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ABSTRACT

Few assessments are critical of the purposes and goals of intergovernmental organizations as they seek to advance adult education for national development. This paper seeks to clarify connections among policy, planning, and evaluation, especially as associated with intergovernmental strategies for the development of adult education. In doing so, the author argues first that the advancement of adult education policy leads inevitably to "system," i.e., integration into public (government-mandated) educational systems. Secondly, manpower development is examined as an adult education planning strategy and found limited; in this regard, the "cultural" approach to planning is reviewed. Evaluation is then analyzed not as a process or tool but as an expression of the values underlying policy and planning. Accordingly, the focus of intergovernmental agency evaluations on cost statistics is criticized as an inadequate measure of the merit of adult educational programs. While intended as a review and critique of these intergovernmental strategies, this paper hopes to draw further attention to national issues in adult education and to foster consideration of the impact of international strategies on adult educational policy, planning, and evaluation. (Author/KC)

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION: A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

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SUMMARY

Few assessments are critical of the purposes and goals of inter-governmental organizations as they seek to advance adult education for national development.

This paper seeks to clarify connections among policy, planning and evaluation, especially as associated with inter-governmental strategies for the development of adult education. In doing so, the paper argues first that the advancement of adult education policy leads inevitably to "system," i.e. integration into public (government-mandated) education systems. Secondly, manpower development is examined as an adult education planning strategy and found limited; in this regard, the "cultural" approach to planning is reviewed. Evaluation is then analyzed not as a process or tool but as an expression of the values underlying policy and planning. Accordingly, the focus of inter-governmental agency evaluations on cost statistics is criticized as an inadequate measure of the merit of adult education programs.

While intended as a review and critique of the above-mentioned inter-governmental strategies, this paper hopes to draw fruther attention to national issues in adult education and to foster consideration of the impact of international strategies on adult education policy, planning and evaluation.

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION: A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

Few critical assessments of international adult education policies, planning and programmatic practices exist. An exception, to my knowledge, is the frank and open discussion of The Experimental World Literacy Programme endorsed by the EWLP sponsors: Unesco and the United Nations Development Programme (1). Otherwise, most critical comment has been in the form of attacks on the general lack of power and lugubrious modus operandi of internation organizations, attacks which often fail to recognize that the U.N. Agencies and other intergovernmental bodies are purposely limited in their powers by their Member States and this limitation in turn affects the procedural cautiousness, procrastination and ponderousness for which the organizations are known. Unesco, for instance, has been described as an elderly lady with multiple long skirts who will not be hurried. But this criticism of the inter-governmental organizations themselves is, in my view, misaimed and wrongheaded; it overlooks the present inevitability of the limitations of international organizations, since Member States want it that way.

More significant and less treated are the explicit and implicit purposes and goals of inter-governmental organizations as they relate to adult education as an aspect, of national development. A review of these purposes and goals seems apt because they reflect, I would argue, the major global perspectives on adult education and its role in national development. Ultimately, it is society's attitude toward

education which determines the way in which education's contribution to society is perceived, and often enough this perception is actualized through institutionalized expressions of a people's social philosophy. The efforts of international organizations to influence social attitudes as well as institutional developments toward education of adults, and the way in which these efforts are advanced, is this paper's general subject.

In reviewing international policies, planning and programmatic practices, I critique certain aspects of each and briefly indicate additional concerns and other options for the development of adult education. I argue that the inter-governmental organizations, despite occasional rhetoric to the contrary, are bent on institutionalizing adult education "systems" across the globe--a position which deserves considerable analysis and discussion for it implies significant and long-range consequences. These implications are not lessened by the fact that international organizations present nation states with specific options for the development of adult education systems.

Planning is the result of policy--explicit or implicit--and the determinant of program development and, by extension, the guidepost for programmatic practices, such as evaluation. Educational planning today reflects concerns with national development, especially economic priorities. Since I am speaking from the vantage point of an American whose national system is a Federal one with undulating debate over state's rights, a distinction between "national" and "nationwide" is in order. The latter terminology was originally used in the late 1960's by James Bryant Conant (2) to distinguish between Federal (national) and States-initiated (nation-wide) policy for education. The United

States remains one of the few federal systems in the world with a fundamentally decentralized system of education, a system which appeared to be moving toward greater centralization over the fifty-year period from 1930 to 1980, culminating in the inauguration of the U.S. Department of Education in 1980. With the election of President Reagan, this "trend" appears to be reversed. But the value of planning for educational development remains, especially as it purports to foster economic well-being.

The third facet of this paper's discussion highlights the circularity of the process of policy formulation, planning and program development, emphasizing that evaluation is always undertaken with a view to facilitating planning or policy formulation (or change). In recognizing the symbioses between evaluation and planning and between evaluation and policy formulation, the present paper underlines the impracticality of over-valuing short-term, economic indicators of program success in an area of social concern, such as adult education, where success ultimately depends on long-range outcomes and impact.

The paper concludes its review and analysis by emphasizing the options that exist internationally for formulating policies for adult education, for designing plans that approach adult education as a "cultural" as well as economic factor in national development, and for evaluating adult-education programs in ways that take congnizance of, but don't overvaluate, short-term cost statistics.

In this paper, I seek to clarify connections among policy, planning and evaluation at the international level. More ambitiously, perhaps, I hope to add to, and possibly lift, discussion about the concepts and practices currently dominant at the international level

regarding adult education for national development. One of my intentions is to underline the significance of international activities with respect to adult education and their meaning for adult education policy development, program planning and evaluative research at national levels. I hope that some of the critique in this paper will fortify the convictions of those who question some of the present developments in adult education and seek to widen discussion about national directions with regard to adult educational policy, program, planning and evaluative practices.

DEVELOPMENT BY POLICY

In the preceding introduction I suggest that three international strategies aimed at developing adult education deserve attention. The first and foremost is the advancement of policies for adult education.

Numerous declarations and documents at the international level recommend the development of national policies to enhance education for adults. The 1960, Second International Conference of Adult Education (Montreal) concluded its sessions with a Declaration on Adult Education calling on all governments to "...treat adult education as a necessary part of the educational provision of every country (3).

Since the Montreal Conference there has been another the Third International Conference of Adult Education (Tokyo, 1972) and a Fourth in the offing, planned for 1984. Unesco has published voluminously on adult education, advocating policy development. In 1976, the General Conference of Unesco approved at its 19th Session held in Nairobi,

Kenya, an international Recommendation for the Development of Adult Education (4), to which I will return shortly.

Other international organizations have been equally active fostering similar strategies in favor of national planning and budgeting for adult education. The Education Committee of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has advocated the development of Recurrent Education systems. In 1975, the Committee issued a document titled: Framework for Comprehensive Policies for Adult Education (5). This document argues that: "In order to ensure an equitable distribution of nontraditional learning opportunities, a rational and egalitarian development plan, centrally conceived but not necessarily centrally controlled, would seem to be called for" (6).

The above-cited OECD Education Committee document posits four main approaches to policy. The first is a laisser-faire approach with no decisive public intervention, letting adult education come about "in a spontaneous and sporadic fashion without reference to any explicitly public intervention" (7). Following on the non-intervention approach is that which aims to strengthen and coordinate existing activities from the viewpoint of adult educational issues, but not conceive of them as active instruments in public policy for socio-economic development. Public intervention therefore would not be related to national development plans, but limited to specific educational issues. The third approach is to strengthen and coordinate existing activities while simultaneously pursuing a positive policy of support for certain adult education programs judged to be of national priority. Such an approach see policy intervention as aimed at selected national goals.

The fourth approach espouses public intervention through comprehensive governmental policy. This last approach would create "a comprehensive service of adult education as an integral element of a broadly conceived educational system and relate its functions to the social, economic and cultural objectives of the nation" (8).

The last of the posited approaches specifically refers to a "system" integrating adult education activities. The connection between broadly conceived policies for adult education and an adult education system is again underlined in another international instrument, The Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education mentioned earlier. The Recommendation calls on each nation "to recognize adult education as a necessary and specific component of its education system and as a permanent element in its social, cultural and economic development policy" (9).

The connection between policies and system is inevitable. As one specialist in the foundations of education puts it: "Educational policy is always policy for the educational system" (10).

Educational policy is always policy for the educational system. It is important to state this proposition as a starting point, in part to undermine the rhetoric that generally accompanies calls for "system" with assurances of the adult's freedom to avoid, engage in or withdraw from educational experiences as desired. Already, however, the imposition of education on certain adults, such as professionals, is an accepted social norm in some countries. Mandatory continuing adult education becomes a cause for some in a field in which the key word to date has been "voluntary". Along with the recognition that adults can learn, and the assumption that adults want to learn, the notion that

adults should learn "for their own good" is entering contemporary social philosophy.

Whatever the ultimate nature of adult education will be, whether its penchant be positivistic, humanistic or some other perspective on development, the most likely truth is that it will become part of a bigger, if not better, education system. The point here is not to take sides as to whether or not major policies should be developed by nations, nor whether or not adult education activities should be comprehensively systematized by way of these policies, but rather that the ultimate outcome of policy is system. The question remains whether or not one is for it or against it. The strategy of international organizations in this regard deserves full attention and further debate.

In Predicting the Behavior of the Educational System (1980) Thomas F. Green considers and analyzes the educational system as a system, whose importance in the modern world he sees as that of "a kind of social organization, a presence, a new reality that has emerged only in our own century and virtually without notice" (11). This newly developed presence and reality in modern societies is fast integrating and indeed in some nations has already integrated segments to the educational system, especially "continuing" and "recurrent" education systems. In 1981, the Ontario Ministry of Education published a revelatory document entitled Continuing Education: The Third System which states:

> "Education in Ontario is delivered through three systems. The first system includes the elementary and secondary schools. The second system encompasses the post-secondary institutions. These two systems form the part of the educational process that occurs before

> a learner first ceases to be a full-time student (i.e., leaves to go to work or elsewhere). Continuing education forms the third system of education. It includes educational resources and agencies through which adults obtain learning opportunities throughout their lifetimes after their initial schooling is terminated. While continuing education has become a significant part of the two traditional systems of education, it also includes an enormous range of learning activities outside of the traditional institutions (12).

In 1982, a new journal appeared out of England titled International Journal of Lifelong Education. One author, Charles Boyle, in reflecting on the possible developments in the educational system and on the future prospects in particular of recurrent education in the UK, notes the "embryonic elements of a comprehensive, co-ordinated, but flexible recurrent education system (13). The suggestion is that deep social, political and economic crises may well change the situation in the U.K. to such an extent that the embryonic elements of what is presently seen as "continuing education" may well become the basis for a "recurrent education" system where the periods of early education and of retirement would be shortened and time spent on education would be distributed over the life span in different ways. The Boyle article highlights the present debate in Western Europe between advocates of "continuing" (associated with 'positivistic' outlooks) education and those for "recurrent" (attached more to 'humanistic' approaches) education (14).

In the United States--between 1976 and 1980--it looked as though the possibility of a comprehensive, co-ordinated but flexible system of adult education was imminent. In analyzing the major approaches and stances toward a federal policy for adult education, I maintained that

"despite the current trend (in the U.S.) against federal involvement in education adult educators may yet face the task of negotiating the development of a comprehensive federal policy for the education of adults" (15).

In a report dated 1979, the former U.S. National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education commented as follows on the American continuing-education "delivery system".

> This delivery system is not new. However misunderstood, it is as old, if not older, than the educational system currently used for full-time students. At different times and places, it has been called many things: extension service, schools of adult education, weekend or evening colleges, or summer sessions.
>
> In addition to providing classroom instruction this delivery system is characteristically adept at using conferences, workshops, special institutes, media and technology, and other innovative and experimental modes which will transport the benefits of learning to wherever and whenever learning is needed. More recently, it has begun to offer specially designed long-term programs leading to associate baccalaureate degrees, and even, in some instances, to doctoral degrees (16).

Thus, we see across the globe, certainly in the industrialized nations, a developing third system, and it is often imitative of the other parts of the education system as may be inferred from the last sentence of the NAECE report.

Continuing, Recurrent or Lifelong Education?

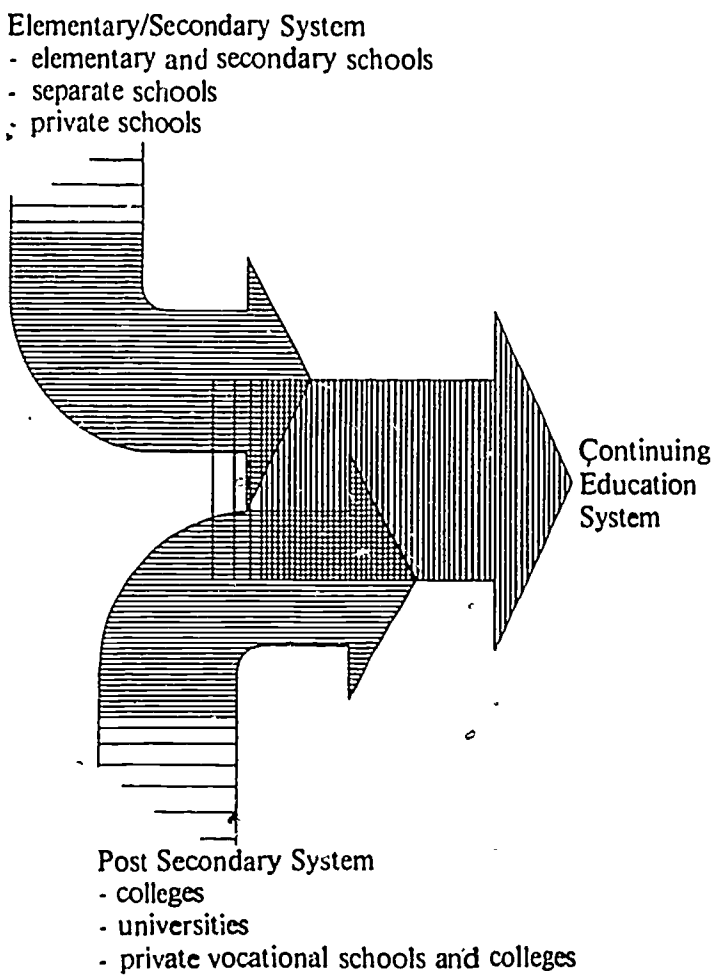
In 1973 a Deputy Secretary in the U.K.'s Department of Education and Science (DES) stated: "We find the concept of recurrent education...more confusing than clarifying (17).

In 1976, advocates of the since rescinded "Lifelong Learning Act" (Title I, of the HEA) were known by staffers on the Capitol Hill as "fuzzies," because the term lifelong learning appeared too vague, or so comprehensive as to be without meaning.

The three terms --lifelong, continuing and recurrent--deserve further definition. As the purpose of this paper is not to engage in debate about what system is preferable--recurrent, continuing or lifelong education, or whether any system is preferable, I restrict myself to descriptive rather than programmatic definitions.

Continuing education refers to educational opportunity for adults who seek to further their education either within or beyond the public school system; See Figure 1.

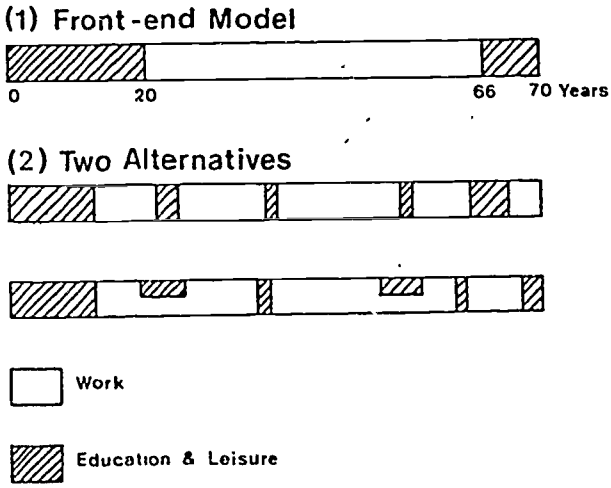
Figure 1: The Three Systems of Education



Reference: Canada, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Colleges and Universities; Continuing Education: The Third System; Ottawa, Ontario: 1981, p. 4.

Recurrent and lifelong education as terms are broader and more "revolutionary" in scope (18). Recurrent education eschews the so-called "front-end model" of education which concentrates education in the first period of people's lives, from birth up to the statutory school-leaving age. It adopts alternative models which seek to shorten the periods of early education and of retirement while distributing this time at intervals over the life span, i.e. "recurrently" throughout life (19); see Figure 2.

Figure 2.



Reference: Boyle, Charles, "Reflections on Recurrent Education" in International Journal of Lifelong Education, 1:1, 1982, p. 8.

Lifelong education is described in the Unesco 1972 Learning to Be report as "the master concept for educational policies" (20). This concept includes twenty-one principles which seek to cover the full spectrum of progressive educational thought and practice. One interpreter of lifelong education stresses the connection between learning and human development, emphasizing the scope and inclusiveness of the concept.

> Lifelong education is a comprehensive concept which includes formal, non-formal and informal learning extended through the life-span of an individual to attain the fullest possible development in personal, social and professional life. It seeks to view education in its totality and includes learning that occurs in the home, school, community and workplace, and through mass media and other situations and structures for acquiring and enhancing enlightenment" (21).

Unlike the concepts of "continuing" and "recurrent" education, the intention of the lifelong education concept is to cover all aspects, levels, places, philosophies. Many of the criticisms and proposals of the 'deschooling' movement have found a place, "yet schooling itself is retained," explains UCLA professor Rodney Skager (22). The Faure report would agree, "there is a place for both pragmaticists and humanists, as well as for all aspects of educational technology" (23) in lifelong education.

Even though the concept may emphasize "criteria relating to human development," as Skager maintains, the implications of implementing lifelong education cannot but be a lifelong-education system. Syracuse professor Thomas F. Green and associates in a report prepared for the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Task-Force on Lifelong Learning, state:

> We believe that if the Federal Government supports a large-scale expansion of lifelong learning opportunities, then what is likely to emerge is something that can be described as a lifelong learning system. By this we mean simply that in a large-scale federally supported expansion of lifelong learning opportunities, those opportunities will become structured into a system, and that system, moreover, will contain most of the elements already present in the existing educational system, including those features that the advocates of lifelong learning find most objectionable in the existing system of formal education (24).

In addition, the point is made that:

> In general, we feel that any effort to produce a large-scale expansion of lifelong learning, though beginning in an effort to provide alternatives to existing arrangements, will end simply by creating an expansion of existing arrangements. Either this will happen or the scope and size of the lifelong learning enterprise will remain small and will require no substantial Federal role at all (25).

The authors conclude their introductory overview with the comment:

> We think, however, that even if a "lifelong learning system" accomplishes nothing more than an expansion of existing arrangements, still, such as effort may have positive reforming effects upon the existing educational system (26).

The Federal government's administrative turnover in 1980 made the likelihood of further Federal involvement in structuring through policy and financing a lifelong learning system virtually an impossibility, at least for the early 1980's.

The Green report also draws attention to an American and English-speaking anomaly with regard to the Unesco-developed concept of lifelong education, that we say "lifelong learning," a phase meant to suggest the absence of system and the presence of the learner as final authority in the educational transaction. Nevertheless, the original concept of "lifelong education" indeed suggests the development of a

system which would indeed, as Skager notes, organize education horizontally and vertically albeit with aims of promoting self-direction and equality of opportunity. Beyond that, it is difficult to say exactly what lifelong education or lifelong learning mean. The concepts have been purposely kept broad and inclusive, especially at the international level so as to incorporate all national political and social systems. Whatever principles international organizations incorporate, they must be flexible enough to be interpretable in terms of the needs of virtually any society.

With the latter thought in mind, it becomes even clearer that the concept of lifelong education aims at the development of systems, whatever their different purposes and forms.

The question of integrating adult education into a system of adult education is not new. Even in the United States, the idea has been around ever since the professional origins of the field. In 1935, Alexander Meiklejohn wrote:

> Our national program of education must be radically transformed and extended...Such a program would, of course, mean lifelong education for everyone (27).

Going further back, in 1932 William Kilpatrick declared:

> We must inaugurate an epoch-making system of adult education...Adulthood is two-thirds of life, surely it is worth at least half of our educational efforts (28).

Today, it appears that societies are faced with developing, or the imminent development of, "epoch-making system(s) of adult education." The question appears to be what sort of system is to be developed, not whether or not a system is desirable. The very tenets on which adult education was originally based--voluntary participation, informality,

non-formal education, self-direction--are already being severely tested.

The development of international instrumentalities and other persuasions aimed at encouraging countries to establish policies in favor of adult education deserves attention because the implication is that national, or (in the case of decentralized governments such as the United States) nationwide, policies for furthering education of adults are desirable. Are they?

Is further systematization of adult (continuing) education desirable. Is a more pervasive public (governmental) adult education system inevitable? If not, then what should be done? If so, then what sort of system is most desirable?--Continuing, Recurrent, Lifelong, some combination, or yet another, differently conceptualized system? International strategies promoting policy and systematization for education of adults and the concurrent national trends by industrialized, industrializing and underdeveloped nations in the direction of formulating policies for adult education, force consideration of questions about educational policy, the education system and the increasing systematization of adult education.

DEVELOPMENT BY PLANNING

The second major strategy which intergovernmental agencies employ for the development of adult education is planning. Educational planning experienced "astonishing rapid development" (29) following WW II and during the 1950's and 1960's and continues to expand among

governments seeking to approach the problem of national growth with rational and but not necessarily realizable plans.

Educational planning is generally considered as a continuous government responsibility. Planning, according to Norwegian Director Eide of the Secretariate for the Planning of Education and Research in the Ministry of Education in Oslo, aims at:

a) rapid adaptation of government policies to changing conditions,

b) greater coherence in the formulation of government policies, and

c) increased use of research as an aid in developing rational government policies (30).

Eide hypothesizes that the above three aims are related to trends in modern societies, and these trends emphasize the need for a more rapid adaption of government policies to changing conditions, the demand for greater coherence in the formulation of government policies, and increased use of applied research. But the trends of one country or even set of countries are not necessarily those of all countries. In the United States, for example, emphasis on educational planning is increasing. Some of the fifty states separately and through mutual projects for educational development--such as the Lifelong Learning Project of the Education Commission of the States (ECS), are actively working to develop policy, planning and evaluation for adult education.

Eide makes a point which is of particular interest to this paper: the effort being made by intergovernmental agencies to develop educational planning practices with regard both to policy adjustments

and greater policy coherence. The symbiosis between policy and planning is made evident.

Given this symbiosis, the scope and goals of educational planning as related to policy take on an even closer significance. Closer since the process of educational planning is a preparing of a set of decisions for future action, and these decisions are an outgrowth and reflection of policy as well as an interpretation and determinant of policy. In short, the separation of planning from policy through specialized treatments in the literature is useful for purposes of understanding the different processes of planning and policy formulation (and change), but ignores the necessary interdependence between them. Educational plans like bacteria that live in the gut of herbivorous mammals, aid in the digesting of matter bitten off by policy. At the same time, planning gives direction to policy's appetite through "feedback", pardon the pun.

The scope of educational planning is fixed by the framework within which it is defined. For example, educational planning may be treated as an adjunct or subhead of general economic planning. Or, it may be considered as a function of the aims and operations of education, in which case economic elements are only one aspect of a function which is manifold and complex.

The framework of definition of education is also crucial. Either education is considered one of the major components in national development or it is relegated to a one-function purpose aimed at economic growth. If education is considered in and of itself a major component, or strategy, of national development, then <u>people</u> are of issue, not "units" or "human resources" in productive activity. In the

latter case, primary emphasis is on capital concerns, even though professional and self development do take place in vocational training and occupational education as it does with human resources development programs. But certainly in democratic societies, political concerns must be also for the perpetuation of people involvement in politics and policy determination by the people--not just for the people by government. Political development is an important aspect of any true democracy for it promotes knowledge through teaching about the workings and issues of politics, the policymaking process and how to influence it, and the purpose and implications of current policy. Teaching adults how a democratic government works and the actions it requires, the considerations it imposes as responsibilities on the shoulders of adults, it would seem fundamental. Indeed, in the U.S. the Cooperative Extension Service has encouraged and continues to pursue programs that engage communities in discussions of local, state and federal issues of concern to them. Education for immigrants teaches the basics of citizenship along with literacy skills. Literacy is considered so important that large corporations take on the task themselves often enough.

To broaden the spectrum of education planning is to confront the word "culture". Culture is too often considered as the "aesthetics" of practical reality. It is often undervalued, and seldom considered in the hard-headed economic plans where education becomes a single-pronged fork because the other prongs have been bent back toward the handle. Aesthetics are practical, however, as using only one-prong of a fork is not. Aesthestics is practical in the same way an attractively kept and displayed house and garden are worth more to the eye than a similar

environment that hasn't been kept up, uncared for. Education, with its many prongs, has more uses than that one of economics.

National development is a wider and more complex term than economics, and education may serve national development in many more ways than in preparing people through training, education, and information transfer to work, or work better.

The Manpower Vs. The Cultural Approach

The manpower approach to educational planning starts off with the proposition that manpower production is the most important function of an educational system, that it is essential to estimate future manpower requirements systematically, and that forecasts of manpower needs are useful guides to educational development.

Detailed manpower planning, however, is only one (albeit important) approach to educational planning. One economist (31) distinguishes differing approaches to the assessment of education needs, into five major categories: 1) social demand, 2) returns to education (i.e. "rates of return"), 3) econometric models, 4) manpower requirements, and 5) "cultural" requirements. While it is not the point of this paper to elaborate on all approaches, it is perhaps sufficient to say that each of them assumes and suggests differing criteria and therefore different methods for planning.

The cultural approach in particular suggests values quite different from that of manpower planning. While acknowledging, and including, the need for knowledge and skills to man productive processes in society, it embraces larger considerations, e.g., democratic society's need for political development to ensure for an

enlightened citizenry, the importance of historical awareness, international understanding, social meaning, self development.

While it is conceivable that, in a thorough-going plan, all approaches to educational planning may be utilized to a greater or lesser extent, during the past two decades the manpower approach has dominated (with some competition from the "rates of return" approach in the United States). Few planners, if any, have seriously considered an integrated "cultural approach," although in 1960 the OECD in its Mediterranean Regional Project assisted the governments of Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia, attempting a broad-based planning operation (32). Attention was given, in varying degrees, both to manpower and broader cultural objectives, and to quantitative and qualitative factors in formulating recommendations for expanding and improving the educational system. Nevertheless, emphasis remained with manpower concerns (33).

In contrasting the manpower with the cultural approach as a planning device, economist Parnes argues:

> In the manpower approach, one postulates a given rate and character of economic growth and asks what investment in education is necessary to achieve that growth objective. The cultural approach, on the other hand, stresses education as a social "investment" to which returns cannot be calculated in money terms--an investment in values that are either indispensable or highly desirable to the society, e.g. an informed citizenry, equality of opportunity, etc.
>
> It follows, therefore, that short of educating everyone up to his capabilities...,there is no way of specifying educational needs in any absolute sense. Society needs as much education as it is able and willing to pay for. The decision is inexorably a political one, and the best the planners can do is to indicate the cost implications of alternative policy choices.... (34).

Parnes then adds a consideration which has certain implications for education specialists; he says:

> It may be that these comments overstate the differences in the extent to which manpower and cultural objectives can yield unique estimates of educational needs. It may be, for example, that the amount and type of education necessary to produce a "qualified" citizen is just as ascertainable as the amount and type of education necessary to produce a qualified engineer. But if this is so, there is certainly not the same consensus in the former case as in the latter. In any event, I confess that I am unable to conceive a set of operations in the cultural approach analagous to those that have been set forth above for the manpower approach (35).

It is no surprise then that educational programs have come to emphasize qualified engineers over qualifed citizens since benefits from the latter are less ascertainable in economic, quantifiable terms.

The Impracticality of Strict Utilitarian Goals

There are a number of arguments against planning strict utilitarian goals for adult education. These arguments focus on the impracticality of such goals--for learners, for education and for society.

Before presenting these arguments, let me underline that the point of these arguments is not to throw the fat manpower-development baby out with the less than perfectly clean economic bathwater, but to bring a sense of balance to the planning modality and encourage the construction of more inclusive models, models which recognize the political, historical, communal, i.e. the cultural, dimensions of a people. This sense of balance will only occur, however, when planners

are encouraged to integrate cultural concerns systematically into educational plans for development.

Impracticality for Learners. The impracticality of developing strictly, or solely, manpower-development educational plans is the consequent emphasis on "single sets" of learning. In short, such plans tend to provide learners with training in one skill, which may or may not be a ticket to employment on completion of the training.

It is difficult, as centralist planners are learning, to predict the need for manpower development--especially for countries that have not yet reached that stage of economic growth that W. W. Rostow calls "take-off" (36). Historically, among the nations now industrially modern, there was little or no involvement in the enculturation process, at least from their national levels. While this non-involvement may not be possible in today's world where education has become a powerful thirst among nations eager for development, nevertheless the historical past of modern industrial nations may serve for some enlightment. Perhaps, education and training are not major levers for economic development, though they may prepare the way for "take-off" given "political will" and the right economic investments.

Impracticality for Education. Governments cannot ignore adult education today. They cannot ignore the need for training adults to new or necessary skills. However, if people are only trained for "functional" tasks and not educated with regard to the origins and processes of knowledge, then education becomes more than ever an elitist acquisition.

Education is perhaps best defined as a process directed toward "the cultivation of the person as a critical, reflective agent, aware

and capable of exercising intelligent freedom of choice..." (37) "Why," asks sociologist Stanley, is this cultivation conception of education beset with complexity and frustration when it enters the arena of public policy discussion?" Because, "people often speak of education when they mean activities that should rather be called socialization, training, indoctrination, or schooling" (38). Also, "people often speak of educational ends when they mean what should be called educational functions and educational utilities" (39).

These concepts (socialization, training, indoctrination, and schooling) when compared with education, as well as the questions of educational functions and utilities when discussing educational ends, create more than complexity and frustration. They actually cause major conflicts which might be reasonably resolved through careful definition, rather than in irrational issue-taking for the wrong reasons.

Manpower-development and its realization via training for functionality (as educational ends) doom education to failure. It is not that the ends prescribed are wrong or right, but that they cannot take the place of providing discourse which leads to critical, reflective, thought and action. They cannot produce responsible citizens (perhaps merely compliant ones). An education system, certainly a public (governmentally mandated) one, is not, and cannot take the place of, for instance, a factory's training system. Indeed, it might be wise for governments to consider business and industry as the nation's "trainers" and mandate that task to them while seeking to provide education through other institutional vehicles.

Impracticality for Society. Corporations, including international corporations, at present employing people in both industrially developed and less economically developed countries are known to be concerned primarily with profit; indeed profit is the main motive for corporate activities: to maximize earnings and minimize losses. As is well known, corporations--whether in the more, or less, developed countries--are concerned that regimes remain stable and maximum profits can be acquired from association with the country, for instance because of trained labor or low labor costs. In the c : where labor costs become "too high," then corporations show little commitment to remaining for, say, social reasons. National governments therefore take a risk in training their citizens to work at one trade or in one industry: unless that trade or industry is going to be guaranteed or subsidized by the government, which would defeat the capital making purposes associated with manpower development planning.

Aside from the uncertainly of corporate commitment to nation states, the philosophy of utility itself deserves scrutiny. Indeed, the whole argument by utility may be one of the most strategic errors that the planning movement is currently making. Granted that a systematic approach to education is needed, but must it be elitist and utilitarian? May it not be participatory in process and cultural in orientation, that is, aimed at developing social involvement, self-direction and potential within the framework of existing resources?

Moreover, the question of any nation's control of international corporations has yet to be put to the full test. My suspicion is that

international corporations will be difficult, if not impossible, to control nationally in the years ahead.

The question of the scope and goals of educational planning invites a number of considerations, that of development planning itself but not least, of the ultimate purposes of the nation state.

Summary

Planning is value-laden and harbors conflicting definitions, purposes and criteria. Different approaches exist as a consequence of differing perspectives of education, of what should be sought and analyzed within and as a result of educational programs. This multi-dimensional nature of planning renders the subject complex. The one thing that seems to be agreed upon is the need for planning.

It bears repeating that economics is only one set of goals in educational planning. Economist W. Arthur Lewis, puts it this way:

> (T)he economist...can calculate the likely number of jobs. He can point out that a surplus of educated persons can only be a temporary phenomenon...He can stress that a wide educational base is needed to find the best brains, which may make the crucial difference. He may welcome the fact that education raises aspirations, because low aspirations are one of the causes of low achievement. He can add that any kind of education must have some productivity, since it stretches the mind; but he cannot demonstrate that the marginal product of expenditure on education is bound to exceed that of other investments (40).

Lewis concludes his reasoning as follows:

> Finally, (the economist) can remind the Government that education does not have to be productive in order to justify itself; it is valuable for its own sake...In the end, each Government must set its own pace, having regard to how much store its people set by having greater opportunities for education, and how much increase in taxation they are willing to face for the purpose (41). (Italics mine)

Important though the role of economics may be for the individual and society, there are cultural considerations--equality, access to information, historical awareness, etc.--that form part of any integrated adult educational effort. To subsume these concerns or relegate them to an inferior level of concern is drastically to curtail the meaning and purposes of education in its fullest sense. Providing people with the knowledge and skills necessary to man the productive processes of the economy represents one dimension of a society's need for education. Another is political, to assure the level of enlightenment required for effective and responsible citizenship. Still another is the historical dimension: to promote an understanding of one's roots in history and where one sits on the branch of contemporary development. International understanding is yet another consideration, as is the psychological and sociological dimension, as is the need for general self development within modern society.

DEVELOPMENT BY EVALUATION

The third major strategy by which international agencies seek to develop adult education is through evaluation, to ascertain a program's worth, or plan for its improvement and possible expansion.

Evaluation, like planning, is a process as well as a tool; it is a process unlike those of policymaking and planning although its functions are symbiotic with both planning and policy. Evaluation serves for policy formulation or for planning--whether in national educational planning or specific educational program plans. Its process generally involves a judgement based on a study of any one, or

any combinations, of the following: a) comparison of performance against some standard, b) effectiveness by way of impact, and c) efficiency through cost analysis and comparison with other programs. As its process is manifold, its value as a tool is fixed by the framework within which it is cast.

Intergovernmental agencies, (as well as those of national governments), are concerned about accountability of adult education programs, specifically their economic benefits. It isn't program activities, participation figures or modern practices that are at issue per se, but economic benefits through earnings or savings. Accordingly, much emphasis in evaluations is placed on the program's economic impact, and also on its cost.

By way of illustrating intergovernmental ideas about the purpose, role and practice of adult education program evaluations, I choose an outstanding and one of the largest international adult education programs to date, one in which cross-cultural evaluation was undertaken over ten years (although left unanalyzed on a continuing basis) in eleven participating countries: The Experimental World Literacy Program.

The Experimental World Literacy Program

Since the 1960's governmental and intergovernmental organizations have launched intensive educational planning efforts and expanded their policies for program activities in various fields. In the 1970's and early 1980's intergovernmental agencies further acted to build large-scale strategic evaluative research into program operations.

By 1979, the International Development Research Center (IDRC), in Ottawa, Canada, would designate the EWLP as "a first in research and

evaluation" but added that "even the cumulative efforts of the EWLP have not created the base for major decisions about literacy" (42). However, before the EWLP, literacy had been primarily a sphere of action rather than analysis.

The EWLP enlightened observers and planners and did create the base for major understandings about literacy, some of which are contained in the IDRC review. It became apparent that the major factors in the achievement of literacy are:

1) the principle of national commitment.
2) the principle of popular participation.
3) the principle of coordination (43).

It appeared that the achievement of literacy should be a stated and supported policy linked to the economic, social and political goals of a country. The value and objectives of a national literacy program should be viewed by the target group as being relevant and useful to them and their community. And the administrative tasks in implementing a national policy should involve various ministries, institutions, industrial enterprises, trade unions, government organizations, and individuals (44, 45).

The EWLP program concept is that of "functionality" as an aspect of manpower development and socio-economic advancement. The Evaluation of Literacy Programmes: a Practical Guide (1979), proposes some 29 basic evaluation indicators for use in literacy projects, categorized under the following seven headings:

1) turnover in programs
2) acquired skills
3) economic change
4) attitudes toward education
5) vocational/occupational skills
6) use of mass communication skills
7) health, hygiene and safety (46).

The largest number of indicators fall under heading 3) above: indicators of economic change, reflecting the stress on productivity and the planning goals of manpower development, both of which are clearly stated in the central hypothesis of the program, to wit:

> In favorable and well-ordered socio-economic conditions, a training process focussed on development objectives and problems provides the individuals concerned with the intellectual and technical means for becoming more effective agents in the process of socio-economic development (47).

The above central hypothesis, is a condensed statement of the functional, work-related nature of the EWLP and clarifies why one-third of its evaluation indicators focus on such components as:

> --growth of output per inhabitant
> --product quality
> --sale prices
> --unit costs of production
> --changes in volume of durable goods
> --changes in net global monetary income
> --additions to equipment for production, maintenance and transport
> --changes in socio-economic attitudes and in the concept of the role of individuals in society (48).

Concerned to measure the efficacy of program methods, monitor the program internationally and justify expenditures, the EWLP evaluation operates within the framework of productivity and socio-economic change.

Evaluation's Planning Connection

The significance of evaluation's symbiosis with planning is clearly rendered when considering the criteria used for ascertaining the education "needs" of society. How these criteria are translated into specific recommendations for the level and structure of expenditure on an educational system is key.

Evaluation's Policy Connection

Educational evaluation exists in theory and increasingly in practice to facilitate decision-making or policy formulation. While education research is often conducted to contribute to general knowledge rather than any particular policy or decision making, in contrast evaluation is always guided by concern for how the information is ultimately to be used and for what purpose it is to be used. Since evaluation involves deliberate expenditure of time and resources that might otherwise go directly into the teaching and learning process, some infer that it must have a strongly utilitarian orientation (49). More importantly, though, is the question: What will be considered of greatest utilitarian value when undertaking evaluation?

With respect to UNESCO's EWLP, evaluation is seen to have two fixed points:

> a point of departure determined by the initial social, economic and cultural situation of the prospective participants in their natural milieu; and a point of completion, i.e. the ultimate situation as conceived and desired by the authorities responsible for deciding on literacy action (50).

Thus, evaluation is both the result of policy concerns and the object of its action. As with educational planning, evaluation is both a separable and an interdependent part of the policymaking process; it often serves to change policy and, like planning, comprises an irritant function aiming at changes in programs and systems (51). The intimate relationship, even circularity of policy and evaluation, is highly significant. As mentioned earlier, educational policy is always policy for the education system and, as noted from the UNESCO Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education, adult education is conceived of

as a significant component of that system. Accordingly, the goals of international adult-education interventions and the ways in which these are evaluated are indicative of future adult-education development.

Reviewing of Cost Statistics

Cost statistics are inadequate for judging the worth of adult literacy I would argue, and for that matter of any educational endeavor. For support I draw from the Smyth Cost-Effectiveness Report on the Work-Oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project in Iran (52), an EWLP project.

Smyth arrives at enlightening conclusions regarding questions of cost-effectiveness. With respect to the long-term versus short-term significance and impact of adult literacy, he writes:

> Grounds for concluding that the (EWLP) project was an economic failure (or success) simply do not exist, and probably cannot be established empirically anyway. The most that can be concluded is whether the project's authorities followed correct principles (53).

Cost statistics are not enough (54). Indeed, Smyth's argument gives pause about cost-effectiveness evaluation in education generally and renews the perennial consideration of equity and efficiency as often conflicting goals with respect to education.

In his report, Smyth takes sides against the notion of integrating literacy with other development activities. He argues that:

> ...of course, integration can be attained by restricting programmes to places of work, given on-the-job, with incentive and sanctions to encourage attendance, but that rather ignores the great mass of illiterate peasants and workers, men and women, who do not earn a living in factories or large workshops. And anyway, properly 'integrating' a project with other developmental activity is no assurance of greater economic benefit (55).

Then he makes this point:

> From a purely economic standpoint, it is not a prior significant whether a programme is general or specific; what matters is that the rate of return on investment in it should be high enough, which may or may not depend on the degree of generality or specificity. And simply because a program is given on-the-job, properly 'integrated' to the work situation, is no reason at all fur supposing that it is more economically successful than a general programme given in the evening in a rural primary school to a mixed bag of peasants and children (56).

Smyth's comments raise a number of conundrums. One is the question just mentioned, that of equity vs. efficiency. Some claim that equity is a goal and efficiency is a rationality concept. Educational researchers C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman maintain that efficiency is a rationality concept that implies getting the most out of the least, whatever the nature of the rewards or ends may be (57). It would appear, however, that efficiency can be, and is, also a goal. Again, the question arises (inevitably) of the evaluation criteria to be used. Will individuals be selected for further schooling based on how much additional learning can be predicated for one versus the another person? Will priority be given to groups or localities where given educational efforts will evoke the largest response in attendance and in demand for further schooling? Or, should investment in education for adults be made where the expected ratio of gains in economic output to costs are highest? These differing criteria posed at length by Anderson and Bowman in 1964 are still pertinent (58), and Smyth's conclusions suggest that efficiency arguments should not be considered except insofar as they refer to the efficiency of administration and management.

Another major issue raised by Smyth's comments relates to educational planning and the objectives on which evaluations will be based. Program expenditures, while a significant aspect of evaluations, need to be considered within the larger framework of long-term educational goals and their payoffs. It is noteworthy that current Adult Basic Education rates-of-return studies (59) indicate significant economic gains for participants over their lifetimes, and therefore for society, seeking thus to justify program expenditures.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this paper I have reviewed and critiqued three major strategies by international agencies for the development of adult education worldwide. Underscored are what I see as the narrow approach to education and the short-sighted, and perhaps even misguided, concern with economic correlations. While understandable, this approach and concern skew the full meaning and significance of education. In a sense, they doom adult education to failure since, as some critics claim there may be "no correlation between education and economic development, between production and jobs, between planning and training" (60).

Thus, the predominance of economic over other concerns of education--such as equity, participant progress, achievement, the development of intellectual autonomy, critical consciousness, etc.--may be wrongheaded. Notwithstanding, there is today a strong focus politically on economics and programmatically on efficiency, and a trend in that direction appears likely for the coming decade (61),

unless other determinations are forthcoming. --Perhaps this trend is inevitable, especially for those countries without a tradition of individualism, pluralism and citizen participation in political and socioeconomic process. But for those nations with such traditions, it appears to me that the focus is short-sighted both with respect to the multiplicity of education's national development functions and to education's final purposes of which program management is only one though significant concern.

This paper underlines three major tendencies within international strategies: the inevitability of "system" as an outgrowth of public (governmental) policy, the limitations of manpower development in planning for national development, and the near-sightedness of employing cost statistics as a determinant of educational program success. In the final analysis, however, it is not these tendencies so much as their consequences that matter.

National development is a major concern. As argued by this paper, economics is not the only consideration that those responsible for guiding actions for national development need, or want, to confront. Other, cultural factors are highly significant and education serves to advance these factors as much or moreso than economics. Thus, the tendencies within international strategies--and their strong influence on nation states in the development of adult education--deserves attention and consideration because the overriding value built into the development of adult education internationally and within many nations is purely, or solely, based on economics.

Moreover, the implications and probable consequences of present developments are such that everyone--the public, educational

professionals, planners and policymakers--might pause to review. What is decided at governmental levels--presumably on the basis of constituency desires--will determine for individuals how their education will be organized or not organized. For adult educators, especially in their role as social technicians purporting to represent the leadership of the field and to provide guidance to planners and policymakers, profound decisions are at hand.

Adult education as a field is coming to a new turning point, perhaps the biggest since becoming a soi-disant profession. Consideration of possible systems of adult education is more than an exercise in philosophic selection. It is a major social determination. Indeed, this determination is always in process and systems are developing even without explicit governmental intervention, although the likelihood of further intervention (at different levels of government, national and statewide) is great. The implicit policies of today, I content, are on their way to becoming the explicit policies of tomorrow--unless the political decision is to keep these policies implicit, allowing them to develop as society moves in its transitions.

Values attributed to adult education as a "human right", as a social service, as a means of personal development all demand reconsideration. Indeed, if a Lifelong Education system develops, then even self-directed "adult learning projects" may not be safe from government intervention.

As to the question of education planning manpower development is in a sense like gilding the lily. Some 60% of adult education courses and organized activities are for job/professional purposes in the United States. In developing countries manpower development takes on a

different hue, although I would argue that the criticism of this approach remains the same. Before manpower needs, the first question to ask is about educational demand by adults, and by extention about adult attitudes toward education. Since demand by adults is generally work oriented, that demand when stimulated will tell much about manpower orientation. Much of work-oriented education and training should probably remain with corporations or, in the case of small enterprises, then as apprenticeships. If the adult population discovers that their best means of surviving is to learn a trade relating to certain job opportunities, then that will determine the trades to be offered for study, whether carpentry or computer programming. But if it is important to train people how to work, it is equally important to provide education for adults with regard to training in political development which deepens awareness and involvement in the making of society. Indeed, an awareness of common heritage and culture, and therefore of participation in a thing called national development, this is especially important to developing nations seeking to develop economically but also with regard to political cohesiveness and a greater grasp of the problems inherent in a world of unhealthy inequalities and division.

If adult education is to be a "tool" for national development, then it must be used to involve and interest adults in learning. Afterall, adult education is a habit and can be acquired not merely increased, and it is "addictive." But, it merits repeating that nothing can take the place of "political will" with respect to developing adult education (62). One question this paper raises is where that "will" might be directed. Certainly a cultural approach to

planning would require a much more complex plan than that designed to advance manpower development, rendering program development and evaluation more diverse.

Educational evaluation is not only a process and a tool but an expression of the values considered most important to be evaluated. As such, it tells what's valued. While political decisions will be mad on costs to some extent, they will also depend on the political will and social commitment to supporting certain programs despite what may seem high costs--such as, health, literacy, etc. Educational planning and evaluation, afterall, are not absolutes but support systems for carrying out the political will and assuring that it is carried out. Ultimately, as economists Herbert S. Parnes (63) and W. Arthur Lewis (64) state, education is a political decision, and accordingly a political act. It doesn't depend so much on costs as on priorities.

International policy, planning and program strategies for the development of adult education are influential globally and indicative of present directions and future options for adult education. Thus they deserve attention and consideration. For instance, everybody agrees that planning is necessary as is program evaluation. Not everybody is sure about the need for public (governmental) policy nor, if so, at what level. While intended as a review and critique of these international strategies, this paper hopes to draw further attention and consideration to national issues and contribute to professional questionning, and the debates and compromises that must follow if such issues are to be confronted by adult education professionals, and the public, and not decided by default.

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