genuine, non formal educators are likely to find themselves sometimes at odds with those who enjoy and wield economic and political power for their own ends.

If non-formal education, as a new philosophy, policy and strategy, is born out of these new develoment perspectives, it arises also from the discovery that these values cannot be realized through pursuit of 'more of the same' in the formal school system. Universalization of basic education through the formal system, and progressive extension of the period of formal schooling through raising the mimum school leaving age, the target for Asian countries in the the early sixties, has proved for many to be a receding target despite massive increases in educational budgets. As it becomes clear that educational budgets cannot coninue thus to expand, that they may already be at or beyond their viable maximum as a proportion of GNP, and as evidence continues to accumulate of the inefficiencies and dysfunctions of the formal school system, more of the same' has become less creditable to educational planners in various countries.

There are several components to the 'new paradigm'. Our emphasis here is on their interlocking or systemic character. It is not enough simply to cease advocating a lengthening period of compulsory education for all unless the context and alternatives are clearly understood. Nor can we say that a new paradigm exists if educational planners remain clearly committed to the formal system as the only, proper or best form of education. Acceptance of NFE does not mean equalizing the budgets of the formal and non formal sectors, but it does mean adopting the point of view that NFE provides continuing viable alternatives to formal schooling; it is not a temporary stop-gap or second best.

The philosophy is well conveyed in a 1975 report on unused and underutilized potential for learning in the community. There is a limited range of learning experiences which it is within the capacity of the school to provide:

> There is no reason why the student should not be exposed to
> the thrills of discovering the truth from its source. . . The in-
> volvement of society at large in the education of people is

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necessitated not only because of its tremendous potential for providing learning but also for making community life a way of learning. If the school starts drawing upon the resources of the community, it can expect and in fact encourage the community to use school resources for a variety of purposes. Such a society will, in this way, evolve a learning system which caters to the needs of in school and out-of-school populations including children, youth and adults. Once a school-community connection is established, educational development can be integrated with overall development.

Because of the importance, and the relative deprivation, of Asia's rural populations, education including non-formal education in the context of rural development has assumed particular prominence. One concern is that non-formal education may come to be second-class education for rural populations. There has therefore been resistance to any idea of a dual system of education, urban and rural, on the ground that even though such duality exists, to recognize it would be to legitimize and perpetuate inequality. On the other hand if non-formal education proves to be, and comes to be seen to be, an alternative, equal or better form of learning and educational delivery, the terms of the debate are changed. We would then be talking not about a formal urban system and a non-formal rural system, but about a diversification of modes throughout, so that formal and non-formal modes may be available together and choice of the most suitable mode - which may be non-formal rather than formal -- can be made by urban and rural peoples alike.

A handbook on preparing teachers for rural development in 1977 observed that there were currently two strategies '(a) the elements of rural development are neatly and thoroughly integrated into the school curriculum in such a way that education in rural development becomes the school curriculum; and (b) the usual academic curriculum is retained and activities related to rural development are assigned to extra-curricular affairs. Rural development activities are being intertwined in the curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities.' The handbook asserts that education for rural development cannot any longer 'be simply restricted to schooling or viewed as time bound, but instead must be equated broadly with learning regardless of where, how and when that takes place', and that 'the central axis of the school curriculum is education in rural development leading to social transformation. Rural development programmes should not be relegated to extra-curricular and co curricular areas. It should be accepted without reservation that education for rural development is *the education* for the Asian society.' The language and assertiveness of thease paragraphs conveys in some measure what we mean by referring to a new paradigm.

Another problematic characteristic of non-formal education for formal educators is its orientation towards community and learner rather than towards school and teacher, with consequent overtones of 'deprofessionalization' of education. The role of the teacher changes significantly from instructor to facilitator and manager of learning opportunities; the teacher's off assumed monopoly of teaching and of the paths to learning is broken. The results can be rewarding for teachers as

well as students, but the transition may be difficult and painful. It is hard to avoid this conclusion, or to deny that non-formal education does tend to have an 'anti-expert' quality, if only because of the disabling effects in modern societies of professional expertise on the non-experts. Certainly our own experience has been that non-formal approaches have tended to go hand in hand with some challenge to conventional professionalism and professional interests among teachers and others. This is not to deny however that non-formal education demands a high level of sensitivity and expertise from its practitioners.

. Reflection on this point again reminds us how different Asian countries are in their attitude to and espousal of non-formal education, and the extent to which this relates to their socio-economic circumstances and their general approach to development. We may discern what might be called a number of different states of being. These are not necessarily sequential and in a specific order, although they may follow one another somewhat as a series of waves. The fact that there is no pre-determined necessity for this is immediately illustrated by the instance of China. On a spectrum of commitment to non-formal approaches to education Maoist China presents the most extreme and clear-cut model. It appears at present that development policy, and consequently educational policy, in China has shifted to emphasize specialization and the development of various kinds of professional expertise. This illustrates our two points: the deliberate, rather than deterministic, nature of the evolution of education systems, and the tendency for NFE to be somewhat 'anti-expertise' in character since present trends in China seem to point towards re-emphasizing such features of the formal system as selection, intellectual competition rather than community nomination, and specialization.

At the other extreme some very traditional societies in the Asia and Pacific region appear still to have their sights firmly set on the formal system, with very firmly prescribed national, centralized curricula and examination systems. As was also indicated in Chapter 4, countries with very large populations and scarce resources for education tend to be shifting to adopt the NFE paradigm either as a temporary expedient or even as a permanent solution. Countries falling at different positions within this category may include Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

We might pause for a moment here to note the example of India. India was one of the six countries which mentioned adult education in some quite broad sense in country papers for the 1971 Ministers' meeting in Singapore, and in its Fifth Five-Year Plan it 'adopted the integration of formal and non-formal education, an integrated child development programme, a new strategy for solving the problems of drop-outs, the promotion of youth centres, and the use of modern educational techniques'. Opening a regional meeting on literacy in 1978 the Minister for Education of India explained that his country 'was attaching great importance to three programmes universalization of primary education, the National Adult Education Programme and non-formal education as a package'. Prior to the Fifth Plan NFE and adult education had had low priority, and over the period of the five Plans the proportion of the total education budget assigned to adult education dropped from 3.3 per cent to as low as 0.5 per cent before recovering to a level of 1.4 per

cent. The Indian country report, in recording this, went on to say that:

> Non-formal education recognizes the limitations of the single
> point entry, sequential and rigid system of formal education
> and, therefore, opens new vistas for expansion of educational
> facilities and organization of flexible and relevant programmes
> of education. Although the non-formal approach was clearly
> spelt out in the programmes which emanated from the Ministry
> of Education its understanding in the field was limited and in
> fact the programmes actually organized were indistinguishable
> from the conventional literacy type activities.

The response to this under the new Government of 1977 was the introduction
of NAEP, the National Adult Education Programme. During the Plan period 1978-
83 the allocation of the education budget for adult education was to be increased
to 10 per cent, with twice as much again expected from the various Development
Departments in direct programme support for target groups. A shift of this magni-
tude surely justifies use of the term 'a new paradigm', as does the earlier strategy of
Maoist China.

Returning briefly to our broad analysis and categorization of 'states of being'
vis-a-vis such a paradigm, we might add a further two to the three already indicated.
In relatively wealth and industrialized or industrializing countries such as the Repub-
lic of Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Japan the pattern, as suggested at the end of
the previous chapter, has been to strengthen and expand the formal system with
some development of alternative delivery systems by means of innovations in
educational technology, accompanied by modest experimentation in such areas as
school-community interface, open plan education, experimental education and so
forth. In other words non formal education receives little direct attention, the main
quest being for modest adaptation and diversification of the formal system itself.
It may be that a process of evolution will eventually bring such systems close to the
outcome of the strategy employed in countries like India, although the paths are
quite dissimilar.

Finally, and going mainly outside the Asian and Pacific region, we may discern
in some post-industrial societies of Europe and North America another radical
approach to non-formal education arising out of disillusionment with the capacity
of the formal education system to respond adequately to the demands of new social
and economic conditions. The arguments of Ivan Illich have proved persuasive to
many in the United States and have produced a spate of more or less radical 'des-
chooling' theses, as well as the more moderate literature of recurrent and lifelong
education. New kinds of non-traditional education have appeared in America and
elsewhere, and concepts such as the 'invisible college', learning webs and networks
have acquired currency. Within the region of Asia and the Pacific possibly Australia
and New Zealand show signs of developing this new stance or 'state of being' vis-a-vis
non-formal education, and there may be a similar evolution also in Japan.

In the remaining part of this chapter we trace briefly the emergence of non-
formal education, especially through the planning and consultation meetings of
APEID, to indicate its recency as a prominent concern, recognizing meanwhile that

it is a long step from acceptance in principle by policy-makers to impact on the average provincial village community. A publication on the subject of first level education is Asia in 1973 shows how little NFE was then established; it is essentially about formal, compulsory education with only passing reference to out-of-school approaches, despite acknowledging severe limits on resources and near-universal concern about wastage. Where non-formal approaches are mentioned they tend to be as a second best temporary expedient, it is said of Cambodia and Laos for example that 'nevertheless, whenever it is impossible to have a public school established, the renovated temple schools continue to operate even now and some new ones are organized.' The Karachi target of universal (formal) primary education remains prominent and the implication that school is the only road: 'while there are many educational influences which bear on the child's growth, for the vast majority of children in the developing countries, the school is the only agency which can provide certain specific skills and learning experiences in an organized form. There is no alternative to education except illiteracy and all that it implies.'

In the report of the Singapore Ministers' meeting two years earlier, non-formal education as a term does not appear, although there is reference to out-of-school education, concern for rural development, and a number of mentions of adult education. Adult education features in some way in 10 of the 19 abstracts of country reports but in four cases this refers purely and narrowly to adult literacy training, in the cases of China, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand the meaning is wider. It is noticeable how many major developments of recent years were not even identified at this time, a measure of how rapid has been the change and development of the seventies. For instance the remarkably successful and widely known Saemaul Udong movement of Korea started only in that year. Although the 1971 meeting commented on the costs of quantitative expansion and the need for new approaches, the implications were not carried thruough in terms of non-formal education. The meeting did however recommend the creation of APEID.

The Director-General at this time emphasized the importance of improving educational facilities in the rural areas and bringing about 'far reaching changes in the content and structures of education, which will have to be made wider, more flexible and more diverse'. Education should be 'closely interwoven at every point with the whole fabric of society.' The meeting regarded as a major problem generally the learning needs of the population outside the formal education system and commented on a 'developing trend towards linking literacy training and continuing education functionally to productivity and occupational efficiency'. It was noted that the targets of the enrolment ratio envisaged in the Karachi Plan and the Asian Model could not be achieved even though the additional number of pupils enrolled was according to the targets. The context was thus set for formulating a policy of non-formal education although the meeing stopped short of dong this. One Conference Commission went further, referring to such recent concepts as lifelong education. 'all of these point to the need for profound changes in the structures and content of education in Asian countries'. Out-of-school education, it was suggested, should be viewed as an integral part of the overall education system and

'be institutionalized along with formal education and share resources and facilities with it'. At the same time out of school education itself also needed rethinking and regeneration.

The history of APEID from 1973 to 1978 may be seen from one point of view as the emergence and operation of the NFE paradigm which was implicit but not fully delineated at the 1971 Ministers' meeting. Non-formal education was at least implicitly relevant to most of the six nominated programme areas for the first four year cycle, the first area, New Orientations and Structures in Education, made mention of out of school education and of links between work and learning according to the lifelong concept, and other areas also specified out-of-school or non-formal as well as school approaches. The 1974 report commented that 'another important area is that of non-formal education. Here, the proposal which was finally accepted was to include in the project a new element relating to the use of out of school time of school children for science activities'. The report of the second consultation meeting a year later observed that:

> Non-formal education is being seriously explored in some countries. Two aspects were particularly emphasized both during the presentation of country reports and the discussions that followed. The first was a need to expand educational opportunities to the large, and, in many countries, growing numbers of people of school-going age who are out of school. The other aspect was to find solutions to the problem of school drop-outs.

There was stress on functionalism and relevance, manifested in three trends: linking learning to work, integrating formal with non-formal modes of education; and increasing the contribution of education through health and nutrition programmes. A review of curriculum development envisaged the target population as 'the total community, including children in school and children and youth out-of-school. The resources of schools, homes, communities and development projects would need to be mobilized, under formal and non-formal educational programmes, for speedy and effective implementation'.

What we see in these annual high level but non-political meetings of senior educationists of the region — innovators from Government, universities, research institutes and curriculum development centres — is an increasing emphasis on NFE as a strategy to tackle the problems identified for attention during this first cycle. The report of the 1976 meeting (the Third Consultation Meeting) emphasized the increasing interlinking of educational policies with social issues, that educational planning was increasingly being viewed as a part of overall socio-economic planning. A shift towards decentralization because of the problems of managing vast systems was also mentioned, another trend naturally sympathetic to non-formal approaches.

The Fourth Consultation Meeting in 1977 outlined themes for the second cycle through to 1981 and reflected the extent to which a new paradigm of non-formal education was in existence. The five themes all pointed in this direction: integrated rural development; the development of productive skills relevant to economic development; universalization of education including functional education for out-

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of-school youth and adults, better health and nutrition, and national unity and international understanding and co-operation. Of theme three it was observed:

> (a) many countries have prepared plans which include the use
> of non-traditional approaches in order to meet their pressing
> problems such as the training of teachers and enabling students
> to be productive both in and out of school; (b) special pro-
> grammes for the benefit of the 'disadvantaged' groups, such as
> programmes for hill-tribes, nomads or women, have been
> designed and undertaken.

The first of the seven priority areas of innovation for this second cycle was non-formal and alternative structures in education, further evidence of the arrival of the 'new paradigm'.

Among country comments from the evaluation of the first cycle it was reported that India was taking up NFE as the major thrust 'both for making primary education universal for the age group 6 — 11, and for providing educational opportunities for youth'. Sri Lanka named among likely innovations establishing linkages between formal and non-formal education, and India mentioned among the first of its programmes of major concern the development of a centre to study innovative programmes in NFE. Malaysia reported that 'with regard to NFE and other training programmes the orientation will be more towards providing adults, parti cularly those from low income groups, with training for a change of vocation, rather than merely towards overcoming illiteracy or improving or modernizing work methods in their present occupations'. The Philippines wished to see the focus directed to alternative delivery systems, both formal and non-formal, while Thailand and Iran stressed the integration of in school and out of school activities combining both formal and non formal education. 'a priority consideration should be given to NFE and its interaction with formal education'.

These and similar observations from the teams reviewing the first cycle of APEID and participants at planning sessions for the second cycle resulted in an area of innovation, non formal and alternative structures in education, the outline of which appears below. Apart from this specific programme area a close scan of the work plans for this second cycle shows the extent to which NFE has come to permeate thought on many subjects such as science teaching, where stress is laid on basic and non formal systems, cost effective indigenous learning and the use of the local environment and resources to complement or replace laboratories. This sug gests a systemic shift, rather than merely the addition of NFE as yet another, ephemeral fashion. At the same time, while the concept may fully have arrived at least within some countries and at regional meeting of this kind, it does not follow that a shift in approach and method to NFE has flowed down, or will quickly or easily flow down, to alter educational practice in the village communities of Asia. It is one thing for a new concept to be appreciated and even internalized among senior planners and administrators and quite another for this to alter practice other than in a few experimental and demonstration sites.

In this part of this publication we have attempted merely to sketch the context in which the concept has evolved and to note some of the circumstances and con-

fusion surrounding it. It must be admitted that there still remains considerable uncertainty and some difference of opinion, even at the theoretical level.

We conclude this chapter with the summary work plan for non-formal and alternative structures for the 1978-81 cycle.

Summary Work Plan for Non-formal
Activities Structures for 1978-81 Cycle

A considerable variety and range of experiences have developed in the last few years as the Member States in the region, becoming increasingly aware of the limitations of the formal school systems, have sought new ways to provide educational opportunities to the mass of the people.

Non-formal education is linked to all the four development themes, namely: universalization of education, integrated rural development, education for productive skills relevant to economic development, and education for better health and nutrition.

Non-formal education is also now increasingly linked to formal education in a variety of ways, leading to the development of alternative structures in education. This linkage is to be found in programmes designed to prepare early school leavers to re-enter the formal stream of education; in programmes such as open education systems and learning centres; and in the participation of students in work-experience programmes..

A common feature of all these programmes is the effort to involve local communities in the creation and management of educational activities and to mobilize local resources for this purpose.

The main thrust of this area of innovation in APEID will be centred on the following four aspects, which will serve as the basis for inter-country exchange of experiences and mutual learning:

i)   Design and development of non-formal education programmes related to the development goals of the countries;

ii) Community participation and mobilization of local resources and expertise to support the planning, organization and implementation of non-formal education programmes;

iii) Linking of non-formal and formal education programmes and development of alternative structures; and

iv) Inter-sectoral and inter-ministerial/departmental approach and co-ordination in the development and implementation of non-formal educational programmes.

Activities in this area of innovation will be linked closely with other areas of innovation, notably administration and management of educational innovation, and educational technology.

The following are the immediate objectives in this area of innovation:

Through inter-country exchange of experiences, information, materials and training of personnel:

1. To promote awareness, understanding and insights into the design and development of non-formal education programmes relevant to developmental goals of the countries, with particular reference to: (a) universalization of education for meeting the needs of rural and other disadvantaged sections of the population; and (b) utilization of local resources and sound indigenous practices;

2. To contribute to enhancing national capacities to design and develop non-formal education programmes for productive skills and better health and nutrition suited to their needs and resources, with reference to: (a) content, (b) methodologies, (c) structures, (d) utilizing the local expertise available in the community, and (e) linking formal and non-formal education programmes;

3. To promote the development of new strategies and alternative approaches for mobilizing active participation of the community in the planning and organization of their own non-formal education programmes and in coordinating and inter-relating such programmes with other development programmes;

4. To provide opportunities to the Member States to study the design and development of alternative structures in education which link formal and non-formal education programmes, and to facilitate the efforts of the Member States in establishing new structures; and

5. To enhance awareness of the need for innovative non-formal educational programmes related to the development themes through case studies and collection and dissemination of information and materials.

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Chapter VI

NON-FORMAL AND ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE IN EDUCATION

We traced in Chapter 5 the emergence and to some extent acceptance among regional policy-makers and administrators of the concept of non-formal education, especially through the annual consultation meetings of APEID. At the fifth consultation meeting in 1978, groups studied six areas of common concern. The report of Group A, on non-formal and alternative structures in education, is reproduced here as the substance of this chapter, since it conveniently summarizes regional thinking on this subject.

Extracts of the Report of Group A

I. Introduction

The concept and term 'formal education' emerged when it became clear that the education system had deficiencies, and that it could not cope with the task of providing education which is relevant to the needs of the people. Thus, at all levels, especially at the first cycle of education, there are both formal education and non-formal education, the latter being an effort to remedy the deficiencies of the formal system and to complement its inadequacies.

In most countries in the region, non-formal education is also being used in adult literacy and in the development of productive skills for the vast population, particularly in the rural areas.

Two distinct major motivations for the emergence of non-formal education may be identified. On the one hand, it offers a means of providing some kind of education to those having no access to the formal system, or where the paucity of resources makes formal education for the whole community an impossibility. On the other hand, non-formal education is regarded as a means towards lifelong education. Recognizing also the inadequacy of formal education systems to prepare people for continuing self-learning, the Group strongly viewed that the unifying principle of lifelong learning should be enough justification for the extension of non-formal education. Such a positive stand-point also provides some safeguard against the danger of non-formal education being considered as a poor substitute for formal education.

II. Problems of non-formal education

Some problems of non-formal education that have been experienced by a number of countries in planning, implementing and evaluating nonformal education programmes may be grouped into three major clusters as follows:

A. Content and methods

1. Survey of the needs

The first step in the development of curriculum and materials for non-formal education is a needs survey. The survey may be attempted, in part, by common survey tools like questionnaires and check-lists. The data and facts collected through the survey should be validated through face-to-face discussions with the target groups. Wherever possible, the people responsible for the survey should live in the community for some time, so that they themselves can experience the needs, aspirations, feelings and deprivation of the people in the community. The scope of the programme should be kept in view while doing the survey. This is essential to ensure that only such needs as identified are catered for through the programme.

The existing levels of knowledge and competency of the target groups should also be determined.

In order to measure the success of the programme, there should also be a base-line survey. The method of the survey should be participatory, in the sense that the clientele themselves should be surveyors, wherever possible. There should be adequate provision to develop skills in conducting surveys, for different persons in the target groups.

For the survey of needs, diverse groups such as the clientele themselves, al village elders, community leaders and field representatives of various departments (such as agriculture, livestock management, fisheries, co-operatives, social welfare, health and integrated rural development) should be consulted.

2. Components of the curriculum

The curriculum for non-formal education should be developed in the light of the analysis and synthesis of the needs, requirements and aspirations collected through the needs survey. The curriculum should also take into account the social, economic and cultural situations of the locality.

The curriculum for non-formal education should not be merely a list of topics, as generally found in the curriculum for formal education. Rather, it should centre around major problems and concerns of the community.

The curriculum should be highly flexible, simple and stimulating.

Although the components of the curriculum vary according to the local needs and nature of the projects, the following components are commonly found in most of the non-formal education curricula. Attempts should be made to integrate the different components of the programme on a continuing basis.

i) Awareness-building topics. Social, economic, political and cultural awareness can be developed through activities such as the discussion of generative themes, guided contact sessions, radio programmes, TV programmes, games and sports.

ii) a) Literacy and numeracy skills.
      b) Follow-up learning materials.

If the target group is illiterate, simple literacy and numeracy skills should be taught. If the target group has the ability to read or write, follow-up reading and

writing-materials should be provided. Available mass media should also be used.

iii) Appropriate functional information, knowledge and skills.

One of the objectives of all types of non-formal education is to help the learners to improve their productive skills and knowledge, and therefore all non-formal curricula should include materials on functional knowledge and skills.

3. Materials for non-formal programmes

These include: (i) motivational materials; (ii) materials for learners; and (iii) materials for teachers.

These materials should be developed within the framework of a simple basic vocabulary., drawn up within the social and cultural context of the community. These should preferably be in the local languages. Where such materials are developed in national languages, local languages should be used for explaining the materials, within the framework of existing national policies on the subject.

Written and printed materials are commonly used in non-formal education programmes. Traditional oral communication methods have been used successfully for centuries and can be effective either separately or in conjunction with printed materials in non-formal education.

Surveys of unused and under-utilized materials in the community should be conducted, and an inventory of the local materials which could be used for non-formal education programmes should be prepared. As far as possible, materials and equipment for non-formal education programmes should be locally-based and prepared, utilizing locally available materials, expertise and skills.

Research and experimentation should be a built-in process for the development of curriculum and materials for non-formal education. If the project is going to be implemented on a large scale, all the teaching-learning materials should first be tested on a micro-scale, and only then should they be applied on a mass scale.

4. Methods

Formal and non-formal teaching *methods* should be clearly distinguished from formal and non-formal *systems*. Thus methods successfully pioneered in the non-formal sector may be incorporated into the formal system. Methods of teaching in non-formal education should be suited to the learning characteristics of the adult population. Methods should be participatory, based on dialogues and sharing of experiences. Maximum use of audio-visual materials should be made, and the materials should be related to the life experiences of the learners.

The method should be such that it promotes self-learning. The ultimate goal of any non-formal education should be to make the project self-propelling. Guided or voluntary learning groups and learning clubs could be very useful methods in non-formal education. For teaching skills, practical demonstration and practicum should be the methods of instruction.

In all non-formal education programmes, flexibility in duration and timing according to the conveniences of the learners should be ensured.

5. Staffing

    i) Good 'animators' and catalysts have proved to be key elements in successful programmes of non-formal education. The identification and preparation of such persons are crucially important.

ii) The minimum qualifications for the recruitment of teachers should be flexible.

iii) People with motivation and a genuine interest in development, and who are knowledgeable about local conditions and change, should be given priority in the recruitment of teachers.

iv) The expertise of the community should be involved to the maximum extent as organizers, teachers and supervisors of non-formal education programmes.

v) Teachers in the formal school system often find it difficult to adjust to the methodologies of non-formal education. Picking up young men and women from the community with some education, and training them for the purpose, would prove more fruitful and productive.

vi) Elders of the community, government functionaries, particularly officials of development departments and personnel of voluntary organizations, should be utilized as resource persons for the programmes.

vii) As far as possible, volunteers, students, unemployed graduates, and ex-service men should be utilized as teachers.

viii) Supervisors of the programme may be drawn from among successful teachers of non-formal education.

6. Training

i) Initial training should be short and should preferably be given in actual operational conditions, including some systems of internship and attachment.

ii) For the training of teachers and supervisors, use should be made of various methods such as seminars, workshops, field operational seminars, and inter-project visits.

7. Organization

Non-formal education should basically be locally-oriented and decentralized. Curriculum and materials should be locally developed, on the basis of the survey of local needs. However, an organizational structure going up to the national level is desirable, to facilitate communication of information on materials from one part of the country to another, and for liaison with similar organizations in other countries, in order to learn from their experiences.

8. Evaluation

Evaluation should be done at the learner's level as well as at the project level. For evaluation at the learner's, as well as at the project levels, indicators for the assessment of success should be developed at the planning stage.

Continuous self-assessment should be conducted through quiz games and action-oriented tests.

At the end of the programme, each learner's level of achievement should be measured, by comparing it with the base-line data, in the light of given indicators.

The evaluation process, on the whole, should be through a self-evaluation mechanism by the participants. But the participants should be helped by the staff,

for example, teachers or supervisors, whenever help is needed for making an objective participatory assessment.

9. Follow-up activities

In order that the gains made under the programme are not lost, and to build further upon these gains, continuous follow-up activities should be devised. These may take the form of making available suitable reading materials, radio broadcasts, libraries, specially designed or public newspapers, periodic skill training programmes, exchange of information and personnel.

Periodic surveys (using similar methodology as indicated earlier) should be conducted to determine whether the participants of a particular programme have been improving in terms of knowledge, skills, attitudes and self-reliance.

What has been set out in the preceding paragraphs relates primarily to adult functional education and skill training programmes, with or without a component of literacy.

10. Open learning systems

Opportunities also need to be provided for continuing education for school or college drop-outs, or those who may not have attended any formal educational institution at any stage of their lives, but feel motivated to improve their acquired skills or levels of competence in various areas. These opportunities should be made available in non-formal settings which are suited to their requirements and conditions, with freedom of entry into the first stage, freedom of choice of subjects, and an option of choosing their own time and pace for studies. Open learning or multi-media distance-learning programmes, which are already under way or at the planning stage in several participating countries, will lend themselves to meeting these needs.

The paucity of resources and the size of the population needing further education, relevant and meaningful to the individuals as well as the society in general, make the system of open education and distance-learning almost imperative for the developing countries.

A note of caution is however necessary. The very concept of non-formal education, as enunciated earlier, which lays the greatest emphasis on meeting the needs of the learners, will get distorted, if open systems emphasizing tertiary education as in the West, are uncritically copied. The requirements of the developing countries differ significantly and substantially from those in the industrial societies of the developed world.

It should be emphasized that open learning should be provided to meet both social and individual needs, and should satisfy, *inter alia*, the following criteria:

i) there should be no restriction on entry into the system, so that every individual receives due recognition for the experience, expertise, knowledge and skills acquired;

ii) the learner should be able to exercise free choice in the selection of subjects, so that he could pick up any subject relevant to his professional or career needs; and

iii)   the learner should be given the option to choose his own pace, depending on the free time available to him.

In most cases, correspondence materials prepared to suit the needs of a particular target group would form the backbone of the multi-media package. The materials should meet the criteria necessary for each understanding of the distance-learner who has to pursue the learning process, usually under several constraints.

The other important component of the system is the radio broadcast. As a matter of fact, this may even get priority over the correspondence package in certain programmes (particularly those designed for learners with a low level of literacy). Its capacity and accessibility make it an extremely important medium of communication. Whereas the impact of a casual radio programme may be transitory, its value increases considerably if it is a part of a comprehensive multi-media package, particularly if the learners can be supplied with appropriate vision cards and correspondence materials as a supplement.

The visual impact of TV programmes can doubtless be used with great effect in many cases, particularly those requiring a certain element of demonstration. Nevertheless, the high costs of production and telecasting, and its limited reach, are prohibitive factors in the use of the medium, particularly in the context of developing countries, where vast rural areas still remain without electricity.

The importance of contact sessions cannot be over-emphasized in any learning situation. Study centres play a very important role in any open learning system.

An increasing number of countries in the Asia and Pacific region have been trying of late to set up open learning systems. Open learning institutions of one kind or another already exist in Australia, India, Iran, Japan, Republic of Korea, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, and are coming into existence in other countries. Little or no exchange exists among these institutions. The creation of a mechanism to achieve a satisfactory degree of interaction among these institutions is an urgent need in the region. A regional association for open learning could be developed under the APEID umbrella. Western models may be of little relevance to the Asian situation, although one can learn from their experience, particularly in the area of technology and organization of the 'systems infrastructures'. The crux of the problem, however, is the development of programmes and their content, and regional co-operation is essential in that connection.

B.   Planning and co-ordination

By its very nature and scope, the sphere of non-formal education encompasses a domain which is much beyond the reach of the existing structure of formal education. However, in most of the Member States, planning for non-formal education programmes is either done on an *ad hoc* basis by various agencies, or is under the umbrella of national or sectoral educational planning. There are instances where non-formal education programmes of a specific nature are planned and implemented by more than one governmental agency (e.g. agriculture, education, rural development, labour and social welfare).

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community and national development, then non-formal education should be planned in a wider sense, as a systematic and co-operative endeavour of all governmental and non-governmental agencies concerned with education and development.

The macro-level planning may preferably remain confined to fund allocation for implementation of programmes with broadly defined objectives. In view of the diverse needs of the target groups, detailed planning of the programmes should actually be done at the micro-level.

The co-ordination of non-formal education programmes appears to be one of the most crucial problems faced by a number of countries in the region. Generally, one of the government implementing agencies is nominated to co-ordinate non-formal education programmes in the field. This co-ordinating approach has created a serious problem of inter-agency rivalry, which hampers the promotion and success of the programmes. A detailed discussion was held to evolve operational strategies, but the Group felt that it was difficult to formulate any single approach. However, the following three approaches were suggested:

i)   At the highest national level, the inter-ministerial/inter-departmental co-ordination could be ensured by the Prime Minister's Secretariat (or the highest executive authority), whereas at the village/block level, a local body (people's representatives) could be made responsible for co-ordinating the activities of various development departments;

ii)   Chief Executives of the district could act as co-ordinators for non-formal education programmes in the respective districts; and

iii) National Councils of Non-formal Education, including Adult Education, with branches at various levels, may take the responsibility for co-ordinating non-formal education programmes.

Since the target groups of non-formal education programmes are likely to represent a wide spectrum of the population, with diverse backgrounds and needs, the identification of local programmes, their administration and co-ordination, should be effectively decentralized. Such decentralization and flexibility of non-formal education programmes would generate more local initiative and resources, and motivate the community to identify itself with the programmes, and consequently, to develop a sense of ownership of the concept of development. While such decentralization calls for the granting of considerable autonomy to the grass-roots level workers, decentralization of the control of programmes, and their mode of implementation beyond a certain lower limit, may not be productive, due to the limited experiences of average workers at the micro-level.

Development departments such as the Department of Education, Department of Agriculture and Department of Health should take the initiative to outline the policy and general plans of education, including non-formal education. The Department of Education should take the initiative in involving other departments. On the other hand, participation and involvement of the community must be encouraged, and indeed, mobilized, to fill in the details. This will ensure that the resulting programmes will be relevant to the particular needs of the community, and at the same time remain in line with national development plans.

Non-formal education workers at the micro-level would identify and formulate concrete projects which could be implemented within a reasonable period, under the given constraints and with available resources, both local and external. Such a step-by-step approach is more likely to succeed, and the outcomes of such projects are expected to be more tangible than any long-term and diffused programme. An approach with quick tangible results may act as an effective stimulator and a source of motivation, particularly among the disadvantaged groups.

There are two main aspects of the problem of resource utilization: (i) full utilization of existing resources derived from public budgets; and (ii) maximum utilization of the unused and under-utilized resources of the communities. A corollary to the first aspect is the problem of proper re-allocation of available resources, so that non-formal educational programmes/activities are given a fair share of the budget. It was recognized that even the most effective utilization and/or re-allocation of available resources derived from public budgets will never be sufficient to provide relevant and diversified non-formal education programmes for various target audiences. The mobilization of other resources from the community is therefore necessary to ensure the continuance of non-formal education programmes.

The community abounds with many potential resources that can be used for non-formal education. These can roughly be classified as *human* and *material* resources. In many countries of the Asian region, there is an abundance of human resources, most of which are under-utilized. Any effective and successful strategy for non-formal education must not fail to tap this vast resource.

Many countries are giving special attention to the mobilization of unused and under-utilized resources, both for formal and non-formal education. As non-formal education programmes are designed to engage the voluntary participation of the workers and learners, the problem of human resource mobilization and management acquires crucial significance. Financial and material inputs are, no doubt, important, but their role would be more of a supplementary nature and due social recognition of the services of the workers and participants would be considered a more valuable incentive than any external material incentive, which in most cases is likely to be inadequate, and in some cases, against the spirit of generation of local initiative. Financial inputs may, however, play a vital role when non-formal education programmes are organized on the basis of an alternative approach, highlighting the material incentive to the project workers for certain measurable contributions to the community, and for attainment of skills by the participants.

Support for, and funding of non-formal education should be given, both by directly allocating a budget through the appropriate development departments, and by indirectly channelling some public funds into non-formal education. This could be done, for instance, through reduction of, or exemption from tax for business enterprises that conduct non-formal programmes, like "on-the-job" training and apprenticeship.

The bulk of the material resources and running cost of an infrastructure of the co-ordinating staff at various levels, and also a part of the programme cost, should be mobilized at the national level. These resources will not, however, be properly

utilized, unless suitable cadres of workers are simultaneously trained, and a genuine demand is created for such resources at the micro-level. Well-conceived information campaigns are important to support any new effort or programme in non-formal education.

The non-formal education programme should ideally be directed towards the entire community, although perhaps the needs of some groups within the community would be more urgent than those of others, and would, therefore, necessarily take priority. Among these would be school drop-outs, who according to their age, may be prepared for re-entry into the formal education process or for training in productive skills. Next in line could be the disadvantaged groups of the population, the unskilled and semi-skilled youth ready for entry into employment, and finally, adults who have had no formal education and for whom literacy programmes would be appropriate. Such literacy programmes would include health, nutrition, agriculture, social sciences, trades, and simple skill training which would help such persons.

In order to bring to the surface the needs of any one community, volunteers selected from various groups, (e.g. university students) should be mobilized to spend periods of time in the prospective areas, and help find out the actual needs by suitably designed surveys. It must be recognized that it is not the most articulate who may have the most pressing problems.

It may again be stressed that built-in mechanisms of self-evaluation would help introduce corrective measures at every stage of the exercise, both in terms of the methods used and personnel involved. The need for on-going evaluation and project monitoring at the local level, and finally at the national level, is also stressed, in order to re-cast the plans at appropriate intervals.

C.   Linkages between formal and non-formal education

Recognition is understood *not* as formal accreditation and certification by the government, but rather as the kind of recognition ascertained by the community and employers on the importance of non-formal education. Indeed, there could be dangers for the development of non-formal education in seeking equivalency to formal education. However, it is desirable to have recognition form the government for the attainment of non-formal education in its own right.

Recognition by the employer will be assured, if non-formal training results in an adequate competency in productive skills. This leads, however, to the question of how the competency in productive skills is to be tested. Perhaps life-long education and in-service training should be insisted upon, instead of emphasizing too much the initial, pre-service training. To accommodate the employer's right not to plunge into too great a risk, perhaps admission into employment should be given on a provisional basis, subject to the new employee's success in proving his merits and capabilities. However, this policy on hiring must be applied to both the job-seekers with formal education, and those with non-formal educational training.

Recognition of non-formal education could also be enhanced through the liberalization of formal education, by relaxing its rigidity and making it more flexible. This could be attempted, for example, through the adoption of the credit system,

through the breaking down of barriers that compartmentalize programmes of formal education, and through the designing of inter-departmental programmes, leading to diplomas in inter-disciplinary competence. In this way the students will be free to choose combinations of courses/programmes, so that provision, as a whole, will cater more to their individual needs.

To establish linkages between formal and non-formal education programmes, the Group felt that the present formal educational structure (primary and secondary education) should be replaced by a unified stage structure. The proposed structure may correspond to the existing formal system, in the sense that Stage I should be considered equivalent to primary education, whereas Stage II should correspond to secondary education. Each of these stages should have specified objectives, which could be achieved, following either formal or non-formal educational modes. The learner who desires to enter the next stage should be considered qualified, if he shows the mastery of the objectives set forth in the previous stage, irrespective of how the specific mode of education was followed, as well as the duration of formal classroom attendance. This system, if followed, could help bring formal and non-formal education closer to each other. It is also assumed that the curriculum for each stage will be developed with active participation and collaboration by representatives of various development departments/organizations, (such as agriculture, health and industry) as well as the representatives of the community.

Regardless of how undesirable a dual, formal/non-formal system is, there seems to be no practical way of doing away with this system, at least for the time being.

In electronics, the term 'feedback' refers to taking a part of the output of a process, and feeding it back into its input, in order to improve the performance of the system and the eventual outputs of the process. Here, too, 'feedback' is used in the above sense: those results of experimentation in non-formal education which are good must be adopted by formal education. Moreover, some proportion of the formal education budget should be spread out more, so as to include those experiments.

To understand the needs and circumstances of disadvantaged communities, and to assess which particular results of experimentation in non-formal education are good and suitable to be fed back into formal education, a need is felt for more participatory socio-anthropological research. This is admittedly expensive and slow; but then, quick questionnaire-surveys would probably prove useless.

In building linkages between formal and non-formal education, resistance and problems are bound to arise. Bearing in mind that education (including formal education) is a dynamic process, one must retain some optimism, keep in sight a long-time perspective, and continually review the approaches on how to overcome the resistance and problems.

Attempts are being made in some countries of the region to establish linkages between formal and non-formal education. These arrangements are helping to enrich experiences in both formal and non-formal education programmes, as well as the experiences of the learners themselves. Some examples are: the Multiple-Entry Scheme in India, the Second Chance Education Programme in Thailand, the

Basic Education and Junior Trainee Scheme in Singapore, the Accreditation System in the Philippines, A.I. Open University in Pakistan, Free University in Iran, the National Development Service in Nepal, the YCAP in the Philippines, the KKN in Indonesia, the Education Corps and Tribal Tent School[1] in Iran, and the Complementary Education Programme in the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

However, no member country has yet adopted a policy statement regarding the linkages between formal education and non-formal education, in the sense discussed at the Meeting. Since the successful development of non-formal education could be jeopardized, if the problem of linkages is ignored, it was recommended that member countries address themselves to this problem as a matter of urgency, and that APEID might undertake a project to collect and analyse examples of successful linkages already established, and others.

[1] The Tribal Tent School had the following features: (i) using one teacher for five classes; (ii) not using permanent school building, but tents which are taken down, carried to the new place to which the tribe moves, and pitched again to resume the classes; (iii) having flexible schedules which are tuned in with the natural rhythm of the tribal life, like adjusting summer vacation according to the convenience of the students and their families; (iv) employing 'half-educated' people from the tribe, even those without diplomas, to serve as teachers after they have been given 12 months of training; (v) providing training, such as carpet weaving and low-level repairmen training: (I) providing a link with formal education by sending the best pupils to high school, upon completion of the primary-level Tent School, and channelling the better ones to the universities.

Chapter VII

LITERACY -- THE CONTINUING QUEST

Despite the massive efforts over many years to achieve literacy throughout the region and throughout the world, the quest for literacy for the whole population remains the first pre-occupation of many educational planners and policy-makers, and indeed of many of their political masters. A recent report and review of literacy in Asia to which we refer here is sub-titled 'A continuing challenge'. No doubt the ideal for all societies would be that universal literacy be achieved during a compulsory elementary phase of education, leaving to adult non-formal education the task of up-dating citizens in various kinds of skills and introducing them to new knowledge and skills as this proves necessary. Even in the most wealthy societies of the European tradition where there is ten years or more of compulsory education this is proving elusive. Britain has recently mobilized the combined resources of the BBC, the national adult education Institute, local government authorities and many thousands of unpaid volunteers in an attempt to bring basic functional literacy to hundreds of thousands of functionally illiterate adults. Within the Asia and Pacific region a somewhat similar recognition and response is occurring in Australia.

Literacy may be expected to continue a central concern, probably the over-riding concern, of non-formal education in this region for both out-of-school youth and adults. In many countries of Asia in the past and even still today adult education is understood – however wrong this may be in theory — as no more nor less than literacy teaching. One advantage of adopting the term non-formal education in place of 'adult education'. apart from the fact that it spans the wider age range, could be that it is not confused with literacy teaching as has been 'adult education'. We should guard against any tendency to repeat the same mistake and come to use non-formal education also in this too restricted way.

Literacy has come to be regarded and described as a fundamental human right. Governments of Asia have made many fine statement of intention to eradicate illiteracy. Yet the increase in population has meant in many countries that although the percentage of illiterate people has dropped, and the absolute number of literates therefore risen dramatically, the absolute number of illiterate people has also continued to rise. Within these total figures are hidden further acute problems. Illiteracy may be very much higher among women than among men, among older than among younger adults, and among remote populations and ethnic and other minorities than among the dominant cultural and language groups of a country. Extension of literacy may indeed be hampered because national policies for integration require literacy instruction to be the national language rather than the language of the minority groups.

In recent years there has been some hesitant questioning, within the region and, beyond, as to whether literacy is after all so important. It has been suggested that the combination of continuing strong oral traditions in some cultures, with easy access to radio as a means of acquiring information from the outside world, is sufficient to provide communities with all the sources of knowledge and information which they need. Sometimes this is associated with a concern that literacy, like 'development', may be destructive of cultures and traditions, and that the end result, while it may contribute to national productivity or some cash product required by the world market, is to leave the communities thus educated exposed and exploited by outside interests and less rather than more happy or complete. Literacy is so highly regarded however that such questioning is received almost as sacrilege, and the different sides of the question are seldom rationally discussed. One reason why some observers in the Third World and also in the West have begun thus to question the value of literacy is that it has become something of a status symbol literacy rates are cited as evidence of the superiority of one country over another and used as a basis for shaming, or so as too mechanistic an indicator of 'progress'. Another reason is the artificiality of literacy rates themselves. Not only do they disguise great disparities within a country. They may also indicate nothing more than the capacity to write one's own name, not even to read simple information, much less to cope with the various demands for reading and writing made even on remote rural as well as on urban communities. Happily the governments and educationists of the Asia and Pacific region have shown a refreshing tendency not to be drawn into this game. Country reports to regional meetings on literacy tend if anything to lean in the other direction, emphasizing the grave continuing difficulties, and the hidden illiteracy even among the numbers of those declared officially to be literate.

There are then some definitional problems since effective or functional literacy is not a fixed commodity but something which varies with the circumstances of different societies, and which also changes within each changing society over time. The slightly iconoclastic questioning which has occurred in the region should be considered entirely healthy and desirable, if only to help clarify that literacy is and should remain a high priority. It seems unlikely that this questioning will lead to any very fundamental reassessment, since the capacity to write, and especially to read, has relevance for so many other development activities, individual and community as well as national.

A different reason for the questioning is the disappointment with many literacy programmes; not just the disappointment born of weariness as massive efforts still leave yet more massive tasks undone, but disappointment also because of the limited success of many literacy programmes among the beneficiaries themselves. Drop-out is often high, and motivation evidently low. Many of those who attain an apparently satisfactory level of literacy through non-formal education like many minimally literate school-leavers quickly lapse back into illiteracy.

Because of such experiences the region has seen a number of new emphases in the literacy programmes of recent years. There is much more attention paid to follow-up work with newly literate people, including attempts by one means or

another to get reading materials to neoliterates. Questions of training of literacy workers, research and evaluation receive much more serious attention, sometimes through different agencies, universities and research institutes, in the case of Iran in particular, through a strong multi-purpose literacy institution, the National Centre for Adult Education and Training, which is responsible for a host of infrastructural and support activities as well as for running the National Literacy Crusade. Most important, literacy is no longer seen in a vacuum, but in the context of development plans and programmes, and increasingly also in the context in which the non-literate farmer or village woman finds himself or herself. Some programmes still concentrate essentially on straight literacy teaching, the most distinctive and probably successful anywhere in the world being Burma's Literacy Campaign, introduced in 1966, which employs an intensive saturation approach using a voluntary mass movement on a region by region basis under the guidance of the Central Literacy Committee. Nowhere is literacy now taught thoughtlessly as an end in itself, without taking into account the situation, needs and motivations of the target groups concerned. As a result most literacy teaching is functionally oriented and the content or subject matter has relevance and importance for those studying, so that useful knowledge, attitudes or even skills are acquired at the same time as the capacity to read and write. Actual techniques vary according to national, social and political traditions - and according to the structure of the language but again there is a much higher level of awareness and sophistication than in some earlier programmes. The discussion method is treated as a key element, often as the core, in most countries, to take advantage of the mutual support as well as challenge that comes from group rather than isolated study. In several countries the conscientization approach of Paulo Freire is more or less consciously and deliberately adopted, usually with adaptation to local circumstances and language structure. Thus another objective, conscientization or mobilization, is added to that of acquiring literacy. Generally we may conclude that the days of narrow pursuit of literacy in isolation are dead.

For some more detailed consideration of non-formal education as currently applied to literacy teaching in the region we refer to two reports which survey problems and approaches in many countries of the region: the draft final report of a meeting of experts on research and training in literacy in New Delhi in late 1978, and the regional experts' meeting in Bangkok a year earlier which produced the 'continuing challenge' report. Among the recurrent themes which come through the pages of these reports is the complexity of the literacy challenge because of its interlocking with socio-economic and cultural factors and development objectives; the importance of government leadership and commitment — or 'political will'; and the evident up-grading of commitment and response, especially through non-formal education, to attempt by more radical means to leap ahead of what has proved to be a perpetual treadmill of a numerical increase in non-literates despite increasing efforts for literacy.

The New Delhi report emphasizes time and again 'that the concept of literacy is no longer confined to the learning of the 3R's. It also includes political, social, cultural and economic components. . .' And a little further on:

It is recognized that literacy programmes need to be integrally linked to socio-economic development. The multiplicity of actions of a neoliteracy kind, and the variety of personnel and agencies involved, make such programmes complex social and educational undertakings. . . a consistent feature recently is that close interlinks are being built between literacy and socio-economic development. In some countries, literacy, in fact, rides upon the motivations generated by designed social and economic reform. Literacy, in turn, contributes to further socio-economic reform.

Reviewing recent trends and developments, the report discovers, growing awareness. . .that illiteracy is recognized as a serious obstacle to the overall development efforts of the developing countries. Literacy is being provided a special place in the policies and programmes for socio-economic development. The principles of new economic development strategies that the common man should be a participant and beneficiary of. the development process would not be realized unless people who are now illiterate are made aware of and are able to participate fully in the development processes. . . Most countries in the region had treated literacy programmes as peripheral activities within the overall education system. . Recently literacy programmes have been expanded in their magnitude and dimensions, especially in the countries in the region where illiteracy is a continuing problem. In most countries of the region, literacy programmes have become, or are about to become, nation-wide programmes rather than pilot or experimental programmes. They have become programmes of national importance rather than peripheral activities.

The report highlights some of the implications of this changed state and status of literacy in various countries:

This growth and expansion of literacy programmes in the countries of the region presents clear indications of the problem in the training of literacy personnel. The problem now is not only to train hundreds, but hundreds of thousands of literacy instructors and other literacy personnel each year, to man the large scale literacy programmes. Although teachers from the school system might seem to be the obvious choice for this work, many countries have found them to be too rigid, academic or authoritarian to work effectively as non-formal literacy teachers or facilitators. Indeed, re-orienting of teachers and upgrading of their training and skills for work in the formal system is itself a problem of great magnitude for most countries. While non-formal education may make a significant contribution to this process it is less probable that in the short term school teachers, at least n some countries, can provide the

.army of literacy personnel required.

Apart from this quantitative expansion there is the need and quest for 'qualitative change of equally challenging proportions, namely, making the direct link between socio-economic development and literacy, such as in India, Bangladesh, and Viet Nam, having literacy riding on programmes for development.' Drastic changes of methodology of interaction between the 'instructor' or 'facilitator' and the learner are strongly emphasized by all countries. In addition to problem-solving techniques; peer and inter-learning; and learning to learn from a variety of resources, an increasing use of indigenous modes of communication has been advocated by all countries, ranging from direct 'mouth to ear' communication to folk art forms, such as puppetry and drama. Many of the principles for learning which underlie these trends would be applicable and attractive for formal school education also. It may be that with the greater emphasis and enhanced resource base for adult education both can be strengthened and also transferred where appropriate to the formal system.

The New Delhi report makes the observation that, unlike teacher training for the formal system, training of literacy personnel is mainly organized by the agencies implementing the programmes, which makes it easier to arrange functional and relevant rather than too abstract training.

Some universities and teacher training institutions still offer courses in adult education and in adult literacy, but the trend is towards the government agencies undertaking responsibilities for teaching their workers the importance of participation to effective non-formal literacy work, and the difficulties of operationalizing this.

There is common agreement among the adult education literacy educationists that one of the very important objectives of adult literacy programmes is to help the adult to acquire the necessary information and skills to improve their quality of life and to help them to solve their life problems. Adults take more interest in activities which affect them, if they are given opportunity to take part in decision-making about such activities. This principle of participation is one area in which all students of adult behaviour are unanimous. Success of any literacy programme depends upon how far the community leaders participate in the planning and organization of such programmes at local level. Similarly adult literacy classes become more successful if the adult learners are given opportunities to participate in the designing and implementation of teaching-learning activities for them. Community level participation is promoted in various ways in the countries of the region.

Burma and Iran, Laos and Viet Nam. In some countries local self-government bodies are helping this process.

It is not however easy to put agreed principles for participation into effect: 'How to make training participatory and experience-based in terms of organization of the training, selection of contents and trainer-trainee interface? How to conduct training on different areas through discussion, dialogue and problem-solving methods; and whether a discussion and dialogue method could be applied in teaching language skills, are some of the questions the training experts in each country may have to solve.'

This strong emphasis on participation appeared also among the conclusions of the expert group meeting in Bangkok the previous year. In their consideration of the conceptual base they concluded that:

> National policies reflect a deepening awareness of the need for literacy action to involve active participation of all the people. Indeed, in some countries people's participation is the cornerstone of literacy programmes. Literacy and adult education are conceived within the framework of national programmes which seek to bring about fundamental social changes. Such change will not be possible if the participatory processes in planning, curriculum development and production of the needed materials, training, evaluation and research are not ensured. . .

This brings home to us again the inescapable fact that non-formal education, even 'purely' literacy work, if it is to be successful, has an important political dimension and implications. This is most obvious when one considers the approach of Freire, but it should not be ignored in other approaches either.

The other side of this political dimension is also high-lighted in the New Delhi report, referring to political resolve:

> Strong commitment and political will on the part of the governments are necessary in order to support viable literacy programmes focused on the needs of rural areas and based on local participation. Commitment alone is thus not enough; it has to be reflected in concrete decisions and programmes. Well-intended policies, carefully drawn regulations and even generous resource allocations may all be in vain if political will is not present to provide the direction and dynamics required to transform the intention into results. Without it, development policies may result in mere tokenism rather than becoming instruments of national progress.

To this we might add that if government support is token, if there is not indeed commitment to 'fundamental social changes', non-formal literacy workers may find themselves in a very difficult position. Often if requires great sensitivity on the part of those responsible for implementig such programmes to know how literally and how far they may take political statements of this kind.

It is not possible here to elaborate all the technical questions about non-formal literacy work. Anyway this would be superfluous, since there are many excellent studies, guides and research reports, especially emanating from the International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods (IIALM) in Tehran. Our purpose here is merely to summarize key trends and highlights of recent experiences in the region. The most dramatic of these at the country level is the commitment and approach recently adopted by India through its National Adult Education Programme (NAEP), which well emphasizes the importance of 'political will'. The previous government in India itself made major commitments to adult education and literacy, but these were dwarfed by the scale of commitment represented by NAEP, which is intended to bring literacy to 100 million of India's 232 million adults within five years. We have noted in chapter five the multiplication in the budget allocation for non-formal education in India which this represents.

NAEP is part of an interlocking package: universalization of primary education; NAEP; and non-formal education. It is not in fact primarily a literacy drive 'but also a call for functional development and increase in social awareness', an illustration of the point made earlier in this chapter about the functional development-oriented approach of most Asian literacy programmes today. In addressing the New Delhi literacy meeting in 1978 the Indian Union Minister for Education laid stress on this, pointing out that content and relevance are crucial to motivation. For this reason 150 hours out of the 350 hours a year allocated for adult learning in the Programme was specifically committed to some subject of perceived utility — poultry-keeping, or bee-keeping for example — as distinct from literacy itself. The Minister made no bones about the challenges and problems posed by NAEP: apart from that of motivation there were the special needs of women, the problems of inter-departmental co-operation, of different languages, some of them unwritten, and of provision of inexpensive reading materials and follow-up work to ensure that neo-literates did not quickly lapse into illiteracy.

There can be no denying the political commitment to NAEP in India. The policy statement declares that the Government has resolved to wage 'a clearly conceived, well-planned and relentless struggle against illiteracy to enable the masses to play an active role in social and cultural change.' Whereas there has been a tendency to distinguish between literacy programmes with selective and mass approaches, NAEP seeks to be a mass programme with the quality of planning and implementation of a selective programme: 'in fact, in relating the programme to the needs of the learners, the NAEP is even more audacious than the conventional selective approach.' There is hope that if youth and students can be motivated to take part it will become a truly mass movement.

Another country of South Asia which has seen a recent change of government having direct implications for non-formal literacy education is Afghanistan. Here too, the previous government had made a major commitment to literacy, but a commitment of a different order has been made subsequently. The country report to a recent Unesco meeting by Afghanistan reiterated the high illiteracy rates of that country, as high as 90 per cent for urban women and men in rural areas, and 99 per cent for rural women, and emphasized how major an obstacle this presented to

development. The new government consequently set as one of its main goals 'complete eradication of illiteracy' using both formal and non-formal means. A mass education programme is being designed and implemented by the National Organization for the Campaign Against Illiteracy of the Ministry of Education: 'this plan aims to make 7-8 million men and women in the age group over 15 literate in the course of two five-year plans beginning from 1979-80.'

Although approaches vary, and the level of political and resource commitment varies as well, there are many commonalities within the diversity of the Asia and Pacific region. Laos and Viet Nam have made literacy part of the drive for political and social emancipation. Iran and Burma have each made quite massive, though very different kinds of, investments in literacy programmes, in accord with the traditional and political styles of those countries. Nepal lays stress on functionality in its approach to adult education, for example in the Lahachok pilot project which includes both literacy for unschooled children and functional education including literacy for adults. Thai observers of the approach in the Philippiness recently detected 'a clear shift from mere literacy as a goal of elementary education to the development of a child as a learner, as a citizen, as a worker, and as a person, which is exactly what is needed in education today.' Thailand, like the Philippines, is seeking to revise its school curriculum to make education more functional and more oriented to lifelong learning, as well as pursuing a number of different strategies and techniques for adult functional literacy. In these countries, where adult non-formal education is increasingly well-recognized and supported by government, there are signs that the philosophy and approach of adult education are beginning to contribute to the diversification and improvement of the formal system.

Rather than attempt to summarize the many different approaches being employed in different countries of the region, we refer interested readers to the 1978 Unesco report *Literacy in Asia: a continuing challenge.*, which contains up-to-date country reports from thirteen countries, including Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Papua New Guinea as well as those cited in the latter part of this chapter. In conclusion let us cite the findings of Rafe-uz-Zaman from his follow-up survey of retention of literacy from the Pakistani Community Viewing Centres project in Lahore and Rawalpindi Divisons two years later. He found that two years later, while almost all neo-literates derived some benefit from the course, only 50 per cent (writing) and 65 per cent (reading) were making active use of their new skills. Realistically, he observes, 'one cannot expect more . . . to become active users of their acquired new skills and concepts, at least until other socio-economic changes begin to take place' This awareness of the development context is among the most significant changes in the literacy strategies of the region, and one that marks off non-formal education most clearly from formal system approaches.

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