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ABSTRACT

This volume concentrates on the idea of education for all with its goal of making the world's population literate by the year 2000. The book features contributory articles by some of the most eminent personalities working in this region on various aspects of primary education, adult literacy and post-literacy activities. Highlights have been made of especially difficult to reach target groups, such as refugees, and disadvantaged groups, such as women. In the final chapter, an attempt is made to take stock of what remains to be done if the objective of education for all is to be reached. Chapters in this issue are: (1) introduction: concept of education for all; (2) universal primary education for girls; (3) women's education in Asia and the Pacific: some basic issues; (4) education in difficult contexts; (5) literacy and non-formal basic education in Asia and the Pacific; (6) literacy programmes in India; (7) education for ethnic minorities: the case of the Orang Asli; (8) education of refugees; (9) Kampuchean Refugees achieve universal education despite difficulties; (10) education of refugees in the Philippines; (11) current trends in education of the disabled; (12) patterns of development in early childhood care and education; and (13) unfinished tasks and future agenda. Many chapters contain references. A bibliographical supplement contains 210 references. (DK)

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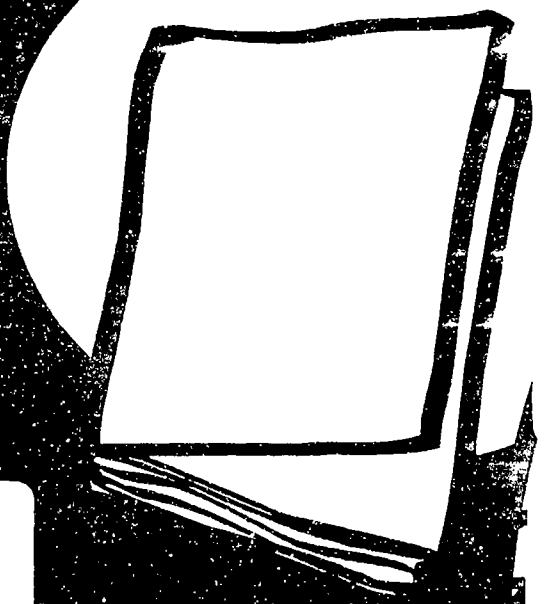

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About the Bulletin

Preface

The thirtieth issue of the *Bulletin* concentrates on a subject that has become the current battle cry of educationists: 'Education for All!' Not since the time of *Learning to Be*, published by Unesco, and the Lake Bellagio Conference has the educational community around the world been so convinced that a major educational event is needed and so determined to see it through.

The objective? Make the world's population literate by the year 2000!

The world's educational resources are increasingly being focused on achieving this goal through combined efforts. The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1990 as International Literacy Year (ILY) at the request of the 1987 session of the Unesco General Conference. This international year is in itself designed to increase awareness of the importance of literacy and thereby mobilize the support of individuals, municipalities, provinces, states, non-governmental organizations and international organizations.

This has already given rise to an event of historic significance. Four UN agencies – Unesco, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank – have teamed up to sponsor a World Conference on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs. This conference, to be held near Bangkok, Thailand from 5 to 9 March 1990, will be a high point on the profile of ILY. Many agencies have joined in to give financial support for the conference.

As the lead agency for International Literacy Year, Unesco decided that ILY 'should not be a celebration but a summons to action.' The heads of the four sponsoring agencies have taken a similar approach and ensured that the World Conference will be focused on actions to be taken *the day after*, thus avoiding a situation wherein the conference becomes an end unto itself. Thus both ILY and the World Conference will have their

respective 'plans of action,' both of which will take a long view, aiming to use ILY as the propellant for a major initiative that will take 'Education for All' into the next century.

The Unesco General Conference has already seized on the initiative by approving in November 1989 the programme 'Towards Education for All,' which places a strong emphasis on primary education and adult literacy and the co-ordination of efforts between these two facets of education that are so similar in terms of educational attainment yet deal with the smallest of children on the one hand and grown adults on the other.

This noteworthy initiative notwithstanding, none should have the impression that the Asia-Pacific region has only now discovered the importance of citizens attaining a minimum 'threshold' of education and learning skills – enough to motivate and enable individuals to continue learning throughout their lives.

A World Conference of Ministers of Education on the eradication of illiteracy was held in Teheran in 1969 – just two decades ago. Over the last decade, Unesco has been setting up regional mechanisms for promoting education at regional levels. The Regional Inter-Government Programme for Education for All in Latin America began in 1979; the African programme was put into place in 1982. The Asia and Pacific Programme of Education for All was launched in February 1987, and the Arab States programme began in 1989.

In Asia and the Pacific, the Education for All Programme, popularly know as APPEAL, operates under the umbrella of national co-ordinating bodies which bring together governmental and non-governmental bodies directly involved in primary education and literacy programmes. These bodies have been instrumental in preparing national plans of action for ILY and providing national input to the World Conference.

This issue of the *Bulletin* features contributory articles by some of the most eminent personalities working in this region on various aspects of primary education, adult literacy and post-literacy activities. Highlights have been made of especially difficult-to-reach target groups, such as refugees, and disadvantaged groups, such as women. In the final chapter, an attempt is made to take stock of what remains to be done if the objective of education for all is to be reached.

Can Asia and the Pacific be a literate region by the year 2000? To be so, what steps will have to be taken? Are literacy campaigns the answer, or do the more costly and time-consuming non-formal education programmes offer the most effective approaches in the long run? Is expanded access to primary education the regular dimension of 'Education for All,'

or are the qualitative issues of *what* is learned and *how* that knowledge is applied more important?

For the Asia-Pacific region, containing nearly two-thirds of the world's one billion or so illiterates, the challenge could hardly be greater. It is hoped that this issue of the *Bulletin* will serve as a bench mark by which the decade's progress can be measured.

We are extremely saddened to learn about the death of

Professor JOHN E. JAYASURIYA

– an eminent thinker and educationist of international repute. He was formerly a professor of the Unesco Asian Institute of Teacher Education in the Philippines and later Chief, Regional Advisory Team on Population Education, Unesco Bangkok. He retired from Unesco in 1976 but he continued functioning as consultant for Unesco. Professor Jayasuriya is one of the authors of this Bulletin on Education for All.

*Chapter 1**

INTRODUCTION

Concept of Education for All

The progress of a nation in the world of today is more than ever before dependent upon the quantity and quality of education received by its people. From the point of view of education as a human need, emphasis has to be placed on the mastery of the spoken word as a medium of communication and socialization, the acquisition of universal literacy and its capitalization, the acquisition of universal elementary and secondary education on a part-time and/or full-time basis and as a lifelong activity, and further education/training periodically on a part-time and/or full-time basis as a lifelong activity.

In as much as food, shelter and clothing still have their salience, the urgency for participation in economic basic development processes cannot be overlooked. At the same time, a fully satisfying life has many other facets – intellectual, physical, vocational, social, aesthetic, spiritual – that have to be taken into account in a perspective that deals with not only the present but also the future. Education as a basic human need therefore opens up unlimited possibilities calling for responses that are constructive, creative, and challenging.

In most countries of the world, there is widespread acceptance of the principle that education is a fundamental human right. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, states in its opening paragraph that

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* Professor J. Ernest Jayasuriya, author of the introduction to the thirtieth edition of the *Bulletin*, is an educational consultant from Sri Lanka.

'everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.'

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1959, includes two principles relating to education. Principle 7 states that 'the child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He [or she] shall be given an education which will promote his [or her] general culture and enable him [or her], on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his [or her] abilities, his [or her] individual judgement, and his [or her] sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society. The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his [or her] education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his [or her] parents. The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; and society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote enjoyment of this right.'

Principle 5 states that 'the child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his [or her] particular condition.'

The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1960, includes in Article 1 this reference to education: 'For the purpose of this Convention, the term *discrimination* includes any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education.'

Education has the dual function of transmitting to the new generation the heritage of the past with its accumulated wisdom in the history of humankind, and preparing it for the present and the future that the emergent needs of society and individuals hold before us. While recognizing that the enhancement of the happiness and well-being of all individuals – with due regard to their environment, inclusive of both the material world and all forms of life – should be our goal, it is safe to assume that we should increasingly expect the unexpected in every facet of existence. Thus, flexibility and adaptability have to be essential elements of the educational enterprise, present and future, for its successful fruition from the point of view of both the individual and society.

Efforts Towards Education for All in Asia and the Pacific

Karachi plan. Unesco convened at Bombay in 1952 a Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Primary Education in South Asia and the Pacific.[1] Noting in 1958 considerable progress relating to compulsory primary education, a number of country studies were commissioned, resulting in a document which provided for a Regional Meeting of Representatives of Asian Member States on Primary and Compulsory Education, held at Karachi from 28 December 1959 to 9 January 1960.[2] Its outcome led to the well-known Karachi plan, which set forth the important goal 'that every country of this region should provide a system of universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years or more within a period of not more than twenty years (1960-1980).'[3]

Two programmes were proposed in this regard. One was a long-range programme for twenty years estimated separately for each of the four quinquennia 1960-1965, 1965-1970, 1970-1975 and 1975-1980; the second was a shorter programme for each of the years 1960 to 1965.

After two years, the Ministers of Education of Asian Member States participating in the Karachi plan met in Tokyo from 2 to 11 April 1962 to assess the progress in implementing the plan and examine it 'in relation to overall educational planning and...overall national plans for economic and social development.'[4]

It was noted that the relative input into the various levels of education had to accommodate themselves on the one hand to the goals of the Karachi plan in regard to primary education, and on the other hand to an expansion in the higher levels of education in response to the need generated for such expansion – partly by the very process of working towards the goals of the Karachi plan through a progressive increase in enrolment ratios and partly by the need for expansion in higher levels of education, the need for high-level manpower to fill posts of responsibility, and the mounting private demand for secondary and tertiary education from a public that became quickly aware of the wage-earning potential of such an education.

Altogether, the Tokyo conference made it abundantly clear that universal primary education could not, and must not, be considered in isolation from the education system as a whole, and that education has to be regarded in its totality, covering not only primary education but also secondary, higher and adult education.

Teheran conference. The World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy (Teheran, 8 to 16 September 1965)

noted that 'the attainment of literacy by the hundreds of millions of adults who are still illiterate is of fundamental importance for full economic and social development, and that without it there can be no complete and active participation by the peoples in national or international civic life.'[5] It made it 'essential to change national educational policies,' and noted further that 'national educational plans should include schooling for children and literacy training for adults as parallel elements.'[6]

The thrust of the Teheran conference was that literacy, 'as an essential in overall development, must be closely linked to economic and social priorities and to present and future manpower needs.'[7]

The concept of functional literacy owed its origin to the Teheran conference. '*Functional literacy* means all literacy operations oriented towards development, integrated in development and made a component part of a development project. It is distinct from the more traditional literacy in that it is no longer an isolated and separate activity viewed as an end in itself. Functional literacy should be seen from the viewpoint of development, and should generally lead to technical and vocational training.'[8]

While the eradication of mass illiteracy remains the final goal, Unesco thought that 'this goal can better be achieved gradually by methodical progress in carefully selected sectors.'[9]

An institution to be called the International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods came into being in November 1966 and contributed greatly to the encouragement and stimulation of research on various aspects of literacy,[10] and a number of programmes, generally described as Experimental World Literacy Programmes, were started in Iran, Afghanistan and Thailand. Another approach to the eradication of mass illiteracy, which has found acceptance with some countries, is the organization of literacy campaigns, sometimes at a national level and usually of limited duration.

MINEDAP V. The Fifth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and the Pacific expressed a deep commitment to the ideal of 'Education for All.' It placed great emphasis on:

a) the removal of educational disparities not only between countries but also between population groups within each country;

b) the universalization of primary education;

c) the promotion of adult literacy and out-of-school education;

d) the enhancement of educational quality, with reference to:

- 'science for all' programmes;
- population and environment education;
- linkage between education and the world of work;
- the renewal of educational curricula and methods – with regard to overall development of the personality, national community and cultural values, international understanding and co-operation, and also taking into account communication technologies and information sciences;
- higher education and development, with special emphasis on social and economic progress;
- teacher education, with a broader involvement in renewal of education;

e) strengthening educational planning and management, with regard to trends towards decentralization and linkage of formal and non-formal education; and

f) regional co-operation within educational development.

Among twenty-one recommendations that were endorsed by the conference, recommendation No. 9, entitled 'Concerning a Major Regional Co-operation Programme for Universalization of Training Education and Eradication of Illiteracy in Asia and the Pacific' – related as it was to four other recommendations, all five of which dealt in one way or another with the eradication of illiteracy and the universalization of primary education – attracted so much attention that it evoked a powerful response when the deliberations of the conference were reported at the Twenty-third General Conference of Unesco.[11]

Unesco General Conference. The Twenty-third General Conference of Unesco was held in Sofia in 1985. Reference was made in MINEDAP V to two recommendations dealing with major regional programmes of Unesco in Asia and the Pacific. One referred to strengthening support to APEID to enhance its existing 'capabilities to create and develop new modes of operation in inter-country co-operation action and respond effectively to the new directions of educational development in the region.'[12] The other recommended that the Director-General of Unesco 'study the possibility of proposing, in the next biennial programme and budget of Unesco, the launching of a regional programme to promote solidarity among the Member States through co-operative endeavour designed to eradicate illiteracy before the end of the century, by

co-ordinated efforts directed towards the universal provision and renewal of primary education, coupled with literacy work among adults.'[13]

The Director-General was authorized by the General Conference to facilitate the launching of the regional programme for universal provision and renewal of primary education and eradication of illiteracy in Asia and the Pacific. The need to ensure that the two regional programmes would not overlap and that each would have its own significant and distinctive emphasis was very much in the mind of the Director-General. Support for a new regional programme came from findings and insights of the Regional Experts Meeting on the Regional Programme for the Universalization and Renewal of Primary Education and Eradication of Illiteracy in Asia and the Pacific, which led to the preparation of the Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All. APPEAL was launched by the then Director-General of Unesco at New Delhi on 23 February 1987. The achievements of APPEAL in a short time are noteworthy and have led to a strengthening of resolve that is reflected in the convening of a World Conference in 1990 to exchange ideas and provide a basis for further thought and action.

Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All

From concept to practice. The human race is currently faced with indications of an impending crisis, the threat of which is even more acute in the less developed countries of the Asia-Pacific region than in the developed countries of the world – in some respects, the latter are less vulnerable to the dangers. The ominous indicators include:

- chronic poverty, food shortages and widespread undernutrition, environmental degradation, the emergence of new health hazards as quickly as existing ones are overcome, substandard housing and water supplies, poor transport services;
- adult and juvenile illiteracy, premature school-leaving, low standards of education, shortages of the skills necessary for technological and economic development, limited opportunities for adult education;
- crippling deficiencies in natural resources, a low level of economic investment accompanied by an inability to absorb manpower surpluses in both rural and urban sectors, wide disparity in income distribution which allows for very few above the poverty line, growing burden of internal and external debt;

- deterioration of social security and welfare, moral values, political institutions, abuses of human rights, increased terrorism and armed conflicts; and
- rapid population growth resulting from a phenomenal increase in birth rates combined with a reduction in death rates.

The adverse effect of rapid population growth on nearly all facets of social and economic development cannot be overstated. The pervasive nature of the problem is most evident in education, where it has both a direct effect on the system and an indirect effect on the socio-economic factors influenced by the system. A fundamental concern of education is the enhancement of the quality of life, in the sense that education is an essential factor in attaining that goal, both for the individual and society as a whole.

The fast-increasing juvenile population, for whom educational provision has to be made, should prompt the less developed countries to reassess the directions in which they are moving. Their financial and other resources are unlikely to rise in proportion to the increasing number of children and youths, while conventional educational structures and methods will be unable to meet the challenge that confronts them. The aims of development require urgent re-examination. Over the past two decades it has been assumed that the goal of development for less developed countries is to achieve the same standard of living as the more developed countries, measured in terms of per capita income or the per capita consumption of luxury goods. The gap that separates the less developed countries from the more developed countries has been widening over the years, and will widen increasingly in the future.

Clearly, the less developed nations need to focus on modest goals, avoiding the unquenchable thirst of the developed world for material goods and the idea that these goods form the essence of a higher quality of life. Rather, they should concentrate on achieving a higher quality of life through simple and modest standards of satisfaction, and the ennobling of the mind by humanistic, reflective and spiritual pursuits.

The social and economic philosophy of the less developed countries needs a radical reorientation to establish goals which every man and woman can achieve within the context of existing social and economic realities. The crucial task of education in these countries is to respond creatively to the challenges posed by this need. The response should comprise the following: a) a postulation of meaningful and realistic objectives for education in each country, in line with the redefinition of national goals and a substantially modified concept of what constitutes a high

quality of life; b) a search for new educational structures to provide education of sufficient dimension and quality for the juvenile population without discrimination against the less privileged; and c) the development of a curriculum which meets contemporary needs and is geared to both personal and national development.

Since rapid population growth and increasing urbanization act as constraints to the provision of education in quantitative and qualitative terms, it is essential that a strong component of population education be included in the curriculum. This would provide an insight into the interrelationships between population change and development at the micro level of the individual, and at the macro level of the nation. Overall, there is a pressing need for new developmental, educational and population perspectives in the future – perspectives that are supportive of each other and able to guide humankind to a life of richness and serenity.

Integrated approach. Illiteracy and universal access to primary education are interrelated problems. Ensuring universal primary education to all children will guarantee that the future adult population will have no illiterates. Making literate present-day adult illiterates will accelerate the process of eradicating illiteracy and contribute to the cause of universalization of primary education; to do so, measures will have to be taken to minimize the drop-out rate and provide continuing education. Education is expected to support these trends and contribute to national development. Rather than being a goal by itself, education is to be treated as a means for development. The integrated approach unites the efforts of three major areas of thrust: eradication of illiteracy (EOI), universal primary education (UPE) and continuing education for development (CED).

Unesco PROAP has undertaken a series of activities concerning these three action areas of APPEAL.

- A Training Network for APPEAL has been formed in co-operation with the Member States to strengthen national capabilities in training literacy personnel in the developing countries. A Regional Workshop on the Development of Learning Materials for Neoliterates has been strengthened by Unesco in co-operation with the Member States. Recognizing that the problem of illiteracy among girls and women is the most urgent task, pilot projects have been initiated in India and Thailand to improve functional literacy and civic instructions for women.
- A mobile training team for the training of teachers in the promotion of girls' education has been constituted to strengthen national capabilities. A series of national studies on the status of girls'

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primary education in the Member States has been published. A number of subregional workshops on teaching in difficult education contexts – remote, rural and isolated areas – have been organized. A subregional workshop focusing on primary education materials in small quantities for small Pacific Island countries has been organized, and a series of research projects and workshops have been held to raise the achievement levels of children in primary education.

- A technical workshop on workers' education has been organized to develop regional and national programmes for workers' education. A regional seminar on parent education was organized to develop programmes to enable parents to help in their children's education. A subregional seminar on continuing education, held in the Centre for Continuing Education of the Australian National University, clarified the concept of continuing education in the context of APPEAL and developed strategies for the development of continuing education programmes under different socio-economic contexts.

Mention also deserves to be made of a few other significant activities. An interdisciplinary task force, known as APPEAL Task Force, was organized to implement APPEAL activities and oversee progress. This task force also provides technical assistance to Member States to prepare plans for obtaining extra budgetary funding (UNDP, UNICEF, ADB, WB, etc.) for national projects. An APPEAL newsletter entitled *APPEAL 2000* has been brought out to publicize and disseminate information on APPEAL. A regional workshop of national co-ordinators of APPEAL was also convened to devise a practical plan for implementing APPEAL at regional and national levels.

The Meeting for the Regional Co-ordination of APPEAL made suggestions for its improvement. Preparatory to the co-ordination meeting, Member States prepared a comprehensive national study of APPEAL in their countries and submitted these to the Meeting. The national studies revealed many encouraging developments in APPEAL. Clearly, all countries look at APPEAL as an effective vehicle for overcoming illiteracy in the region and are unanimous in appreciating the efforts of Unesco in this regard.

Concrete development efforts in APPEAL include evidence of national policies in nearly all of the countries represented at the Meeting. These policies, however, varied according to the political situation, the stage of development, the capacities to implement targets, and the resources available, as well as the attitude towards education in general. Similarly,

organization of co-ordinating mechanisms for APPEAL in the participating countries are manifestations of the sincere desire to pursue the goals of APPEAL. Such mechanisms involve key officials from both government and non-government agencies as members. A majority of committees have initiated concrete steps in seeking the political will and commitment of their respective governments for attaining APPEAL goals and targets.

These commitments have been translated into operational forms in the countries' medium- or long-range plans within ministry/department plans and in the plans of various groups and organizations charged with the responsibility of providing 'Education for All.' After the launching of APPEAL, achievements of Member States came in many forms and styles, as illustrated below.

- For wider dissemination of APPEAL, documents were prepared, translated and disseminated.
- A series of meetings at different levels were held to identify problems and issues relevant to the implementation of APPEAL, as well as to explore possible solutions to the problems.
- Systematic conduct of baseline studies and data collection, needed to establish a scientific basis for the implementation and monitoring of the three components of APPEAL, were undertaken.
- Identification of target groups and action areas were undertaken in several countries.
- The development of an integrated and co-ordinated planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation process for APPEAL has been undertaken in a number of countries.
- All of the Member States have organized seminars/workshops and training activities – under primary education mainly to improve access, retention and graduation rates of children in the primary school (especially girls and disadvantaged children); under the literacy programme to develop national strategies involving community resources to eradicate illiteracy, and develop curriculum learning materials, teacher training manuals and evaluation aids to make the literacy programme functionally oriented; and under continuing education to develop non-formal education for youth and continuing education for development for working people.
- The Training Network for APPEAL has been set up and a series of APPEAL Training Materials for Literacy Personnel (ATLP) has been developed to prepare key personnel to implement APPEAL activities in the countries.

Looking Ahead

International Literacy Year. The General Conference of Unesco at its twenty-third session in 1985 requested the Director-General to prepare, in co-operation with Member States and interested international organizations, a draft programme for an International Literacy Year (ILY). The General Conference of the United Nations at its forty-first session in December 1986 gave approval to the Unesco General Conference to proclaim an International Literacy Year.

Three important concerns led to this proclamation. The first is that illiteracy is one of the major global problems of our era. The second is that illiteracy is closely related to underdevelopment and poverty and the elimination of illiteracy represents an essential condition for the development and well-being of peoples and nations. The third is that illiteracy is not a fatality but a condition which, if combatted with commitment, persistence and imagination, can be – and is being – overcome.

It was felt that an ILY could achieve a great deal depending entirely upon what the international community and, more especially, the national communities around the world make of the occasion. It could be a unique opportunity to renew commitments and reinvigorate actions to combat illiteracy throughout the Year and all through the ensuing decade – regarding it not as a celebration but a summons to action. Objectives proposed for an International Literacy Year included:

- increasing actions by the governments of Member States afflicted by illiteracy or functional illiteracy to eliminate these problems, particularly through education in rural areas and urban slums, in favour of women and girls among populations and groups having special educational problems or needs;
- increasing public awareness of the scope, nature and implications of illiteracy, as well as of the means and conditions for combatting it – in particular, an effort should be made to alert public opinion to the high rate of illiteracy among adult women and its implication for the well-being of their children, the lower rate of school participation among girls than among boys, and the association between illiteracy on the one hand and poverty, underdevelopment and economic, social and cultural exclusion on the other;
- increasing popular participation, within and among countries, in efforts to combat illiteracy – particularly through activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations, voluntary associations and community groups;

- increasing co-operation and solidarity among Member States in the struggle against illiteracy;
- increasing co-operation within the United Nations system and, more generally, among all intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in the struggle against illiteracy;
- using ILY for launching the plan of action for the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000 and for addressing issues of critical importance to the progress of literacy, such as reducing the number of primary school drop-outs and establishing post-literacy programmes to prevent relapse into illiteracy.

Activities for carrying out and evaluating the ILY programme will be carefully considered; structures and mechanisms for organizing them will be spelled out. It may be stated that the proclamation of ILY merits the unequivocal support of the organizations, agencies and bodies of the United Nations system and, indeed, of the international community in its entirety.

World Conference on Education for All. In light of experience gained in implementing APPEAL over the past three and half years, it has recently been possible to more sharply spell out needed programme thrusts that demand attention from the point of the eventual success of the programmes. In particular, research and planning with strong in-built components of implementation, monitoring and research are essential. Some of these are more explicitly stated now than in earlier formulations and, thus, provide a sound basis for examining the educational enterprise. A comprehensive set of themes has been proffered which invite careful attention. Briefly, they include:

- primary schooling – preconditions and context, providing equitable access and treatment, increasing relevance and external efficiency, improving internal efficiency and quality, financing primary school expansion and improvement;
- basic training for out-of-school youth and adults – training for employment and household income generation, enhancing household food production and security, education for family welfare, building environmental and natural resource awareness, promoting civic participation, planning and implementing behavioural change-oriented programmes, financing basic training and sectoral related development communication;
- adult literacy – why literacy, how literacy, and by whom? the literacy context, literacy policies and financing; and
- integrated programmes for meeting basic learning needs.

Strategies for the 1990s: forging new alliances

- **Design national Education for All (EFA) implementation strategies, operating within financial constraints, and broaden national capacities, establishing alliances for EFA.**
- **Plan for and obtain global and regional co-operation for EFA.**

The objectives of the 1990 World Conference are to:

- create a new awareness among governments, donor agencies and non-governmental and international communities of the urgency for achieving EFA;
- produce a broad consensus on a feasible and affordable concept of EFA as a basis for developing national plans and implementation strategies;
- create a commitment among countries to EFA and focus on this priority area of education;
- define a framework for developing realistic and functional international plans of action to achieve EFA; and
- utilize the conference as a forum to mobilize world-wide support and resources necessary to achieve EFA.

The scope of the conference involves advocating a two-pronged approach to meeting the basic learning needs for all:

a) good quality primary education for all school-age children – based on learning achievements rather than years of schooling, and developed within the framework of the following principles:
   - Primary schooling can take the form of different modes of delivery (formal schools, traditional centres of learning, community centres, etc.) but should be unitary in its outcome of standards and potential for further education.
   - Certain programmes equivalent to primary schooling may be provided to out-of-school youth, allowing second-chance learning for those who missed formal education earlier.
   - Primary schooling is a minimum foundation on which countries should gradually and systematically build networks of further education and training.

b) basic knowledge and skills that allow adults to improve their quality of life and their opportunities to participate in and benefit from social and economic development – such education, recognizing the universal aspirations for literacy, will take many forms of literacy training, skill training, and specialized packages of knowledge on such topics as health, nutrition, safe water, and child rearing.

Progress towards achieving basic learning goals will in many countries require mobilization of additional public and private resources. Efficiency and equity considerations suggest that primary education should have a priority claim on public resources. However, while public funding for adult education will continue to be limited, there is significant scope for mobilizing non-governmental resources – national and international – to support adult education and training.

Targets for All by the Year 2000

The conference will advocate that countries consider the following planning targets to operationalize the *for all* concept by the year 2000:

- primary education – each country will strive to ensure that at least 80 per cent of all 14-year-old boys and girls attain a common level of learning achievement for primary education set by the respective national authorities;
- adult education – access to basic skills and knowledge for all; and
- literacy – massive reduction of illiteracy, with targets to be set by each country and prioritized by age and sex.

The four sponsoring agencies – UNDP, Unesco, UNICEF, and the World Bank – have created an interagency commission for preparing, promoting and organizing the conference.

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*Chapter 2**

UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Universalization of primary education (UPE) has now been accepted by many governments in the Asia-Pacific region as a priority objective. The general education policies of the countries reflect this concern and target dates have been set for its full realization. A very important concern that needs to be addressed in many countries in the region, if UPE is to be realized, is the education of girls. While girls constitute about 50 per cent of the primary school-age population, many of them are out of school. The full enrolment of girls, therefore, would largely complete the task of universalization of primary education. Towards this end, specific commitments to the education of girls have been included in the countries' national policies and other vital documents.

- Afghanistan's Decree No. 24 of the Revolutionary Council issued in April 1980 stated that 'all inhabitants of Afghanistan, irrespective of race, sex, nationality, beliefs and social position have equal rights of getting free education at all levels.'
- The Bangladesh Constitution guarantees equal access to educational opportunity for both sexes.[1] Subsequent policy statements reaffirmed the commitment for the education of girls.
- India's Five-Year Plans highlighted the importance of girls' education and proposed appropriate approaches to increase their participation.

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- In Nepal, the Civil Code of 1962 is regarded as a landmark in legal provisions for women's status. The fifth Plan (1975-1980) specifically mentioned that women teachers would be appointed in primary schools to increase girls' enrolment. The sixth and seventh Five-Year Plans (1980-1985; 1985-1990) carry specific provisions providing educational opportunities to educationally backward women by means of scholarships and hostel facilities.
- Pakistan's Education Policy of 1972-1980 envisaged greater participation for girls by encouraging the establishment of separate schools for them and by recruiting a large number of female teachers.
- Papua New Guinea's Eight-Point Improvement Plan (1972) sees 'a rapid increase in the equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity.'[2]

But, while policies for girls' education do exist, access to education for most girls remains elusive. Statistics of girls' enrolment in the Asia-Pacific region reveal that several countries are well on the way to realizing universal primary education for girls. These countries posted girls' enrolments of between 45 and 49 per cent. Other countries, however, those whose policies may call for greater enrolment of girls but whose enrolments are below the 45 per cent level, still need to sustain a consistent effort to increase girls' enrolment, as is shown in the Table of selected countries.

While these national figures for girls' enrolment are already alarming, they mask conditions in remote areas. Discrepancy in urban-rural percentage of enrolment also was reported. (Reasons for the disparity in

Table 2.1

Percentage of Girls Enrolment in Selected Countries

Country	Year	Total Pupil Enrolment	Total Girls' Enrolment	% of Girls' Enrolment
Afghanistan	1986	611,106	203,877	33
Bangladesh	1987	9,206,710	3,674,614	40
Bhutan	1986	49,485	17,312	35
India	1984	83,932,704	33,193,378	40
Nepal	1984	1,626,437	456,430	28
Pakistan	1986	7,368,130	2,467,802	33
Papua New Guinea	1984			43

Sources: *Unesco Statistical Yearbook, 1988*, for all except Papua New Guinea, and *Universal Primary Education for Girls, Papua New Guinea*, 1987.

urban-rural enrolment may be geographical, economic or cultural.) The problem of low enrolment in these selected countries, as in other countries, is compounded by the additional problems of drop-outs and wastage. Enrolment figures decrease as grade levels increase, and high drop-out rates were recorded between grades 1 and 2.

The education of girls as an important sector of society has not been precluded from the mainstream of thought of notable leaders from the countries under consideration. Mahatma Ghandi of India observed that 'education of a boy means education of a man. Education of a girl means education of a family.' The report of the Commission on National Education of Pakistan in 1959 explicitly stated that 'unless a woman is educated, there will never be an educated home or an educated community.' These two quotations make obvious the fact that girls' education is recognized as important to the improvement of not only the family but also the community and society. While the leaders of the countries certainly do not lack the vision to initiate efforts to improve girls' education, the efforts themselves have been hampered by a web of factors.

Studies and reports funded by Unesco-APEID identified several critical factors which contribute to girls' education. These have been categorized as out-of-school and in-school factors. Out-of-school factors were identified as poor economic conditions of the family, socio-cultural considerations operating within the community, low educational level of the family, and the attitude of girls themselves towards education. In-school factors concern the physical environment of a school, curriculum and instruction, the lack of women teachers, and supervision and management. These factors are briefly elaborated upon here.

Family economic conditions. The general poverty of the family prevents many parents from sending their girls to school. The cost of education to families living in poverty is not affordable. While in many countries primary education is free, a poor family may not be able to meet the cost of school uniforms, school supplies and other miscellaneous expenses. The opportunity cost of education is also a consideration for poor families. If the girls are sent to school, the family gives up the income from girls who work to supplement family income.

Studies conducted in the selected countries found a positive correlation between girls' participation in school and the economic conditions of the family. A study by Islam[3] showed that poverty and the burden of opportunity cost and/or incidental costs were too heavy for about 90 per cent of the non-enrolled cases and, as such, could be considered as the reason for their non-enrolment. In Nepal, the Study on the Determinants of Educational Participation in Rural Nepal[4] conducted by CERID indi-

cated a strong adverse effect on household chores in relation to participation in schooling by girls who, due to poverty, are needed to work in the house to free their mothers to work in the field. The per capita income of the family correlates highly with educational participation of girls as compared to that of boys.

Community socio-cultural considerations. The low status of women in the selected countries is a major factor hindering girls' enrolment and retention. Since most of the societies are male oriented and male dominated, community and parental attitudes towards girls' education count a lot in decisions affecting girls' education. When the question arises of who should be educated first, boy or girl, the boy almost always comes up as the first choice. When the question of who should drop out first comes, most often it is the girl.

The socio-religious aspect has also been found dominant. Most parents frown on sending their girls to coeducational institutions. They are also wary of sending girls to school for fear that they will be alienated from the accepted customs and norms of society. Thus, parental attitude towards modernity is a significant factor to be reckoned with. The study conducted in Nepal showed a high correlation between girls' participation and the attitude towards modernity of the household.

The custom of early marriage for girls also contributes to the low enrolment and retention of girls. Most families consider girls as not their own but as eventually belonging to the family of the husband. The expenditure then for their education would not be of any benefit to the girls' family. Girls also need to be prepared for early marriage. Knowledge of domestic work would help command a better bride price.

Low-level family education. Studies also revealed correlations between the level of education of the family and that of girls' education. A study by S.A. Qader and S.K. Kunder[5] showed that the highest correlate of participation was the highest level of education attained by the household, followed by the family head's education. An earlier study by Qader in 1983 showed a significant difference between high-literacy and low-literacy villages in the proportion of families sending all of their children to school (71 per cent vs. 31 per cent), as well as not sending any child to school (24 per cent vs. 54 per cent).

Nepal's CERID study found that the father's education is strongly associated with the educational participation of girls. The same study concluded that the predisposition of the household towards promoting girls' education is greatly enhanced by exposure of the family members to formal education as well as to jobs which require higher levels of education

and training. In Papua New Guinea,[6] a study of girl drop-outs revealed that most parents of drop-outs had very little formal schooling themselves. Pakistan and Bangladesh report that the illiteracy of parents is considered a major factor responsible for the low level of primary education and the number of drop-outs among girls.

Girls' attitudes towards education. While this factor may be attributed as a concomitant result of the three previous problems, as well as other in-school factors, the problem of the attitude of the girls themselves must be separately addressed. Girls, because of the low status accorded them by the community and their parents, are bound to have low self-esteem and would perceive themselves as inferior to boys. Their motivation for schooling is very low. Since their parents are ignorant or do not see the benefits of education for girls, they are unlikely to receive parental support.

Physical environment of school. By reason of geography and topography, schools sometimes are a considerable distance from the homes of the girls. Going to school becomes inconvenient for the young children, especially girls. The very young may not have the physical strength to walk to and from the school and the mental stamina and interest needed to concentrate on a day's school lessons. Travelling a long distance to school also may pose a special hazard for older girls, as reported by Papua New Guinea. Since some girls, especially those who live in the highland, enter school at a very late age (nine or ten years old), they are physically more mature. Parents fear that they will be more exposed to sexual liaison or sexual harassment while travelling. The late entry contributes also to a loss of interest in schooling and problems of adjustment which eventually cause girls to drop out.

Where schools are accessible, usually there are not enough buildings or classrooms to accommodate all of the children. Classrooms are overcrowded and the environment is not conducive to learning. It has been a common observation too that these schools have very inadequate facilities. The needs of girls are ignored, there are no separate toilet facilities, and even recreational facilities, if ever provided, are oriented towards the needs of boys only.

The coeducational system of schooling also deters girls from attending school. While this may be acceptable for lower primary grades 1 to 3, it is not for upper primary grades.

Shortage/lack of female teachers. In a tradition-bound society, a preference for female teachers has been a recurring note. Parents feel more comfortable when their girls are under the care of female teachers. While the crucial need for women teachers has been identified and found

essential, the problem lies in the availability of trained women teachers. In most cases, trained women teachers prefer teaching in urban areas, further aggravating the lack of trained teachers who would be willing to be posted in rural schools.

Curriculum. Generally, the school curriculum has been described as being irrelevant to the needs of girls. In some cases, it is so urban oriented that rural girls feel even more alienated. The curriculum is overloaded and unsuited to the development levels of the children. The curriculum in Papua New Guinea, which was tailored to the needs of those who enter school at the proper age, was found unsuitable and uninteresting for older girls.

Teaching methods and materials. Teachers, through their teaching methods, invariably show a bias in favour of boys, which is also a product of their own socialization. Because of this bias, teachers treat boys and girls differently. They expect boys to do the more difficult tasks and answer the more difficult questions. A survey by Yoeman[7] showed that in 13 classes where the ratio of boys and girls was roughly equal, girls were asked an average of only 38 per cent of the questions.

Certain instructional materials imply that girls are inferior to boys or that girls are expected only to do certain things. Textbooks have conditioned them not to rise above certain roles ascribed to them. This gender role stereotyping has contributed to the development of a low self-esteem among girls.

Irregular school supervision. Effective supervision of schools is hampered by several problems. There are too few supervisors to cover the vast areas that need to be covered, some of which are virtually inaccessible. Then too, the small number of existing supervisors are burdened by the large quantity of administrative paperwork, leaving them little or no time for actual field visits. Supervisors also prefer to visit the more accessible schools in the urban areas, which then allows them to go home to their families. Moreover, supervisors have to look into multifarious concerns wherein the problems of girls' education may not be a specific one.

The sporadic visits and lack of supervision, especially in the more remote schools, lead to both teacher and pupil absenteeism and eventually to the girls dropping out of school.

Measures and Innovations to Address the Problems

While specific problems require specific solutions, the problems of girls' education cannot be attacked piecemeal. For long-range solutions,

the overall context of the condition of girls' education as it relates to the total educational system needs to be taken into consideration. The more specific measures and innovations implemented to address the problem of girls' education are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

Incentives provision. The countries in the subregion realized that one way to encourage parents to send their children to school was to ease the burden of the cost of education. While primary education in most countries is free, there are other costs that must be borne by parents. Incentives in the form of scholarships, free midday meals, free uniforms and clothing, and free textbooks and school supplies were given to girls. Not only girls were given incentives, but also schools and states themselves. In Nepal, for example, the National Commission on Population instituted an annual award of Rs. 10,000, along with a shield and certificate, to schools in selected zones which have attained the highest girl enrolment rates. India has a similar programme whereby national awards are given to the states which show the best results during the year in the fields of elementary education, formal and non-formal, and adult education. The awards include a cash payment to be used for promoting school education.

Community mobilization. While socio-cultural norms are difficult to break down because they are rooted in tradition, several inroads have been made in the subregion to penetrate the barriers. Pakistan was able to influence religious leaders who by tradition are opposed to girls' education to allow the government to construct an annex to the mosque and give permission for the mosque school to be used for girls' education. Similarly, Bangladesh uses *maktabs* (religious schools) to provide educational experiences to the children. Under a programme started by the Mosque Society of Bangladesh, *Imams* teach Arabic and Bengali along with traditional religious teaching in the mosque. Matching funds are provided to a community to pay the *Imam* a small honorarium and to supply books for the children. Papua New Guinea used public awareness campaigns in the form of weekly education radio broadcasts, posters at the Office of Information, and parent and community meetings to stress the importance of education and encourage parents to send their girls to schools. In India, parents have been exhorted to send their daughters to schools and also accept coeducation at the elementary stage. The enrolment drives resulted in a sixfold increase in girls' enrolment, from 5.9 million in 1950-1951 to 47 million in 1984-1985.[8]

Education of parents. Literate parents are the best guarantee to ensure that children will be sent to school and will benefit from schooling. The increasing number of boys and girls being educated in the subregion augers well for girls' education since this means that more and more

would-be parents will have the benefit of education; they, in turn, will see the benefit of education for their children.

Education for parents has been conducted through informal conversations, the use of such folk media as songs and traditional drama forms, direct consultation with parents and parental visits. Literacy programmes for parents and other adults have been carried out in the subregion. Under the Education for Rural Development (Seti Zone) project, Nepal conducts the *Cheli Beti* programme, combining practical activities and literacy development. About 85 per cent of the adult participants are women. The Nepal Women Organization also conducts literacy classes for adult women and annually awards the SRI Ratna Literacy Award to the district attaining the most outstanding results in female literacy.

As part of the Rural Education and Development project (READ), Pakistan's Mohallah schools are opened in villages where there are no primary schools or where schools are a considerable distance from the village. These schools provide education for women and are operated in the private houses of female teachers. Community viewing centres also were set up to broadcast the adult functional literacy programmes of the Ministry of Education.

Girls' part-time/non-formal education. Most countries in the subregion have recognized that the formal education system is not the only way to bring girls to and retain them in school. Several non-formal approaches to girls' education have been practised. Some of the more innovative programmes include several in India. The Indian Institute of Education (Pune) undertook an experimental project called the Action Research Project on Universal Primary Education. A local education committee set up by the community found accommodations, selected the teachers from among the educated members of the village, and supervised the classes. The communities agreed that the male teachers would be called 'brothers' and female teachers 'sisters.' The teachers assured the villagers that, educationally, they would care for the pupils as though they were younger brothers and sisters. Approximately every six months, teachers and pupils from seven or eight part-time classes meet for a full day in a convenient location to celebrate a children's fair. The fair brings the teachers and pupils out from the isolation of their villages, makes the parents and the villages aware of the activities in school, allows the pupils to display their talents and attainments, and helps in the regular testing of their achievement in curricular subjects. Under this project, nearly 4,500 working children between the ages of nine and fourteen years were brought into non-formal part-time primary classes. Of these, more than 3,000 were girls. The project has been adapted in several locations in India.

The objective of the ECE and Children Media Laboratories (CML) projects in India is to provide a mechanism to support early childhood care. The projects, funded by UNICEF, train teacher educators, provide orientation to state-level personnel, and develop relevant 'play-way' materials and literature for pre-school education.

Recruitment/assignment of female teachers. Because of the cultural bias which prefers women teachers for girls, emphasis has been given to the recruitment and assignment of female teachers to attract girls to attend and remain in school.

The Equal Access of Women to Education Programme (Nepal) was launched under the premise that the appointment of women teachers would lead to a larger enrolment of girls. The programme aimed to train rural girls as primary school teachers, assign them to schools and thereby generate a positive attitude towards the education of girls. Rural girls recruited for training undergo the B-level primary teacher training course at the campus of the Institute of Education. They live in the campus hostel during the training period. Several activities relevant to women's roles in rural communities are conducted on the campus and at the hostel. Girls from remote areas who have not finished secondary education undergo an upgrading programme to qualify them for the B-level teacher training. A total of 984 rural teachers were trained between 1971 and 1981.

In Pakistan, there are 86 teacher training institutes affiliated with the Allama Iqbal Open University which provide pre-service training to teachers. About 34 per cent of these are specifically for the preparation of female teachers. Students with at least second-division matriculation can apply for admission to the pre-service course. The Open University follows a quota system, which means that the place of origin of a candidate is considered to ensure proper distribution of trainees to different groups. Trainees from less developed areas are encouraged to become teachers for female primary schools. It was recognized by the national study, however, that while the intake of pre-service institutions is satisfactory, the programme requires significant modification and restructuring to incorporate the requirements of rural areas.

Other programmes designed to attract more women include distance learning, India's condensed courses for adult women who have not finished their education and who are ready to complete it and work as teachers, and Papua New Guinea's policy of positive discrimination, wherein highland women are selected first in the recruitment and training of teachers.

Schemes used to attract women teachers for the rural areas include the provision of hostels for teachers, the assignment of husbands and wives

to the same school, and such other incentives as salary increases and preference in housing allocation.

Establishment of women centres. The empowerment of women themselves has been tried as one way to improve girls' education. The experience of India in this area can be cited as an example of the development of women power. Village women themselves asked for help to organize and constitute themselves as a force to work for their own betterment. Women centers are organized where women can meet.

The Women's Training Centre of Nepal, established in 1956 with assistance from the Ford Foundation, had launched three regional training centres by 1975. The objectives of the Centre are to make women aware of rural development needs and existing programmes, help women improve family conditions by providing family life education, help supplement family income by providing income-generating skills, develop leadership qualities among women, and make women aware of their political, legal, and civic rights and responsibilities.

The Centre conducts centre-based as well as field training for women in literacy, various trades, leadership, child care, nutrition and health. The programme suffers from certain deficiencies: an inadequacy of training materials, a lack of trainers, insufficient support from panchayats, and a lack of job opportunities for trained women. Nevertheless, the positive effect on girls' education of having more trained women can be a lasting contribution to the cause of girls' education.

Future Growth Points

Several innovative projects have been implemented in the subregion with varying success. On the basis of the experiences of the different countries, several areas of intervention were recommended for further exploration. Similar sentiments were gleaned from the recommendations of the different national studies. Strengthening of the following interventions was recommended.

Community mobilization and participation. The countries in the subregion have come to recognize that governmental efforts alone will not suffice to realize the goal of UPE for girls. The community and parents need to be constantly aware of and involved in the different programmes for girls' education to generate and sustain their support. The problem may not really be one of negative attitude but simply ignorance, which can be remedied. Thus, linkage between non-governmental organizations and parent-teacher associations and improved community-school relations are targetted.

Motivational campaigns should be carried out using both traditional and modern approaches to attitude change. Programmes envisaged must consider the participation of women themselves, as the empowerment of women can be a critical strategy. The image of women and girls as equal partners in development and not as mere appendages of men and boys must be ensured.

Parent education as a component of community mobilization must be enhanced. Present skills and literacy training components of adult education programmes must be linked with projects which provide opportunities for employment or income generation to be viable.

Alternative/complementary approaches. In light of the problems besetting girls' education, reliance on the formal structure only has not been feasible. Part-time non-formal education for girls, while perceived as reinforcing the 'secondary status' of girls,[9] must be explored further so that its perceived disadvantages of being 'soft options' or 'second-class' education for girls can be remedied. Programmes specific to the needs and conditions in different countries must be adopted.

Relevant curriculum/quality instruction. A regional panel constituted in 1983 for an interagency exchange of experiences observed that policies to increase the participation of girls had barely touched on curriculum development and revision. Since the problem of curriculum relevance has been identified as a 'push' factor, curricular reform to promote gender equality should be attended to. A continuing in-service training of teachers to improve the quality of instruction, as well as to sensitize teachers to the needs of girls, should be institutionalized.

Teacher training. The training of female teachers who are to be posted in girls schools, especially in rural areas, should consider both quantity and quality aspects. While at the beginning of such programmes it may be enough to concentrate on training as many girls as may be trained, subsequent programmes should consider the quality of training that is given to women trainees. Quality input, in addition to the usual academic requirements, should also include sensitizing teachers to the needs of girls and their own biases against girls. It must also include socialization of teachers to their roles as community leaders and as change agents.

Improvement in school availability/physical facilities. The drive for the enrolment of more girls must be matched with a supply of available facilities for them. This will require the construction of more accessible schools with basic facilities. An alternative scheme which has

been recommended is to build more boarding hostels for both teachers and girls.

Structures/mechanisms for girls' education. Some countries have offices directly handling girls' education. Other countries may need to establish some, such as the proposed Department of Youth Affairs, Sports and Women's Welfare in India.

Conclusion

Girls' education, a most vital component of UPE, requires a consistent and continuing regional effort to sustain and improve on the gains already made if Education for All is to be attained by the year 2000. Many of the impediments have been surmounted, but the challenges remaining are great. It is important that the campaign for girls' education succeed -- for the sake of the girls, for the sake of all children.

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*Chapter 3**

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC: SOME BASIC ISSUES

Asia, the cradle of many great civilizations, philosophical systems and literacy traditions, has the invidious distinction of housing three quarters of the world's 889 million illiterates, of whom two-thirds are women. The underdevelopment of women's education has hindered women's progress in the Asia-Pacific region and by extension has had a negative impact on development. Women's education is becoming an area of increased national and international policy concern due to its direct and indirect benefits to development. The cost of keeping women illiterate is higher than the cost of educating them. The sheer 'exigency' of development demands better education, health and nutrition of women to pull teeming millions of children from the mouth of death and disease and to raise the quality of human lives. Considerations of equality and equity aside, development today needs women as much as women need development, perhaps more. But should women's actual or potential contribution to development be the sole reason for educating them?

Looking at the educational and developmental scenario of the Asia-Pacific region, it may be stated that women's education was never consciously planned for their participation in development except in the non-market socialist economies.[1] Depending on the economic capacity of a nation and the patterns of gender, class and ethnic relations, some women

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gained from education 'incidentally,' or as an auxiliary development of men of their own social class (Nayar 1988c).

Urban middle-class women have gained individually and as a social group. Despite conventional social attitudes, a few have managed to break into top levels of professional and administrative hierarchies which continue to be predominantly male. However, the bulk of the educated women are concentrated in low paid, low prestige occupations that are considered natural extensions of their nurturant, assisting family roles (Nayar. 1988 c). These women have played on important role in bringing women's issues to national and international forums, working within and outside the governments as scholars and activists. Their influence on national policies and legislation on women is visible but their impact on implementation of policies, formulation of programmes, allocation of resources, and monitoring of progress in the area of women's education and development is yet to be felt. (Heyzer 1985; Jayawardena and Jayaweera, 1985).

However, in the specific context of the Asia-Pacific region, what deserves unqualified attention is the mass of adult female illiterates and millions of school-age girls who are either the drop-outs or the 'shut-outs' of the system. The swelling ranks of female illiterates, especially in the age-group 15-40 years, are a testimony to the large-scale failure of education in free nations to enrol and retain girls in schools. These women and girls live in underserved. underdeveloped rural areas and in urban slums which really represent a 'spillover' of the rural poverty. Hungry, unlettered and unskilled, these women continue to struggle for the sheer physical survival of their children, and for keeping their bodies together, many times all by themselves.[2]

The burden of poverty is shifted by mothers to daughters who assist their mothers in meeting the basic household needs of food, water, fodder, fuel and child care. Girls in many countries work at home to keep their mothers at work and their brothers at school and the cycle of low female schooling/lack of female teachers/low female literacy, and the attendant consequences of poverty, ill health, and low productivity, remains unbroken. It is patriarchy and low status which keep women down and girls out of school. Poverty would be a constant if gender discrimination was not at work. Poor nations, such as Vietnam and Laos (US$160 and US$80 GNP per capita respectively), have tried to divide their poverty equally between the two sexes and have nearly closed the male/female gap in both adult literacy and primary education. What is still keeping women illiterate and girls out of school in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Afghanistan and Papua New Guinea – poverty or patriarchy?

It may perhaps be argued that the entire approach to women's education and development in all socio-economic and political contexts, at any point of time, is marked by social 'expediency'[3] – how to make women more useful to family, society and economy, but without much say in political decision making where macro policies and societal choices are made. The 'expediency' model has two basic flaws.

- It is severely pro-natalist and sees women as a relational category, as mothers and housewives primarily; it is less humane than it looks at face value.
- It ignores the need for basic restructuring of the gender relations within family, economy and the polity. The unequal division of labour and resources of the patriarchal family is reflected and recreated in the economy and the society.

Development planning and educational planning in post-colonial, post-feudal societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered from middle-class male myopia which could conceive of women only as mothers and housewives, totally ignoring their roles as farmers and producers in subsistence agriculture. Men were not only assigned tasks of production but also the necessary education and training. Women were assigned the domestic tasks of feeding the family, child care, health and hygiene. Women missed out on education and training for participation in more productive mechanized agriculture and industrial production and were relegated to less differentiated, less skilled tasks and often were totally edged out of the labour force. The negative impact of development on women is well documented since the 1970s (Boserup, 1975, 1985; Lindsay, 1980; Nayar, 1980; Jayawardena and Jayaweera, 1985; Shifferraw, 1989; Sunderam and Leneg, 1985; Rahman, 1985; Tidaligo, 1985; Siwatibau, 1985). Also, the actual and potential positive impact of women's education on development through lowered fertility and mortality and higher participation in the wage sector has been documented in the 1980s (Salvador-Burris, 1977; Selowsky, 1976, 1982; Cochrane, O'Hara and Leslie, 1980; World Bank, 1980; Cochrane, 1982; Kelly and Elliot, 1982; Nayar 1989a; *The Situation of World's Children, 1989*). Many studies reveal a quantifiable increase in home output with an increase in women's education despite the fact that women may spend less time at home. The non-market returns to women's education are positive. Women's education affects child nutrition, health and mortality, school achievement of children and fertility.

In developing societies, education of men was dominated by perspectives of the economics of education (manpower development, rate of returns, human capital formation, etc.), whereas women's education remained confined within the 'home economics' syndrome inherited from

colonial administrations which took a very partial view of women's lives and thought it fit to train them in domestic skills in the Victorian, middle-class housewife tradition. Women have thus been excluded from agricultural training and activities even in societies where these tasks were performed primarily by women (Heyzer, 1985; Aggarwal, 1987; Shifferraw, 1989; Adadzi, 1989).

The content of formal and non-formal education for women continues to reflect this misplaced and limited view of women's lives,[4] never rising above the skills of sewing, pickle and jam making or, at best, family health and nutrition, or targets for family planning. The World Bank and UNICEF special table on women, for instance, comprises such indicators as life expectancy, literacy and enrolments, contraception prevalence, pregnancy, births attended by trained personnel, and maternal mortality – their participation in production receives no mention. Similarly, the recent almost excessive concern to provide women with income-generation skills assumes the liberation of women from domestic drudgery and unpaid family labour, but never considers the question of the redivision of household labour to make it more equitable between the two sexes.

The UN Development Decade for Women has made a definite contribution to the status of women throughout the world through the creation of awareness, information, data base and specialized structures within government machineries. Integration of women within development and production is being seen as a desirable planning objective.[5] A recent ESCAP survey gives an impressive record of policy initiatives and programmes in human resource development in Asia and the Pacific intended for women during 1976-1985 (Corner, 1986). However, the gap in policy implementation is as wide as ever, especially in sex discriminatory societies of South Asia and even elsewhere.

It may therefore be pertinent not only to look at the 'nuts and bolts' of educational planning and programmes for female literacy and education, but also the basic philosophies and ideologies at macro and micro levels that have governed the lives of women in the Asia-Pacific region. The following pages highlight the magnitude of the problem of female illiteracy, the educational situation of women in the Asia-Pacific region, the correlates of female literacy/education, and the observable trends and directions for future.

Magnitude of the Problem

Women's education has registered comparatively higher growth compared to that of males in all developing regions. In Asia, also, the

progress has been notable, even though somewhat slower than in Latin America and Africa. The expected years of schooling increased for males by 41 per cent (from 6.2 to 8.8 years) and for females by 75 per cent (from 3.7 to 6.6 years) during 1960-1985. The ratio of females to males increased from 0.60:1 to 0.75:1 during this period (Schultz, 1989: 7).[6] The lower base of female schooling in the reference year, though, has to be taken into account.

The Asia-Pacific region has also shown steady economic growth and a better performance compared to other developing regions. Asia still contains the majority of the world's absolute poor and faces enormous problems. Yet most of its countries are continuing to see average incomes and standards of living rising slowly (UNICEF, 1989). The literacy rate has gone up, so have percentages of school-age children; and yet the number of adult illiterates and out-of-school children continues to rise at an alarming rate. There are large gaps in the levels of schooling of males and females which are most pronounced in South and West Asia, with the exceptions of Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Papua New Guinea is the only Pacific country with large male-female differentials in education.

Female literacy. Women form the bulk of the world's illiterates. In all regions of the world, there are more illiterate women than men. The literacy gap between sexes grows in proportion to the rate of illiteracy, and is the widest in the least developed countries of Asia and Africa.

In 1985, of the estimated 3,203 million people aged 15 years and above in the world, 889 million – or one in every four – adults were illiterate, and the global illiteracy rate stood at 27 per cent. Asia accounts for 666 million or 75 per cent of the world's illiterates. Africa follows with 162 million or 18.9 per cent. Latin America and the Caribbean come next with 44 million or 5 per cent of the total. The industrialized countries account for only 2.1 per cent or 20 million of those 'who cannot with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on *his* life.'[7]

There are nine countries (six of them in Asia) in which the number of illiterates is more than 10 million and which together account for 75 per cent of the world's illiterates. India (264 million) and China (229 million) account for more than half of the world's illiterates, followed by Pakistan (39 million), Bangladesh (37 million), Nigeria (27 million), Indonesia (26 million), Brazil (19 million), Egypt (16 million), and Iran (12 million). 'The global illiteracy rate is gradually falling but, when population growth and the repercussions of the world economic crisis are considered, the figures show that the absolute number of illiterates is increasing. The figure is now close to one billion people aged 15 and over' (Unesco sources, 1989).

Women form nearly two-thirds of the adult illiterates in Asia and the Pacific. In most of the countries of the region, the female illiteracy rate is at least one and one-half times the male level. Only in the Philippines, Japan, and the Maldives in Asia are gender literacy ratios roughly equal. In the Pacific – Australia, New Zealand, Tonga and Samoa – the ratio of male-female literacy is one (see Table 3.1 and Figures 3.1 and 3.2, as well as Table 3.6 at the end of this article).

In absolute terms, according to latest available figures, there are 159 million adult female illiterates in China, 144 million in India, 18 million each in Pakistan and Bangladesh, 6.8 million each in Iran and Turkey, four million in Nepal, and 3.3 million in Afghanistan (see Table 3.7 at the end of the article).

Rural-urban disparity in literacy rates is very marked in low income countries with large rural populations. Rural females are at the bottom of the literacy pyramid with urban males at the top, followed by urban females and rural men. The differences are substantial among rural and urban women themselves. In China and Pakistan, for instance, the rural female literacy is 27 percentage points lower than that for urban women; the gap is 37 points in Iran, 34 in India, 29 in Bangladesh, 25 in Nepal, 24 in Indonesia, 19 in Afghanistan, 17 in the Republic of Korea, 16 in the Philippines and Sri Lanka, and 15 in Malaysia. (See Table 3.6 at end of article for progress of literacy during 1970-1985.) Rural female literacy rates touch a low of one to two per cent in certain districts of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. There are still large numbers of villages where not a single woman is literate, leading to constant scarcity of rural women development workers (teachers, nurses, health workers, etc.).

Female first-level enrolment. Female enrolment ratios range from 11 per cent in Afghanistan to 125 per cent in Brunei. Countries with low rates of female literacy (below 35 per cent) have low female enrolment at the first level of education. Afghanistan, Bhutan, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and India in South Asia and Papua New Guinea have the lowest female enrolments at the primary level. Male-female gaps in school enrolments are the widest in low female literacy countries (see Table 3.2 and Figure 3.3). A visible increase in enrolment at the primary level during 1975-1985 (see Figure 3.4) can be observed, but the proportion completing this cycle is what would determine the future literacy levels of the populations. As Table 3.3 shows, wastage is very high in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Laos, Afghanistan and Viet Nam. The situation is somewhat better in Iran, Papua New Guinea, China, Thailand and the Philippines, where 64 to 70 per cent complete the primary cycle. Indonesia and Turkey have 80 per cent and 85 per cent completing primary education,

Table 3.1

Female Literacy Rate (15 years and above) in Asia and Pacific, 1985

Country	Below 25%	26 to 50%	51 to 75%	76 to 85%	Above 85%
Afghanistan	8				
Nepal	12				
Pakistan	19				
Bangladesh	22				
India		29			
Papua New Guinea		35			
Iran		39			
China			56		
Turkey			62		
Hong Kong			64		
Indonesia			65		
Malaysia			66		
Myanmar			69		
Laos				76	
Singapore				79	
Viet Nam				80	
Philippines				80	
Fiji				81	
Maldives				82	
Sri Lanka				83	
Mongolia					86
Thailand					88
Republic of Korea					88
Samoa					98
Japan					99
Tonga					99
New Zealand					99
Australia					100

Source: *The State of the World's Children 1989*. UNICEF pp. 100-101.

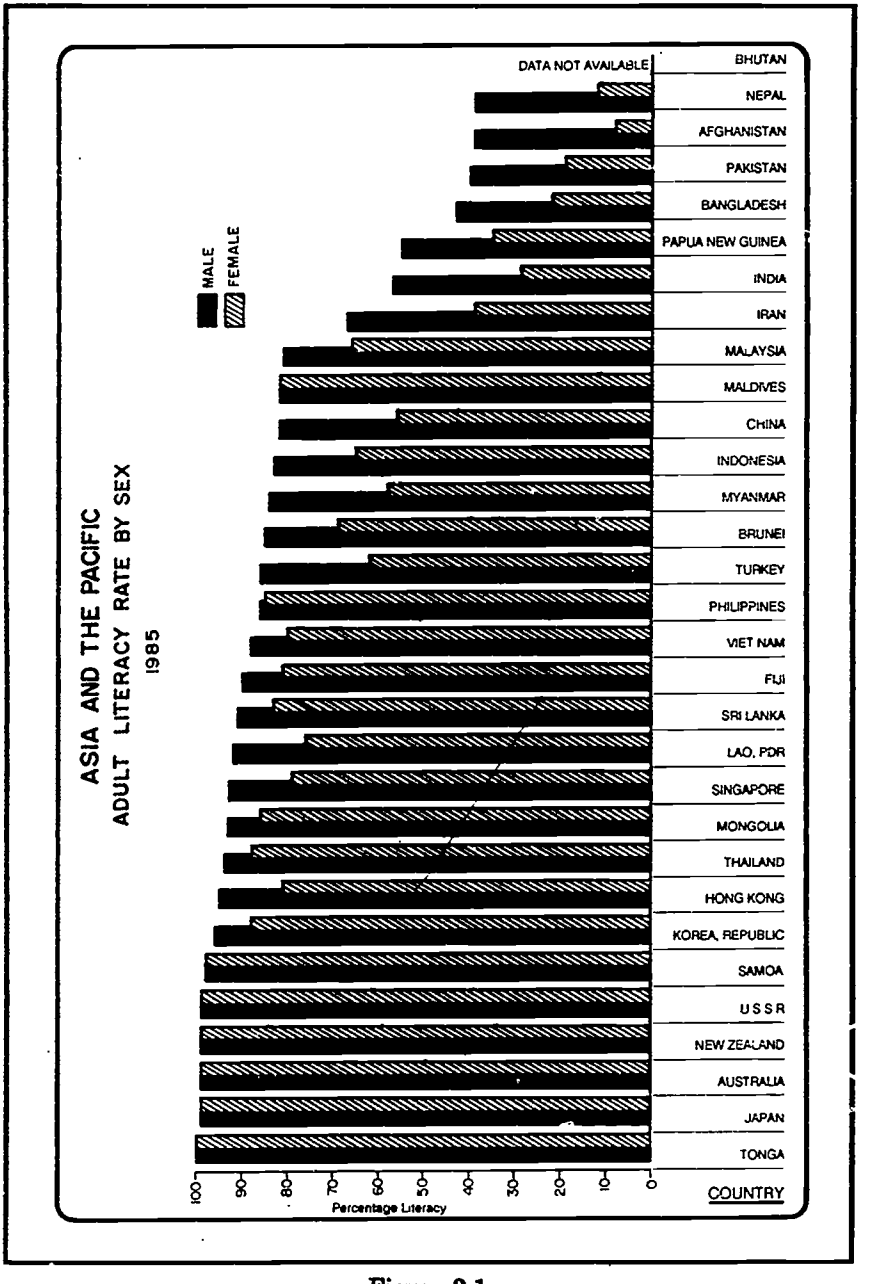
ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
ADULT LITERACY RATE BY SEX
1985
MALE
FEMALE
DATA NOT AVAILABLE
BHUTAN
NEPAL
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
BANGLADESH
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
INDIA
IRAN
MALAYSIA
MALDIVES
CHINA
INDONESIA
MYANMAR
BRUNEI
TURKEY
PHILIPPINES
VIET NAM
FIJI
SRI LANKA
LAO, PDR
SINGAPORE
MONGOLIA
THAILAND
HONG KONG
KOREA, REPUBLIC
SAMOA
U S S R
NEW ZEALAND
AUSTRALIA
JAPAN
TONGA
COUNTRY
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percentage Literacy

Figure 3.1

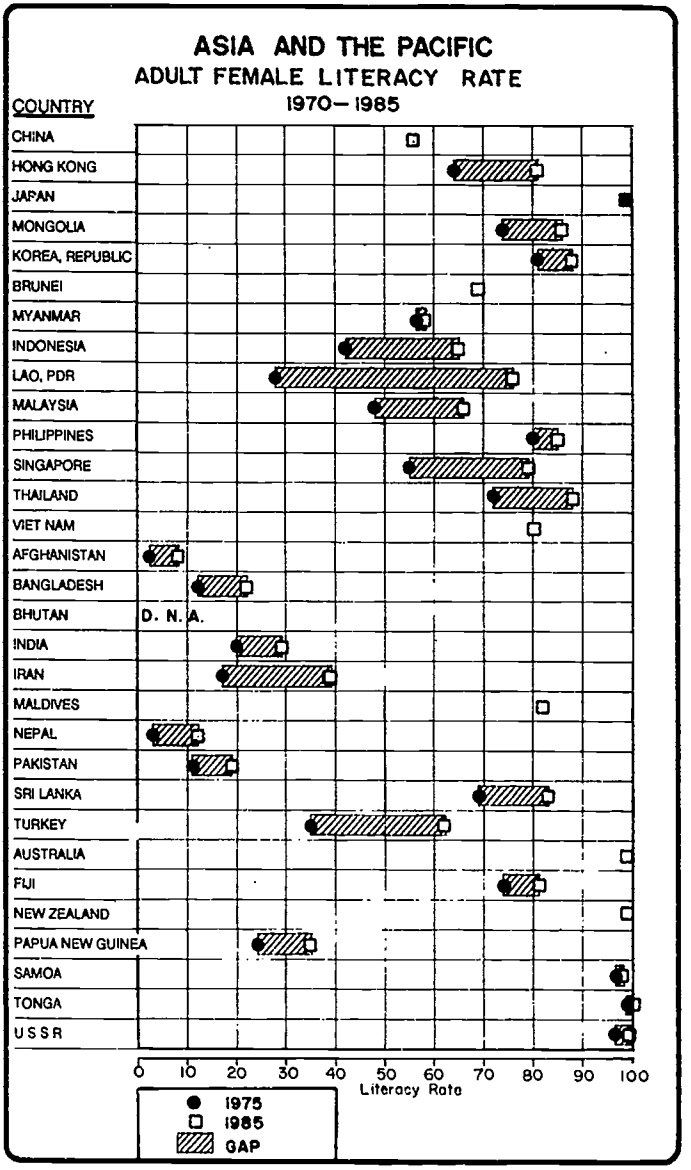

Figure 3.2

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Table 3.2

Female Enrolments at the First Level in Asia and Pacific, 1985

Country	Below 25%	26 to 50%	51 to 75%	76% to 100%	Above 100%
Afghanistan	11				
Bhutan	18				
Pakistan		33			
Nepal		47			
Bangladesh		50			
Papua New Guinea			53 (1982)		
India				80 (1986)	
Laos				85	
Viet Nam				94	
Thailand				96 (1980)	
Republic of Korea				96	
Malaysia				99	
Iran					101
Japan					102
Sri Lanka					102
Mongolia					103
Hong Kong					104 (1984)
Australia					105
New Zealand					106
Philippines					106
Turkey					112
Singapore					113
China					114
Indonesia					115
Myanmar					125

Source: *The State the World's Children, 1989.* UNICEF.

Table 3.3

Percentage of Grade 1 Enrolment Completing Primary Level in 1980-1986 in Asia and the Pacific Region

Country	100%	99 to 90%	89 to 80%	79 to 60%	59 to 50%	Below 50%
Japan	100					
Hong Kong		98				
Malaysia		97				
Republic of Korea		97				
Sri Lanka		91				
Singapore		90				
Turkey			85			
Indonesia			80			
Iran				70		
Papua New Guinea				67		
China				66		
Thailand				64		
Philippines				64		
Afghanistan					54	
Viet Nam					50	
India						38
Pakistan						34
Myanmar						27
Nepal						27
Bhutan						25
Bangladesh						20
Laos						14

Source: *The State of the World's Children 1989.* UNICEF p. 100.

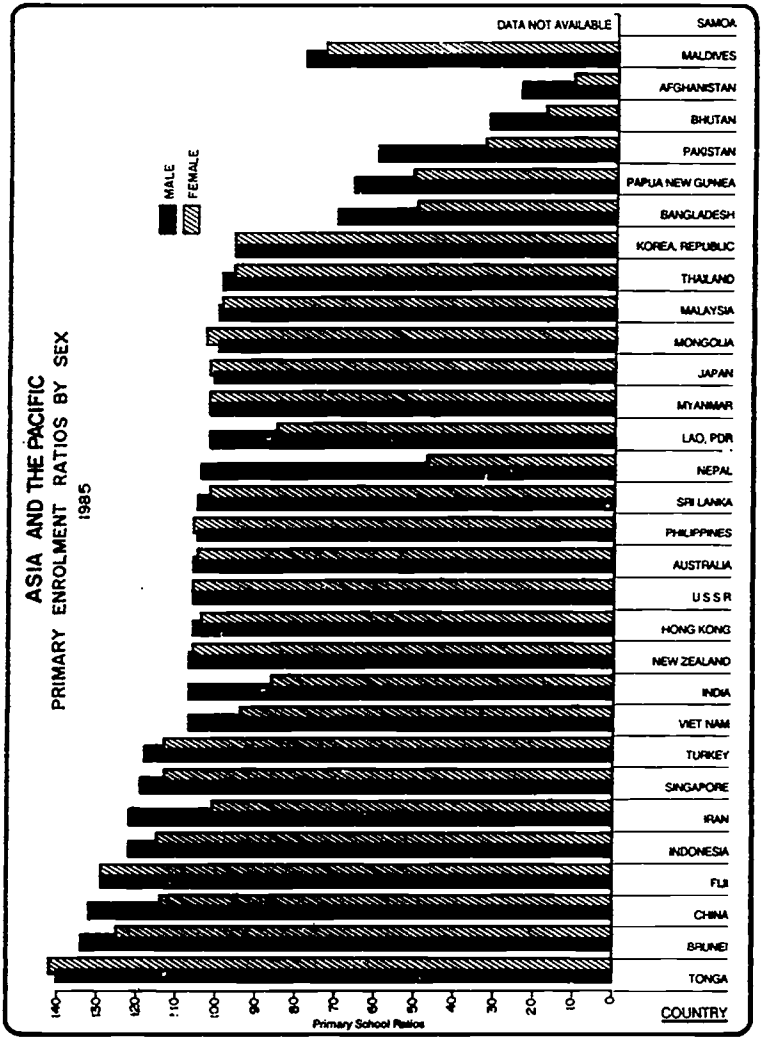
ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
PRIMARY ENROLMENT RATIOS BY SEX
1985
MALE
FEMALE
DATA NOT AVAILABLE
SAMOA
MALDIVES
AFGHANISTAN
BHUTAN
PAKISTAN
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
BANGLADESH
KOREA, REPUBLIC
THAILAND
MALAYSIA
MONGOLIA
JAPAN
MYANMAR
LAO, PDR
NEPAL
SRI LANKA
PHILIPPINES
AUSTRALIA
U S S R
HONG KONG
NEW ZEALAND
INDIA
VIET NAM
TURKEY
SINGAPORE
IRAN
INDONESIA
FIJI
CHINA
BRUNEI
TONGA
140
130
120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Primary School Ratios
COUNTRY

Figure 3.3

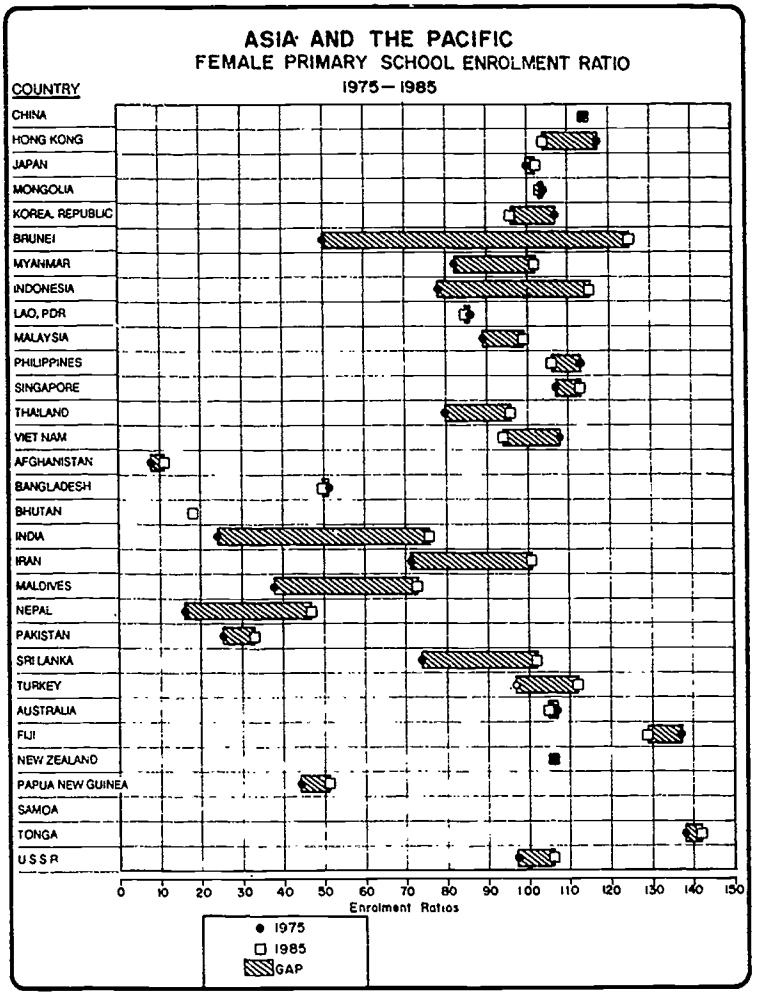

Figure 3.4

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and Singapore, Sri Lanka, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, and Hong Kong have between 90 and 98 per cent completers. In Japan, 100 per cent of those who entered grade 1 in 1980 had completed primary education by 1986.

Coupled with the fact that the drop-out rate among girls is higher than that for boys, especially in low female literacy South Asia countries, and the absolute level of girls' enrolment is low, it is only to be expected that the number of female adult illiterates is likely to grow in these countries unless effective measures are taken to enrol and retain girls in the system. With 50 per cent completing the primary cycle in Viet Nam and only 14 per cent in Laos, past efforts to make adults literate may regress, unless all children who enter school are able to complete the primary cycle. It has been found that a minimum of five years of primary schooling is necessary for a person to maintain these skills (Islam, 1982: 18).

Female literacy, as such, would result largely from the extent to which (rural) girls of the primary age-group enter and complete school and the degree to which adult education programmes are able to motivate especially the rural women and urban slum women who are past the schooling age to join these programmes. This would need sensitivity to the life cycles of women and girls and educational planning based on the reality of their lives and in consultation with them.

Female second-level enrolment. Female enrolments in secondary education present a mixed but very interesting picture. Girls' enrolment ratios are lower than boys' in most countries, but in at least ten countries – Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Mongolia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, Fiji, Australia and New Zealand – girls' enrolment ratios are higher than those for boys (see Figure 3.3). These are also countries with above 80 per cent female literacy rates and between 50 and 100 per cent of the relevant age-group attending secondary schools (see Table 3.6 at end of article). This phenomenon is likely to challenge the existing status systems based on male dominance of females, especially if women consolidate this advantage in the labour market and the polity. As Table 3.4 shows, female enrolments as a percentage of the relevant age-group range from one per cent to 97 per cent in the Asia-Pacific region.

Female third-level enrolment. Female enrolments trail those for males in higher education in all Asia-Pacific countries except the Philippines and Mongolia where women continue their advantaged position over males. Female participation rates in higher education range from 0.1 per cent to 40.3 per cent in the various countries of the region. (See Table 3.6 at the end of the article for male-female differentials and progress for the

Table 3.4

Female Enrolments as Percentage of the Relevant Age-Group at Second Levels in Asia and the Pacific, 1985

Country	Below 25%	25 to 49%	50 to 74%	75 and Above
Bhutan	1			
Afghanistan	5			
Pakistan	5			
Papua New Guinea	8			
Bangladesh	10			
Nepal	11			
Laos	16			
Thailand	23			
Turkey		31		
China		32		
Brunei		33		
Indonesia		34		
Iran		37		
Viet Nam		41		
Malaysia			53	
Fiji			55	
Sri Lanka			67	
Republic of Korea			71	
Hong Kong			72	
Singapore			73	
New Zealand				86
Mongolia				96
Japan				97
Australia				97

Source: See Table 3.6 at end of article.

Table 3.5

Female Enrolment Ratios at the Third level of Education in Asia and the Pacific, 1985

Country	Below 5%	5 to 10%	10.1 to 20%	Above 20.1%
Bhutan	0.1			
Afghanistan	0.4			
Papua New Guinea	0.9			
China	1.0			
Viet Nam	1.0			
Laos	1.1			
Nepal	1.9			
Bangladesh	2.0			
Iran	2.6			
Fiji	2.6			
Sri Lanka	3.1			
Pakistan	3.1			
Indonesia	4.2			
India		5.2		
Malaysia		5.3		
Turkey		6.5		
Hong Kong		9.3		
Singapore			10.2	
Republic of Korea			19.5	
Thailand			19.6	
Japan				20.3
Mongolia				26.0
Australia				27.0
New Zealand				29.0
Philippines				40.3

Source: See Table 3.6 at end of article.

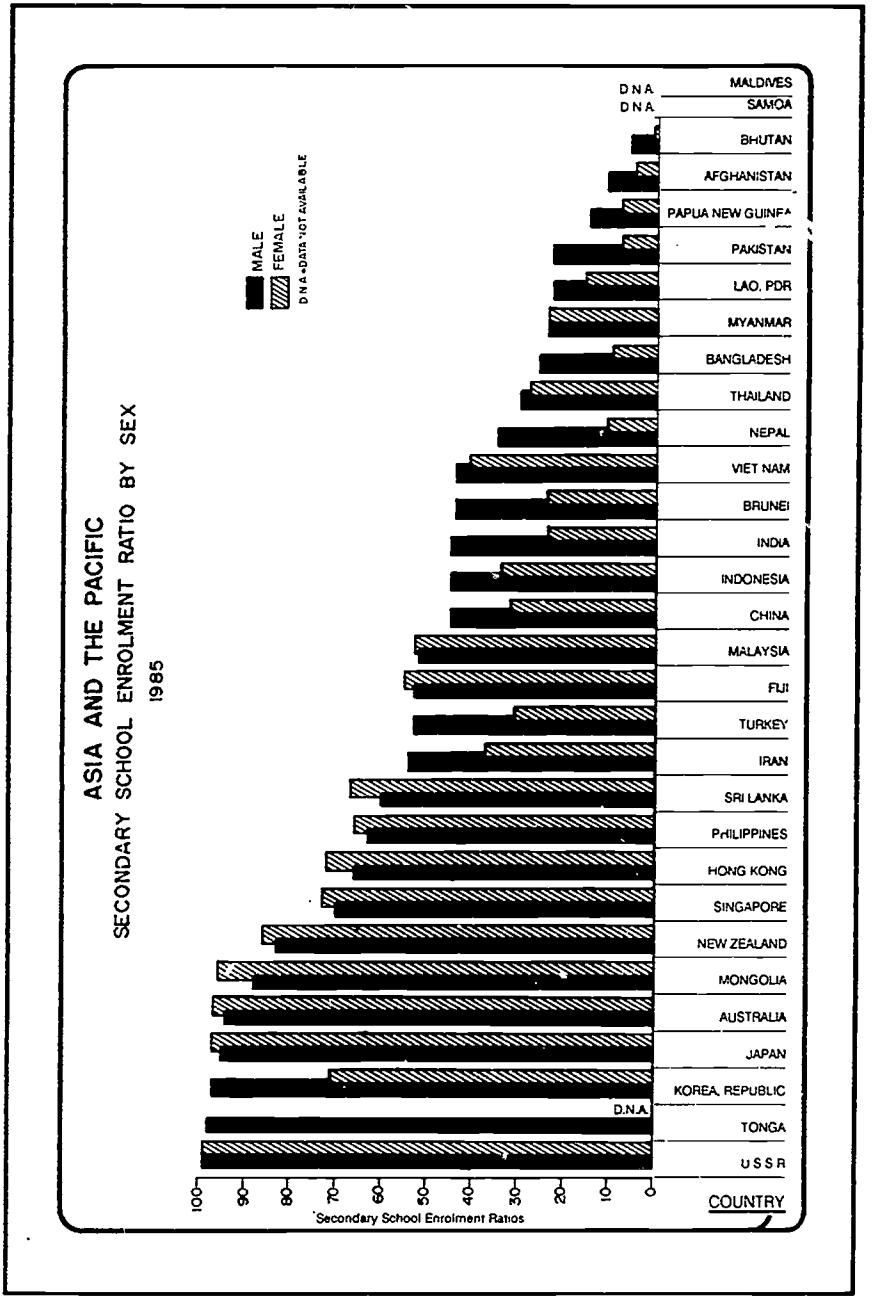
period 1975-1985). Table 3.5 shows the broad percentage range of women receiving higher education in the region in 1985.

A ready reckoner of the educational status of women in a country is the proportion of women among professional, technical and allied workers and among administrators and managers. Because of differential access to the levels and types of education, educated women tend to concentrate in a few female stereotyped occupations, such as school teachers, nurses, clerical workers and other lower level white-collar jobs. Sex stereotyping prevalent in all aspects of life makes them close their options earlier than men. Both at secondary and post-secondary levels, women are generally concentrated in arts or home science courses and remain outside science and maths-based education which opens many doors to the high productivity and high-tech sectors of the economy (Jayawardena and Jayaweera, 1985; Nayar, 1988).

As Table 3.8 at the end of this article shows, women's participation is fairly low among professional and technical workers in low female education countries and ranges from eight per cent in Nepal to 15 per cent in Pakistan and around 20 per cent in India. In most of the countries with a high female literacy/school enrolment rate, women form between 33 and 64 per cent of professional, technical and allied workers but mainly as education, health and development workers. The proportion of women in administrative and managerial positions is awfully low in South Asia – Pakistan, two per cent; India, 2.3 per cent; Republic of Korea, 3.2 per cent; Nepal, 4.2 per cent; Sri Lanka, 6.8 per cent; the Maldives, 9.6 per cent; Indonesia, 6.5 per cent; Brunei, six per cent; Japan 7.6 per cent; between 10 per cent and 20 per cent in China, Hong Kong, Thailand, and New Zealand; and between 20 per cent and 30 per cent in Australia, Singapore and the Philippines. It is obvious that the type of education women receive and the economic opportunities available/permitted to women in any system determine their participation in lead sectors.[8]

Correlates of Female Literacy

Female literacy is considered to be a more sensitive index of social development than the overall literacy rate. Female literacy depresses mortality and fertility and has a positive association with female age at marriage, family health and nutrition, female participation in the wage sector, increased female productivity in domestic and non-domestic spheres, and female schooling. Further, female literacy is influenced by the prevailing ideologies and social structures and by the interplay of social, economic and political factors, and is determined by the status accorded to


ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATIO BY SEX
1985
MALE
FEMALE
D N A = DATA NOT AVAILABLE
D N A
D N A
MALDIVES
SAMOA
BHUTAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
PAKISTAN
LAO, PDR
MYANMAR
BANGLADESH
THAILAND
NEPAL
VIET NAM
BRUNEI
INDIA
INDONESIA
CHINA
MALAYSIA
FIJI
TURKEY
IRAN
SRI LANKA
PHILIPPINES
HONG KONG
SINGAPORE
NEW ZEALAND
MONGOLIA
AUSTRALIA
JAPAN
KOREA, REPUBLIC
D.N.A.
TONGA
U S S R
COUNTRY
100
90
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40
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10
0
Secondary School Enrolment Ratios

Figure 3.5

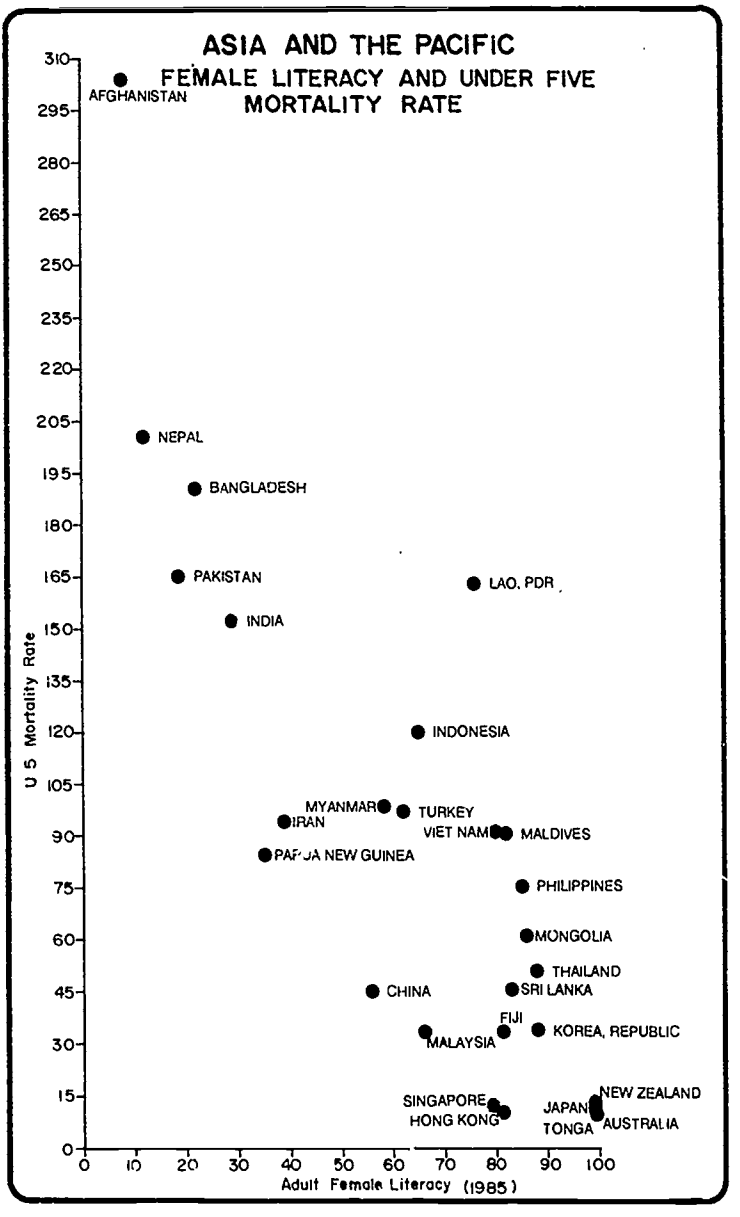
ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
FEMALE LITERACY AND UNDER FIVE MORTALITY RATE
U 5 Mortality Rate
Adult Female Literacy (1985)
AFGHANISTAN
NEPAL
BANGLADESH
PAKISTAN
INDIA
LAO, PDR
INDONESIA
MYANMAR
IRAN
TURKEY
VIET NAM
MALDIVES
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
PHILIPPINES
MONGOLIA
THAILAND
CHINA
SRI LANKA
FIJI
MALAYSIA
KOREA, REPUBLIC
SINGAPORE
HONG KONG
JAPAN
NEW ZEALAND
TONGA
AUSTRALIA

Figure 3.6

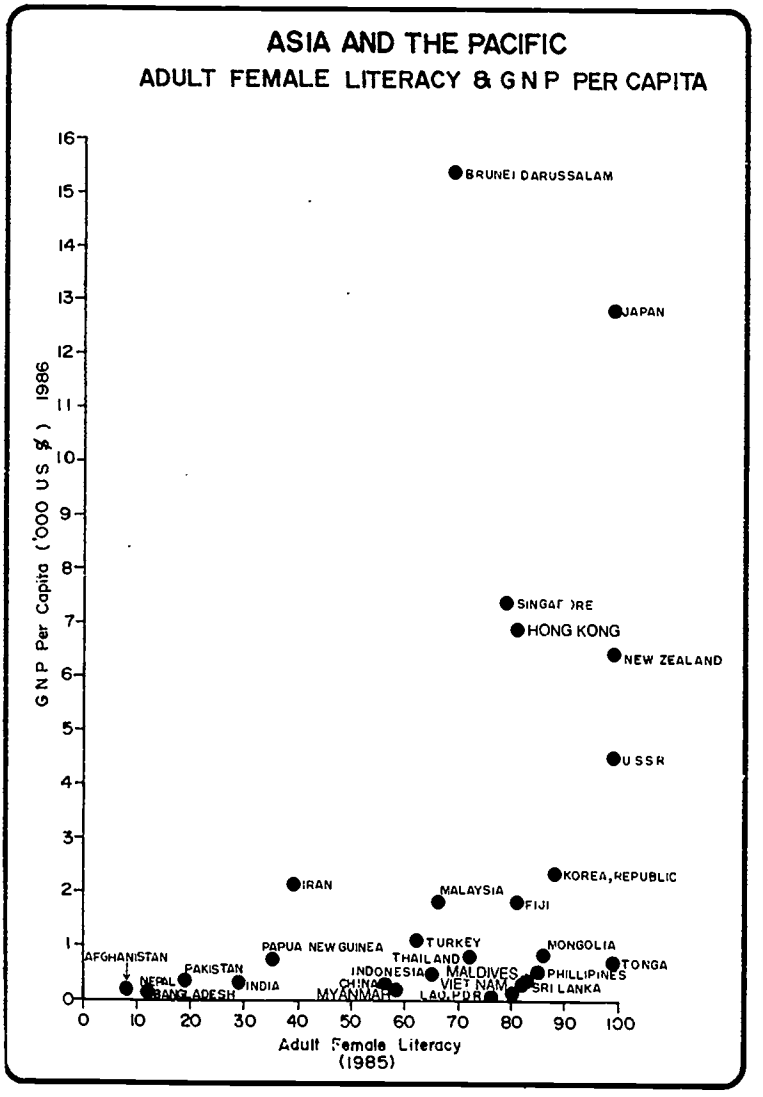

Figure 3.7

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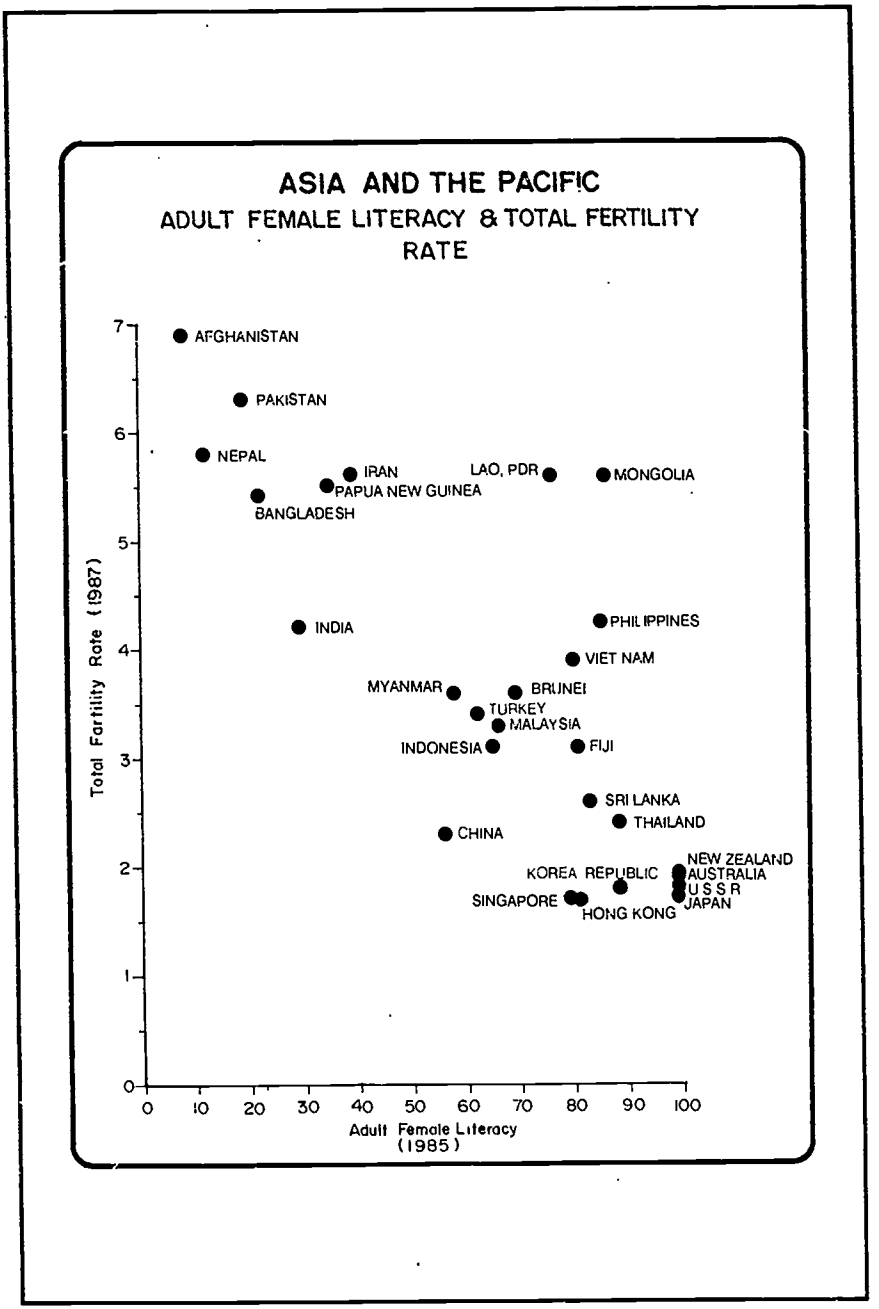

Figure 3.8

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women in a society. This is amplified by the wide range of experiences of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

As Table 3.9 at the end of this article shows, countries with low female literacy (8 to 35 per cent) have low female enrolments at the primary level, very high under-five mortality (U5MR) and infant mortality (IMR), very high total fertility rates (TFR) and high population growth rates (see Figures 3.6 and 3.7). These countries have large rural populations engaged in subsistence agriculture or wage labour, low male literacy, low life expectancy, low GNP per capita, and large populations below absolute poverty levels. Some countries, such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, have an adverse sex ratio, due to severe discrimination and neglect of the females and, consequently, higher morbidity and mortality among them.

Currently, the bulk of the world's absolute poor live in South Asia, 'the illiteracy bowl.' In Nepal, the proportion of absolute poor among urban and rural populations was 55 and 61 per cent respectively between 1980 and 1986. In India, 40 per cent of the urban and 51 per cent of the rural populations fell into this category; in Pakistan 32 per cent urban and 29 per cent rural; and in Papua New Guinea, 10 per cent of the urban and 75 per cent of the rural populations were in the category of absolute poor. In Bangladesh, 85 per cent of both its urban and rural populations fall below the poverty level.[9] (*The State of World's Children, 1989*. P. 104)

These are also the countries where populations get less than the required daily calorie supply and, without fail, these are also the cultures where women and girls are the last to eat in the family. High IMR is also due to poor pre- and post-natal care for women and infants. In 1986-1987, only three per cent of the births were attended by trained medical personnel in Bhutan; 10 per cent in Nepal; 12 per cent in Bangladesh; 15 per cent in Laos; 24 per cent in Pakistan; 33 per cent in India; and 34 per cent in Papua New Guinea. Maternal mortality rates are as high as 1,000 in Papua New Guinea, 850 in Nepal, 600 in Pakistan and Bangladesh, and 500 in India.[10]

Born the stronger of the two sexes, because of severe discrimination and neglect starting at birth (and now even before), the undernourished, uncared-for girls grow up into anemic mothers, who face high risk motherhood as a result of early marriage and give birth to low birth weight babies.[11] Besides, these young mothers (if they survive childbirth) would have missed schooling and later become adult female illiterates and workers.

Women and health. Female literacy and enrolments have improved tremendously in countries with strong health policies. Both

coverage and quality of health service, in addition to adequate nutritional intake, determine child survival. Women's education affects child nutrition, health and mortality, child school achievements and fertility. A mother's education explains more about variation in child mortality -- compared to other variables of individual access to health care, price of health care, and even total family income. The competing hypothesis is that the educated mother uses a different mix of observable health inputs. She uses inputs more effectively and her education leads to minor health inputs that are not easily observed (Schultz, 1989).

It would, however, be naive to think that literacy alone will lower child mortality and fertility. Laos, for instance, with 76 per cent adult female literacy has not been able to substantially bring down U5MR, IMR, TFR and life expectancy continues to be low. As observed in some studies, even if adult literacy programmes do provide education on health and nutrition, women in very poor households lack the wherewithal to take advantage of the programmes. Food itself is lacking and so are such basic amenities as drinking water and health services. This implies the need for a mix of education, health and other basic services for reducing child mortality.[12]

Urbanization. Urbanization exerts a positive influence on women's education and health due to better delivery of these services and availability of other infrastructure like safe water and sanitation, roads, electricity, and higher incomes among populations.[13] During 1980-1987, more than half the rural populations did not have access to health service (in extreme cases, 11 per cent in Myanmar and only 17 per cent in Afghanistan were covered), and safe drinking water was available only to 10 per cent of the rural populations in Afghanistan and Papua New Guinea, 14 per cent in Bhutan, 27 per cent in Myanmar, and to less than half the rural populations of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Viet Nam, Nepal, and Indonesia, and a little more than half of the rural people in Malaysia, the Philippines and Iran. Getting water for household use, regardless of the distance, is a task usually assigned to women in South Asia. Rural populations receive a lower share of national resources and public services. They produce the food but go hungry themselves.

Industrialization and growth. Data on the Asia-Pacific region amply suggest that industrialization increases female participation in schooling because of the demand for literate and educated workers. Women do get integrated in modern occupational structures at whatever level. The early to industrialize -- Australia, Japan, New Zealand -- achieved universal literacy and universal schooling in the 1950s and 1960s. The newly industrialized economies (NIEs) show a large growth spurt in

the 1970s and 1980s. The Republic of Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore have achieved 80 per cent female literacy rates and universal primary education (UPE) in a short time span. Malaysia, with a high rate of economic growth in the 1970s accompanied by strong social restructuring policies, brought about UPE and has 66 per cent female literacy.

Thailand registered a GDP growth of 11 per cent in 1988, accompanied by a literacy level of 91 per cent and a gross enrolment ratio of 98 per cent in primary education.

Egalitarian gender structure. The Philippines has achieved 88 per cent female literacy with a lower industrial base and moderate growth (negative for the Philippines recently) due to egalitarian gender structures in which old and dependent parents continue to be the responsibility of the daughters, a tradition continuing from their matrilineal past. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, had 85 per cent literacy in 1981 at a US$260 per capita income. A plantation economy, the strongly distributive social policies of free food, free education, free health and subsidized transport, along with an egalitarian social structure (based on the Buddhist four-fold division of *Bhikku, Bhikkuni, Parivarak* and *Parivarajika* – male and female priests and male and female lay persons), has universalized primary education and resulted in a female literacy rate of 83 per cent. With a very low IMR, Sri Lanka also has high life expectancy and a low population growth rate.

Women and work. The undervaluation of women's work is linked with their overall status and access to societal resources. An average rural woman works from 15 to 19 hours a day and yet only 5.6 per cent of the women in Bangladesh, 5.8 per cent in Pakistan, 8 per cent in Afghanistan and Iran, and 19.8 per cent in India are considered to be part of the labour force. Rural and urban poor women and girls in these societies produce 'use value' goods and services – food preparation, water fetching, fodder making or fetching, fuel making, and child care – in addition to unpaid family labour in subsistence agriculture and household-based production of articles and goods of 'exchange value.' Countries of East Asia and Southeast Asia show higher female labour force participation rates of 25 per cent to 50 per cent, but in all societies it is lower than that for males. The relationship between literacy/education and productivity is well established as positive and, hence, lower literacy and LPR of women in South and Southwest Asia deserves urgent attention (see Table 3.10 at end of article).

Female school drop-outs. Discriminatory attitudes towards girls keep them out of school in poverty households where the burden of male employment is passed on to women and children, especially girls. Daughters attend to domestic chores and sibling care in addition to

farmwork and family production and are denied schooling or are forced to drop out of school. This trend will continue unless employment assures a survival income to the family (Raj, 1985). Furthermore, girls in poorer families subsidize their brothers' education. Even the poorest of the families in any Asian society tries to put at least one son through school to become a white-collar worker. Additional[14] women and young girls in the family labour pool significantly improve the amount of schooling male children will receive (Ashby, 1985). In Nepal, for instance, the demand for girls' labour is higher by about 50 per cent compared to boys' (Jamison and Lockheed 1987). Female activity rates for the age-group 10 to 14 years in Nepal are the highest in South Asia (Khan 1989). As another study points out, female activity rates for the age-group 10 to 14 years was the highest of all groups (Papanek, 1985: 334). An Indian study shows that women's and girls' (but not boys') work is interchangeable; therefore, a 10-per-cent rise in female wages reduced girls' school attendance by about five per cent. The direct cost of schooling girls works out to be higher than that for boys on such items as school fees, books, uniforms, hostels, transport, etc.[15]

Negative attitudes towards girls' education. 'The general attitude of males in rural areas is not to invest in female education, as the traditional expectation is for girls to get married and attend to household chores.' (APEID. *UPE for Girls in Pakistan, 1987.*) Investment in girls' education is also considered undesirable because the benefits will accrue to another household (Qasem, 1983: 21; Shah, 1986; Nayar, 1989). Further, negative utility is attributed to girls' education, as rural parents feel that education makes them unfit for the hard labour which will be expected of these girls after marriage (Seetharamu and Usha Devi 1985; Desai, 1987). Some rural parents in Nepal even view female education as immoral (Unesco, 1975: 37; Clason 1976-1977: 182). An attitudinal survey in Pakistan found that education was seen to make girls fearless, self-centred, defiant of parental authority and uninterested in household affairs (Smock, 1981: 91). There are others who do not wish to educate a daughter for, then, they would have to look for educated grooms who would carry a higher dowry price (Tilak 1989: 62).

It is evident that as long as discriminatory attitudes exist girls in poverty-stricken households will suffer the most and will continue to add to female illiteracy in the Asia-Pacific region. It is seen that as the economic standing of a household improves, the number of female children in school goes up (Nayar, 1988). Along the same line, middle-class parents in urban areas have a different attitude and see girls' education as essential for bringing up children 'properly' and adding a second income when necessary (Khan, 1989).

Role of state policies. It may be pertinent to mention that Laos, with its extremely low GNP per capita income of US$80, and Viet Nam (US$160) have achieved high female literacy rates of 76 per cent and 80 per cent respectively (Figure 3.8), female enrolments at the primary level being 86 per cent and 108 per cent respectively. This has been achieved in record time through expanded schooling and large-scale adult literacy campaigns.

Poverty, therefore, is not a deterrent when state ideology is based on distributive justice, whether within a liberal democratic framework as in Sri Lanka or in a socialist democracy. It also may be significant to mention that in socialist societies women are singled out for greater attention and encouraged/required to participate in production and have attempted allied tasks of national reconstruction. These societies acknowledge 'repression of women through history' and have consciously tried to socialize production and reproduction and promote the resocialization of men to acknowledge the new productive roles of women (politically, women have remained on the periphery, however). Cuba has gone to the extent of restructuring the division of labour within the institution of the family. According to the 1975 Family Code, men must share household work on a fifty-fifty basis (Cole, 1980). China advanced similar measures, among them very stringent implementation of compulsory schooling for girls. In the province of Gansu, girls have been allowed to bring their younger brothers and sisters with them to school. This has had a positive impact on girls' enrolments (World Bank, 1988).

Resource allocations. A striking feature of the societies mentioned earlier – Laos, Viet Nam, Sri Lanka and Myanmar – is that they spend 85 to 90 per cent of their budgets on mass education and school level education. The proportion of the relevant age-group in higher education is fairly small, 1.4 per cent in China and Laos, 2.2 per cent in Viet Nam and 4.1 per cent in Sri Lanka. Considering the small school base, Nepal's 4.8 per cent, Bangladesh's 4.9 per cent and India's 8.6 per cent consume a large share of the educational budgets, thus starving primary education and adult education programmes. Mass education is by nature distributive and higher education is by nature elitist. In countries where mass education and distributive social policies of health, nutrition, etc. took precedence, women and girls got better treatment and relatively greater justice.

In low female literacy countries in South and West Asia, adult education began receiving attention only in the late 1970s and in the early 1980s. In Bangladesh, the first mass literacy campaign was launched in the 1980s, but a change in policy in 1982 redirected state efforts to UPE as a priority area. Adult education efforts were sporadic in India prior to 1977,

but the last ten years provided enough experience to launch a National Literacy Mission (for the 15-to-35-year age-group) in October 1988, with the focus on empowerment of women through functional literacy and skills development. This is accompanied by a renewed effort to universalize primary education through a massive 'Operation Blackboard' to provide minimum physical infrastructure and teachers to each school and a centrally sponsored programme of non-formal education for out-of-school children in the age-group of 9 to 14 years. Considering that child marriage and child labour are serious hindrances, the success of non-formal education (NFE) will depend on the extent to which poverty, conservatism and seclusion of the rural area are addressed by poverty alleviation, rural development and awareness generation programmes. In Pakistan, adult education was included in the fourth Five-Year Plan for the first time. In the 1972 Education Policy, eradication of illiteracy was listed as a goal to be achieved through UPE and a mass literacy programme. Female literacy did not receive emphasis until 1978-1983 (Unesco, 1984a: 5-9; Mustafa, 1988; Larrabee 1984).

Yet it is estimated that 'primary education can only partially plug [in] the number of boys and girls joining the swelling stream of illiterates' (APEID 1987, Pakistan: 9). In Nepal, adult literacy efforts did not adopt any gender specific strategies and no serious alternative for education of out-of-school female children was considered until the sixth Plan (1980-1985), when women and girls as a special group were emphasized in 1984. Even in the seventh Plan (1985-1990), a major thrust for the removal of illiteracy in the age-group of 6 to 45 years involves increasing girls participation in primary schooling (Basnayat, 1985).

Low women's participation in NFE programmes. As experiences of some South Asian and Southeast Asian countries show, non-formal education of out-of-school girls and women has been given a low priority in terms of institutional support and financial resources and, above all, has lacked any commitment to gender equality. Further, these programmes have suffered in their planning and implementation from the urban middle-class bias of the male planners. No attempt is made to go beyond the traditional methods to encourage women to overcome their economic and cultural constraints. Women training programmes are a reflection of their marginal status in the labour force and family. The programmes do not take into account the reality of women's lives, nor make any attempt to help them change it.[16]

The complications are obvious.

- Time constraint: A rural woman's day is 15 to 19 hours long. Even if labour-saving devices are introduced, women would be too busy

doing other chores to attend adult education and training programmes. Lack of time and leisure are major constraints for poor women.

- Location: Often the adult education and training programmes are located at a distance which women and their families find unsuitable.
- Lack of support services: Even when women are keen to attend such classes, they are unable to do so in the absence of any arrangements for the care of their young.
- Relevance: The programmes do not meet the critical needs of women and are not designed in consultation with them. Most training is in conventional areas to improve their reproductive functions and domestic tasks. They are seldom given anything beyond such input as sewing, needlework, and tips on nutrition and health. They are not introduced to any new technologies or skills beyond the domestic ones. The 'domestication of women' continues. In one country, courses in 'agriculture for women' meant kitchen work, gardening, and fruit and vegetable preservation; 'industrial' courses comprised embroidery, and cutting and sewing. (Patel, 1989: 33).[17]
- The number of such programmes available for women are few and are often for a few days, a few weeks or a few months, and do not lead to any formal qualifications. Most training is not geared to prepare women to compete in the labour market.
- A literacy component for women is either absent or poorly handled in development programmes of ministries related to women's affairs; other ministries and programmes of education ministries often lack any skill component.
- Women's literacy training programmes do not reflect the spirit of adult education. Specifically, they do not serve as a vehicle to transport skills and knowledge best suited to improve the capacities of the target groups and place them in a more advantageous position vis-à-vis their environments. As such, the programmes do not help women learners survive with dignity. Nor do they help the learners to question injustice.

What has worked?

Non-formal education programmes for women which have worked on the ground appear to have a few special features in common, such as:

- the assumption that women constitute a major societal transformation strategy – women were part of the productive processes and literacy was meant for infusing ideologically supported work ethics and a new way of life, including in the institution of family;
- programmes which link women with production – from training in skills to actual production and marketing, providing support structures of child care;
- programmes which are organized in pleasant surroundings and offer some leisure-time activities;
- programmes which have been planned along with the women for whom they were intended, from the point of needs identification to working out strategies;
- programmes which did not initially insist on teaching literacy skill but used other entry points (e.g. health problems) and others skills which needed minimum literacy – participants felt motivated to learn the three Rs as a tool to tackle health problems;
- programmes which give formal certification and entry into the organized sector;
- programmes which mobilized women themselves for organized action and consciously promoted awareness and self-confidence among women;
- programmes that have adopted a multi-skill approach which combines skills training for production with the dissemination of information on health, nutrition, family planning – the underlying assumption being that improvement of the earning potential will motivate women to participate in educational activities;
- programmes offering non-traditional skills training (BARD, Bangladesh, Gonshasthay Kendra Savar), which train women in carpentry, metal work, and shoemaking – in India some NGOs teach carpentry, sewing and silk painting;
- programmes using 'on-the-spot programme' development formats conducted in actual work situations, on farms, or at building sites (CERID, Nepal offers six months of training to a group of 20 to 30 learners in the age-group of 14 to 45 years);
- programmes using communication technology as a medium;

- income-generation projects providing women training in production as well as social services to become self-employed, and enabling them to fully support their families (SEWA of India);
- programmes for obtaining production credit for women which motivate women to participate in adult literacy; and
- programmes with a complete complement of residential training, crèches, marketing and employment.

Trends and directions of future. The existing evidence indicates that female literacy rates and the absolute number of female illiterates will continue to go up in South and West Asia unless a simultaneous attempt is made to universalize primary schooling and educate adult illiterates through well-planned mass campaigns. The number of additional enrolments at the first level by the year 2000 is estimated to be over 75 million in the subregion (65 million in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan alone).[18] Unless a serious effort in terms of resource allocations and gender-specific strategy to UPE is adopted, there will be an additional 50 million girls added to the pool of 450 million female illiterates in this subregion. Broadly speaking, the following conclusions may be made.

- Female literacy is dependent on the social policies and ideological persuasions regarding the roles and status of women. Female literacy has been achieved in countries with extremely low levels of income and with strong distributive social policies on health, education, training and employment – countries in which women acquired an important place in production. Female non-formal education, therefore, has to be to linked production.
- Non-formal education of women and schooling for girls have to be accompanied essentially by strong health and nutrition policies. 'Education for All' cannot be achieved without 'Health for All,' and the two together entail a whole set of complements – medical facilities, drinking water, sanitation, early childhood care and education.
- The poverty of nations affects women and girls most in gender discriminatory societies. The extremely conservative attitudes towards females are not easy to change in South and West Asia. But here also, the number of female children rises with the income of the household. Middle-class families do educate their daughters, even if for different reasons. The international and national communities have to address themselves to the question of better redistribution of the global and national GDP. Some national societies have done it with a conscious effort.

- A strong appeal must be made to national leadership and international organizations to address themselves to the gender question more squarely, both in policy and implementation. The rhetoric of equality between the sexes and an end to all discrimination against women requires restructuring of relations among nations and population groups and reallocation of national and international budgets. Interestingly, the economics of education tells us that both private and social returns to women's education are greater than those for men at virtually every level and, 'at worst,' equal to those for men (Psacharopoulos, 1973, 1985). Society suffers losses due to unequal education for males and females because the value added to education goes up when women's participation is high. Also, in those systems in which access to education is determined by factors other than ability, particularly the gender of the child, there is a 'misallocation' of resources (Selowsky, 1983).

- Women's education and development is a function of women's equality, which will come about not by the mere provision of rights but by the ability of women to use those rights. This would be conditioned by several factors: the general level of economic development, although growth is no guarantee of distribution; the priority accorded to issues concerning women; the degree to which governments equate women's development with overall national development and offer leadership roles to women; the extent to which governments actually make a positive concerted effort to change the attitudes and prejudices concerning women through a process of resocialization of men to the principle of equality between sexes; the extent to which reproductive and auxiliary responsibilities are taken off the shoulders of women and shared by all household members; the degree to which social roles for men and women are redefined to encompass both the public roles and the private sphere of the family; and the emergence of a separate nationwide women's organization which is recognized as a legitimate political force and has access to policy.

- Finally, it is these macro decisions that will set the pace for non-formal education of adult illiterate women and universal primary schooling for girls. The cost of conducting female education is high, but the cost of not doing so would be unbearable for the entire human race.

Table 3.6 Literacy and Enrolments in Asia and the Pacific by Sex

Country	Adult Literacy Rate (Male/Female)		Primary School Ratios (Male/Female)		% of Grade 1 Enrolment Completing Primary School	Secondary School Enrolment Ratios (Male/Female)		Tertiary Level Enrolment (1975)	Ratios (M/F) (1985)
	(1970)	(1985)	(1975)	(1985)	(1980-1986)	(1975)	(1985)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
EAST ASIA									
China	82[1] (1975)	82/56	130/114	132/114	66	54/38	45/32	0.7/0.4	2.2/1.0
Hong Kong	91/64	95/81	122/117	106/104	98	51/47	66/72	14.7/5.3	16.0/9.3 (1984)
Japan	99/99	99/99	99/100	101/102	100	91/92	95/97	33.0/16.0	36.4/20.3
Mongolia	87/74	93/86	111/104	100/103 (1986)	95	77/84	88/96 (1986)	8.2/8.6	17.4/26.0 (1986)
Republic of Korea	94/81	96/88	107/107	96/96	94	64/48	97/71	14.6/5.9	42.7/19.5
SOUTHEAST ASIA									
Brunei Darussalam	NA	85/69	72/50	134/125	NA	6/3	44/33	NA	NA
Myanmar	85/57	84/58	88/82	102[2] (1983)	27	24/20	24[2] (1984)	NA	NA

Table 3.6 Literacy and Enrolments in Asia and the Pacific by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Indonesia	66/42	83/65	94/78	122/115	80	25/15	45/34 (1984)	NA	6.50[2]
Lao, PDR	37/28	92/76	102/86	102/85 (1980)	14	21/14 (1980)	23/16	0.6/0.3 (1980)	1.9/1.1
Malaysia	71/48	81/66	92/89	100/99	97	48/39	52/53	5.4/32. (1980)	6.7/5.3
Philippines	83/80	86/85	113/113	105/106	94	61/69	63/66	26.8/28.5 (1980)	35.5/40.3
Singapore	92/55	93/79	113/107	118/113	90	51/52	70/73	10.7/7.3	13.3/10.2 (1983)
Thailand	86/72	94/88	87/80	99/96	64	28/23	30/28	3.4[2]	19.6[2]
Viet Nam	87[1]	88/80 (1975)	106/108	107/9	50	38/41	44/41	2.6/1..6	3.4/1.0 (1980)
SOUTH ASIA AND TURKEY									
Afghanistan	13/2	39/8	41/8	24/11	54	13/2	11/5	1.7/0.3	2.2/0.4
Bangladesh	36/12	43/22	95/51	70/50	20	29/8	26/10	5.1/0.9 (1980)	8.0/2.0

Table 3.6 Literacy and Enrolments in Asia and the Pacific by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bhutan (1984)	NA	NA	NA	32/18	25	2.0/0.3	6/1	NA	0.4/0.1 (1980)
India	47/20	57/29	96/24	107/76 (1984)	38	37/18	45/24 (1984)	12.7/4.2	12.3/5.2 (1983)
Iran	40/17	62/39	114/71	122/101	76	57/33	54/37	7.0/2.8	6.7/2.6
Maldives	82[1] (1980)	82/82	40/38	78/73	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Nepal	23/3	39/12	86/16	104/47	27	23/4	35/11	2.3[2]	7.4/1.9 (1984)
Pakistan	30/11	40/19	56/25	60/33	34	22/7	23/8	2.7/0.9	7.0/3.2
Sri Lanka	85/69	91/83	81/74	105/102	91	47/49	60/67	1.7/1.0	4.6/3.1
Turkey	69/35	86/62	118/97	119/112	65	40/19	53/31	14.8/3.1	12.9/6.5
PACIFIC									
Australia	100[1] (1975)	100[1]	107/107	106/105	NA	87/87	94/97	28.0/19.8	28.4/27.0
Fiji	84/74	90/81	138/137	129/128	NA	43/44	53/55	4.2/1.6	4.1/2.6
New Zealand	99[1] (1985)	99/99	107/106	107/106	NA	80/81	83/86	31.8/19.3	33.1/29.0

Table 3.6 Literacy and Enrolments in Asia and the Pacific by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Papua New Guinea	39/24	55/35	69/44	66/51	67	16/7	15/8 (1980)	3.5/1.4	2.8/0.9
Samoa	97/97 (1971)	98/98	67/68 (1976)	NA	NA	76/87 (1976)	NA	NA	NA
Tonga	99/99 (1980)	100/100 (1968)	71/70 (1976)	140/142 (1965)	NA	95/91 (1976)	98	NA	NA
USSR	98/97	99/99	97[2]	106[2]	NA	92[2]	99[2]	22.2[2]	21.3[2]

NA = Not available

[1] = Figures indicate total adult literacy rates

[2] = Figures indicate male/female

Figures in parenthesis denote year corresponding to the enrolment ratios

Sources: *The State of the World's Children, 1989.* UNICEF (For Col. 2 and 3); *Statistical Year Bank, 1986.* Unesco. (for Bhutan): *Statistical Year Book, 1988.* Unesco. pp. 17-66 (For Col. 4-9); Literacy Ratio For Tonga and School enrolments in Samoa and Tonga are from Hughes, et. al.: 'Human Resource Development in the Pacific Island Developing Countries,' *Human Resource Development: Its Social Dimension.* UN/ESCAP, 1986.

Table 3.7 Asia and the Pacific: Illiterates & Percentage of Literates by Sex

Country	Year	Area	Illiterate Population (in 000')			Percentage of Literates		
			Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
EAST ASIA								
China	1982	T	230147	71111	159036	65.5	79.2	51.1
		U	18960	5284	13676	82.4	90.5	73.6
		R	211187	65827	145360	62.2	76.9	46.8
Hong Kong	1971	T	572	126	446	77.3	91.1	64.1
Japan	1960	T	1426	310	1116	97.8	99.0	96.7
		U	334	73	261	98.9	99.5	98.3
		R	1091	237	854	96.9	98.6	95.4
Mongolia	1956	T	NA	NA	NA	95.4	NA	NA
Republic of Korea	1970	T	2264	500	1764	87.6	94.4	81.0
		U	459	78	381	94.3	98.0	90.7
		R	1805	422	1383	82.2	91.5	73.4

Table 3.7 Asia and the Pacific: Illiterates & Percentage of Literacy by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
SOUTHEAST ASIA								
Brunei Darussalam	1981	T	26	10	16	77.8	85.2	69.0
Myanmar	1973	T	4762	1286	3476	71.0	84.1	58.3
Indonesia	1981	T	28325	9490	18835	67.3	77.5	57.7
		U	3327	879	2448	83.5	91.2	76.0
		R	24998	8612	16386	62.4	73.2	52.3
Lao, PDR	1985	T	NA	NA	NA	83.9	92.0	75.8
Malaysia	1980	T	2641	904	1732	72.0*	80.0	64.0
		U	638	190	448	81.0	78.0	74.0
		R	1998	713	1285	68.0	76.0	59.0
Philippines	1980	T	4627	2200	2427	83.3	83.9	82.8
		U	753	310	443	93.1	94.0	92.3
		R	3874	1890	1984	76.9	77.6	76.1
Singapore	1980	T	301	75	226	82.9	91.6	74.0
Thailand	1980	T	3297	1050	2247	88.0	92.3	84.0
Viet Nam	1979	T	4847	1340	3507	84.0	90.5	78.3

Table 3.7 Asia and the Pacific: Illiterates & Percentage of Literacy by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
SOUTHEAST ASIA AND TURKEY								
Afghanistan	1979	T	5833	2583	3250	18.2	30.3	5.0
		U	680	274	406	37.5	52.3	20.8
		R	5152	2309	2843	14.7	26.3	2.2
Bangladesh	1981	T	32923	14501	18422	29.2	39.7	18.0
		U	3993	1902	2091	48.2	58.0	34.1
		R	28930	12600	16330	25.5	35.5	15.3
India	1981	T	238098	93900	144198	40.8	54.8	25.7
		U	34856	12792	22064	65.1	76.4	51.9
		R	203241	81108	122133	32.7	47.3	17.6
Iran	1976	T	11733	4875	6858	36.5	48.2	24.4
		U	4068	1592	2476	56.0	67.3	43.5
		R	7665	3284	4381	17.0	27.7	6.6
Maldives	1977	T	13814*	7378	6436*	82.4	82.5	82.3
Nepal	1981	T	6998	3053	3945	20.6	31.7	9.2
		U	307	127	180	47.4	59.7	33.0
		R	6692	2927	3765	18.7	29.6	7.6

Table 3.7 Asia and the Pacific: Illiterates & Percentage of Literacy by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pakistan	1981	T	33597	15512	18085	26.2	36.0	15.2
		U	7216	3214	4002	46.9	56.9	34.7
		R	26382	12298	14084	17.4	26.6	7.3
Sri Lanka	1981	T	1272	424	848	86.8	91.3	82.0
		U	144	52	92	93.4	95.6	91.1
		R	1128	373	755	84.8	90.0	79.5
Turkey	1980	T	9384	2559	6825	65.6	81.3	49.8
PACIFIC								
Australia	1985	T	NA	NA	NA	100	100	100
Fiji	1976	T	66	24	42	79.0	84.0	74.0
New Zealand	1985	T	NA	NA	NA	99.0	99.0	99.0
Papua New Guinea	1971	T	1107	513	594	32.1	39.3	24.4
Samoa	1971	T	1581*	819*	762*	97.8	97.8	97.9
		U	212*	111*	101*	98.7	98.7	98.8
		R	1369*	708*	661*	97.5	97.5	97.6
Tonga	1976	T	193	81	112*	99.6	99.7	99.5

Table 3.7 Asia and the Pacific: Illiterates & Percentage of Literacy by Sex (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
U.S.S.R	1979	T	NA	NA	NA	99.8	99.8	99.8
		U	NA	NA	NA	99.9	99.9	99.9
		R	NA	NA	NA	99.9	99.9	99.9

* = Denotes figures in absolute numbers
T = Denotes total population
U = Denotes urban population
R = Denotes rural population
NA = Not available
Source: *Statistical Year Book, 1988.* UNESCO, pp. 1.15 to 1.23.

Table 3.8 Economically Active Population in Asia and the Pacific

(Percentage of females to the total)

Country	Professional, Technical, and related Workers	Administrative and Managerial Workers	Clerical & related Workers	Sales Workers	Service Workers	Agriculture Animal Husbandry & Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	Production Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operator and Labour	Workers not Classified by Occupation	Armed Forces	Unemployed Persons Not Previously Employed	Unemployed Persons Previously Employed	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7-9	10	11	12	13	14
EAST ASIA												
China (1982)	38.27	10.38	24.47	45.85	47.93	46.79	35.42	41.69	-	-	-	43.69
Hong Kong (1986)	43.29	17.00	58.86	31.36	37.11	34.79	33.38	32.60	3.39	49.22	-	37.67
Japan (1987)	43.26	7.62	51.71	37.89	44.63	44.52	29.28	37.5	-	39.88	-	39.92
Republic of Korea (1987)	37.29	3.27	36.90	47.19	60.75	45.24	30.92	-	-	33.33	18.15	39.92

Table 3.8 Economically Active Population in Asia and the Pacific (cont'd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7-9	10	11	12	13	14
SOUTHEAST ASIA												
Brunei Darussalam (1981)	33.04	6.07	51.61	32.34	31.36	18.96	3.96	26.06	-	56.21	56.21	23.81
Indonesia (1985)	40.81	6.56	17.62	51.23	57.46	35.34	26.25	11.68	-	38.06	23.99	36.00
Philippines (1987)	63.92	25.41	51.42	66.23	60.68	24.98	22.16	-	-	44.20	44.20	36.99
Singapore (1987)	38.69	21.86	70.33	33.68	54.27	18.47	28.52	0.63	-	48.84	29.68	37.78
Thailand (1980)	49.78	15.37	42.30	59.09	51.16	50.44	38.31	1.93	-	-	-	48.43
SOUTH ASIA AND TURKEY												
Bangladesh (1981)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
India (1981)	20.50	2.30	6.43	6.66	17.91	23.89	12.78	77.19	-	-	-	25.97
Maldives (1985)	20.03	9.63	24.82	11.51	10.87	9.81	36.29	5.39	-	28.30	28.30	21.72
Nepal (1971)	7.93	4.20	3.92	12.05	15.67	30.40	8.96	-	-	-	-	29.23

Table 3.8 Economically Active Population in Asia and the Pacific (cont'd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7-9	10	11	12	13	14
Pakistan (1981)	15.20	2.00	3.07	2.01	7.05	2.62	3.58	4.10	-	8.92	8.92	3.69
Sri Lanka (1985)	49.57	6.87	25.78	20.09	37.72	23.56	23.56	3.11	-	48.44	32.78	
PACIFIC												
Australia (1986)	40.66	29.80	70.44	58.38	35.91	22.86	21.99	-	-	56.72	50.58	39.38
Fiji (1980)	39.66	9.07	47.06	29.08	48.26	11.33	9.49	41.72	1.05	-	-	21.24
New Zealand (1986)	48.46	17.54	74.36	46.89	63.11	27.97	16.59	32.38	-	55.78	55.78	41.65
Samoa (1981)	46.88	19.49	42.09	53.43	42.17	2.68	9.34	4.08	-	-	-	15.04
Tonga (1986)	45.02	13.91	52.37	60.37	35.09	1.38	12.56	42.30	-	-	-	21.48

Source: *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, ILO, 1975, 1985, 1988.

Table 3.9 Female Literacy in Asia and the Pacific: Some Correlates

Country	Female Literacy Rate % 1985	Female Primary School Enrolment Ratio	Under 5 Mortality Rate 1987	IMR 1987	Total Fertility Rate 1987	Male Adult Literacy Rate % 1987	Population Growth Rate % 1960-1986	Life Expectancy 1987	% of Urban Population 1987	Daily Per Capita Calorie supply as % of requirement 1985	GNP Per Capita in US$ 1986	GNP Growth Rate 1960-1986	Population in Millions 1987
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Afghanistan	8	11	304	173	6.9	39	2.3	42	21	92	190 (1977)	0.6 (1965-80)	14.7
Bhutan	NA	18	200	-	-	-	2.0	49	5	NA	150	NA	1.4
Nepal	12	47	200	129	5.8	30	2.6	52	9	88	150	0.8	17.8
Pakistan	19	33	169	110	6.3	40	3.1	58	31	93	350	3.4	111.0
Bangladesh	22	50	191	120	5.4	43	2.6	52	13	78	160	0.9	106.7
India	29	76	152	100	4.2	57	2.2	59	27	94	290	2.9	802.1
Papua New Guinea	35	51	85	61	5.5	55	2.1	55	15	79	720	-0.7 (1973-82)	3.7
Iran	39	101	94	65	5.6	62	2.8	66	53	118	2160 (1977)	3.6	51.3
China	56	114	45	33	2.3	82	1.2	70	21	111	300	9.2	1088.6

Table 3.9 Female Literacy in Asia and the Pacific: Some Correlates (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Myanmar	58	102	98	71	3.9	84	2.0	61	24	117	200	2.7	19.1
Turkey	62	112	97	78	3.4	86	2.5	65	47	125	1110	2.4	52.5
Indonesia	65	115	120	85	3.1	83	2.2	57	27	109	490	2.0	172.2
Malaysia	66	99	33	24	3.3	92	2.7	70	40	110	1830	1.1	16.2
Brunei Darussalam	69	125	NA	NA	3.6	85	4.6	NA	NA	NA	15400	NA	0.2
Lao, PDR	76	85	163	111	5.6	97	2.0	48	17	96	80 (1981)	NA	3.8
Singapore	79	113	12	9	1.7	93	1.1	73	100	114	7410 (1977)	5.7	2.6
Viet Nam	80	94	91	65	3.9	88	2.6	66	21	119	160 (1977)	NA	62.8
Hong Kong	81	104	10	8	1.7	95	1.2	76	93	97	6910	4.8	5.6
Fiji	81	129	33	NA	3.1	90	1.7	71	38	NA	1810	2.7	0.7
Maldives	82	72.8	91	NA	82	3.6	54	21	NA	310	1.8	0.19	
Sri Lanka	83	102	45	34	2.6	91	1.5	71	21	114	400	2.5	16.6
Philippines	85	106	75	46	4.2	86	2.5	64	41	101	560	-4.0	58.0
Mongolia	86	103	61	46	5.3	93	2.8	64	51	117	830 (1977)	0.8 (1977)	2.0
Republic of Korea	88	96	34	26	1.9	96	1.4	70	68	117	2370	6.8	53.3
Thailand	88	96	51	40	2.4	94	2.0	66	21	102	810	2.8	53.3

Table 3.9 Female Literacy in Asia and the Pacific: Some Correlates (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Japan	99	102	8	5	1.7	99	0.7	78	77	106	12840	3.1	121.9
Samoa	98	NA	NA	13	NA	98	0.7	65	NA	NA			
New Zealand	99	106	13	11	1.9	99	0.9	75	84	131	7460	1.1	3.3
Tonga	100	142	NA	NA	NA	100	2.2	64	NA	NA	730	-3.9	
											(1973-82)		
Australia	100	105	10	9	1.8	100	1.4	76	85	114			
USSR	99	106	30	25	99	1.0	70	66	128	4550	NA	281.5	

Sources: *The Situation of the World Children, 1989*; Unesco statistical year books

Table 3.10 Asia and the Pacific: Labour Force Participation Rates

Country	Year	Female Literacy Rate Percent	Labour Force Participation Rate	
			Female	Male
1	2	3	4	5
EAST ASIA				
China	1982	56	47.0	57.3
Hong Kong	1987	81	37.8	61.6
Japan	1987	96	39.1	60.9
Republic of Korea	1987	88	32.3	47.8
SOUTHEAST ASIA				
Myanmar	1980	58	28.3	-
Brunei Darussalam	1981	69	18.7	52.3
Indonesia	1986	65	32.6	47.8
Malaysia	1980	66	25.3	49.6
Philippines	1982	85	29.7	64.4
Singapore	1987	79	36.3	59.5
Thailand	1984	88	50.1	55.9

Table 3.10 Asia and the Pacific: Labour Force Participation Rates (cont'd.)

1	2	3	4	5
SOUTH ASIA AND TURKEY				
Afghanistan	1980	8	8.0	-
Bangladesh	1985	22	5.6	53.8
India	1981	29	19.8	52.7
Iran	1966	39	8.3	50.7
Maldives	1977	82	66.2	69.4
Nepal	1972	12	24.7	59.0
Pakistan	1984-85	19	5.8	51.7
Sri Lanka	1981	83	23.1	64.8
Turkey	1980	62	31.4	54.1
PACIFIC				
Australia	1971	100	26.7	56.8
Fiji	1986	81	14.5	52.4
New Zealand	1986	99	40.7	58.1
Papua New Guinea	1966	35	59.0	57.9
Samoa	1981	98	8.3	43.5
Tonga	1986	100	11.1	40.2

Source: *Year Book of Labour Statistics*. ILO, 1975,1985 and 1988.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. These societies employed adult education campaigns for both the infusion of state ideology and building up production ethics and skills, and saw women as integral to development.

2. It is estimated that one-third of the households in the world are female headed; the proportion is the highest in the Caribbean. In South Asia, there is a relatively large proportion of female-headed households below the poverty line compared to male-headed households, arising from male migration to urban areas. More data is required to reframe policies for the reduction of female poverty (Heyzer, 1985, XXI). The Indian poverty removal programmes and rural development programmes have assigned a 30 per cent quota for women in such programmes.

3. Women were drafted as the 'crisis' labour in war ravaged East European societies and continue to bear the double burden of production and reproduction because of the inadequacy of supportive services like child care. They form half of the work force but only four to six per cent of the politburos. Recent national and international concerns show similar attitudes — women as mothers, as human resource but not because they are women.

4. Freeman (1978) takes a clear position that schools basically reinforce sex stereotyping in behavioural, emotional and occupational terms. Girls are taught they should be 'mommies' or work in roles related to that, and that they are inferior to boys and are dependent on others.

5. This is also being simultaneously questioned by several scholars who feel women of the working poor have always been drawn into the economy. It is estimated that women's domestic labour producing 'use value' goods and services equals nearly 25 per cent of the GDP.

6. The expected years of schooling increased during 1960-1985 for males in Latin America from 6.2 to 10.1 years and for females from 5.7 to 10.6 years, a 74 per cent and 84 per cent increase respectively. Africa increased male-expected schooling by 117 per cent from 4.1 to 8.8 years and females' schooling by 300 per cent from 2.2 to 6.6 years.

7. Definition of 'literacy' suggested by Unesco in its 1978 *Revised Recommendation Concerning the International Standardization of Educational Statistics*; emphasis on *his* is the author's.

8. It has been argued that human knowledge has been moulded to the end of the males, that women are granted educational opportunities for preparing them for subordinate roles which would serve the interests of men, and that educational systems are structured today in such a way that women will have less access than men to all education and later to all opportunities, economic and political (Freeman, 1978).

9. Myanmar had 40 per cent of its urban and rural population below the poverty line in 1977-1984; corresponding figures for urban and rural poor in Indonesia were 26 and 44, 21 and 59 in Malaysia, 32 and 41 in the Philippines, and 15 and 34 in Thailand.

10. The U5MR when disaggregated by sex in India shows much greater loss of female lives between the ages of two and five years; and also, subsequently, more females die in the age-groups 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 years because of early marriage and high risk pregnancies, and these are largely rural females who are illiterate and very poor.

11. The incidence of low birth weight babies is 31 per cent in Bangladesh, 39 per cent in Laos, 30 per cent in India, 25 per cent in Pakistan, 18 per cent in Viet Nam and the Philippines; between 12 and 16 per cent in Myanmar, Indonesia and Thailand; and between four and nine per cent in China and the Republic of Korea.

12. It is to be noted that, during 1965-1980 and 1980-1986, population growth rates have risen from 2.5 per cent to 2.7 per cent in very high U5MR (above 170) countries, and from 2.9 per cent to 3.3 per cent in high U5MR per cent (95-170) countries, and have declined in middle U5MR (31-94) countries and from 0.9 per cent to 0.6 per cent in low U5MR (30 and under) countries.

13. Only nine per cent of Nepal's population lives in cities; only 13 per cent in Bangladesh; 15 per cent in Papua New Guinea; 17 per cent in Laos; 21 per cent in Afghanistan, Thailand, Viet Nam, China and Sri Lanka; 24 per cent in Myanmar; 27 per cent in Indonesia; 31 per cent in Malaysia; and 41 per cent in the Philippines.

14. In countries with poor labour force participation rates, such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the family labour pool comprises unemployed women and children.

15. Cherinichovsky and Meesook (1985: 12) found that fees and other schooling expenditures for girls at primary level averaged Rs. 190 compared to Rs. 132 for boys. At the secondary level, boys' education was more costly.

16. Women's non-formal education and training programmes are dominated by home economics, which takes only a partial view of women's lives in developing societies — a colonial legacy.

17. Such courses were offered in 38 pilot women's centres in rural development units as part of WID programmes in Pakistan.

18. ESCAP estimates additional enrolments at first level in the year 2000 would be to the tune of 75 million; projections in '000s are for Afghanistan, 4.7 million; Bangladesh, 10.4 million; Bhutan, 189,000; Myanmar, 1.2 million; Hong Kong, 752,000; India, 42 million; Iran, two million; Laos, 408,000; Malaysia, 798,000; Nepal, 1.4 million; Pakistan, 12.1 million; Papua New Guinea, 394,000; Philippines, 1.3 million; Republic of Korea, 395,000; Sri Lanka, 41,000; Viet Nam, 961,000. See ST/ESCAP/60/p. 247.

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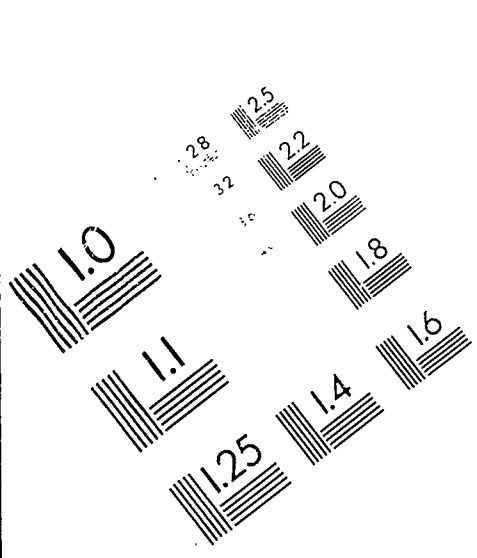

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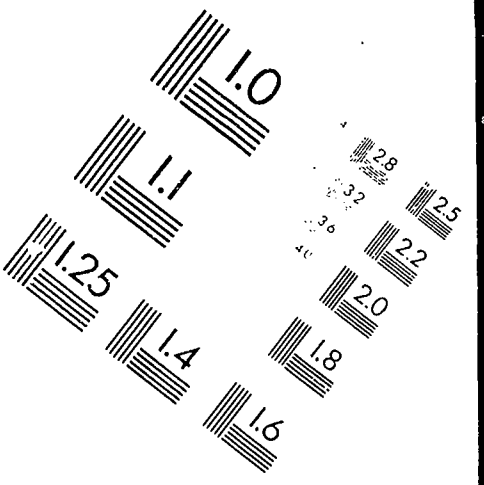

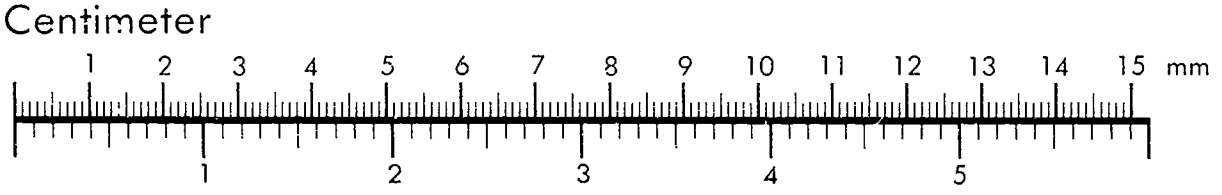

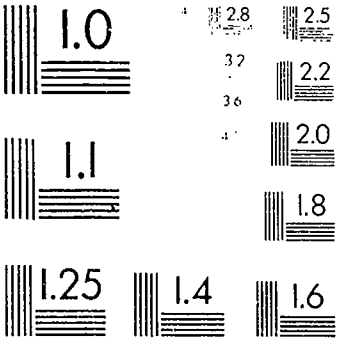

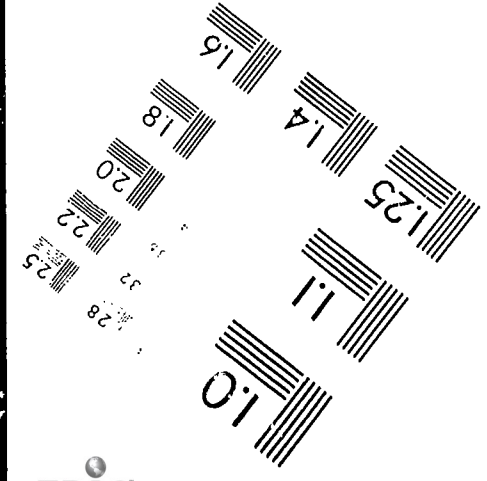

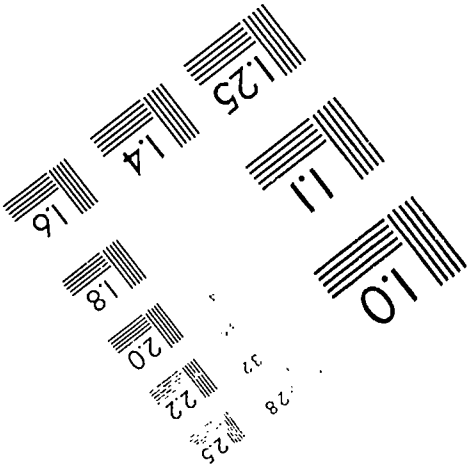

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*Chapter 4**

EDUCATION IN DIFFICULT CONTEXTS

The notion that every individual is entitled to receive an education has been fundamental to the overall commitment and activities of Unesco since its inception in 1946. The reason is that Unesco subscribes to the view that a good quality primary schooling and the provision of essential knowledge and skills for adults to cope with the diverse demands of the modern world should be available to all people, regardless of socio-economic status, cultural background, gender, race, ethnicity or geographic location.

Nowhere is this commitment to achieve 'education for all' greater than in Asia and the Pacific region, which contains approximately two-thirds of the world's population and 75 per cent of its illiterates. Unesco had made a significant contribution to the development of education in this region. The overall literacy rate for the population (15 years and above) in the region was 64 per cent in 1988, while ten years earlier (1978) the rate was 55 per cent. However, there are great variations among the countries in the region, and population growth has caused the absolute number of illiterates to increase from 644 million in 1978 to 656 million in 1988. In Australia, the Republic of Korea, Japan, New Zealand, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, illiteracy rates are negligible. In ten other countries in the region literacy rates of 80 per cent or higher have been achieved, and these are expected to reach 100 per cent by 1990. Four other countries posted rates of between 50 per cent and 80 per cent; these countries are expected to achieve 100

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per cent literacy by the year 1995. Only seven countries in the Asia-Pacific region have literacy rates below 50 per cent, and most of these countries are expected to conquer the problem of illiteracy by the year 2000.

Despite the significant commitment of Unesco's Principal Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific to achieve education for all by the year 2000 – through the activities of the Asia and the Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) since 1978 and those organized since 1987 by the Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL) – the majority of countries in the region still have a considerable way to go before achieving the educational goals that have been set. For example, universal primary education was first adopted as a goal for the countries of the Asian region in the Karachi Plan of 1960, which proposed 'that every country of this region should provide a system of universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years or more within a period of not more than 20 years (1960-1980).' This target has not been achieved (particularly for the population groups living in difficult educational contexts), despite the fact that many countries in the region now accept universalization of primary education as a priority objective. Illiteracy has not yet been eradicated and education is yet to be made available to all, a tragic aspect of this underachievement being the gigantic wastage of the potential of children and youth in the region.

Currently, there are major differences in the socio-economic status, cultural background, gender, ethnic-racial characteristics and geographical location of pupils entering schools in the countries that comprise Asia and the Pacific region. (The 30 countries in the area of service of Unesco's Principal Regional Office for Education in Asia and the Pacific are Afghanistan, Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Samoa, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Viet Nam). Enrolment rates and length of schooling for the various categories of students in the countries vary considerably. The result is that millions in the region are disadvantaged, deprived and underserved with regard to their schooling. This has the effect of depriving the populations in some countries of the opportunity to fully participate in the socio-economic and cultural development of their societies. It also inhibits valuable human resource development and people's chances in life.

Unesco believes that, because there is substantial variation in the education of those living in the region, there is a need to accept an obligation

to make a special effort to assist those who are disadvantaged, as regards access to and quality of schooling. This concern for developing appropriate, realistic ways to reduce educational disadvantage is shared by all countries in the region.

One of the major issues faced by both Unesco and the individual countries in the Asia-Pacific region in their efforts to achieve education for all relates to the wide and often intimidating range of problems associated with providing an adequate education for those living in difficult educational contexts (DECs). The region is one of diversity and contrast, among and within countries, and schooling occurs in a very wide variety of different (and often difficult) educational settings. These range in extremes from small schools in remote, rural areas where multigrade teaching is the norm to city schools in high density population areas where excessive overcrowding results in the average class size exceeding 50 pupils.

Despite the diversity, there is also some commonality in the types of problems encountered and in the problem-solving approaches that have been adopted. For example, the problem of developing suitable teaching and learning materials for multigrade teaching occurs both in a highly developed country like Australia – which has primary schools in difficult education contexts, such as the Northern Territory, to serve the needs of isolated aboriginal communities – and in less developed countries such as the Maldives, Thailand and Viet Nam.

The term 'difficult education contexts' includes both urban and rural situations. The report of the second Unesco workshop on the training of primary education personnel working in difficult education contexts provides this explanation: 'As it is used by Asian and Pacific educators, the term *difficult education contexts* generally refers to either overcrowded urban classrooms or else to multigrade classes in remote rural areas. Since the first problem situation arises because there are *too many* pupils in a class, and the second because there are *too few* (that is, there are not enough pupils of a given age-cohort or ability group enrolled to make up a 'normal' class), it would appear at first glance that the two situations have nothing in common. Paradoxically, however, they do share some characteristics in common, when the two situations are viewed from a teacher training/teacher support perspective.'

Difficult education contexts are those educational settings in which, for one reason or another, it is not easy to provide appropriate learning experiences and resource materials for pupils or adequate training for teachers. Specific problems that occur in difficult education contexts include overly large classes, multiple classes, a shortage of teaching aids and resource materials, an incomplete curriculum and cross-cultural differen-

ces among pupils. An example would be a multigrade classroom in a remote rural area in the Philippines or on an isolated island in the Maldives. In addition to teaching a wide variety of age-groups and grade levels, there may also be the further difficulty of developing materials and appropriate teaching methods for cross-cultural groups. Issues that arise are many. They include: a) provision of adequate teacher education – whether pre-service, induction into the occupation, or in-service training – for those teaching in-service in difficult education contexts; b) recruitment of teachers in sufficient numbers for the localities involved; c) development of resource materials that are appropriate for the groups to be educated; d) consideration of a variety of instructional methods, such as distance education, in addition to face-to-face contact, which are appropriate for those being taught in remote areas; and e) development of organizational goals that are clearly stated and effectively translated into appropriate programmes, curricular activities and performances.

Many of the populations living in difficult contexts are disadvantaged as regards both access to and participation in the school system curriculum and the quality of education received.

Nature and Scope of Population Groups Involved

Although difficult education contexts occur throughout the Asia-Pacific region, the overall proportion and number of people being educated in such contexts is greatest in the less developed countries. One of the main reasons for Unesco's concern with the education of population groups who live in difficult education contexts is that, in many countries in the region, the vast majority of children, adolescents and adults being educated are actually located in such contexts and, if illiteracy is truly to be eradicated and the goal of education for all achieved, the schooling experiences available to these populations warrant special attention. But who are the people involved, and what is the scope and magnitude of the problem?

Broadly speaking, the population groups being educated in difficult education contexts within countries in the Asia-Pacific region are often those who for a variety of reasons are regarded as being educationally disadvantaged. They are often socio-economically and culturally disadvantaged population groups who do not perform well at school and whose families are poor and powerless. These are the children of slums, often dwelling in large family units in crowded conditions, and children living in areas so rural as to have little or no knowledge of the technology and artifacts of their own civilization. Although educationally disadvantaged populations occur in all of the countries of the region, many of these groups are concentrated in difficult education contexts. The following population

groups (again, often located in the difficult education contexts) are among the most educationally disadvantaged in the region's less developed countries.

Girls. In many countries, girls and women have less access to schooling and lower completion rates than do boys and men, and this is particularly true of those living in difficult education contexts. There are many reasons for the lower participation rate of females in schooling. Some of the reasons are associated with socio-cultural restrictions which prevent the enrolment of girls in the formal primary school system, especially when there is an absence of female teachers. Lower school participation for girls compared to boys also occurs because of the attitude which stresses that, since most girls are destined to become housewives and mothers, there is little or no need (or value to be gained) for them to attend and achieve success at school. A large disparity occurs between the sexes with regard to literacy rates. Illiteracy rates for males and females in developing countries in the region in 1988 were 28 per cent and 44 per cent respectively.

Overcrowded populations in urban areas/slums. With accelerated urbanization occurring in many countries of the region, large sections of the population are becoming marginalized in urban slums and itinerant work groups where overcrowded conditions prevail. Many of these slum dwellers are children who receive no formal schooling or who, if they do attend school, are often taught in overcrowded classrooms. Over one-third of the region's population currently lives in urban areas, and urbanization is a rapidly expanding process. According to Unesco projections, 43 per cent of the population living in the Asia-Pacific region in the year 2000 will likely be residing in urban areas.

Rural populations. At present, almost two-thirds of the region's population is located in rural areas. In several countries in the region, there is a sharp distinction between the rate of educational participation of the rural population compared to that of the urban population. Accompanying a lack of access to schooling is the fact that the quality of schooling is often lower in rural areas than that provided in urban areas. Bangladesh, for example, has located nearly 85 per cent of its primary schools in rural areas where retention and survival rates of pupils are very low. Also, in most developing countries in the region, the adult literacy rate is substantially lower for population groups in rural areas compared to the population as a whole.

Populations in remote/isolated areas. In many countries in the region, there are those who live in isolated areas who generally do not have easy access to schools or non-formal education centres. This situation often

manifests itself in lower than usual school participation rates for the populations in question.

Nomadic peoples. In some countries, there are tribes and other groups of people who shift from one place to another, constantly 'on the move' – nomadic. There are not sufficient mobile schools of 'walking teachers' to cater to the schooling needs of these children and their families; for those who are able to attend school, their education is often disrupted.

Although the educational underachievement of these disadvantaged population groups is substantially influenced by out-of-school factors, it is also affected by the characteristics and functioning of the education system itself and by the education facilities available in the difficult education contexts in which these population groups live. As a result, many of the programmes developed for those in difficult education contexts are directed at: promoting universal primary education, with particular emphasis on girls' education; improving access to education for disadvantaged groups; and raising the overall achievement levels of children and adults.

A literature review of Unesco publications and other research documents and statistical information indicates that, although it is readily clear which population groups are involved and disadvantaged as regards schooling in difficult education contexts, it is not immediately possible to obtain accurate and reliable information on the actual numbers of people involved in the various population groups being educated in difficult educational contexts. To help fill this gap in the availability of information, Unesco plans to conduct a major survey of educationally disadvantaged population groups in APEID's 26 member countries in the Asia-Pacific Region.

Improving Education in Difficult Contexts

Many significant educational advancements have been made in the Asia-Pacific region as regards the education of those living in difficult education contexts, and many countries have successfully implemented innovative projects to overcome some long-standing problems in this area of education.

When examining the projects and innovations that have been initiated to help improve participation rates and the quality of education provided in difficult educational contexts in the region, it is useful to develop a framework to better understand and deal with difficult educational contexts, to categorize the main variables associated with this type of educational context, and to help organize research findings and other information available on the subject. The majority of particularly relevant variables fall into several main categories.

Educational goals. The achievement of education for all, universal primary education, and the eradication of illiteracy are key goals for all countries in the Asia-Pacific region, as regards the education of populations in difficult contexts. Consequently, countries have developed policies to improve access and participation in education, raise pupil achievement levels, and take special account of the needs of educationally disadvantaged population groups living in difficult education contexts. These goals were embodied in the Karachi plan in 1960 and have been reiterated on many occasions since.

In addition, policies have been developed by countries throughout the region that are aimed at the qualitative improvement of schooling. These focus upon such matters as improving the quality of teaching and learning in schools and the development of a curriculum that is relevant to the life style and aspirations of those in difficult education contexts.

Increasingly, the approach being adopted is one in which policy makers consult with teachers and parents in order to ensure that, when the overall goals are translated into policy statements, prevailing local conditions are taken into consideration.

Student characteristics. Throughout the region, the central goal of education is to provide all individuals with a good quality, well-balanced education which enables them to realize their full potential as productive members of society. This contributes to the overall development of a country, as well as to the personal enrichment of the individual who receives the education. In striving to achieve this goal, the aim in all countries in the region is to provide universal primary education and equality of opportunity for all. In an increasing number of countries, a certain minimum amount of education is compulsory, this being enforceable by law.

In addition to contributing to the psychomotor, cognitive and affective development of a child, education is also seen as an important vehicle for achieving upward social mobility and improved chances in life for those involved. One of the major educational problems that occurs throughout the region is the restricted access to and the often inferior quality of schooling received by those living in difficult education contexts, compared with the education received by other members of the population. In many countries it has been shown that there is a significant difference in academic achievement between populations in rural and urban areas (e.g. Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines) and between those taught in multigrade classrooms and those taught in conventional classrooms (e.g. Malaysia, China, Maldives).

A major problem in difficult education contexts involves absenteeism and low participation and retention rates. For instance, in India, it is currently estimated that about 85 per cent of all students drop out of the school system by the eighth year of schooling. In remote rural areas and other difficult education contexts, the drop-out rate is even higher. Absenteeism is also a major problem in most rural education contexts, with up to 40 per cent of the children in some countries habitually absent from school. Reasons for absenteeism include: a) health and medical problems; b) poorly qualified teachers and the low standard of education provided in schools; c) an inflexible curriculum that is too demanding and which involves teaching what many students and parents regard as irrelevant; d) passive, teacher-oriented modes of learning; and e) the seasonal demands of agricultural work that require children to assist parents in their work activities.

It is particularly difficult to attract and retain in school children who come from economically deprived and socially disadvantaged sections of the society, and who live in remote, difficult terrain. To combat low retention and high absenteeism rates, education authorities have developed a number of tactics. In some countries education is universal but not compulsory (e.g. Malaysia), while in others it is compulsory (e.g. Thailand, China) – those not complying with this directive are fined. In countries such as Australia and Viet Nam, although education is compulsory, special allowance is made to accommodate the needs of particular racial/ethnic groups (such as aboriginal populations) who may not want to attend school.

Attempts are also being made in difficult education contexts to maximize parental support for their children's education. This is encouraged through such activities as home visit programmes, the provision of scholarships, free hostel accommodations and free lunches, textbooks and uniforms.

Curriculum outline/content. The school curriculum is the main means by which a country's goals in education are translated into practice at the school level. The curriculum, its outline and content, indicates which areas of knowledge and what types of skill development are particularly valued in any given country. In most countries in the region, curriculum outlines are prepared by central education authorities and are generally prescriptive. In other countries (e.g. India, Australia, Malaysia), a curriculum framework rather than compulsory syllabi is prepared. Certain core components within this framework are taught throughout the countries with regional or context-specific components being incorporated as required. For instance, curriculum units relevant to the needs and

interests of populations being taught in particular difficult educational contexts are specifically included in some countries, as are special units for educationally disadvantaged population groups (e.g. Philippines, Indonesia, Nepal).

In the vast majority of countries in the region, with the exception of Australia, whose curriculum development is co-ordinated at the state or territory level, the curriculum for schools is centrally developed. Many feel that such a centralized curriculum is too rigid – inflexible and unsuitable – for many school populations, particularly those in difficult educational contexts. The reason is that these centralized subject-based curriculums are often biased towards the perceived needs and interests of urban population groups and reflect an expectation that those being taught are motivated in the school system for an extended period of time. As a result, in many countries (e.g. Thailand, Nepal, Maldives), the content of the school curriculum is often regarded as being irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of those living in difficult (often rural) education contexts.

There is a growing awareness of these types of problems and so more is being done in countries throughout the region to decentralize decision making regarding what is appropriate curriculum content for different population groups. Special efforts have been made to cater to the needs and aspirations of children and adults belonging to disadvantaged sections of the population and those residing in remote areas of a country. Examples include the development of a curriculum that is oriented towards community problems (e.g. Malaysia, India, Thailand, Viet Nam), and the framing of a health, nutritional and environmental sanitation curriculum (e.g. India).

One of the main difficulties facing these moves to decentralize decision making about curriculum content is the fact that the process of curriculum development is a very time-consuming activity which requires special skills on the part of those involved. Consequently, more needs to be done to help improve and develop the knowledge and skills of those who form curriculum writing teams.

A number of countries in the region have also developed new curricula which emphasize pupil-oriented activities. They encourage pupils to be active and resourceful learners, while teachers are encouraged to utilize project and assignment work that enables children to learn independently.

Development of teaching/learning resource materials. All countries in the region are concerned with and involved in finding more suitable ways to provide and develop print and non-print materials which are relevant to the content of the curriculum being taught. In some

countries where the curriculum is centrally prescribed (e.g. Viet Nam, India, China, Malaysia), textbooks and other materials are prepared and published by a government curriculum branch or commercial publishers, and then distributed for use nationwide, irrespective of the special interests and needs of certain population groups.

In an effort to overcome the lack of relevant teaching-learning materials, teachers in such countries as Australia, Malaysia, India, and the Maldives are encouraged by education authorities to prepare their own materials and audio-visual aids, using local resources, in order to make the materials more relevant to the particular population groups being taught. They have also been encouraged to develop materials that meet the needs of those being taught in large single classes and multiple class/multigrade teaching situations, as well as the demand of the newly literate for more and better books. Of special relevance in difficult education contexts has been the production of low-cost teaching and learning materials that are responsive and relevant to local needs. In order to help achieve this end, many countries in the region (e.g. China, Australia, Maldives, Thailand) organize workshops for teachers to assist them in acquiring the knowledge and skills needed to develop their own resource materials for use in schools.

Teaching methodology/instructional delivery systems. The core transactions of education occur where teacher and pupil meet, and so the quality of the interaction that occurs has a vitally important affect on both the effectiveness of the teaching/learning situation and the learning outcome achieved.

In many countries in the region the instructional methods used by teachers are autocratic, formal and traditional, with most teaching consisting of a one-way communication between teacher and pupil, the pupil being put in the role of 'passive learner.' In addition, although effective communication is vital if the teaching/learning process is to be successful, some children are disadvantaged because they do not know the national language even though they are in a situation where the national language is the only one being used for instructional purposes. Other problems that occur in difficult education contexts include the fact that the language used in print and non-print sometimes is simply not understood by pupils; also, teachers may lack the skill or confidence to make decisions about the best and most effective teaching techniques and resource material to use in multigrade teaching situations. Safety, security and maintenance of costly electronic equipment and classroom computers is also a concern; frequently electronic equipment cannot even be used for instructional purposes because electricity is not available.

Education agencies in the region have responded to these types of problems by: a) introducing bilingual programmes for minority children being taught in difficult education contexts (e.g. Thailand, Viet Nam); b) encouraging teachers to adopted child-centred approaches to teaching/learning and to deal with pupils on a more equal basis (e.g. China, Nepal); c) conducting in-service teacher training workshops to better equip teachers to work with pupils in overcrowded and multigrade classrooms (e.g. Philippines, Maldives); and d) developing resource materials for use in classrooms that are relevant for the particular population group being taught (e.g. Australia, Malaysia).

Training educational personnel to work in DECs. Another major problem faced in difficult education contexts is the shortage of qualified teachers, and the fact that those teachers who are available to teach in schools often do not have the necessary knowledge and skills needed to be effective in difficult education contexts. For instance, they may not know how to teach large, often multigrade classes, or possess the skills to cope with teaching children from diverse cultural backgrounds.

It is widely accepted throughout the region that without appropriately trained and sensitized teachers nothing substantial can be achieved to improve the outcome of teaching and learning in difficult education contexts. In many countries of the region, a relatively standardized pre-service teacher education programme is taught, but little is being done to orientate prospective teachers to the type of local conditions and learning difficulties that are especially relevant in effectively teaching children in their charge.

Although there is a surplus of trained teachers in some countries in the region (e.g. Australia, Thailand, India), it is generally difficult to staff schools in the overcrowded urban and remote rural areas because these are often regarded as unattractive or undesirable work locations by many teachers. This is an attitudinal problem that needs to be overcome. In Viet Nam, the commitment of teachers who do work in such schools is recognized by the award of medal.

A problem that persists throughout the region relates to the quality and appropriateness of the teacher education programmes provided, whether at pre-service or in-service levels. To resolve this problem, many countries have conducted national enquiries into their systems of teacher education in order to identify the areas where changes can be made to ensure that teachers are being adequately prepared to teach the diverse population groups in their charge. Many other initiatives and innovations also are occurring. For example, attempts are being made in most countries to attract the most capable recruits into the profession (e.g. China, Nepal). In addition, school-based teacher education programmes are being adopted

in some countries (e.g. Australia, Thailand, Malaysia) in order to overcome the theory-practice gap that is said to occur in many pre-service centres. Also, in-service training is being made more widely available (e.g. India, Malaysia, China, Nepal), using distance education and external studies as the main instructional medium.

A key problem that is faced in developing countries throughout the region with regard to the training of educational personnel to work in difficult education contexts is that, because an increasingly high proportion of the population live in urbanized areas, the problems associated with teaching and learning in remote and other difficult areas are sometimes not seen as being of national priority. A further difficulty is the shortage of funds to employ and adequately train teachers.

Evaluation/assessment methods. In order to assess the extent to which formulated educational goals are being achieved, there is a need in all countries in the region for a vigorous and comprehensive system of evaluation. Only through rigorous evaluation and assessment will teachers have reliable information regarding the extent to which the teaching/learning situation they have helped organize has been successful in assisting the children in their charge to grow and develop intellectually.

External examinations are the dominant form of evaluation used in countries throughout the region (e.g. India, Thailand, China, and Viet Nam), although internal assessment is used in some countries (e.g. Australia, Malaysia). Despite their popularity, external examinations can have a number of important limitations and disadvantages, such as: a) they often result in an overemphasis on the testing of cognitive development; b) they can stress the memorization of facts rather than the development of other capabilities, such as conceptual thinking; c) they can dominate decision making about the content of the curriculum and the teaching methods adopted; and d) they are mainly used as a selection device rather than as a useful diagnostic tool to help identify remedial teaching strategies which will assist children to make better progress towards the achievement of instructional objectives. These disadvantages of external assessment can become particularly pronounced and stultifying for those being educated in rural settings and other difficult education contexts.

To help overcome the disadvantages of external assessment a number of countries are incorporating continuous, largely internal-based assessment as a crucial part of the teaching/learning process (e.g. India, Malaysia). In other countries, attempts are being made to introduce peer and self-evaluation into primary schools, with pupils being trained to grade the work performance of their peers and themselves.

These alternative forms of assessment have been effective in encouraging self-improvement among pupils, and evidence suggests that this has lessened the assessment workload pressures felt by teachers responsible for large classes and multigrade teaching.

School facilities. In all countries in the region, the commitment to eradicate illiteracy and provide universal primary education for all has resulted in a pressing need to provide adequate school buildings and facilities for educating the population. This is particularly important for those living in difficult educational contexts – especially remote rural areas and overcrowded urban areas, which have been traditionally underserved as regards school facilities. A major problem that occurs most often in countries with large and growing populations is the lack of financial resources to construct adequate school buildings and establish appropriate education infrastructure, inclusive of libraries and museums. This problem is particularly severe in rural areas.

In some countries (e.g. Australia, China) a great deal of effort is being made to upgrade school facilities in remote and inaccessible areas; while in countries (e.g. Nepal, India, Bangladesh) where major problems concern adequate school buildings and facilities, other types of instructional facilities are being explored. Examples include the establishment of correspondence schools and learning centres situated in public buildings. In addition, experiments are occurring within teaching delivery systems which involve such techniques as distance education and 'walking teachers.'

Improving links between home, school and community. Learning experiences of children living in difficult educational contexts and rural environments should, whenever possible, be linked to personal experiences within the home and community. In addition, links between education and work, and education and the wider social and cultural setting should also be stressed.

In all countries of the region there is widespread belief that community and parental involvement in the schooling process has a positive effect on the school performance levels achieved by children. Rather than adopt the model of the school as a 'fortress' which is aloof and separate from its local community, it is now widely believed that schools should interact with and be responsive to their local communities. It is also believed to be especially important that education in difficult contexts should be directly relevant to local needs and particular community conditions. One of the major problems which arises in this regard is that parents are often not supportive of their children's schooling. They neither encourage their children to attend or remain within the school system, nor

possess the ability or willingness to assist them with school work. In addition, the low socio-economic background of the parents often means that they fail to recognize the value of schooling for their children and often encourage the children instead to join the labour force at an early age in order to help supplement the family income.

In many countries in the region, the community is encouraged to assist the school with its development work through the formation of parent-teacher associations. In some countries (e.g. Thailand, India, Malaysia) these associations mainly involve providing financial assistance through fund-raising activities, while in others (e.g. Australia, New Zealand) parents are given an opportunity to influence the planning, management and priorities that are set for the operation of the school through the formation of a school council or board. In Thailand, the promotion of a programme of community consultation, which involves parents, teachers, administrators and other education personnel, has been very effective in encouraging a close relationship between home, school and local community.

Two of the main stumbling blocks that occur in some countries in the region – as regards improving the links between schools, parents and social settings – relate to the political and cultural conservatism on the part of some decision makers, in relation to democratizing decision making in education, and the resistance of some parents to becoming involved in their children's schooling.

Future Growth Points and Developments

This article has examined certain key aspects of education in difficult contexts in order to draw attention to what needs to be done to help achieve the aim of 'education for all' through the universalization of primary education. This implies that developments need to occur which ensure that all school-age children in all difficult education contexts are enrolled in school, remain for a full cycle of primary education, and are exposed to quality education.

It is clear that, although some regional countries have yet to attain universal enrolment, all are striving to provide free primary education for all, particularly girls and those who belong to deprived sections of society, such as tribal populations and those who live in difficult education contexts.

A key development that is increasingly being taken into account in all countries when examining the provision of education in difficult education contexts is the need to fully involve the client group in the identification of needs and in the planning and management of their

resolution. This element is critical to the success of most, if not all, of these projects. The Australian experience, for example, shows that the most effective programmes are those derived from initiatives in particular communities and schools which operate in such a way that strong support from them is maintained. To this end, it is essential that strategies are developed which facilitate co-operation among a wide range of vested interest groups.

Other important future growth points and developments to achieve education for all in difficult education contexts in the region include:

- increasing the use of school-based testing and internal assessment techniques for measuring both the cognitive and non-cognitive traits of learners;
- devising more effective ways to help children achieve adequate levels of learning at the mastery level in cognitive areas (such as language, mathematics, science and manipulative skills), and developing certain key socio-emotional traits, such as appropriate interests, appreciations, attitudes and values;
- developing a needs-based or relevance-based curriculum which accommodates such diverse groups of children as the disadvantaged, slow learners, and high achievers in DECs – in the case of the disadvantaged groups in society, provision of early intervention programmes is regarded as being important;
- decentralizing the process of developing curriculum and instructional materials which involves the efforts of teachers, teacher educators, supervisors and extension workers engaged in developmental activities;
- the need to balance the drive that is occurring in some Member States to develop a national core curriculum – the central goal of which is to develop a curriculum that covers what are regarded as fundamentally important skills and knowledge – with the simultaneous wish to democratize decision making about important aspects of the content of the curriculum at the local level;
- an acceptance that continuing education has an important part to play in the education system, especially in the non-formal sector;
- creation of minimum essential physical facilities, in terms of adequate school buildings, toilets, and drinking water;
- provision of minimum essential educational facilities, such as blackboards, playgrounds and games materials;

- the continuing development of teacher education programmes at both pre-service and in-service levels to assist those who work in DECs to develop the particular repertoire of knowledge and skills that are most appropriate to teaching those who live in such contexts – it is essential that, through means such as this, the quality of teaching is improved;
- the sharing of country experiences regarding innovations and initiatives aimed at developing effective strategies to teach those living in difficult educational contexts – this can partly be achieved through in-country and regional networking because, although there is great diversity within the Asia-Pacific region, countries have much to gain from sharing experiences;
- the further development of low-cost teaching and learning materials for all those in DECs; and
- a further extension of ways to encourage population groups in DECs to become involved in the education process – these would include non-formal as well as formal methods, and such other teaching/learning strategies as distance education, 'walking teachers' who visit populations in distant places and difficult terrains, and 'tent schools' for nomadic tribes.

Although there is concern with the growth and development of education systems as a whole, as regards their being responsive to the educational needs of those in difficult educational contexts, it is essential to not lose sight of the importance of catering both to the needs of the individual and the community as a whole. Unesco also considers it essential that both policy makers and teachers make a commitment to pupils as individuals, and that the education that is provided in difficult contexts is viewed as part of a process which concurrently meets an individual's need for self-actualization and a nation's developmental goal for human resource development. As part of this approach, it also is essential that individual communities are consulted regarding their perceived educational needs, rather than simply having these determined by (often remote) policy makers who then attempt to impose their solutions upon the community involved. Instead, what should occur is a partnership between home, school and community, with schools seeking to work in harmony with their local communities and being responsive to their needs.

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*Chapter 5**

LITERACY AND NON-FORMAL BASIC EDUCATION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

The Asia and Pacific region is known for its rich culture and literacy traditions which date back several centuries. Yet the region is also characterized by intense illiteracy problems. In 1985, an estimated 618 million people – or 36 per cent of the region's adult population aged 15 and above – were illiterate, accounting for three-quarters of the world's illiterate population. In addition, around 356 million children and youths were outside the formal school system, 67 million of whom were within the primary school age of 6 to 11. Unless adequate educational services are provided to serve these out-of-school children and youth, they will soon join the already soaring percentage of adult illiterates. In the quest to provide basic education for all, the situation clearly poses a serious challenge to the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

Amidst this seemingly bleak situation, however, there are many encouraging signs. Attainment of universal primary education and eradication of illiteracy within the region have been firmly incorporated as priorities in most national development plans. Systems to provide primary education have been established. A wealth of experience has been accumulated from several decades of planning and implementing literacy and basic non-formal education programmes. Long-term commitment and support of basic education has contributed to a gradual improvement in the overall literacy situation within the region.

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Illiteracy rates have decreased steadily from 46.4 per cent in 1970 to 36 per cent in 1985. Disparity in literacy attainment between men and women has been reduced. Although the aggregate number of illiterates within the region has arisen by 81 million in the span of 15 years, an examination of national statistics reveals that in a large number of countries, including China, the number of illiterates has in fact declined significantly. Nearly half (10 out of 21) of the developing countries in the region have already achieved 80 per cent or higher literacy rates. The rates in four other countries have passed 50 per cent.

Invigorated by Unesco's major programme of Education for All and the regional Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL), countries in the Asia-Pacific region have reaffirmed their commitments and strengthened their strategies to meet the basic learning needs of their populations. As a result, it is estimated that 16 out of 21 developing countries in the region may well achieve full literacy before the target year of 2000.

This article surveys literacy and basic non-formal education within the region, highlighting successful past experiences and identifying areas which will require attention and co-operative action in the future.

A review of ongoing efforts in the region clearly indicates that literacy programmes are no longer seen merely as humanistic responses to compensate for the basic rights of individuals. Commitment and support for literacy is now being justified in terms of perceived contributions to development.

It is now widely recognized that illiteracy is closely associated with socio-economic underdevelopment and that illiterates tend to be those who are also deprived of other basic necessities and services in life. Different countries, therefore, are seeking ways to plan and implement literacy programmes to enhance the functionality of literacy in serving as tools for development at both individual and societal levels. As reflected in the objectives of different literacy programmes, the functionality of literacy can be interpreted and operationalized in many ways.

As learning and communicative tools. During the early stages of literacy work, when illiteracy was seen as a 'social blindness' depriving illiterates of the opportunity to improve their livelihood and integrate with the society, national efforts were mobilized to teach simple literacy skills to a vast number of illiterates. While these efforts did succeed in reaching an impressive number of illiterates, many countries soon found themselves faced with the problem of functional illiteracy – a result of either relapse

into illiteracy or an inability to keep pace with the increasingly complex usage of literacy skills in a changing society.

Most literacy programmes have, therefore, progressed beyond simple literacy skills towards development of literacy as learning and communicative tools. In this approach, emphasis is placed on effectively imparting literacy skills at the level which is considered to be functional, so as to enable individuals to continue to acquire knowledge and information independently, master the national language (as in Indonesia and Malaysia, for example) and enhance self-directed learning attitudes (as with the national adult education programme of India).

As a strategy for development. Since 1965, when the Teheran conference strongly advocated integrating literacy into 'the training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world,' many countries within the region have explored ways to link literacy programmes to different aspects of development.

One of the earliest attempts was influenced by the concept of work-oriented functional literacy in which literacy was seen as a tool to fulfil the occupational needs of the participants. In India, one of the countries in the Experimental World Literacy Programme, functional literacy was organized as part of the 'green revolution' campaign. Farmers involved in the 'high-yielding varieties' programme received literacy training as well as strategic agricultural skills to increase productivity. In Malaysia and Thailand, literacy lessons were combined with vocational training. In Pakistan, women acquired literacy in sewing, cooking and other vocational courses in adult education centres.

Many countries, however, have since discontinued or modified the job-specific work-oriented functional literacy approach for several reasons. First, the simultaneous integration of literacy and technical training was impeded by a shortage of instructors who could perform both tasks effectively, as well as by a lack of co-ordination between education and technical agencies, and inadequate and obsolete learning materials and equipment. Second, there was concern that, by preparing learners for specific jobs only, the programmes failed to adequately prepare them for the changing world of work. As a result, a broader concept of functional literacy has been adopted, and literacy is no longer linked to technical training in any one specific job but to the overall improvement of human conditions.

In Indonesia, the Kejar programme was developed to provide basic information to meet essential learning needs of illiterates and foster attitudes of development. In India, the national adult education literacy

programme emphasizes problem-based curricula in dealing with learners' needs and concerns. In Malaysia and the Philippines, functional literacy curricula include issues concerning health, civic responsibility, values formation and occupational improvement. In Nepal and Thailand, the learning process is designed to assist learners to examine problems in their own daily lives and select appropriate solutions. During these programmes, technical resource persons are sometimes brought in to provide additional training if necessary, but greater emphasis is placed on referring learners to other development agencies to either provide additional services or training, or organize diverse post-literacy vocational services for them.

While most countries in the region appear to have adopted a broader approach to functional literacy by integrating literacy with quality of life improvement, there are indications that new forms of work-oriented functional literacy may soon emerge and influence the programmes within the region. With initiatives and co-operation from business enterprises, literacy classes in the work place are now widespread in industrialized nations. These upgrade the competency of the work force and enable workers to keep pace with the constantly changing technology and increasingly complex job requirements. In China and Viet Nam, such courses are already being organized in factories and enterprises. Other countries also are exploring ways to involve the private business sector in providing work-place literacy training.

As a means for empowerment. While many literacy programmes aim to meet the basic learning needs of individuals, others seek to empower learners, so as to bring about changes within themselves or within the social and economic structures of society.

In countries such as China, Viet Nam and Laos, literacy programmes have been planned to link closely with the struggle for liberation or social reconstruction after liberation. In Viet Nam, 'literacy campaigns aimed not only at eradicating illiteracy among the people but motivating them to do away with vestiges of the old regime, build a new life and consolidate the new power.' In China, literacy programmes help to liberate women from ignorance as well as from 'the heavy burden of household chores.'

In non-revolutionary countries, different approaches have been adopted. These aim more at the learners' critical consciousness or problem-solving abilities. In Nepal, for example, national literacy programmes employed the Freirian approach of using dialogue to develop the critical consciousness of learners to make them more aware of their own dignity and capacity to shape their environment. The Thai functional literacy programme – commonly known in Thai as *khit phen* – enhances critical thinking and problem-solving abilities and enables learners to examine the

causes of their problems, explore possible alternatives and, on the basis of available information, select the most appropriate solution possible at the time. In India, the national adult education programme aimed to foster social awareness by 'equipping the illiterate with a capacity and capability to exercise more control over his [or her] own destiny and environment.' Special priorities were given to promote equality in education among women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and people living in backward sections and areas.

As an initial step to lifelong learning. In addition to their contributions to individual learning capacities, quality of life improvement and enhancement of critical consciousness, literacy programmes also have been recognized as initial steps to lifelong learning opportunities. In most countries of the region, a wide variety of post-literacy continuing education programmes are now available to neo-literates. Most notable is the attempt to link literacy programmes with primary education. Concerned with the vast number of out-of-school children and youth, the low level of educational attainment among the general population and the demands for a more educated work force, many countries in the region have explored ways in which literacy programmes can serve as alternatives to or preparation for primary and secondary equivalence education.

In Indonesia, participants in the Kejar Paket A programme are prepared for taking the primary school equivalence examination. In Viet Nam, large-scale complementary education provided through full-time and part-time complementary schools organized both in villages and enterprises enables over one million people to participate in secondary equivalence courses.

In Thailand, a comprehensive equivalence system is available from literacy level to upper secondary level. Out-of-school children, youths and adults with no access to primary education can participate in functional literacy courses designed to serve different target groups and receive a primary education. An adult illiterate, for example, can enrol in a 200-hour functional literacy curriculum and obtain a lower primary education certificate. A Thai Muslim in the southern provinces can participate in a 224-hour functional literacy curriculum and receive similar credentials. A hilltribe child living in a village with no primary school can obtain a six-year primary education through the 6,000-hour individual-paced and problem-based non-formal education curriculum for hilltribes.

Beyond the level of literacy, learners can choose to enrol in one or a combination of three forms of continuing equivalence education, namely: the classroom format in which learners attend two to three hours of evening classes daily, distance education through which learners learn via

radio programmes, periodic group-learning sessions and self-instructional materials and equivalence examination. All three forms of continuing education utilize a problem-based functional curricula and enable learners to receive equivalence education in a shorter time period and at a lower cost than is available through the formal school system. As a result, these programmes are highly popular and serve over 400,000 people annually. Some programmes are self-financing.

In recognition of the interactive relationship between universalization of primary education and eradication of illiteracy, many countries are now developing different forms of literacy and post-literacy equivalence programmes. A survey of regional literacy programmes reflects their diverse objectives, which range in emphasis. Some stress the importance of literacy as communicative and learning tools, others as a contributing factor to development, others as a means to empower the individual and still others as an initial step in a series of lifelong learning opportunities. These objectives, however, do not exist in isolation. Many programmes aim to achieve more than one objective, and others aim to develop a system whereby objectives are pursued in a sequential and complementary order. Despite the somewhat different foci and approaches, the rich diversity of programmes in the region reaffirms the commitment of the countries to provide literacy and basic education to their populations.

Overview of Literacy Strategies in Region

In most countries within the Asia-Pacific region, national literacy programmes are now an internal part of the educational system or the national development plan. But, while there seems to be a general consensus regarding the importance of literacy in relation to development, the strategies through which literacy can be promoted continue to be topics of much debate and analysis.

Based on the APPEAL regional study, the problems which most concern Member Countries in planning and implementing literacy programmes include:

- the vast number and diversity of out-of-school children and illiterate adult populations;
- inadequate and poor quality technical support, particularly with reference to learning materials and personnel;
- insufficient data for planning, and a lack of co-ordinated policies and plans;

- weak institutional capabilities for planning and management of literacy programmes; and
- the problem of relapse into illiteracy.

While no conclusive solutions to these problems can be offered, experiences in the region help illustrate the ways in which some of the issues have been dealt with.

Mass campaigns or functional literacy programmes. In seeking ways to best serve the vast number of illiterates and simultaneously respond to their diverse needs and conditions, literacy planners often enter the endless debate of choosing between mass literacy campaigns and the more intensive and selective functional literacy programmes. Both approaches have been undertaken within the region. In many countries (China, Myanmar, Viet Nam, Laos), national efforts had been mobilized to enable the often massive illiterate populations to learn to read and write within a relatively short time. At the same time, different forms of functional literacy programmes, which relate literacy attainment to various aspects of development, have been implemented in a large number of countries, including the Philippines, India and Malaysia.

From experience, it is generally agreed that mass campaigns can be effective in uniting national efforts to tackle the massive problem of illiteracy. Mass campaigns, however, tend to be possible only in countries where strong political will exists and where there also exists an effective institutional framework to translate those policies into concrete actions. Furthermore, adequate attention must be given to the qualitative achievement of learners, as well as to post-literacy continuing education, to prevent a relapse into illiteracy, as has occurred in many countries following successful mass campaigns.

On the other hand, functional literacy programmes have been found to be effective in motivating learners' participation, in developing meaningful levels of literacy and in linking literacy to livelihood. But the cost of providing such intensive functional literacy efforts is often high and, therefore, coverage is limited.

Many countries, however, have modified and adopted both approaches so that each complements the other. In Indonesia, after the conclusion of the mass campaign, the country implemented a basic education programme and later the large-scale and more functional Kejar Paket A. Nepal began its literacy effort with experimental functional literacy programmes designed to develop the institutional network and technical capabilities which are now being used to implement a national literacy campaign.

In Thailand, a compulsory mass literacy campaign was launched in 1940 to prepare the largely illiterate adult population for participation in democratic forms of government. A few years after implementation, during which over one million people were reached, the compulsory law was abolished, the mass campaign discontinued and participation in literacy programmes became voluntary. For the next twenty years, various forms of functional literacy programmes were explored to effectively respond to the needs of the target learners. However, only a small number of people – around 50,000 per year – could be served through this intensive approach. In about 1983, as part of the government's policy to reach the 'poorest of the poor,' a second mass literacy campaign was launched to mobilize literate persons within the nation and unite government efforts in serving the remaining illiterates scattered in different communities throughout the country. Functional literacy programmes were not abolished but were further strengthened to serve minority groups, tackle pockets of intense illiteracy, and provide continuing education to neo-literates. Prior to the completion of the second campaign, communities were urged to continuously assess literacy conditions and organize literacy and post-literacy programmes.

Experiences within the Asia-Pacific region clearly suggest that there is no one formula for success. Literacy strategies must be diverse and adaptive. They should be planned to maximally capitalize on prevailing political support and institutional capabilities; they should reinforce past achievement and prepare for future courses of action.

Quality learning experiences. Attempts to provide quality learning experiences in literacy programmes are often impeded by limited funding, lack of competent personnel, and insufficient research and evaluation data. Experiences of countries in the Asia-Pacific region illustrate the many ingenious ways in which these problems have been approached and dealt with. Most literacy programmes stress the need to develop relevant and meaningful curricula, but the extent to which these principles can be realized depends on available resources and programme capabilities.

In countries with numerous small-scale functional literacy programmes and active involvement from communities, private enterprises and non-government agencies, more tailor-made curricula are possible. In India, for example, during 1987-1988, approximately 301 voluntary agencies organized 335 projects serving over 500,000 people per year, and more voluntary agencies are being encouraged to develop micro planning to eradicate illiteracy among specific target groups in compact areas. In Viet Nam, factory-organized literacy classes emphasized 'simplicity, practicality and close connection with life, work and production.'

In more large-scale programmes, literacy curricula have been functionalized by the inclusion of content relevant to improving the quality of life. In Indonesia, the learning material for the Kejar programme consists of 100 booklets, contents of which have been specified by extension workers from different development agencies who have worked and lived in rural communities as essential facilitators in assisting learners to become 'responsible, well-informed and productive citizens.'

The Nepal literacy curriculum was based on national development priorities that would be relevant to all segments of the population but with supplemental plans included for more geographically specific content in follow-up programmes. In Thailand, the curricula are divided into three parts: 25 per cent of the content covers issues of national concerns, 50 per cent emphasizes regional needs and problems, and the remaining 25 per cent is left for teachers and students to incorporate locally specific content.

A wide variety of learning materials have been used within the region. They include:

- writings on objects used in everyday life (as in China);
- blackboards and primary school textbooks;
- specially designed literacy primers, in the form of small booklets, loose-leaf binders and learning sheets;
- an array of fun-filled materials, such as song books, word games, puppet shows and other folk media forms; and
- radio and television programmes (as in Pakistan).

APPEAL Training Materials for Literacy Personnel (ATLP) is also a most significant development in the field of literacy. This is a twelve-volume set of materials jointly drafted, tested and published by training experts in the region. ATLP has set an example for developing curricula, learning aids, teachers' guides, and materials for evaluation, post-literacy and continuing education programmes. ATLP has been adapted by many countries in the region – notably Bangladesh, China, Laos, the Philippines and Thailand. Other countries are also attempting to follow suit.

In terms of learning strategies, while literacy classes are prevalent in such varied settings as formal school premises, factories and private enterprises, many other forms of learning strategies have also been explored. Many mass campaigns adopted the 'each one teach one' approach to enable volunteer teachers to provide individual instruction to target learners at a time and place convenient to both teacher and learner. Small learning groups have been organized in such countries as Indonesia, Nepal

and Thailand to facilitate group discussion and more intensive problem analysis. Different forms of work-place literacy have been initiated to link literacy to production.

Distance education has also been employed to promote literacy through television programmes in Pakistan and through radio correspondence courses in Thailand. These courses are often accompanied by periodic group meetings, as in television viewing centres in Pakistan, although research has shown that a far greater number of people benefit from the courses than only the participants in the viewing centres.

In an effort to integrate literacy into daily living, the learning and teaching process has also been grafted to the indigenous learning network in the community. In Thailand, for example, Buddhist monks who had performed educative roles in the past are now being supported to renew their roles in providing literacy and non-formal education to the out-of-school population.

Personnel for literacy programmes have been drawn from different segments of the society – from professionally trained full-time instructors, primary school teachers, local leaders, extension workers, military personnel, students and neo-literates. In most countries, short-term training courses are provided to prepare instructors to organize literacy courses. But in mass campaigns, where resources are insufficient to provide training to all volunteer instructors, periodic tutorial sessions by professional teachers are sometimes organized to supplement teaching by inexperienced volunteers. In some programmes, 'teacher-proof' materials have been developed to ensure that the learning process proceeds as planned. Experiences in the region amply indicate that, with proper technical support from educators, non-professional instructors can greatly extend coverage of literacy services, increase content relevance, and significantly improve their own individual competence.

It should be noted that most countries in the region have paid careful attention to the development of learning strategies which are responsive to the needs and conditions of the illiterate population and, at the same time, are within the scope of their resources. With assistance from international and regional organizations -- such as Unesco, the Asian Cultural Centre for Unesco (ACCU) and World Education, – need assessment, research on literacy methodology, selection of language and key words, learning material formats and training modules, as well as extensive field testing, are now being conducted regularly as part of the developmental process. These experiences have resulted in a rich diversity of learning strategies obtainable within the region, despite the limited resources available.

Linking primary, literacy and post-literacy continuing education. The interactive relationship between primary education and literacy education has long been recognized within the region. There are many examples of literacy and non-formal education programmes being used to reinforce, complement or serve as substitutes for primary education. In Nepal and Pakistan, for instance, literacy and non-formal education programmes help educate parents about the value of education for their children. Library services, science centres, and educational and television programmes further enhance the quality of formal school provisions. Various forms of non-formal equivalence education have been organized to compensate for inadequacies in childhood education. Until recently, however, the link between literacy and post-literacy continuing education has been much less developed. With the increasing concerns for motivating the illiterate population in areas where literacy is not yet normative, linking literacy to development and preventing relapse into illiteracy, educators and planners are now exploring the possibility of systematizing and expanding continuing education.

Within the region, continuing education has emerged in different forms. In most countries, simple reading materials and rural newspapers are being produced by communities and education and development agencies for distribution to neo-literates as follow-up reading materials. In Viet Nam, workers are given paid study leave to continue post-literacy complementary education. In Indonesia, a wide variety of continuing services have been organized, including employment-oriented training programmes in which participants receive training and revolving loan funds to initiate or improve earning activities, youth training programmes, and apprenticeship and vocational courses. In Malaysia, continuing education includes family development programmes, religious and moral education, leadership training and industrial training programmes.

In many countries, the mass media has been utilized to provide continuing education through public libraries, mobile libraries, educational radio and television, and folk media. In Malaysia, the *Straits Times* newspaper won the 1987 ACCU literacy prize for its publication of reading materials for neo-literates. In Thailand, a nationwide system of village newspaper reading centres has been established to strengthen the commercial delivery network of reading materials to rural communities. In addition, a campaign has been launched to solicit donations of used books, and support has been given to local Buddhist temples to establish reading services to further enrich the literate environment.

While continuing education is an area of concern and many promising experiences within the region have been recorded, generally, the concept

of continuing education has neither been fully defined nor fully integrated into national development plans. Investment in continuing education has been limited and is often seen as competing for limited resources with the literacy effort itself.

Experiences within the region clearly reaffirm the position advocated by APPEAL – that universal primary education, eradication of illiteracy and the creation of supportive learning environments are closely related and should be planned in integration so that they can adequately and timely complement and reinforce each other. The strategies needed to achieve this goal, however, remain the challenges for the future.

Strengthening Management and Planning Capabilities

As mentioned, the need to provide literacy and basic education to all people has long been recognized in all of the countries in the region. Long before the establishment of the formal school system, indigenous community learning networks and religious education helped spread literacy and basic education to certain segments of the population.

Guaranteed access to literacy and basic education is embodied in the constitutional rights of the citizens (i.e. the constitutions of Malaysia and Indonesia), and national leaders have called for a mobilization of literacy efforts. In 1945, Ho Chi Minh of Viet Nam called for war against ignorance and famine and laid down a mass mobilization strategy for the organization of a popular education movement. In 1961, the president of Indonesia issued 'a presidential command to abolish illiteracy in [all] Indonesian communities [except Irian Jaya] by the end of 1964.' Laws for compulsory attendance of literacy classes were promulgated in Thailand during the mass campaign of the 1940s. Literacy policies have also been incorporated gradually in national development plans, initially as part of community and basic education services but later as more explicit literacy policies with specific goals, strategies, programmes and resource allocations. In India, for example, the first Five-Year Plan included literacy and basic education as part of the community development programme. The third Five-Year Plan called for a pooling of resources to establish a popular literacy movement, while the sixth Plan laid down a strategy and programme to cover the entire adult illiterate population between the ages of 15 and 35 by 1990.

While literacy policies have long existed, they have not always resulted in successful plan and programme implementation. Major obstacles to effective planning and management of literacy programmes have been identified. These include a lack of sustained commitment, an

inadequate data base, and weak institutional capabilities and infrastructural support.

In Bangladesh, for example, a comprehensive plan envisaged in the second Five-Year Plan (1980-1985) to reach 40 million illiterates between 10 and 45 years of age was 'accorded low priority' after a disappointing performance during the first two years – during which time only 0.7 million illiterates, compared to the target number of 10 million, were made functionally literate. In Pakistan, the initial success in the experimental use of television for literacy cannot be more fully expanded upon without a commitment for massive investment. The strengthening of planning and management capabilities in literacy programmes is therefore a serious concern among all of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

An accurate and up-to-date data base plays an important role in the planning and management of literacy efforts. Many plans and programmes have suffered from having targets set unrealistically high or insignificantly low. Others lack data regarding the magnitude of the problems, future trends, and profiles of the illiterates. These insufficiencies limit the potential effectiveness of the programmes.

The problems encountered in establishing a data base for literacy stem largely from the difficulties in operationalizing the definition of literacy so that meaningful levels of literacy competence can be assessed; at the same time, testing must be simple enough to be administered and processed nationwide on continuous bias. All countries in the region have included literacy assessment in their national census and attempted to develop more meaningful ways to identify illiteracy.

In Pakistan, for example, the definition of literacy was revised with each new census. In 1951, illiteracy was defined as the 'ability to read any clear print in any language.' In 1972, the definition was further elaborated to the 'ability to read *and write with understanding* in any language' and, in 1981, was finally operationalized as the 'ability to read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language.' Census data have helped to assess the literacy situation by sex, age-group, and locality and, in the cases of similar literacy definitions, have also helped compare progress made. Without additional input, however, census data are often inadequate for planning literacy programmes.

In Thailand, prior to the launch of the mass literacy campaign in 1986, a nationwide household survey was conducted to identify the illiterate population by name and address. The lists were computerized and returned to the community for validation and to organize matching tutors for each confirmed illiterate. Only after every confirmed illiterate identified

by name – not just by number – has passed the test administered by local primary schools will a community be considered as having completed the campaign. These lists enable the programme to reach hard-core illiterates, rather than serve only voluntary participants. Recognizing, however, that the survey was by no means complete – some people refused to reveal their illiteracy, there was 'in and out' migration, errors in data collection were reported – a literacy evaluation is now included in the biennial village survey. This provides more up-to-date community-specific literacy data on a regular basis. Other countries, such as India, have introduced micro planning in selected priority areas to develop micro plans for the eradication of illiteracy.

To project future trends, many countries have conducted school censuses to identify the number of school-age children enrolled in schools and remaining out-of-school, as well as to carry out research on retention and drop-out rates. With assistance from the Unesco regional office, countries in the region now have access to computer programmes which can project future illiterate population based on data pertaining to primary school provisions and literacy situations. The countries now will be in a better position to develop long-term plans and prepare, in advance, to secure the necessary support. With this improved data base covering present literacy conditions, future trends and specific target group information, it will be possible for countries in the region to improve target setting and planning of literacy strategies and programmes at both macro and micro levels. The effectiveness in implementing these plans, however, will depend on the institutional capabilities of each country.

Although there is a great deal of variation among the organizational frameworks through which literacy programmes are planned and implemented, some general lessons can be drawn from experiences within the region. Despite strong government commitment and support which exists in many Asia-Pacific countries, literacy programmes seldom are solely the work of the government bureaucracy and its educational agencies. Many successful literacy programmes have been initiated by non-government agencies, agricultural extension agencies, and even the mass media. In several of the countries with vast land areas or massive illiterate populations, non-government agencies have helped initiate, plan and implement small-scale literacy programmes to serve specific target groups.

In Bangladesh, significant literacy work has been carried out by quasi-government agencies and non-government agencies. The quasi-government agencies provided literacy training to approximately 144,000 people in 1983-1984 through the Rural Women's Co-operative Programme carried out by the Bangladesh Rural Development Board, the Shanirvar

Bangladesh Movement and the Imam Training Programme of the Islamic Foundation. A large number of the 8,000 non-government agencies which work for the welfare of the people of Bangladesh have included literacy as part of their socio-economic development packages, although there are only a few agencies directly working on or giving special emphasis to the promotion of literacy. Examples are the Bangladesh literacy programme and the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC). In Nepal, 60 per cent of all literacy classes are implemented by non-government agencies. They use either a modified governmental approach or develop new approaches to suit their needs.

Even in countries whose government literacy programmes can penetrate every community in the country, both government and non-government agencies are involved in the planning and implementation process in a variety of ways. Successful popularization efforts have been carried out by grass-roots organizations, the mass media, religious leaders and folk artists. Various development agencies have been instrumental in developing curricula and learning materials and providing continuing education. Specialized technical institutions, such as the Pakistan Television Corporation, have spearheaded innovative literacy programmes and, as noted previously, people from different segments of society have been mobilized to serve as literacy instructors.

The most significant participation, however, comes from the community and the target groups themselves. In such countries as China and Viet Nam, individual communities provide necessary resources and manpower to undertake local literacy courses. In the extensive government-supported Kejar programme of Indonesia, the LKMD (village development organization) is responsible for identifying learners' needs, organizing learning groups, providing facilities and conducting follow-up programmes. The nationwide coverage of the Thai literacy campaign of the 1980s has been made possible by the active participation of village development committees which identify illiterates, match them with tutors, conduct follow-ups until successful completion of the learning process is achieved, and operate village reading centres with outside government and non-government agency support for basic learning materials and testing services only.

While effective mobilization of support (both horizontal and vertical) has been identified as a critical ingredient in literacy programmes, it is often difficult to attain and sustain. However, there have been many notable examples within the region. To generate political will and commitment, literacy has been linked to national priorities or strong prevailing public sentiments. For example, literacy has been justified as a means for

or an expression of people's liberation, national identity and dignity, and equitable development. Effective dissemination of information on literacy situations, the plight of illiterates, and costs of literacy to society can further heighten public awareness and concern. Finally, creation of a more supportive literate environment, development of relevant and meaningful learning experiences, and linkage of literacy to other quality of life improvement services will ensure the sustainability of literacy promotion efforts.

Establishing definite literacy targets to be achieved within a specified time period can also facilitate mobilization of support towards the common goal of illiteracy reduction. Such targets, however, must be meaningful and realistic. While national goals can be specified, the process of setting targets should allow the participation of agencies and communities involved in assessing the literacy situation and designating targets in their areas of responsibility within the national guidelines.

In China, the communities and even the illiterates themselves were involved in formulating plans and targets for the eradication of illiteracy. In Thailand, the mass campaign of the 1980s was launched in a ceremony in which the prime minister presented each provincial governor with a list of the illiterates in his or her province, thereby entrusting each governor with the responsibility to unite efforts within that province to serve those illiterates listed.

Generally, while the various agencies are willing to assist in literacy programmes, their efforts often lack co-ordination. Among the most effective tactics in generating, co-ordinating and sustaining interagency support are formal delegation of responsibility, establishing co-ordinating committees or using existing channels to serve as co-ordinating mechanisms, regular monitoring and follow-up by interagency teams, and reporting not only the overall progress in literacy but also the performance of each participating agency.

It is important to recognize, however, that while literacy efforts cannot be carried out by any one agency alone, there is a need to designate a central unit to oversee overall planning, implementation and co-ordination. Such a unit may consist of one or more agencies responsible for situation analysis, policy formulation and planning, resource mobilization, technical support, co-ordination and reporting.

In Indonesia, the Directorate of Non-formal Education, Youths and Sports (Dikmas) serves as secretariat to the country's National Co-ordination Committee on APPEAL (POKJA) and the interagency technical committee. The Directorate also oversees planning and implementation,

as well as provides support for Balai Dikmas, learning activities (SKBs) and non-formal education supervisors.

In Viet Nam, where responsibilities in planning and implementation are decentralized to the provincial and district levels as well as grass-roots organizations, the Ministry of Education, through its technical department responsible for literacy and continuing education (the Department of Complementary Education), oversees the planning and implementation of programmes and provides technical support to the decentralized implementing units.

In Pakistan, a country long characterized by numerous small-scale adult literacy programmes, the Literacy and Mass Education Commission was created in 1981 to serve as 'the much needed nucleus for the planning, organization, financing and integration of adult and non-formal educational activities.'

A review of literacy experiences in Asia and the Pacific clearly reveals areas both of urgent concern and new promise which can help guide future promotion efforts in the region.

Lessons Gained from Experience

Based on past experience in literacy promotion, the following guidelines have been identified as critical considerations in planning future efforts.

- Literacy promotion is a continuous learning process. Literacy targets can indeed be set and achieved. But they should be regarded as milestones towards increasingly more complex, more functional and more meaningful levels of literacy which, as with language itself, evolves with time and according to changes in society. Attempts to win support for literacy efforts by portraying illiteracy as a social illness which can be permanently eradicated with proper intervention can only lead to disillusionment and damage long-term promotion efforts.
- Universal primary education, meaningful reduction of illiteracy and the creation of supportive learning environments are closely related. Significant progress in one area cannot be effectively achieved without adequate attention to all areas. Therefore, primary education, literacy education and efforts to enrich the learning opportunities in the environment should be planned in integration so that they can adequately and timely complement and reinforce each other.

- National commitment and support are essential for any significant literacy effort. Commitment need not be for literacy directly but can be for other issues in which literacy can be shown to make a positive contributions. However, national commitment alone cannot ensure significant improvement unless efforts to bring such commitment into action are well planned and well executed. Without periodic reinforcement, particularly in the form of concrete results, national commitment and personal motivation for literacy can diminish quite rapidly.
- Strategies for the promotion of literacy must be diverse and adaptive. In particular, they should be planned to further reinforce past achievements, maximally capitalize on political support and institutional capabilities, and prepare for future courses of action.
- Similarly, teaching and learning strategies for literacy should be diverse and responsive to the needs and conditions of illiterate populations which are motivated differently. However, certain standards should be set to serve as guidelines for literacy workers, and to enable learners to strive for the attainment of a literacy level which will be truly functional to their lives. However, standards should not be so restrictive as to prohibit non-professional educators from participating in learning and teaching processes. With proper technical support from professional educators, non-professional teachers can greatly extend the coverage of literacy services, increase the relevance of the content and significantly improve their own competence.
- To formulate responsive and adaptive strategies at national and operational levels, there is a need for an effective system to continuously assess the literacy situation and monitor its progress. The definition of literacy and the method of assessment should be periodically reviewed to ensure functionality.
- While it is generally agreed that literacy promotion cannot be undertaken by any one single agency, there is a need to designate a responsible body – an accepted agency or a group of agencies – to handle situation analysis, planning, resource mobilization, technical support, co-ordination, monitoring and reporting. While the responsible agency should be adequately strengthened to perform the functions effectively, it should not become so powerful that it neglects the need to involve other agencies in literacy promotion efforts.

- Finally, international co-operation and international organizations can help promote literacy by raising national awareness, sharing experiences, giving recognition to exemplary work, providing technical support and filling critical financial and resource gaps. However, too strong pressure and too much assistance can have adverse effects or lead to overdependence, damaging the cause of literacy.

Future Strategy Considerations

The International Literacy Year of 1990 and the World Conference on Education for All scheduled for March 1990 will undoubtedly invigorate concern for the problem of illiteracy. To ensure that this concern generates and sustains national commitment for long-term alleviation of the problem, the following lessons learned from past experiences should be taken into consideration in formulating future literacy strategy.

- While different forms of literacy programmes have long existed in countries within the Asia-Pacific region, few countries have been able to maintain long-term commitment for literacy promotion efforts. Literacy policies often are not matched by necessary resource allocations.

  Furthermore, without periodic reinforcement, particularly in the form of concrete results, national commitment and personal motivation for literacy can quickly fade. Future literacy strategy, therefore, entails the need to institutionalize literacy policies within national development policies and plans to document concrete data to justify investment in literacy programmes and conduct popularization campaigns at all levels of society in order to extend the base of support for literacy programmes beyond those who are in the field of education.

- The launching of the APPEAL programme has greatly enhanced the concern for the need to integrate universal primary education, eradication of illiteracy and the provision for continuing education. Such concern, however, has not been fully translated into planning and implementation priorities, processes or actions. It is imperative, therefore, to heighten awareness and recognition of this issue, formulate action plans for integration, develop concrete indicators to monitor progress, strengthen countries' capabilities in planning and implementing an integrated strategy, and document successful experiences in the region.

- National commitment and support have been identified as critical conditions for any significant literacy effort. But unless the effort to bring such commitment into action is well planned and well executed, disillusionment may result and long-term support for literacy may be damaged. Future strategy for literacy policies, therefore, should give priority to the improvement of planning and implementation systems at both macro and micro levels. Specifically, the data base should be systematized, with the definition of literacy and the method of assessment periodically reviewed to ensure their functionality. The organizational framework and mechanism for situation analysis, planning resource mobilization, technical support, co-ordination, monitoring, and reporting should be examined and adequately strengthened to effectively perform these tasks. Similarly, participation by various agencies should be explored, their roles and responsibilities clearly delineated, and strategies formulated to enlist their involvement, provide technical support and, if necessary, follow up and reinforce their involvement.

- A review of literacy experiences within the region clearly confirms the need for diverse and adaptive literacy strategies which will take full advantage of prevailing support and institutional capabilities of a country. Learning experiences, similarly, need to be diverse and responsive to the needs and conditions of the vast illiterate population. Effective literacy strategy and programmes therefore require a comprehensive technical support system to conduct an assessment of learners' needs, explore different learning strategies and technologies, carry out quality curricula and materials development, train necessary personnel, supervise and provide on-the-spot guidance, assess learners' achievements and evaluate the overall literacy effort. Technical support services need not be handled by any one agency alone but can be shared by a group of specialized agencies co-ordinated to perform their respective functions through a central co-ordinating mechanism.

- During recent years, there has been an increasing concern for the need to create and enrich supportive literate environments which generate demand for literacy and integrate literacy as normative life skills of the learners. While promising experiences can be found in the region – the use of mass and folk media, provision for various forms of adult education, the participation of private and business sectors – the concept of 'continuing education,' as termed in the APPEAL programme, has not been fully developed

and incorporated into the national education and development framework. Greater attention, therefore, is needed in this area.

- Finally, experiences in the region have amply demonstrated that literacy promotion is a continuous process. Literacy targets can indeed be set and achieved, but they should be regarded as milestones towards increasingly more complex, more functional and more meaningful levels of literacy which should evolve with time and in response to changes in society. Literacy promotion, therefore, should not be the concern only of developing nations – it should be an integral part of educational endeavours in all countries at all stages of development.

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*Chapter 6**

LITERACY PROGRAMMES IN INDIA

Alleviation of poverty[1] and eradication of illiteracy (EOI) are integral parts of the developmental endeavour. Literacy is considered to be an important pre-condition for the meaningful participation of people in developmental activities directed at alleviating poverty. Poverty is found to be a most powerful inhibiting factor in lowering the motivation for continued participation in literacy programmes. Thus, there exists a nexus between poverty and illiteracy; one tends to reinforce the other.

Several studies have shown that literacy is related to productivity, better health and nutrition awareness, reduced child mortality and morbidity, and improved participation of children in primary education. Literacy is an important means of meeting an individual's basic needs – in acquiring knowledge pertinent to changes in existing practices and skills, it helps to be able to use the services provided. It is also observed that literacy is a critical factor in enhancing the benefits derived from interventions designed to improve the quality of life of people. And too, literacy facilitates the effective use of available services and enhances the responsiveness to innovations. The lack of a certain level of literacy inevitably leads to a deprivation of basic needs and a serious undermining of the potential for not only individual fulfilment but also national development. Conditions in India, which contains almost half of the total number of illiterates in the world, exemplify these points. Since such a large portion of the country's population is illiterate, India is not only deprived of the resources constituted for national development by the creativity and

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productivity of its citizens, it is also impeded in its efforts to implement programmes directed at alleviating poverty and providing its people with such basic services as health care, nutrition, sanitation, and water supply – all of which require certain levels of popular participation which are dependent on the level of literacy among the people and the community's general level of education. Since the mobilization and use of available financial, material and human resources plays such an important role in the struggle against poverty and deprivation, it is imperative that one of the main priorities in India's development effort should be to promote the total elimination of illiteracy in the shortest time possible.

The struggle against illiteracy requires a two-pronged approach. Not only must action be taken to organize systematic educational campaigns for eradicating illiteracy among adults, but illiteracy must be conquered at its source by universalizing elementary education. The eradication of illiteracy among adults and a provision for universal elementary education reinforce and complement one another. A literate adult population leads to enhanced participation of children in primary education which in turn helps to stem illiteracy at the source. The goal of universalizing elementary education will be difficult to attain if illiteracy in the adult population is not eliminated. On the other hand, eradication of adult illiteracy is possible only if participation of all children in primary education is ensured.

A literacy rate of about 70 per cent is considered to be crucial for universalization of elementary education (UEE). No country with a high illiteracy rate has been able to achieve universal primary education. Illiteracy goes hand in hand with low participation in primary education. The children who do not enter primary education and a large proportion of those who drop out at an early stage become illiterate adults. Universalization of elementary education, therefore, emerges as *the* prerequisite for any permanent eradication of illiteracy.

The significance of universal literacy as an instrument to mobilize people – arouse community consciousness and community participation to bring about social change – was recognized very early by national leaders. Mahatma Gandhi described mass illiteracy as 'India's Sin and Shame' and emphasized the need to provide universal basic education for children and evolve programmes of adult education with a moral component for social and cultural regeneration and a political component for strengthening the national struggle for freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, also emphasized the crucial role of education in national development. Literacy was visualized as the tool of development, and eradication of illiteracy was considered crucial to the conquest over poverty and the healthy functioning of the government system.

Progress and Problems

Since the initiation of economic and social planning in 1951, India has been simultaneously confronted with a variety of tasks regarding eradication of adult illiteracy and universalization of elementary education. Although a great deal remains to be done, the progress thus far achieved is by no means insignificant.

Eradication of Illiteracy Achievements and Problems

Progress towards increasing the literacy rate has been substantial – however, it continues to be inadequate in relation to population size and growth. The percentage of literates among the total population increased from 16.6 in 1951 to 36.2 during the thirty years that followed.[2] The percentage of male literates increased from 24.9 to 46.7; in the case of females, it increased from 7.9 to 24.8.

One of the disturbing facts about the problem of illiteracy in India has been that while both the literacy rate and the number of literates have grown over the years so has the number of illiterates (from 300 million in 1951 to 437 million in 1981). This is due to the continuing gap in the number of new literates and the rate of population growth. The decadal growth rate of population, which was around 21.5 per cent during 1951-1961, increased to about 25 per cent during 1971-1981. While the increase in population during the ten-year periods of 1961-1971 and 1971-1981 were 109 million and 137 million respectively, the number of literates increased by only 56 million and 86 million respectively. As a result, although the percentage of literacy increased from 24.0 in 1961 to 29.5 in 1971 and to 36.2 in 1981, the absolute number of illiterates increased as well. Thus, if children below four years of age are excluded from the total population of 685.19 million in the country, nearly 343.3 million were illiterate in 1981.

A wide disparity exists between literacy rates for men and women, female literacy lagging well behind male literacy. An alarming fact is that even in the age-groups of 10 to 14 and 15 to 19, overall literacy was only about 50 percent – and less than 40 percent for girls.

The percentage of literacy varies greatly from state to state. In 1981, Kerala had the highest literacy rate (69.1 per cent) and Rajasthan (24.0 per cent) had the lowest. Disparities are even greater as regards women and individuals belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Female literacy was highest in Kerala (64.4 per cent) and lowest in Rajasthan (11.3 per cent). Female literacy was under 25 per cent in Haryana (22.2), Sikkim

(22.0), Orissa (21.1), Andhra Pradesh (20.5), Madhya Pradesh (15.5), Uttar Pradesh (14.4), Bihar (13.5) and Rajasthan.

Wide disparity also existed – and still exists – in the literacy rates in rural and urban areas, the literacy rates in rural areas being much lower than those in urban areas. While the literacy rates for males and females in the country as a whole were roughly 47 per cent and 25 per cent respectively, they were 66 per cent and 48 per cent respectively for urban areas and 41 per cent and 18 per cent respectively for rural areas. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh had a rural female literacy rate of less than 10 per cent. Kerala had the highest female literacy rate (65 per cent) in rural areas, and Rajasthan had the lowest rate (5 per cent). The literacy rate for scheduled castes was highest in Kerala (56 per cent) and lowest in Bihar (10 per cent). The literacy rate for scheduled tribes was highest in Mizoram (60 per cent) and lowest in Andhra Pradesh (8 per cent).

The population group aged 15 to 35 constitutes a major segment of the work force. The number of illiterates in this age-group was about 97.1 million in 1971. On the basis of 1971 literacy rates for the age-groups 10 to 15 and 15 to 25 (who would have moved into the age-groups 20 to 25 and 25 to 35 in 1981) and the estimated literacy rates for the age-group 15 to 20, the total number of illiterates in the age-group 15 to 35 was estimated to be about 115.7 million in 1981. Assuming that about five million adults in this age-group would have been made literate through adult education programmes during 1971-1981, the total number of adult illiterates in this age-group was estimated at about 110 million in 1981. On the basis of the existing trend, which takes into account the effects of programmes for universalizing elementary education, the number of illiterates in the age-group 15 to 35 is expected to reach about 116 million in 1991 and decline to 110 million by 2001. Of this number, about 98 million adults are expected to be made literate through the National Literacy Mission launched recently by the Indian government.

Universalization of Elementary Education: Achievements

Universalization of elementary education (UEE) in India encompasses four major components: universal provision for educational facilities, universal enrolment, universal retention, and qualitative improvement to provide equal chances of success for all. Substantial progress has been made in the area of elementary education since 1951.

Provision of educational facilities. A phenomenal expansion has taken place in the facilities for elementary education. The number of

primary schools increased from 209,671 in 1950-1951 to 519,316 in 1986.[3] During the same period, the number of upper primary schools increased from 13,596 to 138,668. Of the primary schools in the country in 1986, 475,879 (89.9 per cent) were located in rural areas. Of the total number of upper primary schools, 112,833 (81.3 per cent) were located in rural areas.

In 1986, of the 979,065 rural habitations, 502,806 (51.3 per cent) had primary schools/sections, covering 80.3 per cent of the rural population; 94.6 per cent of the rural population was served by primary schools/sections located either within the habitation or within a walking distance of one kilometre. The states of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana, Nagaland, Punjab and union territories of Chandigarh, Delhi, Lakshadweep and Pondicherry have attained almost universal provision of educational facilities for the primary stage. In the country as a whole, of the 530,246 habitations with a population of 300 or more, 76.9 per cent had a facility for primary education within the habitation and 94 per cent had a facility either within the habitation or within a walking distance of one kilometre.

In 1986, 36.9 per cent of the rural population had upper primary schools/sections within the habitation and 85.3 per cent had a facility for the upper primary stage either within the habitation or within a walking distance of three kilometres. The states/UTs which had more than 90 per cent of the rural population served by an upper primary schooling facility within the habitation or within a distance of three kilometres include Andhra Pradesh (97.2), Goa (91.7), Gujarat (94.4), Haryana (93.1), Kerala (96.2), Punjab (92.4), Chandigarh (100), Daman and Diu (99.4), Delhi (98.6), Lakshadweep (99.1), and Pondicherry (96.4). Of the 358,996 habitations with populations of 500 or more, 29.9 per cent were served by upper primary schools/sections within the habitation and 84.4 per cent had a facility either within the habitation or within a walking distance of three kilometres.

Enrolment. Although it has not been possible to attain the goal of universal enrolment, the progress achieved so far in increasing enrolment has indeed been remarkable. The total enrolment in classes I to V increased from 19.1 million in 1950-1951 to 86.6 million in 1986. The enrolment of boys increased from 13.7 million to 50.9 million in the same period, while enrolment of girls increased from 5.3 million to 35.6 million.

The enrolment in classes VI to VIII increased from 3.1 million (2.5 million boys and 534,000 girls) in 1950-1951 to 27.2 million (17.5 million boys and 9.6 million girls) in 1986.

The total enrolment of children in classes I to VIII increased from 22.2 million in 1950-1951 to 113.8 million in 1986. The enrolment of boys in

classes I to VIII increased from 16.3 million to 68.5 million, while the enrolment of girls increased from 5.9 million to 45.3 million.

There has also been a noticeable increase in the percentage of girls as regards total enrolment. The percentage of girls enrolled in classes I to V rose from 28.1 in 1950-1951 to 41.1 in 1986, while the percentage for classes VI to VII increased from 17.1 to 35.4.

The gross enrolment ratio for the primary stage (percentage of children enrolled in classes I to V to the total population in the age-group of 6 to 14) also registered a considerable increase, rising 42.6 in 1950-1951 to 93.5 in 1986. In the case of boys, it rose from 60.8 to 106.3 per cent, while for girls it went from 24.9 to 79.8 per cent. There was also an increase during this period in the gross enrolment ratio at the upper primary stage (percentage of children enrolled in classes VI to VIII to the total population in the age-group of 11 to 14), from 12.9 in 1950-1951 to 48.5 in 1986. In the case of boys, it increased from 20.8 to 60.6 per cent, in the case of girls from 4.3 to 35.6 per cent.

The enrolment of children belonging to disadvantaged sections of society, such as the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, has also increased considerably in recent years. In 1986, children belonging to the scheduled castes accounted for 17.3 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I to V and 14.9 per cent of the total in classes VI to VIII. Children belonging to the scheduled tribes accounted for eight per cent and five per cent respectively of the total enrolments in these classes. The enrolment of children at the primary and upper primary stages in rural areas has also increased a great deal during the past few years. The enrolment in classes I to V in rural areas increased from 38.1 million in 1965 to 66.7 million (77 per cent) in 1986. At the upper primary stage, the enrolment in rural areas increased from 5.9 million in 1965 to 17.7 million (65 per cent) in 1986.

Retention. While increases in enrolment have been substantial, achievements have been off-set by population growth on the one hand and low retention capacity of elementary (primary and upper primary) schools on the other. Drop-out rates of about 50 per cent between classes I to V and about 70 per cent between classes I to VIII are estimated. However, there seems to have been some improvement in retention rates during the last decade. The enrolment in class V, as a percentage of enrolment in class I, was 49.3 per cent in 1986 versus 36.5 per cent in 1978; while the enrolment in class VIII, as a percentage of enrolment in class I, was 31.1 per cent in 1986.

Qualitative improvement. One important aspect of the effort to universalize elementary education has been the emphasis on improving

the quality and relevance of elementary education. Efforts have been made to raise the professional competence of teachers and improve curricula, textbooks and other instructional/learning materials.

The total number of primary and middle school teachers has increased substantially during the past three decades. The total number of primary school teachers increased from 537,918 in 1950-1951 to 1,525,662 in 1986, and the percentage of women teachers at that level increased from 18.1 to 28.6 per cent. The total number of teachers in upper primary schools increased from 85,496 in 1950-1951 to 1,010,804 in 1986, and the percentage of women teachers at that level went from 15.0 to 33.2 per cent. Of the 1,865,503 teachers working at the primary stage, women teachers constituted 30.5 per cent, and of the 921,612 teachers at the upper primary stage, 32.1 per cent were women.

A major thrust of the effort to improve the quality of education at the elementary stage has been to raise the level of general education and the professional training of teachers. Because of expanded educational facilities at all levels, a large number of more academically qualified individuals have joined the ranks of teachers at primary and middle stages. The percentage of trained teachers at the primary stage increased from 58.8 per cent in 1950-1951 to 80.6 per cent in 1970-1971, and to 86.6 per cent in 1986; while upper primary stage percentages of 53.3, 83.8, and 87.3 were recorded.

Another major thrust of the effort to improve quality of education at the elementary stage has been directed towards development and renewal of curriculum. Efforts have been made to upgrade content in all subjects; textbooks and other teaching-learning materials have been improved to match the upgraded content and standard. These reforms, along with the effort to improve the level of general education and provide better training for teachers, have contributed considerably to improvements in instructional processes.

Universalization of Elementary Education: Problems Encountered

Despite the large expansion that has taken place and the substantial investments that have been made, deficiencies continue to prevail in the elementary education system.

Access. Bearing in mind conditions in India, one kilometre from a child's home is the designated acceptable distance for the location of a primary school; three kilometres is designated for an upper primary

facility. The major thrust of the overall programme for quantitative expansion of educational facilities has been to provide all habitations which have a viable population of about 300 with a primary school/section not more than one kilometre distant and all habitations with a viable population of about 500 with an upper primary school/section not more than three kilometres distant. Although substantial progress has been made in terms of providing educational facilities, it has been insufficient to ensure access to elementary education for all. Several problems and issues emerge as being significant in this context.

The percentage of population served by a primary schooling facility within the habitation or within a walking distance of one kilometre was 94.6 in 1986. To achieve universalization of elementary education, especially in the case of girls, the remaining 5.4 per cent require access to an educational facility within one kilometre.

There are large numbers of habitations which have no primary school facility even though their populations justify one. In 1986, there were 31,750 habitations with populations of 300 or more which lacked access to a primary school facility within the one-kilometre specification. The major problem, however, is providing primary school facilities within a distance of one kilometre to the 120,480 habitations with populations under 300.

In 1986, upper primary stage school facilities within a distance of one kilometre were available to only 54.8 per cent of population. Such facilities were available to 72.4 per cent of population within a distance of three kilometres. About 14.6 per cent of the population did not have access to a upper primary school facility within three kilometres and 236,980 habitations were unserved by an upper primary school facility within the three-kilometre specification. These included 55,833 habitations with populations of 500 or more and 181,147 habitations with an average population of less than 500.

The national policy to provide an upper primary school facility within a three-kilometre walking distance from a habitation seems to be unrealistic, especially as regards girls and habitations lacking appropriate inter-habitation communication facilities. Since an upper primary school facility is not available within a convenient walking distance, many children who complete the primary school stage (for which facilities are conveniently situated) discontinue their education. The absence of a learning environment within easy walking distance seriously hinders the spread of elementary education in rural areas. Except for hilly, desert and tribal areas, it may not even be possible to establish independent primary schools in habitations with populations under 300 or upper primary schools in

habitations with populations under 500. An alternative strategy needs to be adopted to provide access to education for children in these habitations.

There has been wide disparity in the provision of educational facilities among different states and union territories. For instance, in 1986, while primary schools were available within one kilometre of a habitation for 94.6 per cent of the India's entire rural population, variations within the country ranged between 76.6 per cent in Himachal Pradesh and 100 per cent in Delhi and Lakshadweep. The percentage of the population served by a primary school/section within one kilometre of a habitation was over 90 in 19 states and five union territories, between 80 and 90 in four states and two union territories, and between 70 and 80 in two states.

In the case of upper primary schools facilities, while 85.3 per cent of the rural population in the country had such a facility within three kilometres, coverage ranged between 100 per cent in Chandigarh and 42.1 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh. The percentage of the population served by an upper primary school/section within the three-kilometre specification was over 90 in six states and five union territories, between 80 and 90 in 12 states, between 70 and 80 in three states and one union territory, between 60 and 70 in three states and one union territory, and less than 50 in one state.

Since access to education is prerequisite to enrolment, special efforts are needed to expand educational facilities in states/UTs which are below the national average.

Inadequate enrolment. Reported gross enrolment figures are at best only crude indicators of progress towards universal enrolment. They do not specify the proportion of children in the age-group 6 to 11 who are actually enrolled in classes I to V or those in the age-group 11 to 14 who are enrolled in classes VI to VIII. Gross enrolment statistics at the primary stage indicate only the total enrolment of all children – irrespective of their age in classes I to V – as compared to the total population of children in the 6-to-11 age-group. Normally, enrolment in classes I to V includes not only children in the age-group 6 to 11 but also children below 6 and above 11 years of age. Consequently, overage and underage children who usually study in classes I to V are included in the total enrolment figure. This results in inflated enrolment figures and leads to a distorted picture of India's enrolment achievements and a correspondingly optimistic but deflated underestimate of the large number of children who are not attending school. An estimated 22 per cent of the students enrolled in classes I to V are below five years of age and above 11 years. Taking this factor into account, only about 80 per cent of the children aged 6 to 11 years can be considered as being actually enrolled in school, which results in a

gross enrolment figure that is obviously much lower than what has been reported. Also, about 35 per cent of the total number of students enrolled in classes VI to VIII are outside the age-group of 11 to 14 years – when this further fact is taken into consideration, the refined enrolment figure is most unsatisfactory.

Trends in enrolment indicate that it may be several years before India is able to achieve universal elementary education. Between 1950 and 1976, only about 54.7 per cent of the population in the age-group 6 to 14 years could be enrolled in classes I to VIII. The highest annual increase in enrolment during this period – in the late Fifties and Sixties – at no time amounted to even 75 per cent of the annual enrolment required to realize universal elementary education. The situation has not improved much and increases in population have raced ahead of enrolment. The slow growth in enrolment may not register a dramatic increase because the vast majority of non-enrolled children are either girls or children who belong to the most disadvantaged social groups.

There exists wide variation in enrolment percentages of the different states/union territories. Gross enrolments in 1986 ranged between 157.1 per cent in Daman and Diu and 62.2 per cent in Uttar Pradesh. During 1986, at the primary stage, 12 states and four union territories achieved gross enrolments of 100 per cent or greater. Gross enrolments in seven states and one union territory were between 90 and 100 per cent, between 80 and 90 per cent in two states and two union territories, between 70 and 80 per cent in three states, and less than 70 per cent in one state. Gross enrolments at the upper primary stage exceeded 80 per cent in two states and four union territories, were between 60 and 80 per cent in five states and two union territories, between 40 and 60 per cent in 14 states and one union territory, and less than 40 per cent in four states. Enrolment variations are even more extreme among districts within a state. There is also glaring disparity between the enrolment of boys and girls, and between rural and urban enrolments. While the gross enrolment of boys in classes I to V in 1986 was 106.3 per cent, that of girls was only 79.8 per cent. At the upper primary stage, enrolment of boys was 60.6 percent; it was only 35.6 per cent for girls. Male-female disparities are lower in urban areas than in rural areas; they are also lower at the primary stage than at the upper primary stage. Male-female inequalities are highest in areas which are educationally and economically most backwards.

Drop-outs. One of the reasons that elementary education makes too little a contribution to the literacy rate (which increased from 16.6 per cent in 1951 to only 36.2 per cent in 1981) is because of the low retention capacity of primary and upper primary schools and the high drop-out rate, about

50 per cent at the primary stage and 20 per cent at the upper primary stage. There are variations in drop-out rates among states/UTs. The drop-out rate is high in states where literacy and enrolment rates are comparatively lower than the national average. Unless the rate for drop-outs is reduced considerably, it may not be possible to achieve the goal of universalization of elementary education and literacy.

Socio-economic conditions in families, particularly among the weaker sections of society, have contributed to low enrolment and the high rate of drop-outs at the elementary stage. To increase enrolment and reduce the number of drop-outs at this level, central and state governments have initiated incentives designed to benefit students belonging to the socially and economically weaker sections of society, including provisions for mid-day meals, free uniforms, and free textbooks and stationery; however, the coverage of students under these schemes is inadequate. In 1986, primary school beneficiaries under these three schemes constituted only 13.6 million, 18.6 million and 11 million respectively. At the upper primary stage, the number of beneficiaries totalled 9.4 million, 10.2 million and 4.2 million respectively.

Other deficiencies in the present system of education are also responsible for the large number of drop-outs. Because of resource constraints, adequate input for quality improvement has not been available and, as a result, although the number of good schools has increased and some have become better, a number of substandard schools were established to meet the increase in demand for elementary education. In 1986, 71,496 (13.5 per cent) of the country's primary schools were housed in unsatisfactory structures – thatched huts, tents or merely open spaces; 11,279 (8.1 per cent) of the country's upper primary schools had only *Kacha* buildings.

There was also an acute shortage of classroom space in primary and upper primary schools. Shortages were more acute in rural areas than in urban areas. Among primary schools, 40,731 (7.7 per cent) had no instructional room, while 200,067 (37.8 per cent) and 134,499 (25.4 per cent) had only one instructional room and two instructional rooms respectively. As regards upper primary schools, 3,192 had no instructional room available; 24,908 had only one or two instructional rooms. This absence of even minimal physical facilities, essential for maintaining a reasonable standard of education, has hampered educational quality at the elementary stage.

A large number of primary schools also lack the required number of teachers. In 1986, more than 148,000 (27.9 per cent) of the country's primary schools were single-teacher schools. The difficulty that a single teacher has in handling four or five classes and the frequent disruption in academic work due to teacher absence on certain days has resulted in the

very poor quality of education imparted in these schools. In 1986, 171,389 (32.3 per cent) primary schools were two-teacher schools. In the states of Arunachal Pradesh (55.2 per cent), Jammu and Kashmir (58.6 per cent) Karnataka (62.3 per cent), Meghalaya (53.3 per cent), Rajasthan (54.6 per cent) and in the UT of Dadra and Nagar Haveli (66.9 per cent), single-teacher schools constituted more than 50 per cent of the primary schools.

Low and declining standards of attainment by learners at the elementary stage have also been of great concern for the past several years; however, few systematic studies have been undertaken to assess attainment of children at this stage. One of the studies which was undertaken – as part of the studies of the International Association for the Evaluation Achievement in the early 1970s – indicated that the level of reading comprehension of both 10 year olds and 14 year olds was very low. Levels of attainment in science and mathematics were also low. However, a comprehensive study being conducted by NCERT in states/UTs participating in the Primary Education Curriculum Renewal project indicates considerable improvement regarding the competence attained by children in language, mathematics and environmental studies at the primary stage, especially in classes I and II.

Although non-formal education programmes have been introduced as a supportive element of or an alternative to formal schooling, there exist reservations about the quality of these programmes. Public opinion has not been adequately motivated in favour of non-formal education programmes. As a result, there has been an impression that two types of education are being made available, one which is superior and provided in formal schools for those who can afford to send their children to full-time schools, and another which is inferior and for those who cannot afford formal schooling due to socio-economic restrictions. There also has been a lack of effective supervision and monitoring of non-formal education programmes, and use of the mass media for non-formal education programmes has not been sufficiently explored. Resource allocations, both financial and human, also have been inequitable, compared to that provided to the formal system of education.

Steps have been taken to approach educational planning systematically and scientifically in determining priorities, setting targets and allocating resources. However, there remains a chasm between intent and action, goal setting and implementation. Monitoring of programme implementation for making mid-course corrections has been neither adequate nor effective, and no appropriate mechanism for programme evaluation has been developed. This inadequacy has resulted in the poor performances of several priority programmes.

One of the most neglected aspects of school education, particularly at the elementary stage, is inspection and supervision, which has not kept pace with the expansion of school facilities. Expansion of educational facilities and increases in the number of teachers and students have not been accompanied by the required strengthening of supervisory machinery; consequently, many schools remain unsupervised and many teachers receive no academic guidance.

Various aspects of the UEE programme call for new management alternatives. These need to be evolved and implemented as mass-based programmes, which is possible only through decentralized planning and participation by the people. However, no systematic effort has been made to decentralize educational planning at the block level and form effective links with the local environment and development activities.

The system of planning and management, in most of the states, is not geared to the special needs of the UEE programme. Village primary schools continue to be the least administered and the most neglected. Primary school headmasters and teachers receive little attention or guidance from the administrative element, and there is little interaction between the primary school and the functionaries of other development departments.

While mobilization of the community in the UEE programme is considered an important step (except in a few cases), no systematic effort has been made to harness community resources or involve the community in the programme. Suggestions for establishing school committees for all primary and upper primary schools have not been given due attention. As a result, it has been impossible to remove parental apathy towards education for children (especially for girls). Local community support should be encouraged through cash or in-kind incentives to improve the physical facilities of schools and help in enrolment, attendance and retention of all children in the catchment areas of formal schools and non-formal learning centres.

Deficiencies at the elementary stage of education are to a considerable extent a consequence of inadequate investment. Even those funds which are available are not allotted according to the demands of the priority areas. A major portion of the expenditure for elementary education is incurred in the maintenance of the system – particularly on salaries for personnel – at the expense of programmes for qualitative improvement. Expenditures for teachers constitute about 95 per cent of the total. It is also noted that, at current prices, the per-pupil cost has evidenced only a very marginal increase over the years.

Universalization of Elementary Education and Literacy Strategies

Universalization of elementary education and literacy is now a matter of urgent national concern, and a national effort needs to be directed towards achieving this goal in a specified time frame. Strategies to universalize elementary education and reduce mass illiteracy will have to focus on the following tasks:

- enrol and retain every child in primary and upper primary schools for the full cycle of elementary education and ensure attainment of the minimum level of learning established for each stage of elementary education;
- ensure equitable participation by all in education – particularly those in underprivileged groups who have not been able to participate fully in educational opportunities despite an overall expansion of educational facilities; and
- undertake and implement special national literacy programmes – such as the National Literacy Mission – on a continuing basis and accompanied by appropriate post-literacy and non-formal education programmes for adults.

Universalization of Elementary Education Strategies

The deficiencies that prevail in respect to elementary education need to be remedied as soon as possible. This calls for several new strategies and reforms relating to different aspects of elementary education to ensure equity with excellence, equalization of opportunities (as regards both access to education and equal chances for success and attainment), improved efficiency to reduce wastage in all respects, and an acceptable level of standards which are adequate and internationally comparable. Some of the steps required are as follows.

- Concerted effort is needed to tackle the problem of reaching the more socially and economically disadvantaged (especially girls, children belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and children of landless agricultural labourers and urban slum dwellers), who constitute the bulk of non-starters and drop-outs, through properly designed strategies and relevant programmes. Emphasis should be on retention and on providing quality educa-

tion to the deprived to enable them to attain the minimum learning level and successfully complete the elementary education cycle.

- Strategies should include providing educational content relevant to the material welfare and increased productivity of the poor. This could, in part, off-set the opportunity cost incurred by the family of children enrolled in educational programmes. A flexible school calendar synchronized with agricultural and other occupational activities of the target groups should be adopted. Strategies also should include subsidizing instructional materials and distributing them free of charge to the needy to lessen the direct cost of education incurred by the target groups. Other incentives should include midday meals, free uniforms and scholarships to the poor during their education.

- Children who cannot take advantage of the formal system of education should be provided access to education through non-formal systems of learning. However, care should be taken to ensure that the non-formal systems of learning do not become a substandard substitute to the formal system of education. While non-formal education programmes should be target-group oriented, decentralized, and flexible – as regards curriculum, content, course duration, place and hours of learning, pattern and method of instruction, and assessment of learner performance – equivalence in terms of attainment of certain core competencies and essential learning must be clearly established to allow for linkage with the formal system at suitable stages to enable children to move into the formal system, if they desire to do so. To give credibility to the non-formal systems of learning, it is necessary to provide non-formal education the same status in terms of recognition as accorded formal education, as well as upgrade the quality of teaching and learning to the same technical level as that of the formal system and provide multiple formal-education entrance and exit points so that learners can switch between full-time study in the formal education system and part-time study in non-formal systems (and/or work, if they desire).

- Early childhood education is widely recognized as significant for child development and school readiness and as a strategy for promoting equalization of educational opportunity; therefore, it must be seriously regarded as an integral component of educational planning and development. Efforts need to be made to attach an early childhood education centre to every primary school in a sequential manner. However, such a programme must be

presented and delivered as a package of integrated services for the development of the child. Health, nutrition and education should be included.

- Determined effort also needs to be made to provide adequate infrastructural facilities to existing substandard, ill-equipped and ill-housed primary and upper primary schools to bring them to an optimum level. Appropriate buildings, library facilities, playgrounds and play materials, adequate furniture, teaching aids, drinking water and toilet facilities, an adequate number of appropriately qualified teachers, etc. are some of the essential infrastructural facilities and input which would improve quality and increase the 'holding power' of schools, especially those in rural and other backward areas.

- Appropriate programmes for training elementary teachers and instructors of non-formal education centres should be evolved and implemented. Facilities for training in-service teachers must be substantially improved. Enhancement of teacher preparation, performance and morale need to be given high priority. New approaches to teacher preparation, those feasible in terms of both quantitative and qualitative requirements, need to be explored.

- Efforts need to be exerted to use the mass media in supportive, enrichment and substitutive roles, both in formal and non-formal education. The mass media should be used for qualitative improvement, for providing access to education to those hitherto unreached, and for teacher training. The utilization of technological media in education should be accompanied by the production of high-quality computer software, creation of facilities for the maintenance of equipment, and the training of teachers in the appropriate use of educational technology.

- New management alternatives are needed for the various aspects of the UEE programme; these should be evolved and implemented as mass-based programmes through decentralized planning and with participation from the people. Decentralization of educational planning at the block level – along with effective linkages with the local environment and developmental activities – must be pursued as one of the main ways to overcome some of the obstacles to achieving universalization of elementary education. The emphases of micro-level planning should be on reducing educational inequities, equalizing educational opportunities, increasing the relevance of elementary education in relation to local needs, and maximizing an effective use of locally available resources. Local

participation in the decision-making process as it pertains to educational programmes in a given area also should be emphasized. The development of detailed plans for each catchment area should lead to the further development of block and district level plans – which should have clear and specific targets to be achieved, in respect to provisions for educational facilities, enrolment, retention and qualitative improvement. To facilitate the process of decentralized planning and administration, existing support systems will need strengthening and reorientation.

- To effectively link education to the needs of the people, it will also be necessary to involve the community in the process of UEE programme planning and implementation. The community should be involved in the identification of problems, the assessment of available input, and the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes. For effective community participation in the UEE programme, there will need to be established village/block level development committees – consisting of representatives of social organizations, local government institutions, elected bodies, professionals, etc. (particularly those from the target groups). Community participation should be gradually increased to a level at which educational administration of the network is essentially that of a facilitator or monitor to promote the cultural self-reliance of the community. It is necessary to evolve a plan whereby local-level entrepreneurship is promoted and local development committees are encouraged to play a greater role in the management of local school affairs.

New directions and programmes regarding elementary education make it imperative that appropriate steps be taken to improve administrative capabilities at all levels for formulating, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes. The existing structure of monitoring and evaluation must be considerably strengthened. Procedures for the timely monitoring of UEE programmes need to be instituted at every level so that corrective actions can be promptly initiated as required.

Strategies for Eradication of Adult Illiteracy

To adequately accelerate the rate of reduction of illiteracy so that the absolute number of illiterates does not continue to grow, continuation of special literacy programmes – followed by post-literacy and non-formal education programmes for adults – needs to be given high priority.

Literacy and post-literacy programmes should promote acquisition of basic literacy skills which would help an individual continue the process of learning, as well as help in the application of literacy skills which would improve an individual's productive skills and quality of life. To eliminate mass illiteracy among adults, it is necessary to include literacy and functional education as integral components of all development programmes – especially those affecting the rural and urban poor – and establish links between programmes designed to impart educational literacy and other development schemes intended to eradicate poverty.

All illiterate workers employed in the organized sector – factories, mines, plantations, public undertakings, etc. – should be compulsorily brought under the adult education programmes. It should be made obligatory on the part of employers in organized and semi-organized sectors to provide opportunities for workers to acquire literacy and upgrade skills at the work place.

Since more than 70 per cent of all illiterate adults in India are women, special effort needs to be made to increase the enrolment of women in adult education programmes. Literacy programmes for women need to be built around the development of skills which generate additional income. These programmes should also promote an awareness among women which leads to greater access to such important input developments as health, nutrition, child care and family welfare facilities. Effort should also be made to promote increased coverage of the adult education programme for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections.

A mass movement for functional adult literacy needs to be promoted to elicit the participation of various sections of the community, including students in schools and colleges, professionals, retired personnel, housewives, and employers in organized and semi-organized sectors. More voluntary agencies also should assist in the effort to eradicate illiteracy.

Strategies to support efforts to universalize elementary education and reduce mass illiteracy should include attempts to create a favourable climate for action at national and state levels to raise the awareness of people and mobilize the human and material resources needed to attain the goals of universal elementary education and the elimination of adult illiteracy by the end of the century. Programmes of UEE and adult education should be supported by advocacy activities, including the creation of an awareness concerning the nature of educational deprivation and disparity, as well as the dissemination of information regarding ways to overcome educational disadvantages experienced by certain sections of the population. Only then will there be a more durable and sustainable social and economic development, leading to an improved quality of life in India.

As of now, however, achievements in and attainment of either literacy or poverty alleviation are substantially in arrears. But a new a ray of hope is being generated through greater political and economic will of the government and the community.

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1. Poverty alleviation, here, refers not merely to income enhancement but, more importantly, to quality of life. The essence of economic development has to be viewed as an initial reduction in and the ultimate elimination of poverty — and poverty, in its terms, could be seen as the 'state of lack of freedom that human beings are forced to have as a result of economic and social circumstances being unfavourable.'
2. These figures are based on the *Census Report of India, 1981.*
3. The figures employed in this section are based on findings of the Fifth National Survey prepared by the NCERT, New Delhi, 1989.

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*Chapter 7**

EDUCATION FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES: THE CASE OF THE ORANG ASLI

Minority groups in most countries often rank among the poorest and least educated. Certain minority groups of Malaysia, like the Orang Asli, are no exception. Central to this article is an account of the educational provisions for the Orang Asli, their needs and problems, and strategies for improving their educatic ıal management.

During the period of British colonialism, the population of Malaya (which in 1963 became known as Malaysia) was made up of the local Malays and indigenous inhabitants of the aboriginal group, the 'Orang Asli.' The Orang Asli were not then a part of the Malayan population largely because they were jungle-dwellers.

The period of British colonialism saw the coming of migrants from mainland China and India to the tin mines and rubber plantations of then sparsely-populated Malaya. What began as a recruitment of labour resource soon resulted in an influx of immigrants who began to settle down in the country. The first seeds of a multi-ethnic society for Malaysia were sown and today Malaysia has much become a plural society comprising different ethnic groups, each with different social, economic, and political needs, beliefs and practices.

The welfare of the Orang Asli remained neglected during this period and the government did not anticipate any problem from them until the period of the Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) and the Emergency (1948-

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1960) when the government realized the need to protect this group from the influence of communist guerillas. These efforts culminated in the establishment of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs in 1953.

The Malaysian government deemed it improper to use the word *aborigines*, which was often shortened to 'Abo' or 'Abos,' implying concepts of primitiveness and barbarism. The Malay words *Orang Asli*, however, do not portray such meanings. On the other hand, the word *Orang* means 'people' and *Asli* means 'original.' Hence, it was decided that the term 'Orang Asli' would be used instead in all verbal and written accounts of the indigenous group (Andaya, 1982).

Malaysia's plural society was particularly enhanced with the inclusion of the numerous indigenous groups of Sabah and Sarawak after the formation of Malaysia in 1963. Since then the word *bumiputera* meaning 'sons of the soil' was introduced and used in all official censuses to replace that of 'Malays.' *Bumiputera* now refers to the Malays, the Orang Asli, and the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak.

In 1980 the total population of Malaysia was 13.7 million, 11.4 million of which was in the peninsular. The dominant ethnic group was the Malays who formed 55 per cent of Peninsular Malaysia's population. Of the other groups, the Chinese made up 34 per cent of the population, while the Indians comprised ten per cent. The Indians are well represented in the politics of the country and their interests and welfare are secured in terms of their being assured equal opportunities in social, economic and political fields.

Numbering about 63,295 in 1980, the Orang Asli formed less than one per cent of the total population. The Orang Asli have their representatives in the parliament even though they may not be as influential as the representatives of other groups. The Orang Asli have remained at the periphery of the greater societal network.

Considered as a minority group because of its number, the Orang Asli answers the criteria used by Wagley and Harris to define minorities. The Orang Asli fit the criterion of being a self-conscious social unit based on in-group feeling and intra-group solidarity. Membership in the group is by rule of descent. The Orang Asli have special cultural and physical traits which distinguish them from other ethnic groups.

With the establishment of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs in 1953, the interests of the Orang Asli have come to matter greatly. Many studies have been conducted on the Orang Asli by interested foreign researchers who were mainly anthropologists (Schebesta, 1962; Williams-Hunt, 1952) and local researchers (Carey 1976; Baharon 1972). However,

none of the studies has dealt extensively with the topic of education of the Orang Asli. Numerous literature of the Orang Asli reveal writings on their beliefs and practices, kinship, social change, economy, health, their artifacts and other matters. A survey of accessible literature of the Orang Asli showed few writings that examined their education (Wali, 1985; Nasir, 1988; Abdullah, 1974; Majid, Hashim & Teo, 1988; and Cheong, Mohd, Fong, et. al., 1987).

The Federal Constitution and the Aboriginal People's Act of 1954 (which was revised in 1974 and became known as the 134 Laws of Malaysia) define and identify Orang Asli as Malaysian aborigines belonging to the Negrito, Senoi and Proto-Malay tribes. The Act describes the definition of the Orang Asli, the authority responsible for their administration and welfare, their territorial rights and reserved land areas, their rights of occupancy, their rights to attend schools, as well as other regulations pertaining to the minority group.

Table 7.1 shows the various tribes of Orang Asli and their population. In 1980, the largest group was the Senois with a population of 36,824. There are eighteen Orang Asli sub-tribes in Peninsular Malaysia.

The Orang Asli are economically the most backward people of Peninsular Malaysia. They are scattered in about 1,000 villages all over the peninsula. Most of them dwell in deep-jungle areas which are accessible only by helicopter, motorboat or walking.

The three main tribal groups show great economic variation. The Senois practise shifting cultivation. The Negritos are mainly nomadic hunters/gatherers. The Proto-Malays and some Senois are permanently settled cultivators in accessible areas. They are settled either in small villages along the main rivers and along the coasts or in villages neighbouring the Malay and Chinese settlements. They grow tapioca, hill rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, papayas and vegetables.

The vast majority of the Orang Asli are still animists. The Negritos believe in mythology and legends. The Senois recognize the existence of supreme beings which they believe to be associated with natural phenomena, particularly thunder and lightning. The Proto-Malays follow various animistic beliefs of their own. However, some of them are followers of established religions. In 1983, 7,000 of the Orang Asli were Muslims, 1,500 were Methodist Christians and 400 were followers of the Bahai faith.

Table 7.1

Population and Classification of the Orang Asli, 1980

Major Group	Population	Sub-group	Number
Semang-Negritos	2,239	Kintaq	103
		Kensiu	101
		Jahai	882
		Mendriq	144
		Bateq	785
		Lanch	24
Senois	36,824	Semai	18,327
		Temiar	12,712
		Che Wong	203
		Jahut	2,442
		Semoq Beri	1,785
		Mah Meri	1,355
Proto-Malays	24,232	Temuan	8,957
		Semelai	2,923
		Jakun/Temoq	9,853
		Orang Kanaq	34
		Orang Seletar	541
		Orang Kuala	1,924
Total	63,295		63,295,442

Source: Department of Orang Asli Affairs

Administration of the Orang Asli

New economic policy. Since 1971, Malaysia has pursued the objective of achieving national unity through the adoption of the New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy is two-pronged, designed to both eradicate poverty irrespective of ethnicity and restructure society so as to eliminate the identification of ethnicity with economic function and geographical location.

Within the context of the Orang Asli, the government realizes that their integration and assimilation within the mainstream of society can only be achieved by providing them with the facilities and services received by the rest of society. One of the ways in which the government helps to improve the living standards among the Orang Asli is by way of resettlement. The first attempt at resettlement of the Orang Asli began as a preventive measure against the influence of the communists. The un-

planned policy and its haphazard implementation of translocating the Orang Asli had disastrous results. That bitter experience taught the Department of Orang Asli Affairs in particular to be more humane in carrying out the regroupment policy which, according to the Director-General of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs, is the 'single most important issue facing the Orang Asli community today.' (Idris, 1983)

Under the fourth Malaysian Plan (1981-1985) various programmes were launched to rectify the low socio-economic status of the Orang Asli, mainly by encouraging them to adopt modern and systematic agricultural practices. The programmes included opening up new agricultural lands, building schools, establishing processing centres and handicraft workshops, and improving the supply of such basic amenities as health, electricity, water, housing and roads. During this period, 5,570 hectares of land were developed for the Orang Asli. These lands were mainly for the cultivation of rubber, palm oil, fruits, coconut, tea and pepper. Another 1,000 hectares were developed for short-term crops like banana, pineapple and papaya. The government also encouraged the Orang Asli to become involved in fish breeding and animal husbandry as means of obtaining additional income. They participated in business activities and small industries. As a result, eleven co-operatives and 22 rattan processing centres have been set up. Under five regroupment schemes involving 23,000 Orang Asli, a total of 13,600 hectares of land were allocated for such schemes, while another 2,000 hectares were for the cultivation of rubber and 1,300 hectares for fruits. The government also built 270 housing units for them.

During the current fifth Malaysian Plan (1986-1990), and in line with the objective to accelerate the integration of the Orang Asli community into the mainstream of development, various basic facilities and amenities at existing sites have been expanded and upgraded. Six new resettlement schemes for 1,000 Orang Asli families will be implemented. The Orang Asli are encouraged to join the Federal Land Development Authority schemes, particularly in areas where the number of Orang Asli is too small to justify the establishment of resettlement schemes.

Department of Orang Asli Affairs. The Department of Orang Asli Affairs is the only governmental agency entrusted with and responsible for the welfare of the Orang Asli. The setting up of the Department marked the beginning of the ongoing task of maintaining close rapport and establishing trust between the government and this minority group. The main role of the Department is to help make accessible to this group whatever facilities and services are made available by the government. The ultimate goal is to integrate and assimilate them into the mainstream of Malaysian

society. As an example, if the Ministry of Education is unable to build a school in the remote interior of the jungle or where transportation is difficult and poses a problem, the Department will assume responsibility, build a special school and provide the teachers. These schools are intended for lower primary classes of grades 1 to 3. The pupils will later be brought out of the jungle to continue their education in schools administered by the Ministry of Education. In areas where medical and health services are not available, the Department will set up a medical post to handle minor medical cases. In the event of an emergency, the patient will be flown to the nearest hospital or to the Department's own medical centre in Gombak.

In its efforts to extend modern facilities and services to the Orang Asli, the Department of Orang Asli Affairs, which is under the purview of the Ministry of Home Affairs, has created eight divisions, each with its own specific functions. These divisions include administration, education, medical and health, socio-economic development, research and planning, communications and operations, regroupment and training.

Education and the Orang Asli

In 1961, the government issued a statement regarding its policy on the education of the Orang Asli: 'The educational opportunities afforded to the aborigines should be a matter of high priority. Measures should be taken to ensure that they have the opportunity to acquire education at all levels on [an] equal footing with the other sections of the population. At the same time, care must be taken to ensure that their own dialects are preserved and measures should be introduced to enable the teaching of these dialects.'

The policy clearly delineates the need to place education of the Orang Asli in the forefront of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs' development programme. Efforts to provide equal opportunities in education and introduce measures to ensure the teaching of their dialects remain emphasized even now. Unfortunately, the majority of the Orang Asli neither share nor understand the zest and enthusiasm of the Department's efforts in the implementation of the policy. Although a certain amount of success has been achieved in the economic development of the Orang Asli, the Department still has a difficult task ahead to improve their education. To familiarize this ethnic minority group with the concept of formal education has been an arduous task for the Department; its attempts to do so have been successful to a limited extent only. Thus, it can be said that the delivery of education services to these people has become the greatest challenge faced by the Department.

Table 7.2

Number of Orang Asli Pupils Attending Primary School

Types of School	Year				
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Department's schools	3,009	3,161	2,922	2,798	2,876
Jointly managed schools	2,214	1,210	1,387	1,239	1,467
Ministry's schools	3,714	5,650	6,131	6,580	6,691
Total	8,937	10,021	10,440	10,617	11,034

Source: Department of Orang Asli Affairs

Table 7.3

Number of Orang Asli Students Pupils Attending Secondary Schools

Year	Student Enrolment
1985	1,536
1986	1,593
1987	1,579
1988	1,599
1989	1,667

Source: Department of Orang Asli Affairs

Table 7.4

Number of Orang Asli Students in Higher Institutions

Year	Number of Students
1985	16
1986	15
1987	21
1988	18
1989	38

Source: Department of Orang Asli Affairs

The Department's education division is responsible for the implementation of the national education policy. The aim of the division is to improve the standard of education among the children of the Orang Asli and ensure that educational facilities are made available to them. Ultimately, the objective will be to ensure that the educational attainment of Orang Asli children is comparable to that of other groups in the mainstream of Malaysian society.

Six sections have been set up within the education division to facilitate the implementation of the policy. Similar arrangements have been made at the division's state, district and village branches. These sections include administration and management, supplies and equipment, library, schools, hostels administration, and career and pre-school.

As regards infrastructural development, the Department continues to make progress by building more schools and hostels for primary school children. However, their efforts to bring these children out of the jungle environment and into the government schools to continue their secondary education are met with only modest response from the parents.

Orang Asli children can attend any one of three types of schools:

- schools administered by the Department of Orang Asli Affairs;
- schools jointly administered by the Department of Orang Asli Affairs and the Ministry of Education; or
- schools wholly under the administration of the Ministry of Education.

Currently, there are 59 primary schools under the Department's administration. The number of pupils attending primary schools between 1985 and 1989 is shown in Table 7.2. Although the enrolment of Orang Asli pupils in the schools under the administration of the Department and the enrolment of the jointly-managed schools have fluctuated over the period from 1985 to 1989, the enrolment of Orang Asli pupils in schools under the administration of the Ministry of Education has progressively increased. The total enrolment has also increased steadily from 3,714 pupils in 1985 to 6,691 pupils in 1989.

The Department of Orang Asli Affairs does not have any provision for building secondary schools for the Orang Asli children. The number of Orang Asli students attending secondary schools under the Ministry of Education has not increased much during the period from 1985 to 1988, as is shown in Table 7.3. In 1985, there were 1,536 students, compared to 1,667 students in 1989, enrolled in secondary schools under the Ministry of Education.

Currently, the Department has under its jurisdiction 16 school hostels in the town areas, and ten hostels in the remote interior. The number of boarders in these hostels has remained quite the same. There were 2,490 boarders in 1989, compared to 2,489 boarders in 1985.

In terms of higher education, the number of Orang Asli students who have secured places in institutions of higher learning has fluctuated over the years. Table 7.4 shows the intake of Orang Asli students at all higher institutions, which until 1989 had only once exceeded twenty students. It is clear that efforts need to be geared towards increasing the number of Orang Asli students who pursue further education in institutions of higher learning.

One safely can say that the education programmes for the Orang Asli have not resulted in outstanding success. Despite the efforts undertaken by the government to improve the level of their children's education, the Orang Asli have not accepted the initiatives with full or favourable enthusiasm. As earlier indicated, the number of Orang Asli children who attend primary and secondary education is still very small. In general, most Orang Asli children receive their education through grade 3 or 4. A study of the Orang Asli by Majid, Hashim and Teo (1988) supports this finding. Cheong, Mohd, Fong, et. al. (1987) found similar characteristics in their study, which shows that the majority of children preferred not to go to school. From a total of 37 children in a Semai village, only 14 children attended school. Ahmad (1987) conducted a case study on the Semais in the state of Perak, Peninsular Malaysia, and found that the highest academic achievement of the children was at Form III level.

There are many factors which explain the reasons for the very low level of academic attainment and the high rate of absenteeism among the children of the Orang Asli. The concept of attending school and getting a formal education is alien to them. Daily attendance is poor. Absenteeism increases in the rainy season (Sharpe, 1976). Certain customary beliefs and practices also affect their attendance (Eng, 1988). Children will come to school because of the hot meals provided. They will stay away from schools if teachers scold them. Parents tend to take the children away for weeks to help gather fruit during the fruit season or assist with daily chores. Parents are still ignorant of the value of education. Thus, there arises the problem of maximum utilization of existing facilities and resources by the Orang Asli. Since 1961 there has been continuous progress in building schools and hostels for Orang Asli children to enable them to attend primary and secondary schools (Abdullah, 1974), but most Orang Asli parents are unwilling to force or coerce their children to do things that the children refuse to do. Parents who favour education do their best to gently

persuade their children to go to school. In most cases, however, if the child is determined not to attend school, the parents have no alternative but to oblige the child.

There is also the problem of the medium of instruction in schools. The medium of instruction in all Malaysian schools is 'Bahasa Malaysia.' The various tribes of the Orang Asli have their own dialects. It takes quite a while for an Orang Asli child to become proficient enough in Bahasa Malaysia that he or she can follow the school lessons.

The national education system has no provision to cater to the special needs of Orang Asli children who have different socio-cultural needs and values. To integrate and assimilate them into the national education system is problematic. Rather indirectly, the national curriculum has been designed to produce elite groups of professionals to meet the manpower needs of the country. Understandably, relevancy of such a curriculum is questionable to this group of people who live in the deep-jungles (Abullah, 1974).

A study by Nasir in 1988 lists the various reasons for the poor response to school attendance among the children of the Orang Asli. Since some schools were located quite a distance from their villages, the children had to stay in the school hostels during the school terms. Neither parents nor children favoured the separation. The parents were afraid the teachers would influence their children to change religion. They regarded attending schools as a waste of time for their children; they needed their children at home to help clear the jungle for shifting cultivation or gather food and fish. The children themselves were easily bored with the school tests and various school disciplinary rules and regulations. Most importantly, they lacked the motivation to compete with their peers.

The present policy pursues the furnishing of schools in central locations. Most of the Orang Asli schools are located within the boundary of the Orang Asli villages, so naturally all of the pupils are Orang Asli. As a result, these pupils do not have the opportunity to socialize with their counterparts from other ethnic groups, who are more motivated towards schooling.

The Orang Asli schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs also lack a sufficient number of trained teachers. Most qualified teachers are reluctant to serve in the deep-jungle areas. While one of the priorities in the education of the Orang Asli children calls for the adequate training and expertise of their teachers, the teaching staff are mainly personnel of the Department of Orang Asli Affairs who are not trained by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, these teachers are hand-

icapped by their lack of formal training. Their qualifications also vary – the highest qualified being only of 'Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia' level (Malaysia's equivalent to 'O' Level/Grade 12). Others possess no academic qualification at all. Hence, the quality of teaching is low. In addition, these Department personnel-cum-teachers are also expected to perform departmental tasks. In fact, because of that, they are better known as *pembantu luar* or 'external aides.' Perhaps it is their involvement in these tasks which accounts for the appallingly high rate of absenteeism and a general slackness among teachers (Abdullah, 1974).

The Department of Orang Asli Affairs is also faced with the problem of personnel supervision. In 1983, the Department of Orang Asli Affairs had 1,800 staff members, including anthropologists, doctors, lawyers, agricultural assistants, and others who were attached to over 150 locations throughout the deep-jungle areas (Idris, 1983). Frequent supervision is difficult. Also, officers in these locations often find themselves alone in the Orang Asli village, cut off from immediate help from the Department. They face the problems of transportation in their visits to the Orang Asli villages, poor communication networks, insufficient supplies of food, etc. The difficulties involved in a situation such as this are enormous.

Strategies to Improve Orang Asli Education

Measures should be taken to ensure that Orang Asli children make full use of the opportunities given them to acquire education at all levels. In areas where schools already exist, the Orang Asli should be encouraged to attend them. School uniforms, food rations, textbooks and other forms of assistance should continue to be supplied as incentives. A lot more needs to be done by the Department to achieve satisfactory enrolment of students in all levels of schooling, good achievement results and better qualified graduates. Perhaps the Department will produce its own master plan for the overall education of the Orang Asli.

Educational facilities such as those provided by the Ministry of Education are not available in the deep-jungle areas. The difficulty that teachers have finding suitable quarters to rent requires that teachers' housing be built in all of the locations where the Department has its schools. There is a great need for closer co-operation between the Department of Orang Asli Affairs and the Ministry of Education in addressing the educational needs of the Orang Asli.

The Department needs to develop powerful strategies to overcome the negative attitude of the Orang Asli parents towards their children's education. A certain emphasis should also be given to adult education

programmes, so as to create more literate and optimistic parents. More exposure to the ways and mores of modern society is needed. The value of lifelong education and its material rewards will have to be explicated to this minority group. Also, counselling on basic preparation for schooling for both parents and children of the Orang Asli needs to be introduced before they can be expected to actively participate in the education system.

There also is a need for teachers who teach in the Orang Asli schools to receive in-service training to upgrade their teaching skills. Presently, the Department liaises with the Ministry of Education regarding the training of their teachers. The quality of teaching and infrastructural equipment provided in deep-jungle schools must be raised.

Conclusion. Although the Orang Asli are a minority ethnic group, they are very much a part of the Malaysian population. A policy of indifference and leaving them out of the active development of mainstream society will not do justice to them – neither will it be commendable for Malaysia in the long run. More efforts and initiatives need to be carried out to integrate them with the mainstream of society. Strategies should be laid out, and steps must be implemented. This is even more true in terms of their educational opportunities and participation. However, while it is seen that an upliftment of their education levels is a way towards national integration and unity, the pace of upliftment programmes should not be so abrupt as to become disruptive and endanger the basic social fabric of the Orang Asli.

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Chapter 8

EDUCATION OF REFUGEES

There are millions of refugees in the world, half of whom are children. In 1987 it was estimated that there were over five million refugee children under the mandate of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) who were in need of basic education.[1]

In August 1988, the UNHCR reported that 'a substantial proportion of refugee children do not have access to basic education despite the international recognition of elementary education as a basic human right and the recognition by the Executive Committee in 1966 that basic education is a right of refugees. According to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the provision of educational services for refugees initially is the responsibility of the government of asylum. Many governments in developing countries, however, are unable to provide universal primary education for their own children.'[2]

The UNHCR has been assisting several governments and numerous voluntary organizations in providing basic education to refugee children. In Thailand alone, for example, 31 voluntary agencies (volags) receive UNHCR assistance. (See Table 8.1) [Refer also to the article on the status of Kampuchean refugees.]

First-asylum Indochinese refugees in the Philippines are provided education by four agencies: Holy Trinity College, Associated Resource in Management and Development, the Centre for Assistance to Displaced Persons, and the Ecoles Sans Frontieres. In addition, the Norwegian government provides funding support for most of the refugee training programmes in the Philippines. For non-Indochinese refugees (e.g. Chinese), the UNHCR funds limited programmes in English as a second language and skill training for school-age dependents.

The UNHCR also sponsors education programmes for refugees in other countries of the Asia-Pacific region – in Papua New Guinea, for Filipinos in Sabah, for Vietnamese in China, the local integration training in Japan, and a basic education programme for refugee children in the North West Frontiers Province (NWFP) of Pakistan.

These examples illustrate the network of UNHCR-supported basic education for refugees. Details of educational programmes at the primary school level are especially well illustrated by the experiences at refugee camps at the NWFP in Pakistan – Afghan refugees comprise the world's largest refugee population. The programme described here is that of the Pakistan-German 'Basic Education in Areas Affected by the Influx of Refugees,' NWFP, which is supported by the German Agency for Technical Co-operation.

The project includes 24 pilot schools in Pakistan's NWFP. At the start of the project in 1985, the most pressing issue concerned insufficient physical conditions, therefore, the PAK-German BAS-ED gave priority to the construction of classrooms. The work was carried out by local craftsmen and villagers, and provided modest income-generating opportunities in the pilot communities. Classrooms were constructed in either *Kacha* or *Pakka* styles, as is normal for construction of school buildings in both refugee camps and Pakistani villages; however, additional designs to make classrooms more suitable for proper teaching were initiated.[3]

Both the PAK-German BAS-ED project and the collaborative Teachers Development Programme in the NWFP have similar objectives: improvement in the quality of primary education through better classroom instruction. The PAK-German BAS-ED project's ultimate target groups are Pakistani children and Afghan refugee children. Educationists involved in both projects have attempted to achieve better results in primary education through the combining of better lesson planning and practical teaching experience for teachers. Teaching units intended for refugee children were developed for Pashto and mathematics. These provided guidance for the teachers on how to teach, what teaching aids to use, and how to prepare tests.

The PAK-German BAS-ED project concentrates on development, production and dissemination of teaching and learning materials, combined with the introduction of teaching methods to complement the basic shift from teacher-centred rote-learning teaching to the pupil-centred approach in order to promote more meaningful learning – no simple task, as a large strata of society in both Pakistan and Afghanistan retain traditional ways of life. Formal school systems in both societies reflect the discrepancy between traditional modes of learning and the challenge made

Table 8.1

UNHCR-assisted Camps
Education Voluntary Agency (Volag) List

Volags	Sites															
	Ban Nam Yao	Ban Napho	Ban Vanai	Chiang Kham	Kab Cherng	Khao I Dang	Phanat Nikhom	Kuan Piu	Site B	Site 2 North	Site 2 South	Site 8	Other Border Camps	Burmese Border (Karen)	Affected Thais
ADRA Adventist Development and Relief Agency		x	x				x			x	x			x	x
ARC American Refugee Committee							x			x	x				
CAMA Cama Services, Inc.		x	x				x		x						
CARE Care International in Thailand						x				x	x	x	x		
CCT The Church of Christ in Thailand		x	x	x		x								x	
COEPR Catholic Office for Emergency Relief and Refugees	x	x		x		x		x	x	x		x			
CONSORTIUM Save the Children Federation World Education Experiment in International Living							x	x						x	x
COR Christian Outreach						x					x				
CYR Caring for Young Refugees						x									
ESF Ecoles Sans Frontieres		x	x	x											
FHI Food for the Hungry International/Thailand			x						x		x			x	x
IA International Christian Aid		x	x	x	x		x		x					x	x
IRC International Rescue Committee		x	x	x		x				x					
JSRC Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee			x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x

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Volags	Sites														
	Ban Nam Yao	Ban Napho	Ban Vanai	Chiang Kham	Kab Cherng	Khao I Dang	Phanat Nikhom	Suan Plu	Site B	Site 2 North	Site 2 South	Site 8	Other Border Camps	Burmese Border (Karen)	Affected Thais
JVC Japan International Volunteer Centre of Thailand						x	x			x					
MCC Mennonite Central Committee							x								
MHD Malteser-Hilfsdienst Auslandsdienst E.V.						x				x	x	x			
MSF Medecins Sans Frontieres				x		x				x	x		x	x	
OHFOM Oeuvres Hospitalieres Francaise de L'ordere de Malte		x				x	x								
OHI Operation Handicap Internationale		x	x	x		x				x	x	x			x
OMF Overseas Missionary Fellowship						x		x							
RBT Redd Barna — Thailand						x									
SCF The Save the Children Fund		x													
SCF/USA Save the Children Federation							x								
TCRS Thai-Chinese Refugee Service		x	x				x								x
WCI World Concern International			x			x	x						x		
WSURT Welfare Services Unit for Refugees in Thailand (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)							x								
WVFT World Vision Foundation of Thailand							x	x							
YWAM Youth with a Mission						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
YWCA Young Women's Christian Association		x		x				x							
ZOA ZOA Refugee Care Netherlands			x				x					x		x	

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upon learning needs in a modernized society. Some basic problems have been identified.[4]

- Education is still regarded as the vehicle for transmitting culture from one generation to another. The culture is considered sacrosanct and not an entity for critical appraisal; consequently, education emphasizes the indoctrination of traditions, norms, conduct and values – rather than serve as a liberating force to enable human beings to function as self-directed autonomous persons.
- The education system – and education itself – is regarded as an end-product, not as a process.
- The interchange which occurs inside a school for Afghan refugees is no different than that which takes place in a Pakistani school. The pedagogy at both is archaic and traditional. Excessive use is made of textbooks, and only drill methodology is used. Few classroom interactions provide anything of challenge to the learner. The entire process is geared to overrepetition -- a highly frustrating situation for young children. The system is inefficient, ineffective and irrelevant.
- Schools are in very poor condition. Physical facilities are scarce and in need of renovation and improvement. Learning materials other than textbooks are non-existent; and teachers receive very little professional support.
- Pre-service teacher training is meagre, extremely theoretical and far removed from the considerations of practice.
- Teacher remuneration is very low; the system of reward and discipline is thoroughly distorted.

In view of these problems, certain strategies need to be designed. They should include:

- providing maximum support and assistance to teachers and supervisors for the delineation and micro planning of classroom interchange;
- exercising care when undertaking to integrate micro planning into the national curriculum and the textbooks in circulation;
- sharing experiences and thinking with mid-level management likely to assist the project – with a view to evolving shared perceptions or consensus;

- designing short-term teacher courses which are linked to the proposed changes in classroom activities;
- producing teaching materials for the existing educational system (e.g. curricula, textbooks, student-teacher ratio) – without overloading the teacher with new responsibilities – to assist the teacher in daily work and facilitate a broad variety of learning situations based on well-specified and professionally sound subject approaches; and
- taking critical assessment of similar activities currently being undertaken by other agencies – with a view to benefitting from their efforts to the greatest extent possible.

Monitoring and evaluation conducted in 1988 by the PAK-German BAS-ED project found that the majority of teachers, whether trained or untrained, possessed far lower competency content-wise and professionally than had been assumed (teaching methods, elements of children's development and behaviour). Furthermore, teachers were unaccustomed to acting as independent learners (reading, understanding and applying written texts and instructions, especially handouts, notes, and manuals.).

One-time exposures to new materials and methods, therefore, will hardly change the teacher's behaviour in the classroom. Introductory seminars, education days, school visits and similar activities can only be seen as a first step in a new direction. Only longer contact of a 'coaching-type' approach may bring about the desired results in the primary schools – a more active and meaningful learning process. Efforts are under way to rectify the problems identified during the monitoring and evaluation.

Conclusion. The PAK-German BAS-ED project is illustrative of a well thought-out project for the education of Pakistani and Afghan refugee children. It is an example of how external technical and financial assistance helps both refugee children and the children of a host country.

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*Chapter 9**

KAMPUCHEAN REFUGEES ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL EDUCATION DESPITE DIFFICULTIES

The twenty-year-old war in Kampuchea has been the most tragic destruction in Khmer history since the fall of Angkor in 1432. Millions of people have perished in this 'killing field' and hundreds of thousands of children have been orphaned. Schools, hospitals, roads and other basic infrastructure have been destroyed or severely damaged.

The peaks of the destruction during this period came during two stages. The first period was the early 1970s, when million of tons of American bombs were dropped on Kampuchea's rural areas, forcing the rural population to evacuate the countryside and relocate to the capital of Phnom Penh.

The second destructive period during this tragedy was between 1975 and 1978, when the Chinese-backed Khmer Rouge implemented its forced social experiment, resulting in at least one million deaths and wiping out most of the educated manpower – especially teachers. Books and all kinds of learning materials were deliberately destroyed in an attempt to obliterate Khmer social values and prevent their transmission to the next generation.

This 'war without end' has forced people to flee for their lives in all directions. Several hundred thousand have fled to Viet Nam, almost a million have moved westward towards Thailand which shares the longest border with Kampuchea. Of those who took refuge in Thailand, about

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400,000 have chosen to resettle in third countries, while another 300,000 still live in encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Within these border encampments, Khmer refugees have become determined to revitalize their culture through the processs of education and other social developments. This process, begun in 1975 when the first wave of refugees took asylum in Thailand, intensified between 1979 and 1982, and still continues today. During the 1979-1982 period, the process achieved universal education for the refugee population.

This article describes and analyzes this revitalization process, its achievements and the factors which contributed to those achievements, the problems and constraints encountered, the innovative approaches adopted, and the lessons learned and the future prospects envisioned by the refugees.

Two waves of movement. Kampucheans were compelled to migrate from their homeland at two different stages – which differ both in reasons for and the pattern of movement.

The first movement, between 1975 and 1978, came when the non-communist government in Phnom Penh toppled and the Khmer Rouge assumed absolute power. During this period, fear of death – by execution and starvation – was the reason for migration. Only a small number of people fleeing the country were fortunate enough to become refugees; the majority died before reaching the border.

In 1978, when control of the country was wrested from the Khmer Rouge, a new wave of refugees flowed towards Thailand. This time the number of refugees was 600,000, and they moved in two different patterns.

The first pattern involved those who moved independently; the second involved those moved at gunpoint by government soldiers. Thousands of people, especially in the second group, died of starvation during the journey. Starving refugees were brought to field hospitals in refugee holding centres for treatment; but it was too late for many of them.

The main reason for fleeing during this second wave was to avoid the war being waged between the Vietnamese army and the Khmer Rouge. A large number of refugees were pushed back by Thailand, but many managed to return a second time.

Stages of Refugee Education Development

The development of educational programmes in Khmer refugee camps can be classified into three distinct stages.

The first, or early period, covers the years between 1975 and 1978, when the refugees fled the Khmer Rouge. There were about 100,000 Khmer refugees in camps.

The second, or middle period, began in 1979 and ended in 1982, a period during which massive waves of refugees arrived in Thailand, fleeing the war between the Vietnamese and the deposed Khmer Rouge. About 600,000 refugees were housed in ten different camps.

The third, or current period, extends from 1982 to the present, and coincides with the formation of the resistance government. The current refugee population is approximately 300,000; some of these were among the group which fled during the middle period.

In accordance with accepted international practices – which vary from one situation to another – the refugee problem is solved by identifying durable solutions for them according to three different options: voluntary repatriation, local integration, and third country resettlement.

In the case of Khmer refugees, all three options were applied. Educational programmes, therefore, have been designed to help the refugees better prepare for one or more options of their choice. In the past fourteen years of refugee programmes in Thailand, a majority of refugees have been resettled in Western nations; about 8,000 were locally integrated (Kampucheans of Thai ethnic origin); and about 3,000 (all Moslem) were settled in Malaysia.

The type of educetional system adopted in each phase and its progress are described in the following pages.

Early period (1975-1978). With hundreds of thousands of refugees arriving at the same time, the main concern of the assisting agencies was to help the refugees meet their basic physical needs. Food and water distribution was a main task; later, shelters were constructed and medical services organized.

Only after the basic physical needs were met was the need for education addressed. The main goal of education at that stage was to prepare refugees for third country resettlement and local integration. Considering the political tension which then prevailed in Indochina, any hope of voluntary repatriation was slim.

Refugee children among those who arrived in the first wave were enrolled in the Thai educational system established in each camp. The Thai government realized that these refugees stood little chance of third country resettlement. The refugees were expected to remain in Thailand for many years. During this four-year period, Thai teachers were employed and the

Thai primary school curriculum was adopted. The UNHCR provided financial support to Thai programmes and voluntary agencies for foreign language programmes. The system was administered entirely by Thai camp authorities; the refugee communities played little or no role in its implementation. The Thai agencies responsible for implementation were the Ministries of Education and Interior.

Middle period (1979-1981). The arrival of the second wave of refugees in 1978 and 1979 completely changed the educational system. Eventual repatriation was regarded as the major goal of the new education programme because of the expressed desire of the refugees themselves, who saw that such an option appeared more possible with the fall of the Khmer Rouge. The refugee role vis-à-vis the education system changed from one of passive recipient to one of active initiator and 'doer.' This change was possible because the Thai Government assigned a new agency to specifically oversee Kampuchean refugees: the Joint Operation Centre (JOC), under the Supreme Command, the Ministry of Defense. This new body has been the only agency responsible for the programme. Since the JOC is not an education agency and its assigned function was to protect the refugees, education and other social services were left almost entirely in the hands of refugees and support voluntary agencies (volags). This availability of educational freedom and independence facilitated the Khmer refugees' dedication to revitalize their education and cultural programme.

Khao I Dang, the first refugee camp, was established in 1979 to house about 120,000 Khmer refugees. Schools and other education facilities, including a cultural and recreational centre, were constructed in all camps. The cultural centre provides an opportunity for Khmer artists to demonstrate their talents within the camp community and train young people in drama, music, painting, sculpture, weaving and other forms of cultural expression. This type of camp life allows refugees to enjoy the cultural freedom they were denied in their homeland. Refugees of rural background witness royal classical dance performed by former artists from the Royal Palace, while urban refugees are exposed to a variety of rural folk art and performances.

Khmer educators formed a 'ministry of education' called the Khmer Education Development Centre (KEDC), which at first engaged mainly in recruiting former teachers and constructing twelve bamboo schools for the camp, with parents involved as volunteer labourers. Construction was completed in four months. The number of primary school children enrolled was recorded at 40,870, approximately 34 per cent of the total population. The majority of the children, 55 percent, were enrolled in grade 1; another

25, 15, four and two per cent were in grades 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively. The large proportion of children in grade 1 indicates the lack of opportunity for education in Kampuchea during war time.

The KEDC's main responsibilities in later stages involved planning, curriculum development, teacher training, and implementation of the entire educational system – which included early childhood education, primary education (grades 1 to 5) for both children and adults, secondary education, vocational education, work-oriented literacy, and special education for disabled persons.

While most of the financial support came from the UNHCR, day-to-day logistic support for each programme in each section of the camp was the responsibility of voluntary agencies. Each programme was assisted by one lead voluntary agency and a number of support agencies. For example, primary education was co-ordinated by the International Rescue Committee (USA), early childhood education by the Caring for Young Refugees (Japan) and the functional literacy programme by Concern (Ireland), and the printing house by the Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee. The UNHCR acted as an element of co-ordination among the voluntary agencies.

The KEDC encountered many challenges.

- The large number of school-age population and illiterate youth who grew up during war time would be very difficult to accommodate because of limited classroom space. This was solved by operating a four-shift system for six days a week so that each child would have access to two and one-half hours of instruction per day or 15 hours each week. But many children did not want 'free' hours, so they sneaked into other classes. Overmotivation (not drop-outs) was the main problem; to solve this, sports, recreation and cultural programmes were intensified and expanded, with health and arts education fully integrated within these out-of-school activities.

  In 1981, four new and more durable camps were completed at Karb Cherng, Kampot, Sakeo and Mairut. About half of the refugees moved to these new camps, which were fully equipped with schools and recreational facilities. Because of the availability of additional space, the education programme was greatly enhanced. Children had more instructional hours each day; the people had more space in which to live. The operating system was revised from the former four-shift to a two-shift system, allowing every child about five hours of daily instruction.

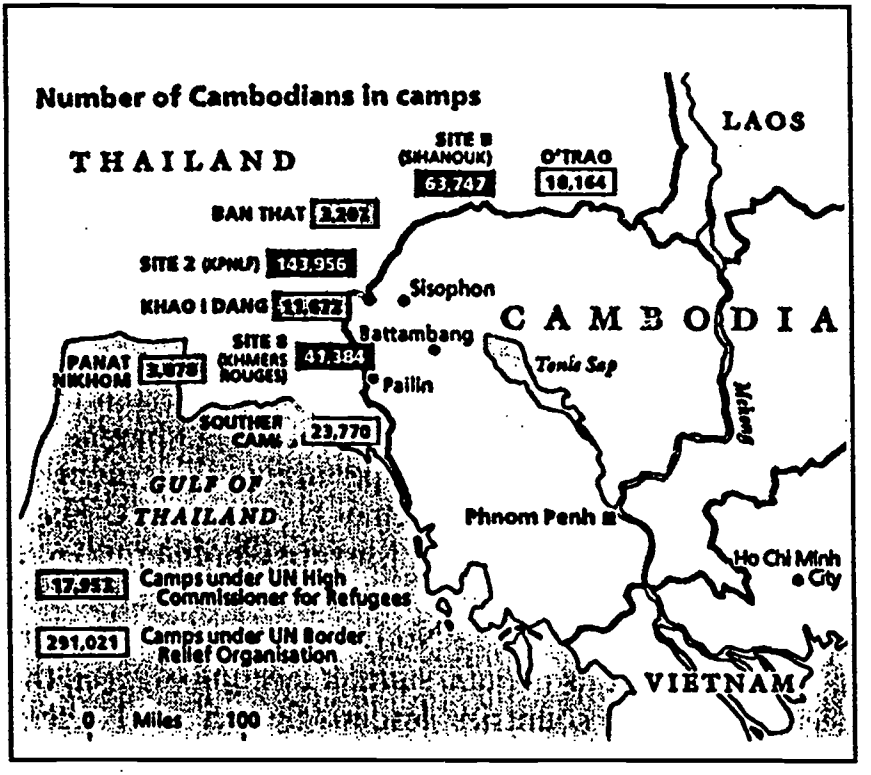
- The lack of textbooks and learning materials was another major obstacle. KEDC established a curriculum development committee in each camp to co-ordinate development. Since the Khmer Rouge had burned all of the old textbooks, the KEDC asked the UNHCR and Unesco to seek out Khmer books available in foreign libraries. Some Khmer language textbooks and children's books were found in libraries in Japan, North America and Europe, but no science or mathematics textbooks for primary school were located. RECSAM in Malaysia had a collection of science and math textbooks, but for secondary level only. Teacher manuals to accompany the student textbooks were not available.

  After the KEDC reviewed the material, selected books were reprinted in large number in Japan, the United States and Thailand, and eventually distributed to pupils, teachers, and public libraries.

  Meanwhile, with technical assistance from Unesco, the KEDC developed new textbooks and teacher manuals for grades 1 to 5 in all basic subjects. Prototype copies of each textbook were prepared and printed by Unesco for field testing; these were then refined and approved by KEDC, and the UNHCR published them for mass distribution. Later, a printing house was established in camps to handle simple printing requirements; several Khmer artists and writers were involved. From 1979 to 1982, 76 new books were developed and published and 227 other books were reprinted. To ensure that new Khmer textbooks were of international standard, textbooks from the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore were used as sources of reference.

- Since so few trained and experienced teachers survived the genocide in Kampuchea, getting enough teachers for the large number of uneducated youth and children was very serious problem. Furthermore, some of the former teachers were reluctant to identify themselves for fear that if the old regime returned to power they would face capital punishment for 'educational crime' – being a teacher and transmitting Khmer literacy and social values.

  To solve the problem of teacher shortage, intensive teacher training programmes were organized for all five camps using trainers from Srinarinwirote University and local teacher colleges in Thailand. The quality of teachers gradually improved; however, the overall situation worsened as opportunities to resettle in third countries opened to refugees. Teachers were the first to leave.



Source: *The Economist*, October 14, 1989

They possessed the right qualifications: likelihood of persecution in their homeland and greater possibility for adaptation in Western countries. The Khmer 'brain drain' adversely affected those left behind. As a result, the quality of education in the camps has been difficult to maintain – let alone improve.

- How can such a system cope with a new generation of young people who are so culturally deprived? A series of 'liberations' in Kampuchea has created a society which has increasingly produced large numbers of orphans and widows. These groups of children need special programmes to help them adapt to the new society being created both in the camps and in Kampuchea. But can the lack of parental love be replaced by an educational system? Also, camp life itself creates yet another deprivation for these children. Confined to limited areas, they have no exposure to a real, more peaceful living environment. 'Many children do not have experience playing with buffaloes and will not know the name of

typical trees,' commented a teacher. Furthermore, can textbooks substitute for opportunities lost? The children themselves have been embroiled in a cruel nightmare of events. They have experienced terror, but know little or nothing of peacefulness. How can a school pacify minds and shut out bad experiences?

All of these psychological and cultural questions were addressed and later dealt with by the Khmer women, who formed a Khmer Women Association (KWA) in each camp. Through a variety of such methods as counselling services, supplementary feeding programmes, training members in income-generation and other socially useful skills, and arranging foster mothers for unaccompanied minors, the KWA has become the main body for helping vulnerable women and children rehabilitate their lives.

Present period (1982-present). The present period has been the longest of the Khmer refugee dilemma. It is the period which gave birth to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, causing the dimension of politics to become a hidden agenda in the refugee education programme.

At the beginning of this period, refugees living in all border encampments were organized under three different political factions: Site B under Prince Sihanouk, Site 2 under Mr. Son Sann, and Site 8 under the Khmer Rouge. The populations of these camps are 63,747, 143,956 and 41,384 respectively. Another 56,813 refugees are situated in four other small camps.

During this period, the education programme has become more politically-oriented to the ideologies propagated by each faction. However, because basic textbooks developed in the middle period are utilized in camp schools, a certain level of continuity and neutrality of subject content is assured.

The United Nations Border Relief Operation (UNBRO) was created to provide humanitarian assistance to civilian refugees in these camps, while the UNHCR continued to operate only in the five old camps located a greater distance from the border. Because the three camps are administered by three distinct Khmer political parties, the educational system is more independent of assisting agencies and governments. However, problems have emerged.

- First, because of the differences in political orientation and management, there has been less opportunity for technical exchange among educators in the three camps.

- Second, priorities have become more diversified, in accordance with each party's policy and strategy. Education has been downgraded – from being of high priority during the middle period to its current low level status – while military, diplomacy and other considerations have replaced educational concerns.

Despite these two problems, the present period does provide new hope for the population because their associated status with political organizations conveys a sense of citizenship in a Khmer government – which is vastly different from that of being a refugee without national identity and government protection. During the middle period, refugee contact with the outside world was only through relief workers of voluntary agencies, the UN and Thai government agencies. Presently, refugees can expand their contact through their Khmer government officials who travel in and out of the camps. This gives the refugees a feeling that they do have a government on which they can rely.

The present period has less of a teacher 'brain drain' problem because most of the refugees in these three camps do not have the right to resettle in third countries. Because the number of teachers can be maintained at a satisfactorily stable level and because quality can be improved through on-the-job training, there is no reason to expect a decline in the quality of education. Moreover, since 1987, UNBRO has devoted more resources to improving the quality of teacher training by hiring a number of full-time experts and trainers for various disciplines to train Khmer teachers.

Results of Implementation

The results of the fourteen-year effort in implementing education within Khmer refugee camps may be analyzed in two dimensions: quantitative achievements and qualitative improvement.

In quantitative terms, the system has successfully achieved its goal in meeting the educational needs of the refugee population within a short period (beginning in 1979 and being fulfilled in 1982). All eligible primary school-age children, illiterate youth and adults – and even pre-school children – received equal access to educational programmes of their choice. The programme successfully achieved universal education for approximately 500,000 refugees in the past ten years.

At the same time, thousands of personnel were trained as para-professional teachers, and teachers already experienced were trained in curriculum development and other related disciplines.

Qualitatively, the system has succeeded in:

- strengthening the capacity of powerless communities to revive both their cultural pride and sense of purpose in life;
- stimulating the community to participate *fully* in initiating, planning and assessing the educational programme;
- guaranteeing equal educational opportunity to all refugees, regardless of past socio-economic background – a goal difficult to achieve in normal Kampuchean society. Because all refugees live on a food ration, all have the free time to educate themselves without worrying about food security;
- enhancing the exchange of experiences among Khmer refugee educators living along the border and those working inside the country – textbooks and educational materials developed in camps have been exchanged with those developed outside (UNICEF and Unesco staff and refugees returning to Kampuchea play an important role in this unintended technical exchange); Khmer refugee educators also have been exposed to experts from Thailand and many other countries who have volunteered to assist them in camps; and
- paving the way for advanced education – once basic education in Khmer was attained, a large number of children expressed the desire to continue into secondary level; however, the lack of qualified teachers at this level has blocked the expansion of secondary education programmes. A number of primary school graduates later decided instead to learn foreign languages through teachers who had established private classes in their shelters; these extra classes, however, are only available those who can afford them. No foreign language programme has been opened which is free to the public, except for those programmes designed for refugees already accepted for resettlement abroad, which were organized at transit camps deeper inside Thailand and in the Philippines.

Although the benefits to the refugees are obvious and achievements certainly have been made, because the programmes have not been systematically evaluated, it is still difficult to ascertain the level of those achievements. It also is not yet possible to compare learning achievements among learners in different camps or between border camps and village schools in Kampuchea. Besides the benefits to refugees, a large number of external workers employed by voluntary and UN agencies have acquired

valuable experience planning and implementing education programmes in difficult situations.

Factors contributing to success. The success of the programme outlined in this article was made possible by a number of related factors.

- Refugees' motivation to achieve: High motivation to achieve was evident among educators and learners alike. Many parents even said that one main reason for fleeing their homeland is to fulfil the hope of having their children properly educated after a decade of neglect by the State. Camp schools have satisfied this aspiration.
- Facilitating role played by voluntary agencies: Strong dedication and commitment demonstrated by all participating 'volags' provided encouragement to refugees to succeed in this effort. In fact, a number of new volags were created specifically to assist Khmer refugees.
- Financial and humanitarian support by UN agencies:. World attention was on Kampuchea during the 1970s and a great many resources were made available through UNICEF, the UNHCR and UNBRO to protect refugees and help them satisfy their basic needs. Unesco has been very helpful in providing technical assistance to improve the quality of curriculum and teacher training.
- New position adopted by Thai government: With international support, the Thai government agencies responsible for refugee matters – especially the Joint Operation Centre and the National Security Council – have allowed refugees a greater degree of freedom in managing their own affairs. This is quite different from the rigid position taken by the Ministry of Interior, which is responsible for Lao, Vietnamese, and hilltribe refugee camps.
- The Khmer Women Associations (KWA): The KWA has been instrumental in mobilizing mothers to play an active role in camp life, especially in early childhood education programmes in which mothers take turns volunteering to educate young children.
- Field integration of key educational components: In the middle period, curriculum development teams in all camps worked closely with school administrators and teachers in developing and testing new materials. Refinements and improvements to texts were carried out based on instant feedback from teachers.
- Subsidized life style: Since refugees are not permitted to engage in income-generating employment in Thailand, they live on welfare

provided by the United Nations. This system allows them to fully participate in all kinds of community actions, especially education.

- Low-cost operation: The system costs the UNHCR only US$12 per child to operate the universal primary education in camps, which is very low compared to the cost of about US$100 per child for Thai primary school operations. A main factor is the difference in teachers' salaries. A refugee teacher is paid US$15 per month, plus food rations worth another US$15 monthly. In normal primary schools in Thailand, a teacher receives approximately US$250 per month, nearly ten times the remuneration provided refugee teachers, whose personal expenses are much reduced.
- Adoption of multiple-shift system: The shortage of classroom space dictated that the KEDC implement the multiple-shift system. Started as four shifts, operation now employs two shifts. In addition to primary education use, classrooms are also used by adult learners in evenings and on Sundays.
- Community participation: This participation is unique to refugee camps in which the community not only provides labour and material support, but also trainers in areas in which regular classroom teachers cannot perform, the most prominent being in such areas of art and culture as Khmer folk dance, traditional music, songs, drama, sculpture and various forms of recreational activities. The children, therefore, can spend their time productively for the half day they are outside the classroom as well.

Lessons Learned

Lessons learned through the Khmer experience are many; several have been adopted by other programmes in other places. First, the lesson in decentralized and field-based curriculum development was introduced and adopted in Lao and hilltribe refugee camps in Thailand, providing an opportunity for educators in these camps to play a more active and participatory role in their education programme.

A second lesson concerns community participation in all aspects of education – labour in constructing and maintaining the classroom, and teachers, administrators, artists, writers and learners in all programmes.

Third, the role of voluntary agencies in day-to-day support and co-ordination of refugees has produced results far more superior than programmes in which government alone assumes direct responsibility.

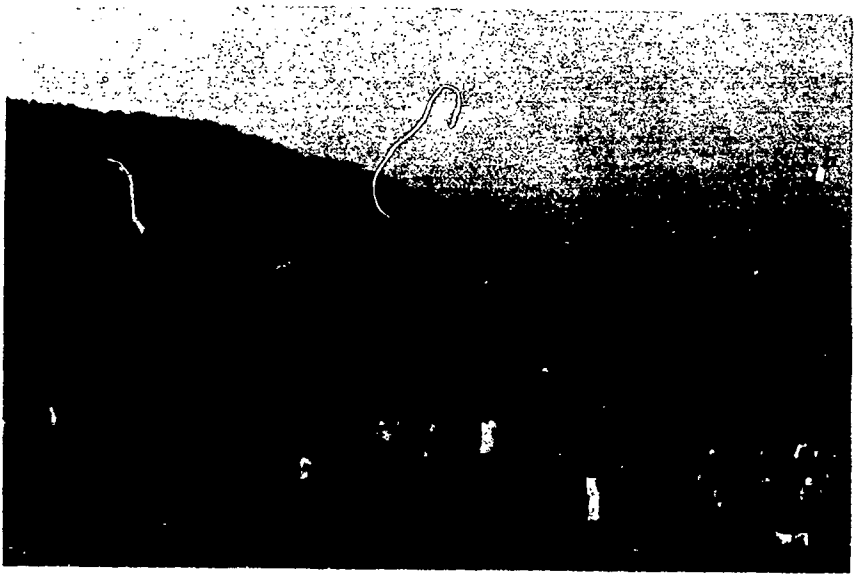
These lessons were replicated in Lao and hilltribe refugee camps in 1981 and have proved quite successful there too. Experiences have also been adopted in Afghan refugee communities in Pakistan by UNHCR and NGO personnel who worked in Khmer camps.

The co-operative model among NGOs was later replicated by a number of Thai and foreign NGOs working in Thai community development projects. For example, the whole team of NGOs who worked in Karb Cherng camp later formed a consortium to engage in a large community development programme in the border villages of Surin Province in north-eastern Thailand.

Among the Khmer refugees themselves, management lessons learned by pioneers during the middle period are now replicated and modified by those working in the border camps of today.

Constraints. There are a few constraints which have impeded the advancement of refugee education.

- Threat of war: Border camps became easy targets during fighting between resistance elements and the Vietnamese Army -- causing refugees to flee and disrupting educational activities.
- Mental stress: Most refugees have been in these camps for ten years, an especially prolonged period for adults. For some, the excitement of education has already passed. Violence and other social ills have emerged as a result of this confined life style.
- Limited opportunity for income-generating activities: The artificial camp life does not permit refugees to fully engage themselves in self-supporting occupations. There is not enough land to produce the raw materials needed to create home industries, and the subsidized 'welfare state' breeds boredom.
- Lack of political freedom: It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for refugees to move from one party to another. Once one has entered a particular camp, one remains there until the camp life is dismantled. This problem is very serious at Site 8, which is under the influence of the Khmer Rouge.
- Teacher brain drain: A major problem in the early and middle periods, teacher shortage is less a problem at present.
- Drop in financial support: The budget for food and education has been cut, and the food which is received is sometimes diverted to other purposes. Within education, the decreased budget has resulted in shortages of classroom space and learning materials.



School children at Site II Camp

Future Prospects

The main aspiration of nearly all Khmer refugees is to safely return to lead normal lives in peaceful villages in Kampuchea – to enjoy basic rights to education and all forms of livelihood. Even some of those already resettled abroad have expressed a wish to return to Kampuchea. Until that is possible, the best that the refugees can do is *prepare* for a new life in Kampuchea. If they fail, they will return at a disadvantage. Education is considered the only means to equip these children with the qualifications needed for peaceful integration within a new Kampuchea.

The new Kampuchea will need trained human resources in all disciplines to replace those who perished in the decades-old conflict and those who resettled in other countries. International development and humanitarian organizations are expected to play an even greater role during the reconstruction period. Education may be the best way not only to revitalize the culture, but also to reconcile and prevent future conflicts.

*Chapter 10**

EDUCATION OF REFUGEES IN THE PHILIPPINES

'Some 160,000 refugees have been serviced...' This excerpt from the executive brief on the operations of the Philippine Refugee Processing Centre (PRPC) capsulizes the educational programme set up by the PRPC over the last six years at its location in Morong, Bataan, Philippines. The 'refugees' are victims of war and political conflict in the countries in Indochina. The services referred to are an integral part of a broader programme of rehabilitation and placement of people uprooted from their social moorings. Called 'the Philippine response to the refugee problem,' the PRPC has provided such services to an annual average of 32,000 displaced persons since January 1980.

The PRPC has arranged a wide variety of educational services for the refugees. These include the following.

- English language training and cultural orientation is provided for refugees 13 to 55 years old. This and another programme, PASS (Preparation for American Secondary Schools), are offered by the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC).
- Youth guidance classes for children 7 to 12 years old, plus such vocational training as basic typing and a public health programme, are offered by the World Relief Corporation.

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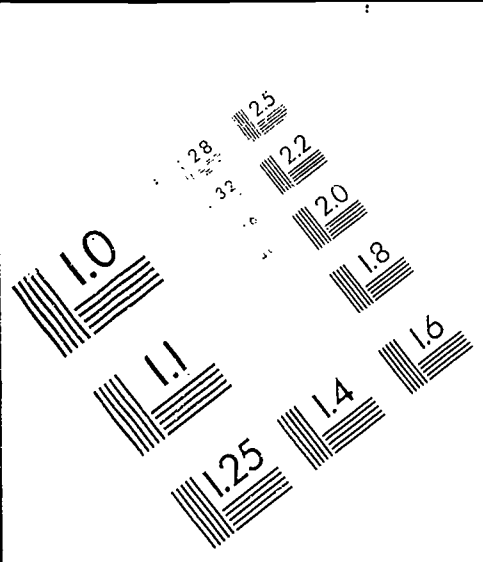
- Child care classes are provided for pre-schoolers by CARITAS Manila.
- English language training and cultural orientation are provided by the Mormon Christian Services.
- Norwegian language training and cultural orientation for refugees aged 5 to 55 years are supported by the Norwegian Government Refugee Agency.
- Vocational training in automotive mechanics, house construction, and driving is offered by the Philippine Baptist Refugee Ministries.
- Vocational training courses, such as tailoring, embroidery and dressmaking, and various socio-cultural training classes in art education, social dance, guitar lessons, etc., are some of the wide-ranging activities offered by the Salvation Army.
- Courses in sports, creative and performing arts, and basic leadership training are offered by the Young Adult Refugee Service Unit.
- Water and safety training is provided by the Philippine National Red Cross.
- A comprehensive programme for mental health, covering guidance and counselling, psychiatric service, etc., is provided by Community Mental Health and Family Services, Inc.
- Health and nutrition education, with a supplementary feeding programme, is provided by the Adventist Development and Relief Agency.
- An integrated package of programmes and services for the rehabilitation and development of each refugee has been initiated and is being implemented by the PRPC itself through the Processing Community Organization Social Services (PROCOSS). The package includes a formal refugee orientation programme for new arrivals aged 16 and above, a community information programme, a programme for community organization, and a refugee work credit system.

This brief description of the educational services available at the PRPC gives an idea of how the Centre goes about fulfilling its primary goal of rehabilitation. It was envisioned from the start that the core of concern would be the transformation in status of each refugee from that of a person displaced into an individual prepared for, as one of the Centre's brochures phrases it, a 'productive and meaningful life in his [or her] country of final destination.'



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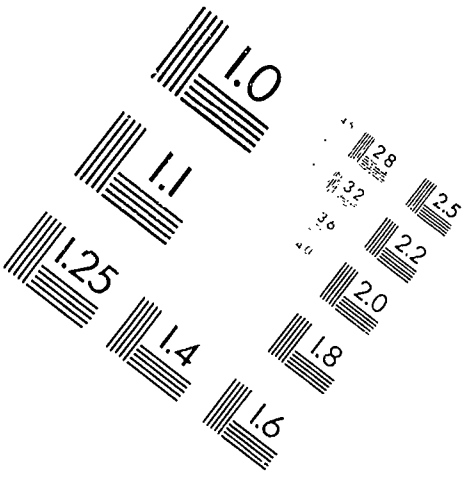

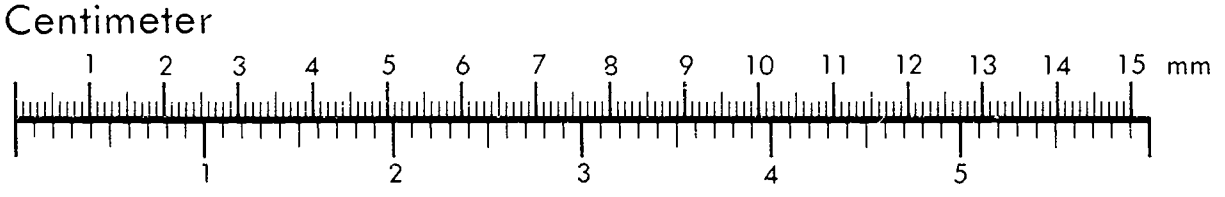

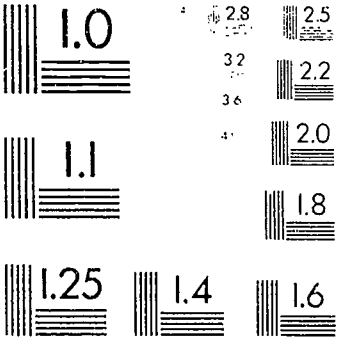

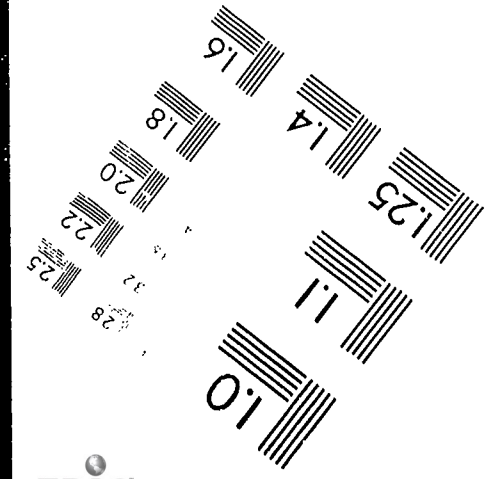

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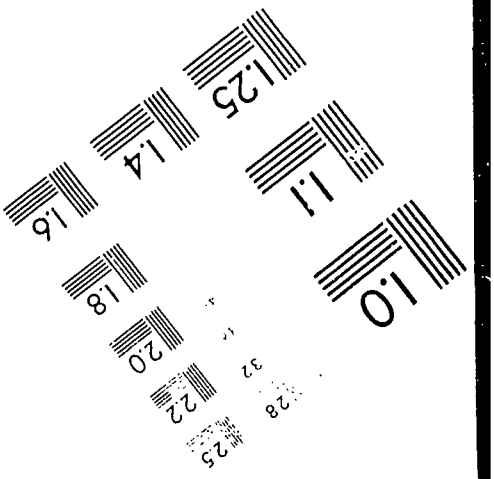

ERIC

Rehabilitation of refugees takes into account the morally debilitating traumas and shocks that can shatter the hope for survival and warp attitudes towards others. People in deep distress, as refugees are, deserve help of all kinds. In the words of the PRPC brochure, 'The refugee's transformation involves his [or her] total development as a person and takes into consideration his [or her] physical, social, political, cultural, intellectual, religious and economic needs,' which enables the refugee to regain self-respect, self-confidence, and a positive attitude towards life.

Other services provided by the PRPC, which may appear non-educational but which, in reality, make education a 'total' process, include the following.

- Provision for shelter and related facilities have been constructed at two sites, a refugee transit centre in Pasay City (Metro Manila) and a 298-hectare camp in Morong, Bataan. The Paranaque facilities are for the temporary stay of new arrivals prior to being transferred to the Morong site. The Morong facilities were designed to provide a community setting in which refugees could stay for six to eight months before departing for their countries of final destination. The Morong site consists of 285 dwelling units, each of which can accommodate ten families, plus 204 community facilities – schoolhouses, vocational centres, assembly halls, a 50-bed hospital, a library, chapels and temples – and 32 auxiliary facilities, including a food warehouse, dry goods warehouse, post office, fire station, and food distribution centres. Facilities also include 134 administrative buildings, processing centres, and staff dormitories. The Morong Centre is perched atop a promontory overlooking the China Sea and may be spotted from departing or approaching international flights as a group of white-roofed buildings.

- Basic services include those for food, health, water, electricity, transportation and communications. Each refugee family receives a supply of fresh and processed food sufficient for meeting proper and nutritional requirements and Asian dietary preferences. The hospital provides comprehensive health and medical services, which include medical and dental screening of all arrivals, curative medicine, rehabilitative medicine (e.g. dental prosthesis, physical therapy and vision correction), preventive medicine, and nutrition education with supplementary feeding. An immunization programme is available for all refugees between the ages of two months and 19 years old. Refugees are immunized against poliomyelitis, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, measles and

smallpox. Anti-malaria tablets are given every two weeks to those older than six months. Adequate potable water for drinking, bathing and laundry is provided from twelve deep wells which yield 545,000 gallons a day, thus assuring that clean water will be available in all faucets 24 hours a day. Electric power is supplied by the National Power Corporation or three stand-by generators.

All of these services have a way of 'teaching' the refugee the value of human compassion in the face of critical need. Life itself is thereby transformed into an experience-based 'classroom without walls'.

One can more fully appreciate the sad human drama these refugees have experienced from a written account regarding fifty Vietnamese refugees who left their homes and homeland in 1986. Their story tells of war atrocities, displacement, an uncertain future, harassment and abuse of power. Composed of 25 men, 15 women and 10 children, the youngest a baby girl barely seven months old, the group escaped seaward on flimsy boats (which is why refugees such as these are called 'boat people'). They departed in four smaller groups, none with a definite destination. After a few weeks at sea, they reached Macao. Authorities there sent them away.

They then landed in Hong Kong. Although unwelcome there as well, they were given a newer and bigger boat, able to accommodate all fifty of them. They then reached Taiwan where authorities did not allow them to disembark either, but did provide food, drinking water, a map, radio, compass and other basic necessities. With the map and compass, they navigated their boat to the Philippines.

They first spotted the lights of the Agoo Playa Hotel when they reached the Lingayen Gulf. They landed on 2 October 1986 and were accommodated at the Agoo municipal hall for eight days with help from the municipal mayor, town officials and officers of the Agoo Playa Hotel.

Concern Leads to Action

The larger refugee story, of which the foregoing is a part, constitutes a portion of the humanitarian effort to alleviate the undesirable effects of the old but continuing tragedy of 'man's inhumanity to man.' The following chronology of events led to the establishment of the Centre, which was designed to provide an appropriate response to the refugee problem.

- February 1979 – ASEAN member nations issued a joint statement of concern regarding the refugee problem.
- July 1979 – Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo, at the UN International Conference hosted by the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva, offered temporary accommodation to 59,000 Indochinese refugees from various first-asylum countries.

- August 1979 – The Task Force on International Refugee Assistance and Administration was created to undertake immediate conceptualization and planning of the proposed refugee processing centre.
- October 1979 – The Philippine offer was reiterated at the thirty-fourth session of the UN General Assembly.
- November 1979 – The Philippine Government and the UNHCR signed an agreement for the construction and operation of the PRPC.
- January 1980 – Inauguration of the Centre was held, and the first group of refugees arrived from Pulau Bidong, Malaysia.

Thus, in less than a year, a vital concern was translated into dynamic action. Table 10.1 provides recent data on the PRPC refugee situation.

The refugees themselves participate in their own rehabilitation, welfare and education. To supplement their ration of basic necessities and spend their time meaningfully and productively, they are given an opportunity to undertake a variety of activities, such as backyard gardening, cafe

Table 10.1

Status of Refugees in PRPC

Total Number Processed (January 1980 to 31 July 1989)		**268,197**
Vietnamese	158,835	
Cambodian	70,201	
Laotian	39,161	
Total Number Resettled (February 1980 to 31 July 1989)		**253,455**
Vietnamese	142,968	
Cambodian	71,606	
Laotian	38,881	
Total in process at PRPC (as of 31 July 1989)		**18,321**
Vietnamese	17,287	
Cambodian	281	
Laotian	753	

and restaurant management, retail store management, basket weaving, photo service, and handicraft production. These are means by which they are able to apply and use what they learn from the training programmes. Thus, the learning process involving theory and appropriate practice is made meaningful, as it is useful in meeting basic human needs when needed most.

One by-product of the programme for refugees is the upliftment of the Morong community. The PRPC, with a refugee population averaging 17,000 at any given time, serves as a sizable market for the products of the town. The Samahang Nayon (Farmers Co-operative) of Morong supplies a large portion of the Centre's fruit, vegetable and meat requirements. Task Force Morong provides professional and technical assistance through seminars on small business management and leadership training. Morong has also provided much of the Centre's labor supply. Morong residents are allowed to benefit from the Centre's facilities and social services, including relief and medical services. There is a close and mutually beneficial linkage between the PRPC, a 'town' in itself, and the community of Morong – this is a good lesson in international understanding and co-operation. Three significant developments have enhanced the PRPC/Morong programme.

- The government of Japan in 1984, through the initiative of the PRPC, donated 230 million yen (US$1,666,667) for the development of fishery and allied industries in Morong.
- The Rural Health Unit of Morong has been improved through funding solicited by the PRPC from the Norwegian government.
- A solar salt-making project in Morong, funded by the Norwegian government, will soon begin.

'Hilton' for refugees. In an article published in the New York *Times* in 1984, the Morong Centre was described by Steve Lohr, *Times* Manila bureau chief, as 'the Hilton' for refugees, in comparison to other refugee camps in the region. It is probably more accurate to now describe it as an educational centre (for refugees) which employs a completely integrated approach for providing a 'crash' programme of education, training and related social services to benefit displaced people during a six to eight month period. The programme enables refugees to look forward to a future that could be far better than the turmoil of the past.

The PRPC programme of refugee care, training and rehabilitation receives assistance and participation from several national and international agencies. In addition to those already mentioned, agencies include the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, Joint Voluntary Agency, U.S. Refugee Programme Co-ordinator's Office, Bureau of Ports (Philip-

pines), Philippine Constabulary, Philippine Navy, Philippine Marines, Central Bank of the Philippines, local government of Morong, Intergovernmental Committee in European Migration, Filipino-Chinese Service Centre for Vietnamese Refugees, Inc., Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches, Centre for Assistance for Displaced Persons (CADP), and Work Credit Enhancement Programme.

The embassies of the following countries are actively involved in the work of the PRPC: Australia, Canada, France, Japan, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States and West Germany.

The PRPC programme is not without problems. Foremost among them is the difficulty posed by a group called 'ex-China refugees.' These are refugees who first sought refuge in the People's Republic of China, but who changed their minds and now seek better opportunities in other countries, particularly in North America and Europe. So far, the UNHCR has failed to resettle them. No country has shown a willingness to accept them. If placement can not be found for these people, the PRPC is 'stuck with' some 123 'unacceptable' refugees. Also, there is the perpetual language problem – this is partly solved through employing interpreters.

A third problem is the emerging vulnerability to criticism of the Philippine government for providing a 'Hilton' for foreign refugees when it is unable to adequately help its own people who suffer a similar fate. There are thousands of people in Mindanao and other parts of the country who have been forced to leave their homes for fear of reprisals from armed groups. Some have been placed in makeshift evacuation camps, many suffer from respiratory diseases and malnutrition, and relief goods have not been adequate.

Conclusion. The root causes of the entire refugee problem are the very reasons that refugees flee home and homeland in the first place. The solutions, therefore, would be contingent upon remedies for the root causes. This point calls for a thorough study of the causes and possible remedies. It would be helpful if a UN task force were established and deputized for that purpose. Such an approach would require less than what is needed to resettle refugees in lands where they must begin life anew as total strangers, and where their interrupted education must find fuller meaning. At this writing, some 50,000 refugees in Hong Kong are being pressed to return to Viet Nam. The first 121 returnees to Viet Nam have 'decided to give the homeland another chance.' Robert van Leeuwen, head of the UN refugee office in Hong Kong, called this 'an extremely hopeful sign,' noting further that more than 700 others have already applied to return home. If sufficient incentives are provided to encourage the refugees to return to their countries of origin, the task of the Philippine Refugee

Processing Centre would gradually trickle down to zero. Such a 'countdown to zero' could be a positive sign that an enduring peace might at last come about in this part of the world. The refugee-returnees would then have a chance to experience a full, formal education, a right they inherently deserve.

But the real-life refugee drama continues; at the moment, no end is in sight. The 'boat people' continue to come and go. Those who chose to have a share in their mishap could do less; those who chose to alleviate such mishap could do more. Whatever happens, the need for appropriate education, training and rehabilitation will continue for as long as there are human refugees from human conflicts.

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*Chapter 11**

CURRENT TRENDS IN EDUCATION OF THE DISABLED

In parallel with placing all citizens' education in a context of human resource development for their effective integration in socio-economic development, education of the disabled is gradually being recognized as a vehicle for similar integration, and for the generation of prerequisite human resources among the disabled.

While *meththa* is indeed a noble sentiment, sentimentality should not be the sole basis for action on behalf of the disabled. Any group of individuals that is forced to remain dependent on society becomes a burden to that society and its government – neglecting the development of potential human resources is tantamount to 'a crime against the nation.' Disabled populations, especially in developed countries, have shown that, when provided opportunities for human resource development, they rely less on society and contribute more to the nation.

Such a 'socio-economic development' argument accompanies and supports arguments for the education of the disabled based on the grounds of human rights. The effective integration of the disabled into the mainstream of socio-economic development has educational implications in several areas, including:

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* Derived from documents of regional and international meetings convened by Unesco, such as *Educating the Disabled: Report of a Regional Planning Seminar and Workshop on Special Education*, Unesco, Bangkok (1987); *Consultation on Special Education Action for Disabled Persons*, Unesco, Paris (1988); *Survey of Present Situation of Special Education*, Unesco, Paris (1988); and country project and mission reports in the Asia and Pacific region.

- provision of early intervention during pre-compulsory school years;
- intervention during school years;
- special services, including institutional and community-based ones;
- transition into adult and working life;
- traditional forms of paid employment;
- alternatives to traditional forms of paid employment;
- traditional forms of self-employment;
- alternatives to traditional forms of self-employment; and
- parental and community education in support of the disabled.

This review of current trends focuses on those preparatory measures which are taken prior to adulthood and employment – the usual spheres of activity for Education Ministries and Unesco. It includes basic competency in cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains, which are essential for the transition to adulthood, employment and full integration into society.

It is widely recognized that achievement of foundational competence alone is insufficient for the successful integration of disabled persons into development programmes as full and productive citizens. More is required.

Both foundational and additional competencies are today viewed in a context that is radically different from that which existed at the beginning of the UN Decade for the Disabled. This is a result of the 'changing face' of education, and especially of the unanimous acceptance by countries in the Asia-Pacific region of the universalization of primary education (UPE) and Education for All, and a commitment to the eradication of illiteracy by the year 2000.

Another important factor is the drastic socio-economic change that has occurred in several countries in the region, causing changes in labour markets and technologies. Some of these changes, such as those produced by the electronic revolution, immediately increase the work options available to disabled persons.

The following precepts are representative of the overall strategies adopted in efforts to provide educational opportunities for the disabled.

- The disabled have the same human rights as other citizens of a country.

- Increased autonomy of the disabled is a fundamental requirement if they are to obtain the same rights as their fellow citizens.
- Policies for the disabled should not be developed in isolation, but should be an integral component of policies for society as a whole.
- Integration of the disabled into the education system cannot be regarded as an issue separate from the policies affecting the education system in general.
- The disabled are entitled to a comprehensive education which provides a continuity of services, from early detection and early intervention through schooling, vocational preparation, independent living in the community and lifelong education.
- The disabled are entitled to an education which provides for their individual needs and which introduces them to an increasing range of choices. They should receive an education which corresponds to their specific individual needs rather than their category of disability.

New policy/planning frameworks. Most countries in the region are now concerned with the matter of extending educational services to the disabled. National commitments to the universalization of primary education have undoubtedly provided the most recent and potentially the greatest impetus to this concern. In several countries, this has led to the passing of national laws in support of services to the disabled.

One immediate constraint in systematically planning educational services for the disabled is the unavailability of accurate data. Lack of infrastructure for collecting data on the disabled, confusion over the definition of disabled persons, and social and cultural inhibitions that obstruct the gathering of data are also common factors of constraint in most countries of the region.

In several countries, ten per cent of the school-age population is estimated to be disabled; however, micro samplings and other small-scale surveys that focus on education-related criteria reveal higher figures – by another five to eight per cent, and even more. It is also recognized that there most likely are geographical areas in a given country which have even higher percentages – areas in which economic conditions place a significant proportion of the population at or below the poverty line and in which nutrition, health and sanitation problems are particularly serious.

An additional issue, especially in countries nearing or exceeding the 80 per cent enrolment mark, concerns the large number of children already in school who are disabled, whether they are recognized as such or not.

These children have entered schools as part of the influx caused by the universalization of primary education. This particular group consists of mildly disabled children, whose disabilities often manifest themselves as 'learning difficulties.' In response to this situation, some countries have already initiated actions to support and assist 'slow learners' in making progress, sometimes even categorizing them as different from the disabled. This perspective is being reinforced in a few countries by surveys to determine whether possible disabilities are a significant cause of school drop-outs. An important question is whether such children are 'organically' or 'pathologically' disabled or merely disabled in terms of school achievement criteria as a result of social, cultural and economic disadvantage. As concerns 'mental disability' in particular, this issue is of great importance since tests and instruments used for diagnosis and identification purposes may well be biased against children from disadvantaged and poverty-stricken areas.

Regardless of the question of classification, the new perception of the disabled has placed a large number of them – the mildly affected ones – in a wider and more comprehensive grouping, thereby promoting superior achievement by learners in the education system. Thus the issues of the disabled are beginning to be considered not in isolation and outside the national education system, but as components of wider design and planning frameworks related to the achievement of individual learners, in the context of the three working principles of UPE: access, survival and success. The success of UPE achieved in some countries and in sight in others depends on the ability to meet the needs of disabled children, through enhancing the achievement of those already in the system and bringing in those who are not.

Other type-examples of planning for the education of those disabled who have potential to move into the mainstream of national educational development include the following.

- Individualization of learning and recognition of the importance of self-pacing in learning are recent products of pedagogic concern – particularly the enhancement of achievement associated with the universalization of primary education. This fits logically into the educational needs of the disabled.
- Enhancement of the outreach of 'ordinary' schooling to disadvantaged populations – a result of UPE – has given rise to a number of formal/non-formal and relatively low-cost delivery systems to increase the outreach of education services to hitherto underserved and unserved areas and populations. Many of these are community-based efforts. The extension of community-based

rehabilitation and other service operations for the disabled fits coherently into outreach policy decisions which affect the much larger 'ordinary' learner populations.

- Concerns focused on parental involvement have emerged quite clearly in regard to 'ordinary' children, most often in support of retention and higher achievement. This too has provided a natural extension to parental guidance and support for disabled children.

At no time in the history of special education in the region has there been so much opportunity for national-level action to improve the education of the disabled. The current advantage, as regards opportunities today, is that those actions which are required may be viewed merely as extensions of existing or planned actions which benefit 'ordinary' learners – and not as special actions on behalf of the disabled.

New developmental frameworks. Associated with the concern for the universalization of education is a significant change in ethical, political, philosophical, and developmental thinking, as regards the disabled, as well as in attitudes towards social justice for the disabled. This change, now visible in several countries of the region, has begun to establish human rights, social justice and a fully integrated society as the basic principles for supporting action to provide services for the disabled.

This shift in thinking implies significant modifications to strategies concerning the planning and delivery of services to the disabled. The changing directions that are emerging may be summarized as follows:

- from protection of the disabled to their emancipation;
- from wardship of the disabled to their independence;
- from separation of the disabled to their integration;
- from exclusion of the disabled to their incorporation;
- from restriction of the disabled to their expansion; and
- from remedial schools for the disabled to special teaching responsive to their individual needs.

Even within the general public's attitude towards the disabled, in a few countries at least, fundamental shifts in emphasis are occurring, from sentiment appellation to rational and accurate information, from reproach to enlightenment, and from intuition to reflection.

Service to the disabled is beginning to be viewed in the same perspective as services to all citizens of a country – in terms of their intrinsic worth as human beings and their fundamental rights. Thus, it is argued, the

principle behind programmes for the disabled must be a consideration for their human and civil rights, in the same way that programmes for ethnic minorities arise from such considerations. The same fundamental principles that encourage respect for the different life styles of ethnic minorities also must apply to citizens who are categorized as disabled. This is the real meaning of national integration. Without it, there can be no sense of nationhood shared by all citizens in a country.

Such 'new thinking' implies that, as is the case with members of ethnic minorities, a disabled person is not a different kind of person but an ordinary citizen with special needs. The disabled must have the same right to education, work and full participation in society as all other members of society. A programme for the disabled resulting from such changes in thought fits coherently into new national programmes for social justice for all citizens. These new programmes have received preferential treatment in the national socio-economic plans of many countries, especially in the last decade. At the same time, to be consistent with general principle, programmes for social justice should incorporate programmes for the disabled.

Such a major change of perspective is difficult to internalize and implement in its totality. This may explain why, although several countries have accepted this design principle at a conceptual or planning level, very few countries have attempted even small-scale practice of the principle's implications.

Some of the difficulties of internalization and implementation derive from the historical practice of making 'medical' diagnoses which categorize the disabled as people with intrinsic flaws. It is this practice which formed the design foundation of earlier special schools for the disabled. In a real, though cruel and unfortunate sense, this view parallels the manner in which ethnic minorities were once stigmatized in some societies. It is clear that a great deal of re-education and resensitization is still required before total acceptance of the civil rights of the disabled – in the encompassing context of human rights for all citizens – is a reality in countries of the Asia-Pacific region. While planners in some countries may have undertaken limited action regarding the implications of this principle, an adequate level of support to the general public, the parents and the immediate community of the disabled child – to comprehend and internalize the new concept of civil rights for the disabled and provide sustained commitment to it – is still severely lacking in most countries of the region.

Progress of Planning

Although the enormous size of the task should be kept in perspective, progress in planning for the disabled has been slow in all countries of the region. Long-established practices, such as those adopted by special schools and centres, are not readily changed. Linear extension of special schools may still be the view of extended services taken by some national decision makers, even when available funds are obviously sufficient to cover only a minute portion of the services needed.

A variety of organizations and agencies may have initiated action on behalf of the disabled. While undoubtedly some of these actions have had a beneficial effect, they have generally been conceived on a micro scale with little or no thought given to additional factors that must be taken into account when macro dimensions of mass implementation are the focus of attention. Planning which has taken place has often been sporadic and not envisaged as an integral component of an education system intended to serve an entire nation.

However, with the advent of major development efforts in UPE, it now would be most timely to conduct systematic planning for mass delivery of education services to the disabled, in conjunction with and as an inseparable component of the programme for universalization. Similarly, at other educational levels, planning for special education has to be integrated within the total educational planning effort. The needs of the disabled also underline the importance of support services from other planning efforts – such as for health, nutrition, income generation and employment. Thus, planning must be holistic and comprehensive, with the needs of the disabled – specifically, their needs as learners and citizens – forming the central focus of the planning.

The demands in macro planning for special education are not necessarily identical to those for ordinary education services. For example, macro planning for ordinary education can assume a regular group of children entering school from each geographical or administrative area. The location and numbers of disabled children who may seek educational services cannot be predicted in the same way, except that in certain poverty-stricken areas greater numbers of the disabled may be assumed to be present. Planning may also involve prioritizing the kinds of disabilities to be served first and determining the level or extent to which the service is to be provided. If mildly disabled children are already enrolled in school, they could form a priority group for action.

Decentralized strategic planning is of considerable value in coping with situations in which the distribution of disabled people in a given

country is not reliably known. For planning ordinary education services, education authorities in some countries have already developed a number of decentralized planning approaches which are able to incorporate decentralized planning for special education. In this respect, area planning of delivery services to the disabled is one feasible modality.

Planning a package of services in a specified sector, commonly termed 'composite' area planning, has been initiated in a few countries in the region. 'Composite' conveys the concept of integrated services. The size of the area is determined by economic viability and geographical feasibility. Economic viability is considered in terms of cost effectiveness of the services, while geographical feasibility is considered in the context of distribution of the disabled children, location of educational institutions and ease of mobility. If the size of an area coincides with the size of a development unit for educational or socio-economic planning, it is also convenient for the development of educational services for the disabled. For example, a school complex comprised of a cluster of institutions or an education 'block' or 'district' could be a unit for planning these services.

Another aspect of composite area planning is the comprehensive nature of the package of services, which might include disability prevention, identification and assessment of the disabled, preparation for education, educational provision and rehabilitation. These services are planned within the framework of an area's existing structure, with a provision for augmentation wherever needed. The 'composite' makes the service locality-specific. It requires a co-operative endeavour incorporating the efforts of local officials from different government departments, local branches of non-governmental agencies and the local community. The mobilization of local resources, combined with assistance from other agencies, strengthens composite area planning.

The operational aspects of this overall planning, which is being practised in some countries in the region, are of particular importance. They are: estimation of the target population, legal framework, planning priorities, management aspects, parental and community education, preventive measures, research efforts, curriculum management, and personnel training.

Integrating in Ordinary Schools

With the overall shift in emphasis towards the human rights of the disabled and the universalization of primary education, it is not surprising that 'integration' – education of disabled children in ordinary rather than special schools – has, as a modality, recently gathered considerable

momentum in countries of the region, even though the scale of action remains small.

Integration of disabled children stems from the ideal of equal rights for all citizens, with the contention that while disabled children are ordinary citizens with special needs, the delivery of services to meet those needs must take place under the most effective and least restrictive of circumstances. Within new policy, planning, and developmental frameworks, segregation of disabled children in an education system can no longer be considered valid.

Such a contention does not preclude a role for special schools or centres, or special units within ordinary schools. Instead of being the norm, these facilities can fulfil the specific purpose of serving children with severe or complex special education needs. This would accommodate a hierarchy of services:

- hospitals and other treatment centres;
- schools in hospitals and treatment centres;
- residential special schools with services;
- special day schools with services;
- full-time/part-time special classes with services;
- regular classroom plus clinic room services;
- regular classroom with supplementary teaching and treatment services;
- regular classroom with consultation and referral services; and
- regular classroom with problems usually handled in the classroom by the teacher alone.

Many of these are already available in the countries, although the outreach is miniscule in comparison to the need. Previously established centres, such as special schools, are not omitted from new planning. On the contrary, their critical and specific contribution forms an integral part of a broader range of services.

The contention indicated earlier implies that 'moving up' within this hierarchy would occur only if absolutely necessary and always under the criteria of 'most effective and least restrictive.' Similarly, to maintain these two criteria, learners will return to lower levels in the hierarchy as soon as feasible.

It also follows that the first option to be considered in selecting the least restrictive and the most effective type of education placement for learners should be the regular classroom. Other more restrictive types of programmes may be considered only when regular classroom placement cannot provide the intensity of treatment most appropriate for the learner. In practice, a balance is necessary between the two goals of effectiveness and lack of restriction. A further consideration requires that special educational placement of learners must be viewed as temporary and reviewed regularly. Nevertheless, the intervention should continue at each placement to provide sufficient time to strengthen the academic and social progress of the learner before moving into a less intensive and less restrictive type of intervention.

The few countries in the region which have attempted to practise this design on more than an experimental scale have found that administrative and management problems inhibit the 'ideal' implementation of the principle. Nevertheless, its impact on policy decisions has already been felt in several countries, in the acceptance of integration in ordinary schools as an important modality.

Countries also have found that there is a second far-reaching implication for implementation, in that the approach to diagnosis and categorization also has to change.

Assessment procedures have now to move away from those which categorize children into one or more 'standard' groups – such as the various sensory disabilities – towards those which describe an individual's special needs and what is needed to meet them. What is needed would now include an analysis of the child's level of functioning, an analysis of the situation in which the child will normally function, and procedures to alter the situation. Further, even within such traditional categorization as visually impaired or mentally handicapped, the implications are that these do not form a homogeneous group but instead consist of individuals with specific learning needs. Hence, the earlier assumption of one appropriate curriculum or methodology for a given category also becomes invalid. Such conclusions apply whether the focus is on integration or on special schools.

Among the substantive lessons learned from attempts within the region to integrate the disabled into ordinary schools are the following.

- The integration process cannot be uniform. Both in conception and practical implementation, a considerable range of adaptation is required with regard to socio-cultural and economic contexts and administrative and management practices in the education systems, especially at the micro level.

- A given type of integration must be analysed according to systematic principles and methods so that the various elements can be clearly defined and the operating parties clearly identified and their roles defined. These elements include the child, family, community, teacher, class-group, school, and external resource persons.
- The child who is to be integrated into the education system must already be prepared – i.e. willing and able to communicate, even if that communication is in some special way – to move into an ordinary school and possess prerequisite competency which makes integration possible.

Aside from these 'management' aspects, current experience in the region indicates that a number of substantive conceptual parameters must be considered in far greater detail and depth than has been practised in previous attempts to introduce integration. These substantive and pedagogical parameters have profound implications for management and administration of the school system as a whole – not only for the sub-programmes of special education. The following are examples of the substantive issues.

- Integration that allows for individual differences cannot merely be geared to the disabled child but must also take into consideration educational and other needs of all children.
- The concept of specific educational needs covers a wide range of learning difficulties which confront all learners, whether disabled or not, at some stage of schooling. The concept, inseparable from integration, introduces a new dimension to the learning/teaching situation. It implies that every child will be uncompromisingly at the centre of any education model; as a result, the 'traditional' notion of disablement is made considerably more relative.
- Consideration of educational needs – even if some are 'special' – implies at least a readjustment and more likely a substantial modification of learning and teaching as regards both the learners' individual characteristics (previous experience, entry behaviour and competence, motivation, maturity, personality traits, learning styles, etc.) and awareness of and ability to formulate expectations, shortcomings (even individual disabilities), and strengths. It also implies the need for, if not a formal diagnosis, at least a continuous, informed observation and assessment by the teacher to meet the needs of pupils and allow for differences in individual competency, pace and style of learning.

The conceptualization of the range of learners' educational needs has a direct bearing on that of integrated education – and for that matter on that of the provision of education in special schools – as well as on the detailed analysis of the operational tasks involved in learning and the shaping of overall and specific educational strategies. It also calls for consideration of the needs of teachers, who must be prepared to adopt different learning and teaching methods for different types of individual and learning needs, even if learners fall into traditional disability categories.

The teacher education/training element, therefore, cannot be considered as a separate entity independent of the total operation of integration – or, as sometimes happens, as an afterthought. Aside from the usual knowledge and competence provided through special education teacher training, other competencies – the abilities to promote or develop individualized education goals for all children (disabled or not), close co-operation in multi-disciplinary teams, and two-way communication with parents and other members of the learners' immediate community – also must be developed.

Integration has direct implications for national-level values and policies, as it implies the subsequent integration of the disabled into both the work force and society. Such implications also apply to placement in special schools.

The lack of technical support resources has been a severe constraint in almost all of the countries in the region that have adopted the strategy of integration. New assessment instruments are required, particularly those which focus on needs. Multiple curricula which cater to the different needs are necessary. These require considerable time to develop; they also require concerted and sustained effort by specialists for their development – as do the designs needed to train special education teachers. Such resources are not yet available in most countries in either the desired number or quality.

While the preceding paragraphs describe the idealized general philosophy and implications involved in providing for the 'rights of the disabled child,' they also evidence how far away most countries in the region are from the ideal of the most effective and least restrictive environment for the education of disabled children. They also provide a sampling of the many lessons learned from the 'integration experiment.' All of this has immediate implications for the provision of education to the disabled via special schools.

Nevertheless, preliminary work in some of the countries helps to identify a number of practical lessons. For example, the tactical and pragmatic steps to be taken within the noted framework of desegregation form a continuous spectrum of stages, from current practices of segregation and discrimination to complete integration and the removal of stigmatization. Among the general design principles involved are a gradual movement from the important starting point of physical proximity among non-disabled peers (integration for short periods) to functional and pedagogical integration with them, to social integration within the micro society of the disabled learner, and finally to integration in the larger society. Such a spectrum may also be used to improve special schools.

Thus, it is possible for countries to make even a small beginning, provided the proper perspective is maintained and gradual deflections are made along the spectrum towards the ideal. Aside from the overwhelming importance of a commitment both by governments and people in general to the cause of the rights of the disabled in the context of human rights, a very important determinant of movement towards integration is the availability of appropriate services to meet the special learning needs of the disabled child. This, in a practical way, points to an important criterion which may be used to establish the pace at which services to the disabled may be planned and implemented: the enhancement of the availability of adequate services, such as training the required number of teachers at a level of competence demanded by the changed philosophy. A second aspect relates to the adequacy of learning-teaching equipment and materials required in integration situations.

Specialist consultants to the regular classroom teacher are beginning to appear in school systems in several countries. In addition to providing an identifiable source of special assistance for the classroom teacher, supplemental assistance better enables the regular teacher to serve more learners, making this mode at present highly cost efficient. As in the 'classroom teacher only' integration, there is little segregation from non-disabled peers – thereby providing for physical proximity, academic growth and social competence.

Unfortunately, while this mode has been found to be very promising, it has yet to reach a state of practical effectiveness in most countries. Quite often, the consultant, who is usually itinerant, is unavailable at times of crisis when the classroom teacher needs assistance the most. A single itinerant consultant is rarely able to provide for all of the specific needs of the various learners. While the 'classroom teacher only' mode provides no special identification of the disabled child, the presence of the consultant underlines the presence of learners with problems.

Placement in regular classrooms with specialized support services is being considered in some countries of the region. Direct services are provided to learners on a regular basis, while the primary responsibility for instruction still remains with the classroom teacher. This is an extension of the itinerant consultant model. Often the services are provided by more than one itinerant consultant. These services are frequently 'hidden' inside guidance clinics attached to schools. When the human resource service is itinerant, as is the case in most countries using this mode, the same problems indicated earlier appear.

The rather narrow expertise spread of resource persons is again a problem. Short-term tutorial or intervention services often are directed towards the development of a few skills and not towards the comprehensive in-depth service that is actually needed by learners. Conflicts also occur between the resource person (or consultant) and the classroom teacher. The problem which has perhaps caused the most serious concern, as regards integration, is the variable attitude to it at the implementation end of the programme. As a result, even when integration is adopted as policy, a variety of 'models' (or 'aberrations') of implementation begin to appear in field situations.

In any given school where integration is being undertaken, hybrids of various 'interpretations' of integration may be the reality, depending upon the particular teacher undertaking the tasks. In one interpretation, each learner is provided merely an opportunity for an education, rather than for an environment in which an adequate and relevant education is guaranteed. If, for whatever reason, the learner is unable to make use of the opportunity, it is not necessarily the school's obligation to amend the situation.

Another interpretation defines the task of education as remedying the conditions that cause 'pain.' Its function is remedial – to eliminate evils, not to realize an antecedent plan for good. Special education evolving 'reactively' bit by bit – piecemeal – becomes a response to the frustration, the difficulties and the pain which teachers experience with disabled children in a regular classrooms.

A more humanistic interpretation begins with the premise that, as a humanistic institution, the school should be vitally concerned with both the development and realization of the learners' best potentialities and the encouragement of co-operative group processes. It is evident that, in terms of the amount of effort provided to educate disabled learners, the cited set of interpretations also reflects a hierarchy extending from the least to the greatest amount of effort required to provide an adequate education service to the disabled learner.

Further Substantive Constraints

Experiences within the region, as regards integrated and other modes of education, point to many substantive constraints which still require considerable research and design efforts. The following paragraphs highlight some of the most urgent.

Several countries are still undecided which technical 'tools' are most suitable for large-scale introduction. If Braille is to be used, is it to be the international form or one based on a national language, or on the mother tongue of the learners, or contributions of one or more of these? Should it be 'total communication' for the hearing impaired, or sign language and finger spelling, or sign language alone? If sign language is introduced, what kind? Indecision in this regard has had serious adverse effects on the programmes.

Firm policy decisions have to be made about these aspects very early, so as to prevent chaos in the system and inordinate delays in the various support actions essential for mass implementation – such as production of materials, development of alternative curricula, and training of teachers.

Particularly when integrated education of the disabled is the action modality, there is an immediate responsibility placed on designers to ensure, through adequate learning sequences, that the very same intended learning outcomes and objectives specified for learning in ordinary schools are also made attainable, to the maximum extent possible, by disabled learners. Curtailment must only be a last resort. Frequently, this involves the development of alternative trans-sensory learning episodes focused on the same intended learning outcome.

The changing, for example, of science and mathematics learning activities which are heavily 'visual' based into other alternatives to provide for children with visual disabilities requires a great deal of homework prior to the introduction of such children within the regular classroom. Common practice now leaves merely crude factual recall as the only level of learning. Similarly, language lessons, such as for sound blending, that are for regular class teaching require special modification to accommodate children with hearing disabilities.

Curriculum management should also define the prerequisite or entry competency which learners must have before undertaking a given sequence of learning. At the beginning levels of learning, competence may involve, for example, orientation and mobility – and Braille for the visually disabled, basic communication skills for the hearing impaired, and experiences with fundamental cognitive operations for the mentally disabled.

Developing learning sequences to establish such foundational competence must be the responsibility of those designing alternative curricula for the integration of the disabled into ordinary schools.

Diagnostic and evaluation techniques needed for effective integration of the disabled in ordinary schools also require urgent development.

It is likely that specific guidelines for the learning/teaching system would be required from those designing curricula; these should indicate appropriate structure, sequence and linking, and reinforcement and application of learning that may be utilized in the various learning/teaching situations for disabled learners in ordinary schools.

Modified curricula and learning/teaching sequences should be designed to provide for more than merely cognitive and limited psychomotor aspects. The domain of the affective, including aesthetics, culture, values and emotions – now stressed as being essential for all learners in the education systems in the countries of the region – also must be embodied within learning situations for the disabled. An important consideration in the design of modified curricula and learning/teaching sequences is the inclusion of opportunities for enhancing the self-concept, independence, and human dignity of all disabled learners.

Since the provision of special education is regarded as integrally associated with the total education system, the development of modified curricula and learning/teaching sequences for the disabled must reflect the new trends and reforms that are emerging in ordinary schools in the education system at all levels in all countries. The education of the disabled must not lag behind the efforts for quality improvement in education currently being introduced in the countries. Such conditions must apply to learners in integrated as well as special school situations.

Special institutions. In terms of intensity of service, the various forms of segregated (special) institutions do have the potential for considerable support to the disabled. Aside from high costs which may inhibit mass replication, the preparation of the disabled child for entry into the larger society is a complicated process in such institutions, especially in terms of social aspects. In the special schools in most countries of the region, the disabled learner is isolated for a considerable time from peers and others who do not have problems. Unless very careful programming is undertaken, the disabled, consciously or unconsciously, are 'trained' to act as disabled – rather than as ordinary citizens with special needs. Generally, by the very nature of the intervention being intensive and sustained, their problems rather than their strengths are emphasized. The

disabled child becomes strongly dependent on the rigidity of institutional life, which makes it hard to leave the institution. Reforms to be undertaken in special institutions have clear specifications for action emanating from experiences of integrating the disabled into ordinary schools.

Personnel training. In the case of special schools, countries in the region do have considerable experience in personnel training, although quality and quantity requirements may still be inadequate.

Experience in the region has highlighted the fact that personnel training in the service delivery design for integrated education for the disabled has additional parameters. Such training is required both for regular teachers and support-teachers. Orientation of institutional heads (who serve as the members of the special education delivery system) and educational management staff at different levels of the organization also is vital to effective implementation.

As has been learned from experience in training very large numbers of teachers for the universalization programmes in countries of the region, rapid mass training of teachers can indeed be accomplished at levels of accepted quality if the training event, even though of short duration, limits its scope and establishes its training input for a highly selected number of competencies only – and if it has as its goal a high level of performance by teachers in their classrooms. However, several such courses of short duration may be needed for a teacher to acquire the necessary competence.

This contrasts sharply with attempts in some countries to cover broad areas in a short time, ending up with superficiality and token 'training' which does not equip the teacher to adequately practise any area of competence in the classroom. The best experiences in the region indicate that training may be conceptualized in terms of a designed, sequenced chain of training events for prioritized sets of competencies. The first set of essential competencies may be provided in the first cycle as the entry point for special education services and, with the help of the support-teacher, then enhanced by on-site input for staff development. Progressive training input, in terms of selected sets of competencies, may be provided to enrich the repertoire of the teacher in successive short training events.

The process of limiting the scope of training events requires that it be done carefully and systematically. The first step in this design operation is the identification of the practical competencies required by the teacher to provide education to the disabled in ordinary classrooms. The selection of particular competencies for a given training event also depends upon the first competencies that are to be developed in the disabled learner. One country in the region, for example, has taken orientation and mobility,

basic life skills, and Braille as the only sets of competencies to be provided during the initiation of integrated education for the visually disabled in normal schools. Thus the ability to perform in respect to these would form the basis for the first teacher-training event.

Self-instructional training materials are beginning to be used in the region in combination with the various forms of distance learning that are available. The materials are frequently sent in advance of face-to-face interaction learning programmes which last a few weeks. The media (educational radio and television) in some countries is also utilized towards this end. The use of simulated exercises, workshop approaches to learning, role play, and investigatory assignments as trainee learning experiences – which help trainees internalize the concepts and practices involved – have proved very effective. Incorporation in the programme of some 'production' components (such as learning materials or equipment), so that training and production are integrated within the learning process for teachers undergoing training, has also proved effective.

The support-teacher requires longer training, as the competencies required must relate to both education of the disabled and organizing staff development activities for teachers in schools within the support-teacher's jurisdiction.

Educational quality improvement programmes for universalization currently being introduced in all countries have already established extensive infrastructures for decentralized training of teachers. Some countries have institutionalized this type of training by developing networks of decentralized resource or learning centres which extend even to remote rural areas. These infrastructures also have the potential to be mobilized for work in special education. This would be a further example of integrating special education within the total education system of a country.

Aids and equipment. The success or failure of a programme for integrating education of the disabled within ordinary schools – as well as for the integration of learning in special institutions – critically depends upon the availability of learning and teaching activities for the disabled, which includes the availability of aids and equipment for learning purposes. Generally, these aids and materials must be specially designed – keeping in mind the considerations for the disabled learner to achieve the same intended learning outcome as the ordinary learner. The ratio of disabled learners to ordinary learners in the classroom is of vital importance in this respect. Several countries in the region, using low-cost, locally available materials, have reported significant progress in this direction. Infrastructures and delivery mechanisms for making these aids and materials available in the classroom are essential. A considerable degree

of local-specific decision making in regard to the quantities and types of requirements is inevitable. Decentralized resource centres, however, such as those established for the universalization programme in rural areas in a few countries, are yet to play an active role in design, development and provision for these aids and materials. The emphasis on training-cum-production has already become a source of supply of these items, as teachers take them back to their respective schools upon completion of training. A regular maintenance and repair operation for aids and materials planned for and built into the delivery system is visible only in a few of the countries in the region.

Hardly any developing country in the region has established Braille printing units with the capacity to meet the demand for the mass delivery of education to the visually disabled (small-scale operations are available, however), neither has any other aspect of supplying learning materials been clarified in the context of mass implementation – such as which books and materials to Braille, the costs involved, transport and storage problems, etc. These are urgent issues which must be taken up at the national planning level so that adequate facilities and delivery mechanisms will be available to support the mass implementation programme – this also applies to such essential items as Braille slates, canes and crutches, which are vital for the disabled who do attend educational institutions.

Similarly, physical facilities, even in schools which are within the integration programme, rarely have been modified to accommodate disabled children. Ramps, removal of sharp discontinuities on floors, adequate toilet facilities, and other basic considerations require much more attention than has so far been given. If mass education services for the disabled within integrated situations are to be provided, a rapid conversion of 'ordinary school' facilities to accommodate the disabled is essential.*

Disabled People's Organizations: Prospects

A consistently recurring theme in the region concerns the paucity of funds for the services required for the disabled. Part of the dilemma involves the lack of information available both to decision makers and the general public on the tragic magnitude of the disability problem at the national, regional and international levels. Data such as that given in Table 11.1 and Figure 11.1, which concern priorities in the spending of available

* The illustrated pages which accompany this article depict some of the more common barrier-free considerations. Illustrations of modifications to existing schools and considerations for new school buildings are taken from 'Design Guide for Barrier-free Schools,' *Educational Building Digest*, No. 14. Unesco. 1988.

Table 11.1

Expenditure Comparisons

	Developing Countries		Industrialized Countries	
Population (million)*	3,363	(76%)	1,174	(24%)
GNP/Capita (US$)	685		8,150	
Population Growth Rate (%)	2.6		0.8	
Infant Mortality Rate (No. of deaths under one year per 1,000 live births)	85		15	
Life Expectancy (years)	60		73	
Public Military Expenditure* (US$ billion)	153	(23%)	521	(77%)
Public Education Expenditure* (US$ billion)	113	(18%)	530	(82%)
Public Health Expenditure* (US$ billion)	50	(9%)	477	(91%)

*Percentages given in brackets indicate the ratio between developing countries and industrialized ones for the respective areas of comparison.

Source: UNICEF. *The State of the World's Children: A Statistical Picture.* New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, p.123

money, seldom are made sufficiently available to the public – neither is the type of information contained in Table 11.2 readily available to the general public.

Issues such as why – despite poverty, poor health conditions, and poor educational facilities and services – military spending (US$153 billion) in the developing countries in 1986 was higher than either that of education (US$113 billion) or health (US$50 billion), and why these countries seem to be spending three times more for military purposes than for the health of their populations, are yet to be raised and discussed by the countries in the region.

It would appear imperative that especially disabled people's organizations make a concerted effort to have such data and issues widely known both among the decision makers and the general public.

A further issue relates to the prevention of disabilities, which is closely associated with the 'vicious circle' interrelationship between child disability and poverty. The report to the 1980 UNICEF executive board by

Table 11.2

Estimates of Blindness Prevalence (absolute numbers) in Different Regions (1984)

Regions	Population ($\times 10^6$)	Number of Blind ($\times 10^3$) 3/60 Min.	3/60 Max.	6/60 Min.	6/60 Max.
Africa	539	5,250	6,810	7,950	10,175
America					
North	260	390	650	575	975
Latin	397	1,760	2,315	2,670	3,500
Asia					
China	1,052	4,200	5,260	6,300	7,900
Japan	119	180	300	270	450
East Asia (others)	67	245	300	360	460
Southern	1,429	13,250	15,650	19,900	23,250
Western	110	900	1,125	1,350	1,700
Europe	490	865	1,350	1,300	2040
Oceania					
Australia/New Zealand	19	28	50	40	75
Others	6	23	30	35	45
USSR	276	550	825	825	1,250
Total	4,764	27,000	35,000	41,000	52,000

Source: WHO document WHO/PBL/87.14, 'Available Data on Blindness (Update 1987).'

Rehabilitation International points to this issue succinctly: 'The principal causes of disability – inadequate nutrition, faulty childbearing practices, diseases, infections and accidents – are products of poverty, of ignorance and of insufficient human services. Thus, the risk of impairment is much greater for the children of the poverty-stricken. But the reverse is also true. The birth of an impaired child, or the occurrence of disability in the family, often places additional demands on the limited resources of the family and strains its morale, thrusting it deeper into the morass of poverty.'

The emphasis on disability preventive measures, which in many cases are undoubtedly cheaper than curative ones, requires that an effec-

Cost of operating *one* aircraft carrier for *one day*:

US$590,000

The equivalent sum will pay for:

10,000 primary Braille kits

OR

the total cost of training a minimum of *800* rural blind people in Malaysia

OR

the total cost of equipment required to establish *100* simple optical workshops in Africa and provide each workshop with materials for *3,000* pairs of glasses

Source: *Action for Children*, Vol. 2, 1987, No. 2, p.11, quoting *World Military and Social Expenditures* by Ruth L. Sivard

Figure 11.1

tive service be fostered within the community and organizations of the disabled. The area of legislation also provides opportunities for essential intervention by the general public and organizations of the disabled.

There is already legislative activity in some countries of the region regarding the education of children and young people with special needs. Most of the legislation has been based on the extent to which these children and young people were different from their peers and needed legislative support for appropriate – or any – provision to be made. Categories of handicap are generally enshrined in legislation, and too few countries seem to be deliberately seeking to encompass those with special needs within the framework of general legislation for all children and young people. While there are clear benefits associated with the legislative activity, there are potential problems as well.

On the positive side, legislation can establish rights – to equality of opportunity, to the assessment required to identify individual needs, and to an appropriate education. It can help in securing the resources needed to translate abstract rights into practical entitlements. It can also legitimize the provision made for those with special needs by 'putting it on the map' and locating the provision within a more general framework, such as the universalization programme. Examples of such benefits are clearly seen in the countries of the region.

On the debit side, there are at least two potential traps that have appeared in the region: allowing the task of enacting appropriate legislation to divert attention from strengthening the provision for services, and assuming that legislative achievement automatically enhances the provision of services. Implementing legislation is more taxing and prone to failure than enacting it in the first place. There is a further, potentially very damaging effect of legislation. This arises when legislation is based on outmoded concepts and inappropriate models of provision. The 'defect' model of achievement implied by categories, especially when coupled with limited – and limiting – models of integration, can have, and has had in some countries in the region, a major detrimental effect on the educational opportunities available to children. When legislative advances are built on such defective concepts and models, the net effect is to increase powerfully their legitimacy and lock children into inappropriate forms of provision.

The associations of disabled persons have a particular responsibility to monitor legislation and ensure that the conceptual base which forms the heart of the legislation retains the holistic attributes of basic human rights for all citizens.

Integration is a central issue in special education provisions around the world, as it is becoming one in the region. This is evident from the emphasis given it in policy statements, research and aspirations for the future. The emphasis on integration is to be welcomed within any perspective that values equality of opportunity for all and seeks to desegregate those who are isolated from the mainstream. Experiences in the region demonstrate that there are some caveats however (aside from the substantive aspects indicated earlier). Because integration is so *self-evidently good*, it is apt to be subjected to slogans and rhetoric or simplistic opposition (i.e. integration = good; special schools = bad). Such uncritical advocacy of integration fails to do justice to the concept itself and is a false basis for provision planning. Integration means different things in different systems. This need not be a problem as long as it is realized that integration is a vehicle for a process of reforming the *entire* school system and building up appropriate provision for *all* pupils, including the disabled. It is inevitable that different countries will be at different stages in this process and will seek to move through it at different rates. Confusion arises when the sense of a dynamic process is lost and integration is taken to be a fixed state.

Few countries in the region give evidence of seeing integration as a matter of reforming the regular school. Integration is usually seen as a problem for individual pupils: they were different and therefore segregated, and integration meant reducing their differences so that they

could attend a regular school. Progress can be achieved in this way, but it is ultimately limited, since the regular school framework is left unchallenged. These children are currently excluded from the regular school system because it cannot cope with them – i.e. it is failing to meet their needs. For real progress to be made, this failure must be acknowledged and addressed. This is why integration has to be viewed in terms of school reform, the goal of which must be to create a common school that offers differentiated provision for all according to need and within a coherent curriculum framework. It is not just a matter of tinkering with 'bits' of the special school system. That may be the starting point in some instances, but it can be no more than that. Close attention needs to be paid to the experiences of those few countries in the world which hold integration to be a central principle in the organization of special educational provision and in which integration is being achieved through a radical reform of the regular school system.

The function of organizations of disabled persons in maintaining this fundamental total reform prerogative in the school system and in individual schools is a vital contribution to the superior education of all children, disabled or not.

At a still more micro level, increasing recognition of the effectiveness of community-based and home-based rehabilitation and care of the disabled requires continuous reinforcement and support – in the movement towards uniting parents, other community members and community-based specialized staff (such health workers) as partners in the education of the disabled. Professionals and specialists, even in community-based rehabilitation, can only impinge on the lives of those with special needs for a relatively short time and in certain limited and technical aspects. Organizations of disabled persons can make fruitful contributions at both micro and macro levels in supporting and reinforcing actions that involve home- and community-based services for the disabled.

The persistence in the region of the 'language of handicap' in activities, documents, plans, and legislation continues to be a matter of deep concern, because the focus of the language is on *disabilities*, not *abilities*. Such negative and pejorative language implies a mistaken model of the causes of children's difficulties in learning – seeing them as being purely rooted in the individual and disregarding environmental factors which in reality are major contributors to learning difficulty. It confuses pedagogic planning to the extent that traditional categories of handicap have limited relevance to the planning and delivery of educational input.

The reason why the old language refuses to die in the region is because it is cast in a particular way of regarding learners whose learning

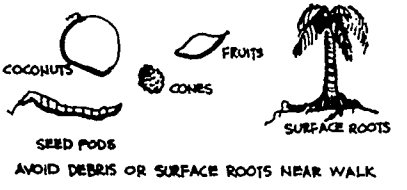
does not follow 'normal' patterns. Rejecting the 'language of handicap' is much more than a matter of linguistic ritual or pedantry. What is at stake is an adequate regard for the individual, without which special educational provision will continue to be misconceived and integration will consist of little more than token gestures, and those who are different, including the disabled, will remain marginalized.

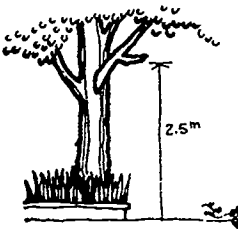
The challenge is to forego the spurious 'precision' of the 'language of handicap' in favour of a form of discourse which consciously eschews negativity, is relevant to educational needs, and leaves room for the individuality and common humanity of all learners.

Conclusion. There is no doubt that the richness of opportunity for special education today has never before appeared. But the richness itself has in-built traps and dangers – in that it may sponsor tokenism and thereby hinder the investment of substantive homework in support of the actions required for educating the disabled. There is also no doubt that there are remarkable opportunities in the region which so far have remained substantially untapped – and the involvement of organizations of disabled people is but one of them.

INFORMATION FOR MODIFYING EXISTING SCHOOL AND BUILDING NEW SCHOOLS

1. PLANTING

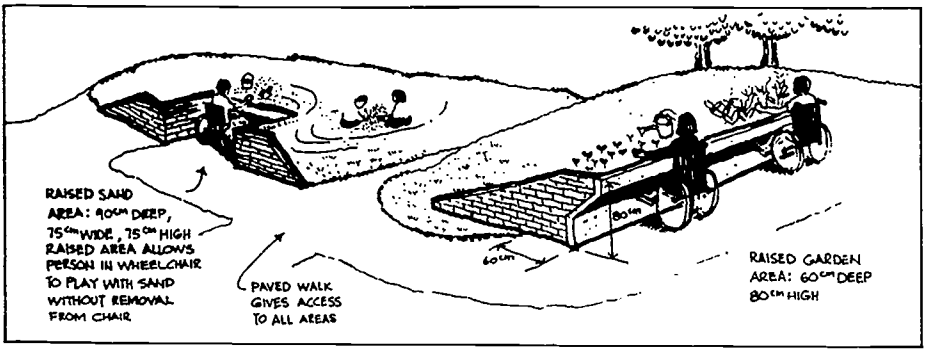




KEEP 2.5m VERTICAL CLEARANCE OVER WALKS OR SITTING AREA

KEEP CREEPER AND GROUND-COVER OFF THE WALKWAY

2. GARDEN



3. RECOMMENDED SURFACE OF WALK/FLOOR

- SHOULD BE SMOOTH, BUT NON-SLIPPERY AND OF FIXED AND FIRM MATERIALS
- SHOULD NOT LOOK SLIPPERY
- FOR THE WHEELCHAIR USER, UNEVEN SURFACES DISTURB THE TRAVEL OF WHEELCHAIR CASTORS
- FOR AMBULANT DISABLED PERSONS, UNEVEN SURFACES MAY CAUSE TRIPPING AND FALLING

TARMACADAM (STONE CHIPS WITH TAR)

STONE CHIPS (TEXTURED FINISH WITH COARSE AGGREGATE NOT FINER THAN 1cm)

ROUGH POROUS BRICK WITH FLUSH JOINT

SOIL CEMENT

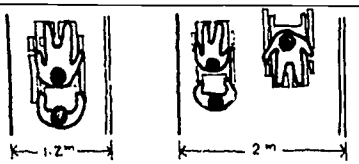
COARSE AGGREGATE BITUMEN

STABILIZED EARTH

CONCRETE LAID-IN-SITU, WITH HERRINGBONE PATTERN

WOOD PLANKING

4. FOOTWAY



5cm HIGH WHEEL STOP ON EXPOSED SIDE OF FOOTWAY WITH GRADIENTS MORE THAN 1 IN 20

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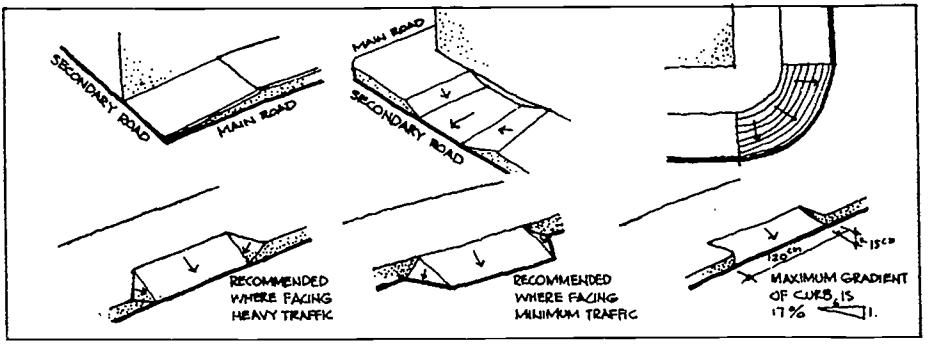
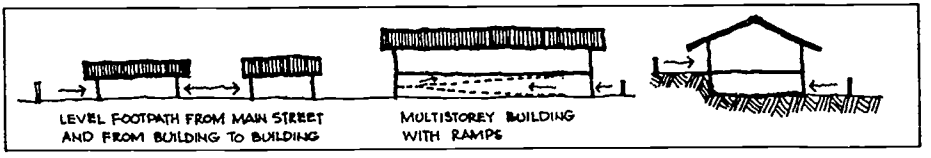
5. RAMPING OF SIDEWALKS

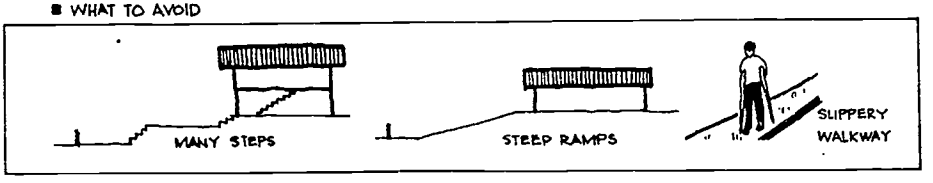


6. ACCESS

- EASY ACCESS FROM GATE TO BUILDING
- EASY ACCESS FROM BUILDING TO BUILDING

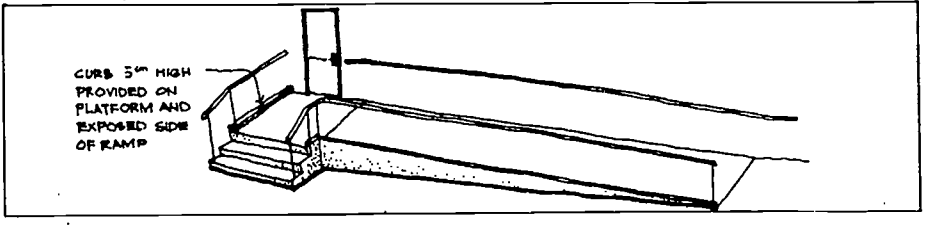


- WHAT TO AVOID

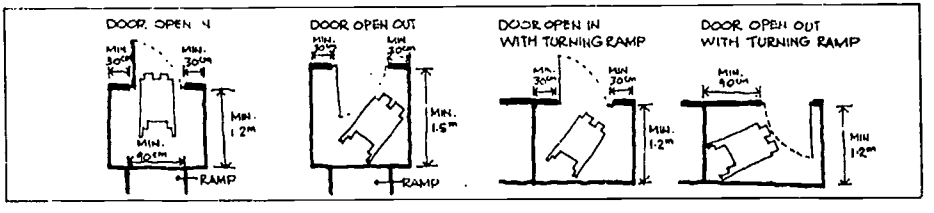


7. ENTRANCE AND DOORWAY

- LEVEL, IF NOT, SHOULD HAVE BOTH RAMP AND STEPS



- DOORWAY WITH PLATFORM



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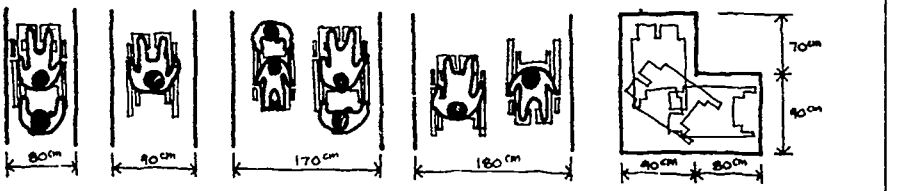
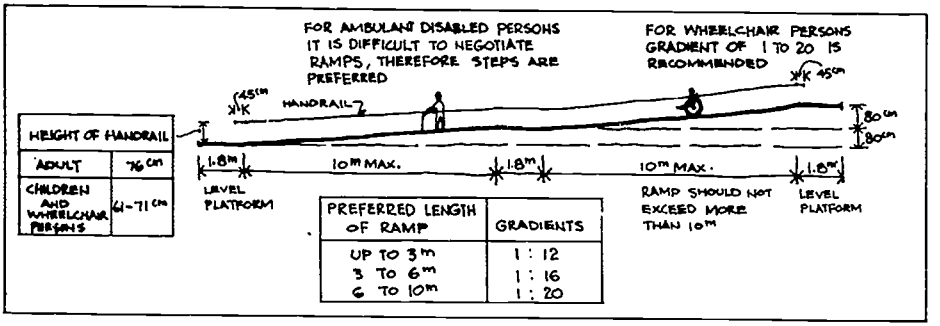
8. CORRIDOR



TURNING IN ENCLOSED SPACE

9. LONG RAMPS

- PREFERRED MAXIMUM GRADIENT OF 1 TO 15 IS RECOMMENDED, BUT EVEN THE STEEPEST RAMP (GRADIENT OF 1 IN 12) IS MORE MANAGEABLE BY WHEELCHAIR PERSONS THAN A FLIGHT OF STEPS

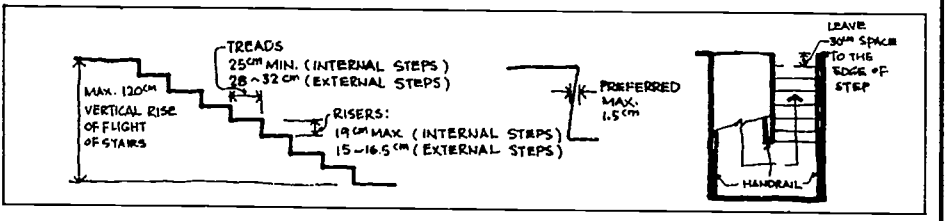


HEIGHT OF HANDRAIL	
ADULT	76 cm
CHILDREN AND WHEELCHAIR PERSONS	61-71 cm

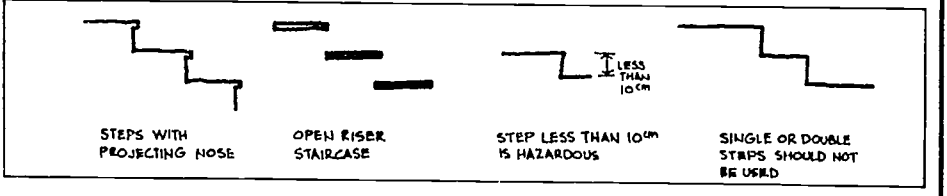
PREFERRED LENGTH OF RAMP	GRADIENTS
UP TO 3m	1 : 12
3 TO 6m	1 : 16
6 TO 10m	1 : 20

10. STAIRS

- FOR AMBULANT PERSONS IT IS EASIER TO NEGOTIATE STAIRS THAN RAMPS , BECAUSE WHEN ASCENDING, THERE IS MORE CONTROL OF BODY STABILITY
- FOR WHEELCHAIR PERSONS ONLY ONE STEP CAN BE MANAGED, BUT MORE THAN TWO STEPS ARE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE.



- WHAT NOT TO DO WHEN DESIGNING STAIRS



STEPS WITH PROJECTING NOSE

OPEN RISER STAIRCASE

STEP LESS THAN 10cm IS HAZARDOUS

SINGLE OR DOUBLE STEPS SHOULD NOT BE USED

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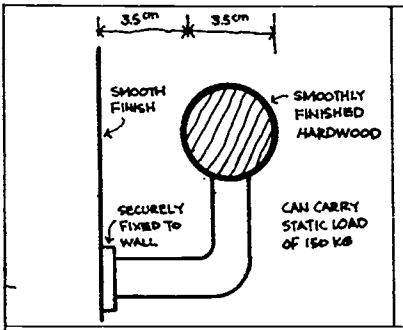
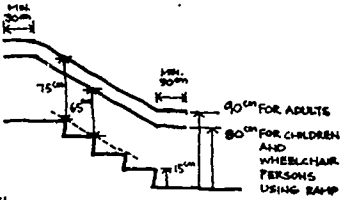
11. HAND RAILS

- AT LEAST ONE SIDE OF ANY STAIRCASE OR RAMP SHOULD HAVE A HANDRAIL
- PROVIDE HANDRAILS ON BOTH SIDES WHERE GRADING IS MORE THAN 1 : 12
- HANDLE AS A HAZARD INDICATOR ALONG SHORT RAMPS AND FLIGHTS OF ONE OR TWO STEPS
- A SECOND, LOWER HANDRAIL IS USEFUL TO CHILDREN AND WHEELCHAIR PERSONS



HANDRAILS ON BOTH SIDES TO ASSIST THOSE WHO CAN WALK WITHOUT A CRUTCH, BUT NEED A LITTLE SUPPORT

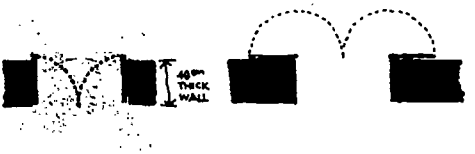


HANDRAIL CROSS-SECTIONS

ALLOW HANDS TO USE NATURAL GRIP

TOO WIDE FOR NATURAL GRIP

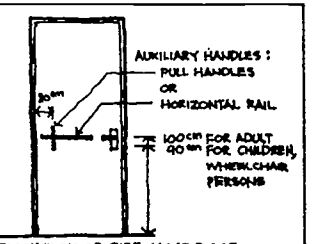
12. DOORS



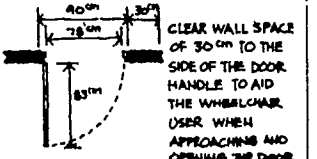
DOORWAY SHOULD HAVE A CLEAR OPENING OF 76cm
CLASSROOM DOOR SHOULD ALWAYS OPEN OUT, AND SHOULD STAY FLAT ON WALL

DOOR TO CORNER POSITION

DOOR TO SMALL ROOM SHOULD OPEN OUT. OTHERWISE, THERE IS A DANGER THAT IF AN INDIVIDUAL FALLS INSIDE, THE DOOR WILL BE BLOCKED

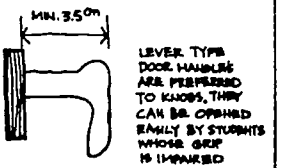


ELEVATION OF SIDE-HUNG DOOR



CLEAR WALL SPACE OF 30cm TO THE SIDE OF THE DOOR HANDLE TO AID THE WHEELCHAIR USER WHEN APPROACHING AND OPENING THE DOOR

PLAN OF SIDE-HUNG DOOR



LEVER TYPE DOOR HANDLES ARE PREFERRED TO KNOBS, THEY CAN BE OPENED EASILY BY STUDENTS WHOSE GRIP IS IMPAIRED

DOOR HANDLE

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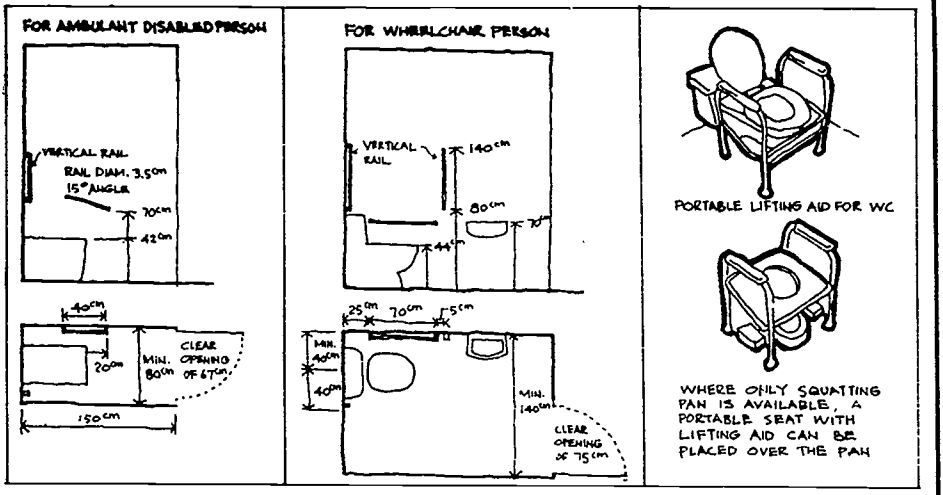
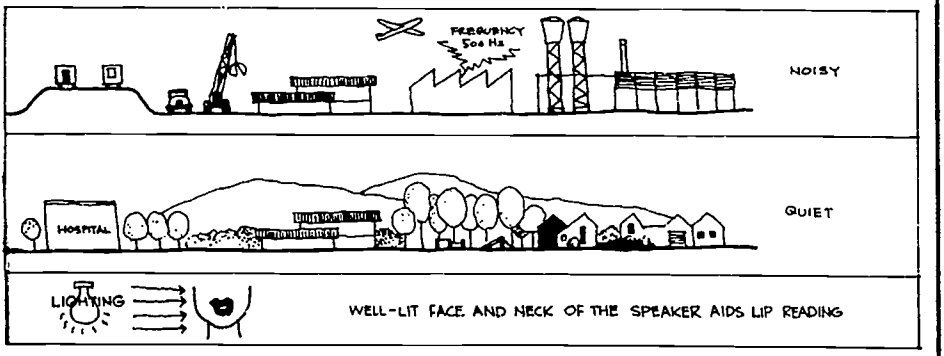
13. LATRINES



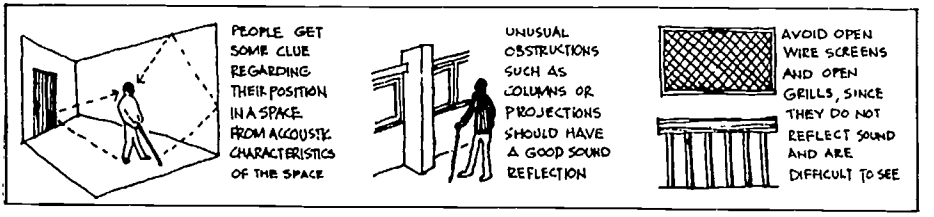
14. LIGHTING AND ACOUSTICS

FOR THE HEARING IMPAIRED

- MANY HEARING-IMPAIRED PEOPLE RELY ON FREQUENCIES BELOW 500 Hz FOR SPEECH COMMUNICATION, THEREFORE, SCHOOLS SHOULD BE LOCATED AWAY FROM MECHANICAL PLANTS
- PROVIDE AMPLIFICATION OR HEARING AIDS. THESE NEED TO BE CAREFULLY CONTROLLED SO THAT THE SIGNAL IS STRONGER THAN THE BACKGROUND NOISE



FOR THE VISUALLY HANDICAPPED



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*Chapter 12**

PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND EDUCATION

It is a fortunate and hopeful trend that the Asia-Pacific region is developing a strong appreciation of the importance of early childhood care and education (ECCE). The role of ECCE can hardly be underestimated in the effect it has on shaping of the character of children under the age of six – by fostering a child's full developmental potential at an early age, by facilitating a smooth transition from home to school, and by identifying early signs of the need for special interventions. One reflection of regional value attributed to ECCE is the number and range of programmes currently available for these children, although the settings in which the programmes are implemented vary widely, as do the quality, purpose and outreach potential of the programmes.

In all countries of the region, government-sponsored programmes for early childhood populations exist. These also entail considerable variance as regards both design and quality but, generally, the programmes are aimed at developing the child's 'mental readiness' for school, and frequently incorporate reading and writing. Recent aspects related to the physical, emotional and social development of the child have been added to the programmes in many countries. One such feature is the inclusion of some form of basic health care. In most Asia-Pacific countries, medical care centres such as MCH centres provide health checks and vaccinations for

* This review is based upon responses to a questionnaire provided to Unesco PROAP (Bangkok) between June and September 1988 from several regional countries – Australia, China, India, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Viet Nam – national project reports, and reports of missions to national projects, all of which are available at Unesco PROAP.

young children, but the centres seldom incorporate educational programmes. Typically, in the developing countries of the region, government ECCE programmes are initiated by the government ministries of public health, social welfare, education, or interior/home affairs. Pre-schools have been developed through commercial venture or private foundation initiatives. These generally focus on matters pertaining to school entry competence, such as the early introduction of reading, writing and foreign-language skills. Commercial ventures are geared towards urban populations, but specialized programmes are available. They include:

- day-care centres with varying work hours, especially in urban areas where working parents are situated – many of the centres perform a custodial function only;
- children's homes for the destitute or orphaned – again performing essentially a custodial function in most cases;
- pre-school language preparation programmes for children of ethnic minority groups, in very specific and limited environments, and in only a few countries;
- schools for disabled children – usually for children aged four years or older, and again in only a few countries;
- nutrition programmes designed to produce positive change in the nutritional conditions of children under five;
- community-based neighbourhood deformalized centres (at homes) in both rural and urban environments – in such developed countries as New Zealand and Australia, parent-based community programmes now provide ECCE services to large numbers of children;
- seasonal or part-day centres – kindergartens, play centres, and some child care centres which meet the requirements of rural working populations at times of heavy labour demands, such as during the harvest season;
- pre-school classes in primary schools – especially in countries which have lowered the age of entry into formal schools; and
- pre-school services for rural or isolated children – in the form of correspondence training for parents, mobile pre-school units and itinerant pre-school teachers, in a few developing and developed countries.

The governments of the socialist countries in the region, and in a few of the other countries as well, have stimulated several reforms and progres-

sive approaches to ECCE. Of particularly note are: the rapid increase in outreach ECCE services to urban disadvantaged populations and the vast majority of so far underserved rural populations, provision for holistic interventions for children (these based upon the total development of the child), and provision for culture specific interventions. Furthermore, the move to increase outreach services has generated deformalized ECCE services – through informal neighbourhood centres and home-based interventions – coupled with increased mobilization of parents and community members in ECCE (even if some of the individuals are at a relatively low level of education or even illiterate).

Within the region's developed countries, ECCE services are frequently provided by independent voluntary community organizations. A growing number of privately owned and operated care and education centres are also appearing. In recent years, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on research and quality training for facilitators, including parents. Such emphases have generated a substantial supply of high-quality, easy-to-read guide materials for parents and other child minders.

Many important and diverse factors have contributed to the surge of interest in ECCE in the Asia-Pacific region. Briefly, these include:

- an increase in overall government commitment to serve disadvantaged areas and eradicate poverty;
- an increased government role in formulating policies which stimulate the growth of ECCE programmes; and
- successful attempts by governments and other agencies to cultivate an awareness of the value of ECCE for children whose parents live in rural and deprived areas in the region.

While these factors themselves have been generated by yet other factors, they have been tremendously influential in generating and maintaining actions which promote the growth of ECCE.

In the context of universalization of primary education (UPE) at the level of primary education curriculum development and implementation, several issues emphasize the need for greater attention to ECCE at policy-making levels. They include:

- the achievement and survival in school of learners from disadvantaged environments, which often has fallen far short of expected levels despite massive investments for universalization;
- learning difficulties of large numbers of 'below-average' children, especially those from majority rural populations, which points to

the lack of prerequisite competence demanded by the primary schools;

- a realization that prevention of learning difficulties would be more cost-effective than post-hoc curative remedial treatments; and
- the realization that intervention requires consideration of the whole child and that the perspective must be more pervasive and holistic than ever before.

Major socio-economic and cultural changes in the countries of the region have also forcefully demanded that a renewed consideration be granted ECCE. The following indicate the type of factors involved.

- Foremost among these factors is the region-wide increase in female employment. The upswing in the number working mothers coincides with trends towards urbanization and an erosion of the traditional extended family. The result is that, with both parents working, children who traditionally would have been looked after by a grandmother or aunt or another member of the extended family are now left alone in the house, if child care is not available. The 'working mothers' trend is likely to be a profound and permanent one – women do their part in enabling the family to avoid poverty; there is a growing interest in living beyond the level of mere 'survival.' Also there is an increasing recognition of the 'rights of the woman,' as well as her potential to contribute to national economic development.

  Regional advancements in living standards have encouraged families to want a better quality of life and, together with new notions of greater sexual equality and human rights, women are convinced that working is 'good.' Available ECCE assures women that they can accept their new tasks without forsaking their children. The leadership and examples provided by the socialist states in the region in this respect are widely known.

- Tied in with the trend of working mothers is the tendency for a greater number of children over six year olds to attend school which, if care is not available, leaves younger siblings alone. At the same time, primary schools in some countries are experiencing lower enrolment rates as a result of declining birth rates; consequently, many primary schools are able to offer facilities and teaching staff which can 'step in' and provide pre-school education, at least for the year or two prior to formal school entry.

- An increasing number of parents throughout the region now recognize the value of education. Many families with only a few children increasingly want the children to have the best opportunity for success, since they are more 'special.' This attitude is particularly strong in countries which have successfully planned parenthood programmes. There is a greater perception of the role of pre-schooling as a means to ensure future success in the educational (and hence the job) ladder. Educationists are finding broader and more receptive audiences for their calls to recognize the urgent need for ECCE for both the disadvantaged and affluent.

- Commensurate with the trend towards an appreciation of the merits of early education is the phenomenon in some countries of regarding early education as a sort of 'status symbol.' With increasing numbers of parents sending children for ECCE programmes, an increasing number of other parents want to follow suit. The result is a 'fashionable' regard for ECCE. This is especially reinforced when prominent figures support child care programmes.

- Another factor contributing to the infectious interest in ECCE – and relating to the nature of the changing characteristics of societies – is the annual migration of rural workers, in some countries, to the city after harvest time or during periodic natural crises, such as floods and drought. During such times, young children (infants to six year olds) accompany the family. Some, though only a small proportion, find suitable care and education in the ECCE programmes offered in the big city. These ECCE city programmes have increased recently in some countries, in light of the shift in emphasis away from the traditional agricultural economic base. The result is that more migrants leave the rural areas more often, necessitating an increase in care services for their children, which ECCE provides.

  Current economic development programmes in rural areas also generate new work outside the home for both males and females, which in turn generates a further demand for ECCE services.

- In the region's developed countries – in addition to the factor of working parents – a mobility of another kind affects the popularity of ECCE. Families frequently move away and are often permanently (not just seasonally) separated, so that the extended family breaks down. The need for child care and education in the new environment is of great importance to the security of the family, as well as for the psychological and social adaptation and assimilation of the child.

Specific National Policies

In many countries of the region, a major development in the last five years has been the acceptance of the care of the young child as the target of specific national policy. Aside from statements in recent socio-economic plans, the actual increase – almost everywhere – in the number of crèches and pre-schools for all strata of the population attests to the practical manifestation of this trend.

This increase of crèches and pre-schools is a region-wide occurrence, as substantiated in the 1987 *Unesco Statistical Yearbook* whose figures depict Asia-wide trends in teaching staff and pupil enrolment. In 1980, the total number of pre-first level teaching staff for Asia was 311,000. In 1985, the number reached 408,000. The total amount of pupils enrolled in educational pre-first level programmes was 8,483,000 in 1980. That figure grew to 10,282,000 in 1985. In real terms, the increase is minute; however, data probably doesn't include the growing numbers associated with such deformalized ECCE services as community-based neighbourhood centres.

The evolution of ECCE in the various countries in the region over the past five years has been dissimilar both in quantity and type. For example, in one country, the growth of public and private kindergartens has been rapid, although as yet the coverage falls far short of what is needed. In 1980, there were only 40 public and 861 private kindergartens, while only five years later there were 4,560 public and 3,288 private kindergartens. Similarly, nursery schools for disadvantaged children expanded their coverage for eligible children from 16.4 to 54.8 per cent.

In some countries, the evolution of ECCE has not been limited to a simple proliferation of pre-schools and crèches, but has involved more significant qualitative developments. (The trend of simple proliferation is not necessarily negative. On the contrary, it signals that, even though a 'deeper' evolution of ECCE programmes is slow, a network through which quality can later be expanded is being established; and, most important, the network does attempt to cover disadvantaged populations).

The countries in the region which are concerned with both quantitative and qualitative expansion epitomize the evolution of a comprehensive ECCE service. Consistently affected by design frameworks of governments and/or local or other organizations, ECCE in these countries has established itself more profoundly. The following are examples of these new emphases.

- Children's centres established in rural and urban locations incorporate, when possible, institutions in present operations. Instead

of fragmented ECCE operations, governments have stepped in to provide integrated services for comprehensive care and education. Increased co-operation mechanisms have been established by governmental agencies to bring together many ministries and their branches to work on different programmes. Such examples are particularly visible in integrated rural development programmes, which combined ECCE, women's development and overall socio-economic development in rural areas.

- In the past, policies on ECCE had frequently placed emphasis on children between the ages of nine months and six years. Recently, however, principles and measures for very early childhood (newborn to three years) care and education have been implemented. In association with these are policies which provide guidelines for a holistic consideration of the very young child, including health, nutrition, and education and social development.
- ECCE programmes in several countries are, in terms of policy, well targetted towards low and moderate income earners. Government priorities have caused ECCE services to spread to areas with high numbers of working parents. In some countries of the Asia-Pacific region, ECCE provides benefits to at least as many – if not more – rural children as urban area children. In one country, rural children receiving ECCE services in 1983 numbered 132,000, while their urban counterparts numbered 120,000. While these numbers are still pitifully small, only ten years ago almost no rural children were involved in ECCE programmes in that particular country.
- The establishment of systems to train educational personnel for post-elementary and post-secondary levels for ECCE is another growing trend. The capacity for training pre-primary facilitators, typically, has doubled in the Asia-Pacific countries since 1980. Moreover, in-service training of pre-primary facilitators has diversified considerably both in form and channel since its original conception to meet particular local-specific needs. Of special importance are the series of short in-service training sequences which require only limited absence of trainees from work sites during the training period.
- In one developed country in the region, the evolution of programmes to safeguard and pass along minority language skills and cultural values to pre-school age children recorded extraordinary growth. In other developed countries, informal parental groups have provided extensive services in ECCE.

Despite the increasing evolution of ECCE programmes in the region's developing countries during the last five years, the extent of overall service coverage for the very youngest children and those who are disadvantaged, is still grossly inadequate – even in countries in which the ECCE evolution is most profound.

Recent Innovations: Macro and Micro

Many countries in the Asia-Pacific region can boast of ECCE activities that are components of large, integrated programmes which embrace other aspects of community development. Most typically these involve some sort of co-ordination among the various government ministries of education and culture, social welfare, labour, local development, and health, which combine their efforts into a programme of care, health and education for children.

In countries where such co-ordination has so far been absent, it is reported that individual pre-schools increasingly utilize combined programmes. This combination of programmes generally means that early childhood centres are venturing into child care – in addition to education. For example, non-working housewives, who formerly ran 'baby-sitting' services, now register their operations as child care centres. In the combined domain of health and ECCE, this means that some of the ECCE activities in these centres now focus on 'motherhood,' food and nutrition, and basic infant and child care (cleanliness and hygiene, preventing basic diseases, etc.). This trend towards health, care and education in ECCE is most common in terms of programme diversification.

For example, in one country which has a large integrated nutrition programme, the focus is on the health and nutritional status of children below three years of age and pregnant and nursing mothers. This project has resulted in an effective system of nutritional surveillance. By training workers at the grass-roots level, the project has benefitted 630,000 children and 245,000 pregnant mothers. Early childhood stimulation has been added to the other interventions of the project.

Also common are decentralized rural health projects in which comprehensive health care is provided through local people trained at the grass-roots level in child-growth monitoring. These, too, are beginning to incorporate early childhood stimulation into their activities.

In some countries with a heterogeneous cultural and linguistic heritage, an emphasis has been placed on the consideration of multicultural life in intervention practices and services. In the more prosperous countries of the region, bilingual programmes and programmes for

children of non-native language backgrounds operate in some settings. In two countries, ECCE programmes in isolated areas have been initiated through mobile pre-schools. Trends show that national cultural orientation and corresponding considerations have 'infiltrated' ECCE programmes in these countries with very positive results – and with even more positive potential.

'Teaching mother' projects have sprung up in the region to assist mothers in early childhood care and education, including language teaching and physical development.

Training programmes for ECCE personnel also are witnessing greater flexibility; there is an increase in the trend towards self-reliance among villages in the region, as regards child and community development. Family and community members, for example, are encouraged to participate in the organization and management of child development centres within the village. Villagers or parents who have completed primary education are selected to attend ECCE training workshops and then supervise child development centres in their village. As another example, training programmes for ECCE staff in several countries increasingly focus on the training of ancillary para-educational support staff and aides whose training covers various aspects of child development, learning activities and nutrition. Frequently these aides are trained to know their local area, so that they can be an additional resource upon their return to the village. In teacher/facilitator education, more and more emphasis is being placed on a broader curriculum, with child development, child psychology, learning activities, instructional/learning material development, creativity, aesthetics and nutrition as centrepieces, all supported by competency for interaction with parents and the community.

Moves to accentuate the quality of ECCE programmes have acquired prominence in the improvement of teacher/facilitator education in the more developed countries. These countries have begun to introduce integrated early childhood pre-service training courses that last three years and field-based on-the-job child care training courses. The courses are intended to strengthen the teacher/facilitator education base. In these countries, as well as in the developing countries, universities are gradually acknowledging the potential for specialization in ECCE. New post-graduate courses in child development, special education, speech therapy, and education for the deaf – as relevant to the early childhood years – have begun to appear.

New staffing schemes intended to lower the teacher-pupil ratio in ECCE by expanding the total number of full-time positions have been

introduced. Teacher/facilitator aides are being added to increase adult-child interaction time. These aides may even be parent volunteers.

Also starting in the region is an early admission prerogative to primary schools. In some countries, the age of admission has been lowered from six to five and seven to six.

New pedagogical methods also characterize ECCE innovations. New ECCE curricula are emerging which stress total child development and a greater readiness for school. Many of the new activities, which make considerable use of artistic and cultural heritage, concern physical skills, aesthetic, social and emotional development, creativity, and exploration.

In certain countries, even the previously formalized university demonstration kindergartens have developed new curriculum models which integrate national culture and traditions to off-set the previous strong Western approaches and influence. Training of ECCE personnel at these universities has undergone marked changes towards indigenous attributes.

In some countries with significant minorities, governments have stepped in to provide a more balanced ECCE service than had earlier existed. This includes such elements as the use of the mother tongue for young children and more extensive cultural initiation programmes for (ethnic) minorities within a majority culture. Other 'minority' target groups beginning to receive ECCE services include the handicapped, orphans and children of 'street families.' Attention to these minorities still appears to be significantly low in current national ECCE programmes, but the fact that some countries have broadened ECCE services in this directions is very significant. New delivery structures for children in areas that are hard to reach are further examples of the trend towards expanding ECCE services.

A final area of considerable innovation in ECCE is that of new human resources involvement. Some countries have increasingly used and trained supplementary para-educational service workers and volunteer parents to meet the large quantitative needs of target groups. Training programmes for these supplementary workers are frequently funded from within the local government structure or by institutions or even the communities themselves. Other innovative approaches include the growing trend towards low-cost, frequent, but very short-term, highly practice-oriented, in-service training at local levels. These are sponsored by the government or a national institution. Such training usually is conducted at a functioning ECCE centre, using centre personnel as resource persons or trainers.

These new developments are in addition to the growing opportunities for institutional study of child care and education at post-secondary levels.

The innovations under way in ECCE programmes in the Asia-Pacific region indicate that ECCE awareness and esteem is on the rise among educators, parents and villagers alike -- focusing not only on the child, but encompassing as well the child's family and community, and involving a variety of education and care-related areas.

Research in ECCE

The areas of new research related to ECCE in the Asia-Pacific region are many. The extent of the research is encouraging, as it signals that the quality of ECCE will continue to expand and improve in the years to come. Many of the research areas in the different countries overlap, indicating that countries are asking the same questions and pondering the same ECCE policies, designs and implementation strategies for the future. The following are examples of research concerns in the Asia-Pacific region.

- The first area of research concerns the effectiveness of ECCE in shaping and preparing the child for the future. Several studies in developing countries have compared children who receive early childhood education with children who do not. These studies reveal that children with early intervention are at an advantage in language, reading, mathematics, basic science and general intellectual skills. Also, regular attendance in nursery school is found to make a significant difference in the intellectual development of children from 'high' stimulation homes, as well as in language and social development of children from 'low' stimulation homes.

  Interestingly, research also reveals that ECCE experience offered to mothers, even for a short duration, has resulted in significant gains in language and scholastic performance of children, pointing to ECCE's educational and constructive content and the relative ease with which the facilitation of development of the child may take place.

  Impact research includes ECCE's influence in low-income areas and shows that the benefits of ECCE generally support beneficiaries belonging to low-income groups, thus breaking the stranglehold created by income barriers in developing countries.

  Further research relates to studies on the impact of ECCE on health and nutrition aspects, which is almost entirely positive in developing countries.

ECCE programmes also were found to reduce later school drop-outs – according to research conducted in one country – due partly to an increase in the awareness of mothers, as regards the value of pre-school education and the health and nutritional needs of children being met.

- A number of research studies cover methodology, content, language development, values development, aesthetic development, creativity, use of computers, curriculum development for these purposes, and teacher/facilitator training related to new or experimental designs. While these studies are by no means exhaustive or even comprehensive, the fact that 'hunches' are being investigated through research techniques is also a very positive trend.

- A beginning has been made in a few countries in the region to investigate ECCE-related issues using ethnographic and/or participatory research techniques. These, though only in the initial stages, constitute an effective new research trend which is sensitive to ecological and cultural variables in ECCE situations, and which increases the use of research results by the practitioners. Three countries using these techniques have identified a vast reservoir of resources for ECCE in everyday events in the life rhythms of ordinary homes – and even in disadvantaged environments.

- With regard to the development of culture-specific models, research is still slow – compared to broader fields – but progress has been made. A number of studies have been conducted on child-rearing practices and patterns of socialization in urban, rural and tribal areas. These studies reveal the strong hold which traditional cultural practices have over child development and indicate again the many potential resources for ECCE found with in cultural practices. The studies confirm the need for culture-specific ECCE programme models.

  In some countries, which have a substantial ethnic minority, services related to health, care and education of children eight years old and under are currently being investigated in minority-focused research programmes. Related studies concentrate on the status of pre-primary education in local communities where other dialects are spoken.

- In the specific context of women's lives and within the total context of social and economic development, research is less widely prac-

tised than research on such ECCE topics as child development and impact evaluation. Some studies have been conducted, however, including one on 'working mothers and effects on child development,' and another by a centre for women's research. The latter concerns several subject areas, including women's work and family strategies in seven urban and rural locations, women in industry, women in low-income urban families, and women in export production villages. Also being formulated in another country is a general parental education research project to determine parental influence and roles in ECCE. Research on ECCE specifically related to women's or parents' lives, however, allows much room for growth in the Asia-Pacific region.

Other new research in several countries in the region is moving into investigations of the multiple and often complex parameters involved in ECCE. This is so even for the new 'status' studies of ECCE. The following set of research activities from one developing country in the region illustrates this trend:

- examining the overall pre-school situation by investigating enrolment, centre and teacher numbers, and teacher-pupil ratio;
- identifying socio-economic and residential patterns of pre-school attendance and participation;
- evaluating financial conditions (teacher salaries, income sources, use of funds);
- highlighting academic and professional qualifications of pre-school teachers/aides;
- analysing organizational, administrative and managerial pre-school structures;
- identifying pre-school child activity profiles;
- examining pre-school curricula and pedagogical models;
- identifying facilitating styles of pre-school teachers/aides;
- locating stimulation continuities between the pre-school environment and that of the home;
- assessing physical and non-physical facilities in both pre-school and home environments;
- studying the extent of the Ministry of Education's involvement in pre-school education;

- establishing correlations, if any, between pre-school attendance and elementary school performance (short-term/long-term);
- locating relationships between the behaviour of working mothers and child development; and
- identifying non-financial community input to the pre-school programmes.

Research related to ECCE in developed countries in the region shows even wider range and scope. The relatively sophisticated nature of this research reflects the long history of development in early child care and education. Research topics include girls' mathematics and spatial concept learning, parents and kindergartens, the position of women in the national economy, fairness of the national educational system as regards disadvantaged groups, integration of children with special educational needs into the educational system, viability of ethnic minority ECCE programmes, and specific research related to methodology, curriculum, management, and fundamental child development theory.

Shortcomings in ECCE Programmes

Current experiences with ECCE programmes reveal a number of shortcomings that require serious attention in programming and planning for the future. Some of the shortcomings are remarkably region-wide in occurrence, as reported by various national investigations.

- ECCE curricula and models are often too standardized or 'national' in approach. Inadequate attention is given to formulating culture-specific and locally-oriented ECCE programmes. This is a problem especially in countries which have a wide diversity of ethnic or local groups, or in which co-exist considerably different national sub-cultures (i.e. urban versus rural versus tribal). This lack of concern is even a problem in the more prosperous countries of the region. There are significant gaps in the quality and distribution of ECCE services in rural and urban, and majority and minority cultures.
- Another shortcoming is the slow acceptance of indigenous models of early childhood stimulation and the preference for models 'imported' from developed countries.
- Conflict exists between formal ECCE 'schooling' and the more flexible approaches to early childhood stimulation. The creation of an awareness for a non-formal approach has not been sufficiently emphasized.

- Many child care centres do not adequately focus on total child development and child stimulation. Instead, 'custodial care' is all that is offered and child minder-child ratios are often very high (i.e. 1:30). Sometimes the sole focus of these centres is on preparation for primary school.
- There is a lack of skills and thorough training among many (especially younger) child minders and facilitators in ECCE. Few countries have made any plans for the continuing education and training of child minders.
- There is a lack of co-ordination and direction in the implementation and growth of ECCE programmes in many countries. The quality of education and care varies from one part of a country to another. Relevant government ministries may not be co-operating or joining in efforts as much as they could.
- In many countries, a lack of government resources hinders ECCE promotion and fails to provide the needed impetus to programmes attempting to deliver services for young children. Poorer countries do not have enough money to support regular curriculum advancements or provide adequate development-oriented facilities and health provisions.

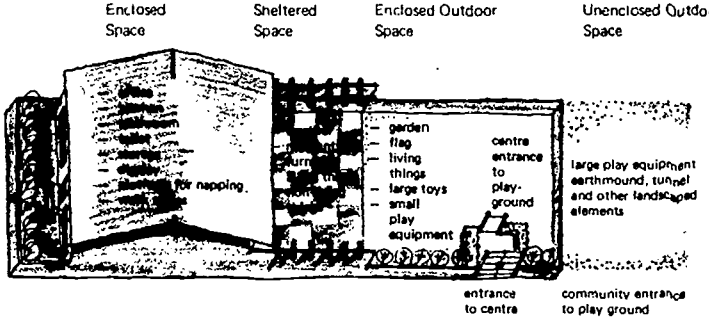
The new investigations of the various shortcomings of ECCE in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, when lumped together – even though undertaken from different directions – seem to point to the following set of at least implied criteria, which are supported by research on child development:

- the holistic development of the child;
- the encouragement of child activities (play and other activities) related to the child's developmental interests, pace and direction;*
- a structure offering opportunities for incidental learning; and
- opportunities for interaction with a loving, caring skilled adult, which would maximize child development and ECCE opportunities.

A second set of criteria in judging the overall design of ECCE programmes has also appeared. This includes content, quality and

* Illustrations which accompany this chapter are from 'Design Ideas for Pre-school Centres and Play Spaces, *Notes, Comments... No. 184*, by Hiroko Kishigami S. Unesco, Bangkok. Unit for Co-operation with UNICEF and WFP. Paris: September 1988. Texts first appeared in the series Educational Building Digest Nos. 17 and 19.

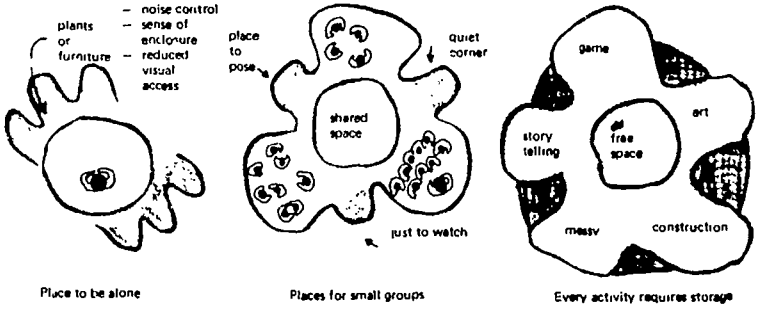
III SPACE ARRANGEMENTS



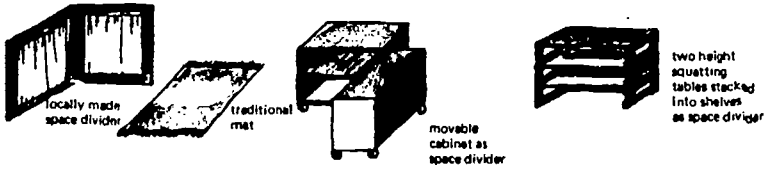
Safety

- Maintain open space and provide soft surfaces around play equipment
- Remove, replace or repair all broken and old equipment as soon as possible
- Fence the entire compound so children can move freely and socialize and do things by themselves
- Prevent children from breaking glass windows by using wire mesh, guard rails or grills of wood or bamboo
- Keep site free from poisonous plants or insects
- Round off or pad all sharp and jagged edges of furniture and buildings

Internal Space Arrangement Patterns



Multiple-use Furniture to create small spaces



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IV DESIGN OF ACTIVITY SPACES

The suggestions for the designing of activity spaces incorporate all four domains of child development mentioned on page 2 In any activity two or more of these domains of child development will be fostered

IV (1) SPACE FOR QUIET PLAY

- for developing fine motor skill coordination
- children learn to manipulate fingers
- children learn to solve problems
- concepts such as numbers, shape, colour, sequence weight, texture
- Provision for both individual and group activities
- Try to store all the materials for one type of activity in one fixed place, so that children (a) know where to go and put them back, and (b) get used to working in one corner

Furniture: movable, flexible as a working surface and a seat

used as a low seat | used as a working surface | used as a high seat

two height squatting table used either as a working surface or as a seat

two six seater tables put together with stools

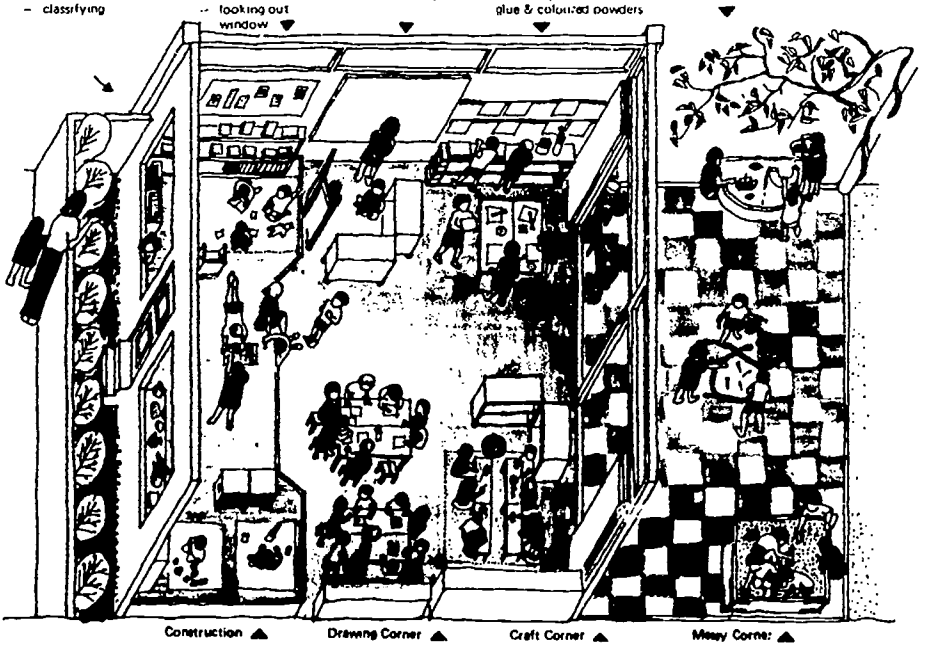
Game Corner
cards
objects
puzzles
- number activities
- sorting
- classifying

Quiet Corner
Library, a mat
a comfortable seat
or a cushion
- looking at pictures
- looking out window

Doll Corner
(free play)
- playing house
- playing shop
- playing cafe
- pretending

Painting Corner
paper
pencils
crayon
paints
modelling clay
glue & coloured powders

Messy Corner
boats, measuring cups
a tube, a hose,
a water mill
- water play
- measuring



Construction
(free play)
blocks of wood
cardboard box, tin cans
toys etc

Drawing Corner
pencil & paper
- tracing outline and objects
- colouring picture
- drawing line & shape

Craft Corner
needles & thread
nuts & bolts
- sewing & stitching
- cutting paper & fabric
- weaving

Messy Corner
a bucket, a shovel,
a sieve, a sand mill
- sand play
- measuring

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IV (2) SPACE FOR ACTIVE PLAY

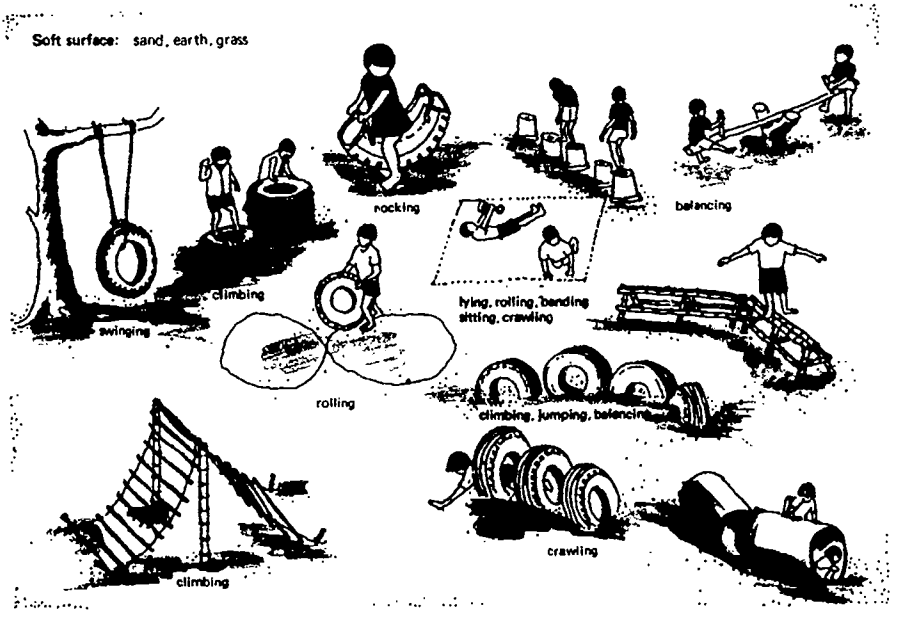
Activities which help develop gross motor co-ordination

running, rolling, pushing and pulling, walking, swinging, bouncing, sliding, balancing, dancing, hopping, splashing, throwing and catching, stretching, carrying and stacking, crawling, swimming, skipping, jumping, lifting

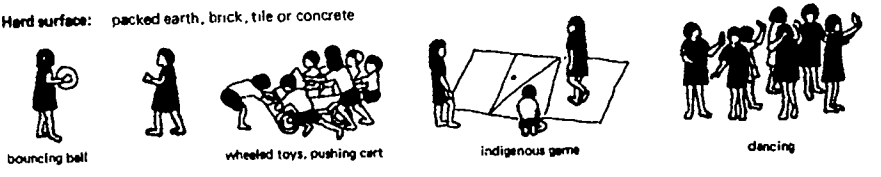
Things that can be used for these activities

natural slope, hill, stream, wooden planks, stick, wall, tubs boxes, umbrella, steps, buckets, pits, kites, balls, paper, benches, flower-pots, cloth, hand-carts, pools, tyres, rocks, balloons, handkerchief, ropes, tree, hoops, bricks, large card board boxes

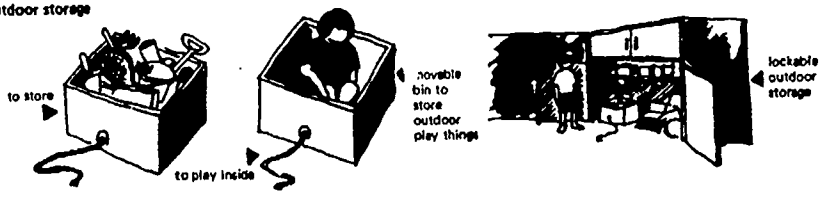
Soft surface: sand, earth, grass



Hard surface: packed earth, brick, tile or concrete



Outdoor storage



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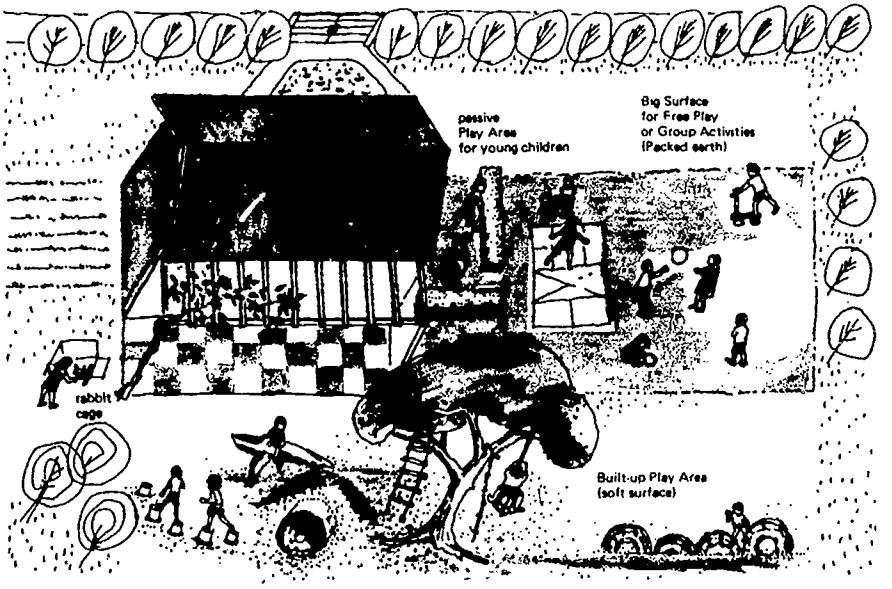
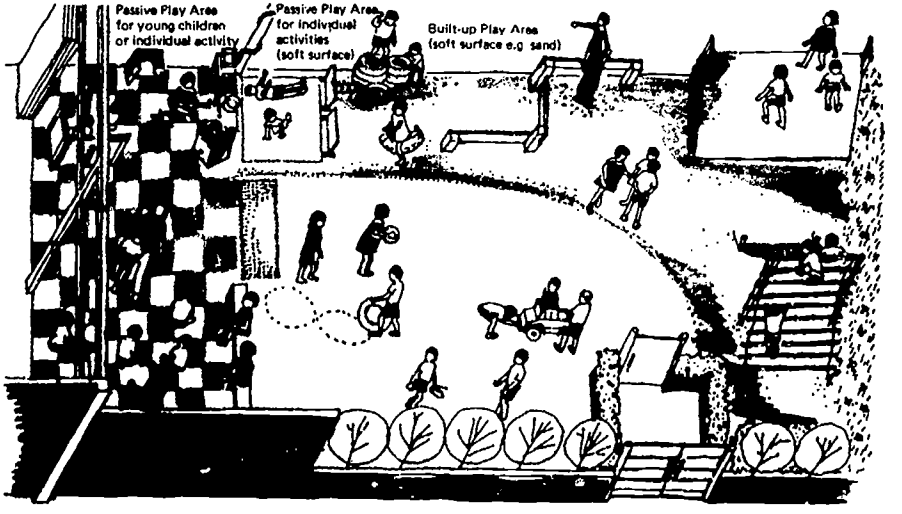
Pre-school centre in a village



Pre-school centre in a town

where space is limited, an entire compound becomes one big space for children to freely move about or divide children into groups and give each group a turn to play in outdoor space



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relevance of services, continuity of effort between the centre and the home, holistic integration of services and approaches, and the reinforcement through other institutions of the child's growth and care.

Future Directions in ECCE

All Asia-Pacific countries have indicated a desire to expand existing ECCE programmes and build on the progress achieved during the past five years. The degree of evolution in ECCE services, even though region-wide, has been highly country-specific. There is an increasing popularity for ECCE and an awareness of the need for ECCE services.

Future plans for ECCE vary from country to country. Some of the more common future ambitions – reported for ECCE programmes throughout the region – include the following:

- experimentation with more diversified and flexible forms of pre-school education and care, including evolving low-cost and context-specific (culture and minority) models, and the use of the home and its cultural practices as a base for child development;
- expansion of health care and nutrition services offered by ECCE programmes, and expansion of family know-how regarding care and education-related matters through parental education for home-based interventions in ECCE;
- further emphasis on the provision of pre-school education for disadvantaged groups, such as the handicapped, the socio-economically deprived, slum and rural children, and children of cultural minorities;
- a stronger component for training and retraining ECCE personnel, diversifying training programmes, and expanding training facilities for all levels of functionaries;
- investment in research and additional planning of ECCE services, and assurance of budget and resource allocations for the expansion of ECCE services;
- promotion of an equity in funding, standards of training, and conditions of work in the national context;
- greater co-ordination of functions among various governmental (and non-governmental) agencies, in order to be better able to offer more continuous, integrated national services; and

- encouragement for governments to continue to provide and support ECCE for children six years of age and under, and to expand the network of crèches, kindergartens and other centres, as well as deformalized community-based services for ECCE.

Despite the national differences in ECCE services throughout the region, it is clear that governments and non-governmental organizations in all of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region do agree on one point: development of the young child must be treated in its totality. A holistic view of ECCE is being followed. Accordingly, the aim of ECCE programmes will be to upgrade the quality of life of young children by involving ECCE in more aspects than simple education and 'day care.' Due to the new appreciation of the role of ECCE in transforming the potential of children – and, consequently, the future of all societies – now, more and more, health, family planning, shelter, parental education, and flexible child education are central to ECCE plans in the region's future.

*Chapter 13**

UNFINISHED TASKS AND FUTURE AGENDA

Countries of Asia and the Pacific first adopted universalization of primary education (UPE) as a common goal under the Karachi Plan of 1960, which aimed at providing universal, compulsory and free primary education of seven years by 1980. Primary education, like literacy, has witnessed continuous rapid growth in the twenty years since the formulation of the Karachi Plan. Primary enrolment in Asia and the Pacific more than doubled between 1960 and 1980, from some 157 million to 325 million. Some countries, such as Nepal, Papua New Guinea and Lao PDR, have even experienced three- to five-fold growth.

However, the rapid growth in enrolment should be viewed against the backdrop of the total primary school-age population, which also greatly increased in many of these countries, sometimes with growth rates surpassing those of enrolment.

The Situation

Today, the size of the unenrolled primary school-age population stands at some 54 million for the region as a whole. If the past trend were to continue, it is projected that the unenrolled population would drop to only about 26 million by the end of the century.

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* Bruce R Anderson, who compiled the textual material for the final chapter on unfinished tasks and future agenda of education for all in the Asia-Pacific region, is a director of English Language Friends Enterprises Limited, Samutprakarn, Thailand. The article is based in part on discussions with senior Unesco PROAP personnel and research of pertinent Unesco documents and other publications.

The bulk of the millions of unenrolled primary school-age children are girls and children of disadvantaged groups – people living in remote and isolated areas, ethnic and religious minorities, nomadic tribes, poor and low-income groups, and slum dwellers.

Currently, there is talk – some of which is based on very strong statistical data and other substantive information – about the need to 'revise' the goal of education for all by the year 2000 to make it more realistic, more in touch with the times, more attainable. Many educationists, administrators and others involved in the effort to provide education to the disadvantaged and deprived people of this vast and diverse region regard it as highly unlikely that all of these people will have access to basic education by the year 2000. They believe that the number of illiterates in the year 2000 will still be great and further conjecture that another forty or fifty years, maybe even longer, will be needed to achieve education for all in the Asia-Pacific region. Another fifty or sixty years, they assert, is a more realistic timetable. As it stands right now, they are correct.

Unesco PROAP estimates and projections as assessed in October 1989 reveal that while the adult literacy rate for the region as a whole grew from 39.6 per cent in 1960 to 60.4 per cent in 1980 (393 million to 953 million), the absolute number of illiterates also increased during the same time period (from 600 million to 628 million). Given past trends and current conditions, the overall literacy rate may reach about 77 per cent by the year 2000. The great majority of the remaining 562 million illiterate adults projected for the region at the end of the twentieth century will be from deprived and disadvantaged population groups. Poor people, most of these illiterates will also be women.

In real terms the total number of adult literates grew from an estimated 393 million in 1960 to 953 million in 1980; the number is projected to reach 1,377 million in 1990 and further expand in the following decade to 1,888 million nearly double the 1980 level. This provides very positive evidence of the tremendous achievements of past and current literacy efforts, as well as of the potential future effect if such efforts continue.

But a look at the estimated number of adult illiterates provides a different story. Despite the very positive increase in the absolute number of adult literates, the total size of the adult illiterate population in the region continued to grow from an estimated 600 million in 1960 to 628 million in 1980. The future projection is cause for major concern, as it reveals that, even if past trends in literacy efforts continue, the overall adult illiterate population will still be about 628 million in 1990, and drop only slightly to about 562 million by the year 2000. If adult illiteracy is to be completely

eradicated by the end of the century, a much greater effort is required – bearing in mind the wide diversity of causes and conditions for continuing illiteracy, which is mainly the result of demographic pressure, socio-economic and cultural norms and attitudes, lack of resources, inadequate planning and administrative structure and support, and operational difficulties.

Considerable disparity exists in terms of literacy situations and prospects among the countries in Asia and the Pacific. Preliminary estimates compiled by Unesco PROAP indicate that with the possible exceptions of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Nepal, Pakistan and Papua New Guinea, all countries in the region will have surpassed the 70 per cent literacy level by the year 1990. Evidence also shows that beyond this level literacy efforts tend to be self-sustaining and that full literacy is within reach.

However, it warrants serious mention that in such developed countries of the region as Australia, Japan and New Zealand, formerly regarded as having attained full literacy, recent evidence revealed an upsurge in the number of drop-outs, low-learning achievement at schools, and relapse into illiteracy.

UNFINISHED TASKS

Not all countries in the region have yet been actively involved in national literacy efforts; consequently, literacy programmes in these countries lack the motivation required for advancement – whereas programmes elsewhere have become self-motivating. Special advocacy campaigns are needed to impress upon leaders and administrators the importance of literacy. Initial awareness of the need for an active literacy programme is a big first step, but greater awareness, leading to a persistent and diligent promotion of literacy in all countries, is needed.

In many countries, adult literacy programmes and non-formal education for out-of-school children and youth tend to be attempted only once. Valuable experiences have not been accumulated to improve content and learning methods. Many programmes have been designed to impart only certain knowledge and skills – often irrelevant to a learner's daily life or local environment – without providing additional opportunities for further applying and developing those skills. For this reason, many literates relapse into illiteracy. In most cases, to be successful, literacy programmes should be linked to community development plans which call for concerted actions in such different sectors as health, agriculture and fisheries, industry, commerce and transportation.

A pragmatic approach adopted in many countries in the region has been to develop and disseminate reading materials and establish village and community reading centres. Increasingly too, initiatives are undertaken to utilize the mass media -- newspapers, radio and television networks -- in the promotion and consolidation of literacy programmes. Major future research efforts in these and other related areas are required to produce effective programmes and materials for post-literacy programmes.

The physical environment for education remains a key contributing factor to the learning process and outcome -- albeit in a different way and to different extent than the factors concerning teachers, learning materials and parents. A basic learning environment is one in which learners have sufficient light to read a book and a chalkboard; it is a thermally comfortable place in which they can work unencumbered by heat, cold or dampness; and it is a place that is quiet enough to concentrate on learning. In a few locations, notably in the hills of the Himalayas and nearby plains, these criteria can be met even out-of-doors. Cold or rainy climates, however, necessitate the use of buildings.

Demand for new school buildings will remain high during the coming decade in those countries which have yet to universalize basic education. Many older school buildings need to be replaced. Experience shows that it is wise to ensure quality and high standards in any new construction, as well to establish provisions for systematic maintenance.

The information gap which exists creates an immediate obstacle to all efforts; further, it results in wastage and underutilization. The education management information system (EMIS), in place about two years now, is intended to resolve some of the difficulties by providing a more efficient way for countries to collect and disseminate data which are current, accurate and relevant to programming, planning and analysis. An unfinished task in itself and an item for future concern, information gathering, if conducted systematically and efficiently, will greatly assist in completing many other unfinished tasks, as it will provide policy makers and others with precise information on which they can better base decisions. Information flow currently lags behind about two to five years; hence, policy makers are basing their decisions on information that is drastically out-of-date. It is hoped that the EMIS will facilitate the flow of information.

Special Target Groups

Ahead lies the task of meeting the needs of the poor and the otherwise disadvantaged and deprived. A primary target group is women and girls, who are doubly disadvantaged. Gender disparity in education in the region must be reduced, and that is happening right now. People are becoming more aware of the benefits of literacy and education for all, but greater awareness is mandatory to success. Full support is needed, again from all sectors. Greater participation from the business sector might ensure that, as women become educated, there are functions for women to perform – functions which differ from those assigned by previously fixed roles. There is the challenge of devising ways to keep people functionally literate in an ever-changing world; technological and scientific advances create an altered environment which necessitates that all people must be able to adapt to change.

To target women and girls as an obvious group in need of literacy and basic education is easy. But there are other groups as well. Much needs to be done in the area of early childhood education. Children in their formative years need to acquire basic skills to better prepare them for school entry. Again, children from poor, isolated regions are frequently at the greatest disadvantage. But again too, mechanisms are being put into place, ideas are being tested, and some will be especially useful. There are other areas which have received very little attention, but certainly warrant consideration, very serious consideration. Are the educational needs of inmates in penal institutions and juvenile delinquent centres being addressed? It is important that they are educationally prepared to rejoin society and make their own worthwhile contributions. What about military personnel? There is a great need for more and newer ideas to improve learning opportunities, to make them relevant to people who have different needs, interests and learning abilities. There is a need to improve the quality of education.

These issues and factors, some most obvious and often discussed, some seldom considered, must all be taken into account in the pursuit of EFA – none can be neglected. EFA follows a particular curve: once a country gets beyond a certain point (approx. 50 per cent literacy) the people it must pursue to educate are less accessible, physically and socially. Coping with that fact requires organization – in planning, implementation of programmes, administration and management. Co-operation and funding support are vital.

FUTURE AGENDA

There is a close link between literacy and universal primary education. Countries with low literacy rates are also the ones with low access to and retention in basic education. This link is not merely coincidental. It indicates the cause-effect relationship between the two key areas of education for all and it stresses the need for co-ordinated and integrated actions.

The scenario for coping with the future agenda must recognize this relationship and deal with the two areas in an integrated way. Educational content can be such that there is mutual reinforcement between the learning of children in primary school and their elders in literacy classes; at community level the same teaching personnel can be trained to serve equally well in both groups; physical facilities can be used some hours of the day for formal schooling and other hours for non-formal classes. Only by maintaining a properly balanced distribution of resources between the two areas can it be ensured that investments result in effective learning by those who participate in either.

A salient feature of the integrated approach is the examination of likely future scenarios in population growth, adult literacy, primary enrolment and drop-out rates, and their interactive effects; in particular, possible consequences of incomplete enrollment and drop-outs on the literacy effort required. What may be most important in the current drive to achieve education for all is organizing educational opportunities for existing and projected out-of-school children and youth to prevent them from joining the ranks of the adult illiterates.

The ultimate goal of education for all is to establish a full learning environment, a system of learning as opposed to a system of education. This would include not only education as it is presented in formal settings, such as schools, but also non-formal education and even informal learning. This latter element is all encompassing, based on the philosophy that an individual learns at all moments, in all situations. Literacy and basic education stimulate the capacity to learn and develop the individual's capacity for critical thinking.

Education has often been linked with employment and quality of life. If an individual has a higher level of education, he or she can obtain a better job and a higher salary, and achieve a better quality of life. While such links are entirely viable, they should not be regarded as goals of education, rather they are by-products. Quality of life, which may after all refer only to better hygiene in some circumstances, is relative. Materialistic associations, often linked with education, can be a drawback to an adequate appreciation of

the true value of education. Basic literacy and numeracy skills provide the opportunity to learn more; village reading centres support and enhance those basic skills. This is the foundation for education, and it should not be stigmatized by materialistic considerations only.

Early Childhood Education

While education for children in their formative years is on the upswing in the region, and while there is a very positive sign that this trend towards assisting the young child will continue, there is serious concern over the acceptability and advantages of the type of knowledge that is being conveyed. Presently, early childhood care is fashionable, a status symbol among the more affluent class which has infected other classes as well. While the 'nature' of what is occurring – that is, providing young children with the prerequisites needed to enter school at a proper age – can only be regarded as beneficial in the short term, contributions in the long term might be a little more suspect. For instance, early childhood education and care centres, for a large part, have been patterned after models from Western societies where such centres have been very successful. In some cases, these models have been used directly without local adaptation or change. Duplicating such models – sometimes the models are quite inappropriate to local conditions – entails expenses which are beyond the normal means of poorer families. Imported models do not appropriately consider individual strengths and weaknesses of local children.

There exists a great need for a systematic analysis of the situation and for the creation of local-specific models as well as designs for inexpensive but beneficial methods which can be employed by mothers in the home – mothers who are poor and have neither the time for systematic home instruction nor the money to enrol a child in an established centre. Within her normal routine, there is much a mother can do to provide instruction to a child. This occurs naturally as it is. If programmes and practices could be designed to promote the existing strengths in the homes of poor families, if these designs could be made to adapt to the life rhythm of the mother's daily functions, the children of the poor would not be as severely handicapped at time of school entry. Such a 'movement' exists. It entails easy and low-cost activities geared towards early learning. But reaching the mothers has been one of the biggest obstacles. Education cannot tackle this task by itself. Assistance is required from other sectors (industrial, agricultural) which, unlike education, have extension services in remote locations. Integrated rural development of this sort is one way to resolve the problem of reaching individual homes. Adequate and effective management of this

movement towards more (and better) early childhood care and education is yet another major item on the agenda for the future.

Universal Primary Education

Today, for the region as a whole, the size of the non-enrolled primary school-age population stands at some 54 million; whereas, in 1960, there were about 124 million children of primary school-age in the region who did not benefit from access to formal primary education. Despite the many noteworthy accomplishments which have occurred in recent decades, if past trends continue throughout the next ten years, there will still be 26 million children of primary school-age in the region who lack access to primary education in the year 2000. The bulk of these will be children of disadvantaged groups – people living in remote and isolated areas, ethnic and religious minorities, nomadic tribes, poor and low-income groups and slum dwellers. Poor children, most of these will be girls.

Regional innovations highlight some of the obstacles involved, as well as some of the plans being made for the future.

- In China, with its huge population, the promotion of universal primary education is being planned according to three distinct areas of concern: cities and economically advanced areas in coastal provinces, towns and rural regions which have achieved a minimum level of development, and economically backward areas. Respective target dates for universalization for the first two areas are 1990 and 1995, while the third area of concern is 'required to actively push on with the universalization of basic education with a variety of means, towards different standards and in pace with local economic growth.'
- In other countries, efforts are specially directed towards bringing within the reach of education such hitherto underserved populations as nomadic tribes, children living in sparsely populated and mountainous areas, ethnic minorities and slum dwellers. In one of the projects in the Philippines, a 'culture-oriented approach' has been designed to ensure participation of those children who do not enrol in school because of cultural beliefs, practices and traditions. In the case of Muslim children, classes using Arabic as the medium of instruction have been organized.
- Strategies specifically intended to increase the participation rate of girls have been designed and are being implemented. Among them are the appointment of more female teachers, provision for such incentives as free uniforms and textbooks, a relaxation in

enrolment requirements, and campaigns to generate parental and public awareness of the benefit derived from universal primary education for girls as well as boys. Strategies vary according to the obstacles encountered, which also vary. In Papua New Guinea, for instance, the main reason for the relatively low enrolment of girls is the attitude of parents, particularly fathers, towards not only the education of girls, but also their very status in the family. Parental and teacher awareness campaigns are being considered, as are radio programmes and other activities designed to increase the appreciation of girls' participation in education. As another example, in China, one reason for the low enrolment of girls in some communities is the prejudice which casts girls as being inferior to boys. Other reasons include the adherence to traditional roles for females and the presumed responsibility of girls to tend to domestic chores.

This wide variety is typical of the obstacles which confront the prospect of universalizing primary education by the year 2000. In some cases, perhaps in many, changes fundamental to the very process of thinking – as regards the *roles* of both female and male – are absolutely necessary. Without such changes in basic perception, girls and women will remain marginalized.

Minority groups. In some countries, a minority group is disadvantaged not so much because of its ethnic or religious identity as because it is poor and/or rural (e.g. isolated nomadic populations). The barriers to learning attainment in rural areas include the limited quantity and poor quality of schools, poor reinforcement from the nonschool environment, irrelevance of the curriculum, high opportunity costs for children whose labour is needed at home, and long distances between the home and the school. For the ethnic minority groups an added disadvantage is that the language of instruction used in schools often differ from that used in the home. These disadvantages translate into differences in learning achievement, with pupils in urban schools scoring consistently higher except when the increased age or more frequent repetition of pupils in a rural or other disadvantaged area has an equalizing effect on measured achievement.

Ethnic and religious discrimination can operate either through formal practices favouring a privileged group or more informal biases in employment networks. Whether or not the discrimination is explicit, the negative effects soon will be: discrimination reduces the incentives for the disadvantaged children to participate in and benefit from the primary schooling system. The immediate sacrifice of equity promotes a longer-term loss of societal efficiency.

Disabled children and adults. The needs of many disabled people can be met within existing services, as long as they are augmented by appropriate arrangements to support the special requirements of the child and the family. There is a need to demystify educational provision for disabled persons; the main barriers continue to be misinformation about their capacities. This misinformation leads to a gross underestimation of their potential to benefit from education of all kinds. Even though many developing countries face shortages of financial and human resources, education for all means that *all groups*, including the disabled, are entitled to a fair share of resources. Whatever the current conditions, assisting disabled individuals to reach their learning potential should be a part of the strategies for meeting the basic learning needs of all. Developing countries considering action in the education of disabled children, youth and adults should have confidence in their own initiatives and should not feel that their efforts must follow those patterns established by the industrialized countries.

A special equity issue is that of *refugee populations.* Refugees are usually poor; a majority are females; they often are located where self-sufficiency in agriculture or other employment is least probable; and their religious and ethnic origins may differ from those of the host population. To meet the learning needs of these multiply disadvantaged individuals may require special programmes, alternative means of providing learning services, and new forms of financing. Refugees need an equitable share in basic learning opportunities and in their benefits.

Girls and women. The 'status' of school-age girls reveals their importance. These young girls collect water, firewood and fodder, tend to cattle, assist in farming activities, and assume household and child-care responsibilities. Their work day, frequently equal in length to that of an adult male, precludes the possibility of their enrolment in formal school settings (hence, the importance of non-formal education for girls).

Reasons given for the low participation of girls in formal education are mainly socio-economic ones. A family whose income is below the poverty-line level is not able to take advantage of educational opportunities when such are available. The opportunity cost of education affects girls more than boys, because girls are a greater economic asset both within and outside the household.

However, these assumptions regarding low participation rates are somewhat questionable, given the increasing evidence of imbalance between the demand for and the supply of educational facilities in some of the region's poorer countries which have very low female participation and retention rates. Evidence in many countries shows that socio-cultural

attitudes are not implacably resistant to change. Consequently, other factors must receive even greater scrutiny.

Another predominant factor centres on the shortage of women teachers. The presence of female instructors attracts girls to school; parents are less apprehensive about having women teachers administer to the educational needs of their daughters than they are of male teachers. More women teachers will ensure a greater enrolment of girls. More women teachers are needed. But where to get them, how to get them? In short supply in many countries in the first place, women teachers are reluctant to locate in the regions which most require women teachers – especially remote and isolated areas. Incentives are needed to entice women teachers to these areas. While monetary reward is perhaps the most obvious enticement, the best may lie within their own conception of the female's *role* and the needs of the underserved girls in these regions. Women teachers, preferably skilled, are an urgent requirement.

Other factors also seriously impede enrolment and retention of girls in school. Curriculum irrelevance and gender bias have created barriers to the educational participation and achievement of girls, as have the often rigid rules governing uniform requirements and school schedules.

Most of these tasks en route to universal primary education – more facilities if disadvantaged groups are to be fully enrolled; more incentives in the way of free textbooks, meals, uniforms and transportation costs if children from poor families are to be educated; more skilled instructors; better quality teaching-learning materials – require funding and co-ordination to complete. These two essential components of the effort to establish education for all by the year 2000 are in desperate need of review and revitalization.

Formal and non-formal approaches. In parallel to formal education, non-formal education for out-of-school children and youth, adult literacy programmes and continuing education combine to form a series of educational endeavours. Numerous possibilities exist to design alternative delivery systems to cater to different learner groups and offer learning opportunities which involve a broad range of knowledge, fields and skills, at different levels, aimed at different learning achievements. Enough flexibility can be built into these parallel systems to enable multiple transfer and entry into other related learning environments, as well as between formal and non-formal systems.

Educational facilities. The lack of schools, both co-educational facilities and separate facilities for girls, is one of the most serious impediments to enrolling and retaining girls (and boys) in school. There is a grave

need for more and better-equipped facilities in strategic locations. (It is not enough to say that a teaching facility exists within so many kilometres of a village, when in fact to reach that school, a child must ford a wide stream or traverse a thick forest.) In addition, existing facilities, often poorly constructed and overcrowded, require improvement. Because of the huge costs involved, this one single factor is especially important. Without a sufficient number of appropriate educational facilities to facilitate the teaching-learning process, the likelihood of available primary education for all young children in the year 2000 is doubtful; further, it is likely that, if the current unsatisfactory situation is not soon redressed, the numbers of non-enrolled and drop-outs will grow.

Adult Literacy

Another major unfinished task to be completed en route to providing education for all by the year 2000, in addition to providing universal primary education for all children of primary school-age, involves literacy – basic education for youths and adult illiterates – and continuing education. Integrated planning and co-ordinated implementation, as promoted through Unesco's APPEAL programme, address the conditions which, once resolved, will complete these tasks. The APPEAL programme features a three-pronged approach: universal primary education (UPE), eradication of illiteracy (EOI) and continuing education (CE). In combination with other Unesco programmes, as well as in conjunction with projects of other affiliated and non-affiliated agencies, governments, and other concerns, the APPEAL programme offers the mechanism through which education for all by the year 2000 can be achieved.

The definition of literacy under different socio-economic contexts and the scientific methods and tools to assess literacy levels demand review. Obviously not all countries work within the same framework when defining literacy or assessing literacy levels – i.e. the United States, a highly industrialized nation, recently estimated that as much as 20 per cent of its population may be illiterate, while Thailand, a rapidly developing nation, asserts that 90 per cent of its population is now literate. What type of literacy has this population achieved? Countries in the region have asked Unesco for assistance in defining literacy under different socio-economic contexts. Such a process of definition, in some countries, will even vary between urban centres and rural regions.

Correct data regarding residence and occupation of target groups of illiterates – out-of-school youths, drop-outs, underachievers – must be collected and analysed to enable literacy and continuing education programmes to properly prepare for and enrol these disadvantaged groups.

While it is obvious that illiterates belong to disadvantaged populations, specific programmes to assist specific groups cannot be adequately formulated until precise data become available. Who are these people, where are they, and what programmes can be developed for them? Presently, common sense rules, but this is not wholly realistic. Unesco is insisting that national statistics pertaining to literacy programmes are insufficient and that greater micro level input is required -- by district, by village, by group, among women, linguistic minorities, fishermen, farmers, workers, etc. Such information is not now available. Because literacy is often a matter of national pride national statistics are sometimes inflated and therefore not always reliable. Who are the losers? Countries in the region which have in the past chosen statistics that gave an inflated conclusion (e.g. numbers enrolled in school or numbers attending a literacy course, rather than the actual number of literates and illiterates) are now becoming aware of the need for systematic data collection and are increasingly more receptive to the importance of viable information.

A majority of illiterates in the region are women, about 60 per cent overall, 80 per cent in several countries. While the total number of male illiterates region-wide is decreasing, the number of female illiterates is increasing. Planning and implementation of education programmes for women must transcend the current popular stage of lip service only and proceed to actually tackle the problem. To get beyond the 'talking' stage, the number-one obstacle is funding. Budget allocations for non-formal education and literacy programmes total less than one per cent of the overall educational budget, a grossly insufficient amount, and that one per cent is not even specifically designated for women. The situation which confronts women has been neglected for far too long. Even where educational opportunities do exist, women cannot easily take advantage of them because of socio-economic constraints.

The restrictions on women are tremendous and they materialize early in life. This prevalence in attitude is a major obstacle for women's education and must be surmounted if programmes are to proceed in a serious manner. Women themselves are part of the problem. They too, must change their ideas of women's roles and limitations in order to change society's and to articulate the needs and demand support. Whereas China, as one example, actively promotes women's participation in many activities, most of the region's poorer countries, which are also those that contain the greatest number of female illiterates, only allocate funds according to demand.

The programme of education for women in these countries, therefore, is a more complicated issue than in other nations. International help is

required, but international help alone cannot do the job because these agencies are restricted by their inability to get to and remain involved in village operations. Women's organizations in some countries (Indonesia, for example) are producing good results, while in other countries (such as Nepal) the results of women's organizations activities have suffered from a high drop-out rate and consequently have not been especially successful. Leaders of women's organization tend to congregate in cities and generally come from upper-class (or 'high class') populations. When they visit rural villages, their lack of sensitivity to local conditions – they may arrive in elaborate dress or makeup – tends to alienate them from the rural women they are attempting to encourage join the ranks of the literate. Although there are certainly many dedicated women leaders, greater enlightenment from these leaders is needed.

There are eight or nine countries in the region, where the hard-core problems lie; except for these countries, the region as a whole has made considerable progress in establishing and maintaining education programmes for women. However, a regular review of these programmes, with an objective to revise them and make them increasingly more relevant to existing and changing conditions, would not be out of place.

Infrastructure. Another obstacle concerns poor infrastructure. Administrative and technical infrastructure for literacy are weak and underdeveloped. While some very good training institutes exist for secondary and primary education instructors, none are available for training literacy and non-formal education instructors and financial and technical assistance will be needed to strengthen the infrastructure which supports this training.

Programmes. Some countries still fail to fully appreciate the advantage of appropriate, scientifically-developed programmes, such as those which comprise the three levels of literacy advocated in the series of APPEAL training materials now being used experimentally in seven countries in the region. Unesco has emphasized the need to scientifically progress from the simple level to the complex level. Such an education should help raise the consciousness, better the quality of life and increase the earning potential of youths and adults. Past literacy programmes in many countries in the region have been one-on, one-off affairs. The need exists to provide a relevant equivalent to formal basic education for the benefit of out-of-school youths and adults. Development of exemplary model training materials has set the stage for their implementation; implementing them remains a major task for the future.

Reading Materials. It is no exaggeration – it is too often the case in some of the remote and isolated villages of the region – to say that not

a book exists in the entire village. Whereas severe shortages exist in many villages, other villages simply have no books at all. This lack of reading material not only prohibits illiterates from developing the type of reading habits most conducive to an orderly learning process, it also impedes others, neo-literates and just-literates, from improving their modest reading skills. Even more tragic, this lack of material perpetuates the possibility of relapse to illiteracy, which would defeat the primary objective of the literacy programme itself. To combat this situation, interesting, attractive, local-language sample materials are being prepared, following which localities are to develop their own materials using the samples as guides – they are not to merely copy them. To help the newly literate and literates continue their learning, reading centres are being established in villages. The use of the mass media (newspapers, television programmes), though often discussed, has received little serious investigation. Any use of media-promoted literacy programmes, ideally, should be supported by classroom study.

Co-ordination. Greater co-ordination among all sectors is needed. Literacy and non-formal education programmes are usually run by the Ministry of Education alone. Co-ordination among various ministries and development agencies is needed to link literacy with development. Greater co-ordination is needed between international agencies involved in the literacy effort. More effort is required to mobilize NGOs, especially private business enterprises, to participate in literacy and continuing education programmes. Community participation is vital.

Evaluation. Finally the monitoring and evaluation of learners' performance and project effectiveness are very weak. In some cases non-existent. Micro level planning should address these considerations – how many are improving, how many remain, what learning output can be expected? Poor people especially need services, but the services must be prepared for them. The APPEAL programme, Unesco programmes conducted in conjunction with UNICEF or UNDP, and other programmes which invite participation from all agencies, governments, private enterprises, and other concerns should receive renewed support during International Literacy Year 1990.

Additional research and innovative developments are needed in the areas of literacy and continuing education. Research involving established universities is needed. Imaginative approaches to the various obstacles are essential. There *are* ways to accomplish the unfinished tasks; the future agenda calls for all of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region to put forth the greatest effort to do so.

Continuing education. After literacy, the need for continuing education is paramount. Something *must* be available. Non-formal education remains crucial, and programmes must be advanced quickly as there are now more illiterates than ever before. People from rural areas are migrating to the cities; providing suitable education for migrant youths could be answered through non-formal education. But what type of educational opportunities should be given? What type of jobs are these people seeking? Not much study has been conducted in this area, although co-operation from employers is an obvious ingredient for success.

Programmes in continuing education are doubly challenged. On the one hand they need to stimulate people to acquire knowledge that is generally useful in their lives; knowledge about developments in the world around them, about political change and so on. Being able to read a novel also makes literacy an avenue for personal pleasure. However, in this era when we increasingly see our lives in an economic context, it is through continuing education that we can acquire new skills and prepare ourselves for increasing the productivity in a current economic undertaking or prepare the move into a new, more promising economic activity.

For these reasons the future agenda in continuing education is indeed endless. No matter what level of basic education an individual achieves there will always be new challenges to undertake.

Funding and Co-ordination

Functional literacy programmes that are relevant to learners' needs are effective. More are needed. Rather than teach the 'ABCs,' these courses provide work-oriented instruction, such as in sanitation, water supply or agriculture. These are useful; they also are exit points for literacy and other skills.

Agencies such as Unesco, whose major responsibilities lie within the area of education, and the World Bank, whose interests are mostly economic-development oriented, must extend even greater co-operative effort to ensure that, once an adult does acquire the rudiments of literacy and has joined the ranks of the literate, opportunities exist to advance and improve upon those skills. Where no opportunity exists, the adult newly literate, after two or three months of not using the acquired basic literacy skills, becomes illiterate again. Greater interagency co-operation is needed in all efforts, but it seems especially needed within the broad area of functional literacy, an area in which so many different agencies can play such important parts. Through a concerted effort, with each agency operating within its own area of speciality, but in mutual co-operation with other

involved agencies, a great deal potentially could be accomplished in a short period of time.

Countries themselves could do more, but they operate under severe budget constraints. New developments, specific to the countries in this region of the world, are needed, but given economic conditions and financial pressures, it is impossible for most of the countries to undertake the needed developments. This is a problem which at times has been difficult to address, but to complete the task of education for all, it must be addressed. The World Conference on Education for All offers just such a forum for constructive discussion.

Qualitative improvement. Literacy cannot but be a political issue, and this is constructive. However, the question of what price literacy must pay for its political affiliation has been raised. Political interests often seek immediate improvements, but such are not always possible. Teaching materials, which should be of good quality, have sometimes suffered for the sake of expediency. Now, however, countries are going through a cycle of qualitative improvement – which is the thrust of Unesco's ATLP material. The quality of non-formal eduction is often very low. Subject matter requires improvement, as do teaching methods. All of this takes time. Material must be researched, examined, rewritten and tested before it can be printed and circulated for use. The quality of research that goes into the development of these material has consistently improved over the years, and the change that has occurred has been immense. Curriculum developers and planners, who now know what did not work in the past, are better able to do a proper job.

However, to achieve the type of overall quality required to more rapidly advance the programme of education for all, greater funding support is needed. Without adequate funds, progress is slow, often too slow. In this regard, one of the unfinished tasks for the future involves commitment from funding agencies, which seldom want to commit themselves for more than three or five years. While short-term funding provides impetus for initializing activities and mobilizing forces, long-term commitment is absolutely essential if success is to be achieved. To tackle the sort of obstacles which confront education for all in the Asia-Pacific region, one must realize that education is a lifelong learning process and think in terms of generations. If funding agencies can also commit themselves to this aspect of education for all, the region one day will be able to boast 100 per cent literacy for all of its citizens. Both quantity and quality can be suitably addressed if funding support is available.

Co-ordination. Present organizational structures in most of the ministries of education are such that one department might be taking care

of primary education, while another is overseeing literacy programmes, and yet another concerns itself with continuing or non-formal education – and so on. Although in theory these departments could be co-ordinated through some mechanism, such co-ordination is not always easy to achieve, as each department is responsible to another higher authority and sometimes the higher authority is not the Ministry of Education (it may be the Literacy and Mass Education Commission, etc.). So, while co-ordinated efforts might be the most desirable, such is not always possible in all cases; nevertheless, if integrated planning were employed, the responsible departments could better share facilities, resources, information data, and teaching-learning methods and materials; they could even better co-ordinate the preparation of teaching-learning materials.

While it is difficult to 'divert' funds from one department or project to another, it is possible to pool funding in common programmes at the grass-roots level. If this can be done, specific target groups can be reached. A unified effort is needed to achieve an integrated approach to planning, implementation, management, and monitoring and evaluation. A few countries are involved in just such a reorientation process, but such efforts have only been going on for about a year and it is too early to determine the results. However, not only reorientation is required. To reach its most effective level, the integrated approach requires overall restructuring and rethinking. How long it will take to develop such an approach in each country of the region depends on the size of the country and its existing structure and infrastructure. A plan of action to provide the needed framework must take these elements into consideration. But even then, a plan of action is just an instrument. Only when that instrument is seriously and effectively applied, can any results be expected. To evaluate results most efficiently, a viable monitoring mechanism is required. To avoid being apologetic in the year 2000, monitoring demands regular yearly checkpoints to determine if objectives are being reached. If they are not, adjustments will be needed.

People's participation. Community participation is vital to the success of education for all. Without co-operation from members of the community, education for all cannot succeed. Years ago, generations ago, a community would build its own school, giving land, materials and labour, and employ its own teachers. As governments nationalized education, establishing centralized programming and curriculum planning, the close relationship between school and community suffered. In some cases, perhaps in most, there is no close relationship. Ministries responsible for education must take a long hard look at what has happened and initiate some corrective action. Governments, because of increasing indebtedness, can ill afford the responsibility of seeing to the educational needs of the

people. Government investment in education is shrinking; when financial problems arise, education and health services are the first to be cut. Education for all hopes to see a reverse in this trend, with the management and administration of educational facilities again becoming the responsibility of the community. Formal education, however, will never be able to cater to the needs of all school-age children simply because some will never be able to attend regular school (school hours are work hours). Again, community participation holds a key to success. Employers and others from within the private business sector can help. Functional literacy classes can be conducted for workers. Non-formal evening classes can be arranged. Informal learning situations can be initiated; these are especially useful for young children in their formative years who live in isolated and remote areas and whose families are poor. Activities can be arranged. Hard-core pockets can be penetrated. Greater co-ordination and funding from governments and international agencies is very important, but community mobilization, with special emphasis on co-operation from the private business sector and influential individuals, is vital to the success of the programmes associated with education for all. Increase public awareness, stimulate community mobilization – these are major tasks for the future. With more community participation in school matters and less centralized direction from the government, respect for teachers may be renewed and curriculums can be made more relevant to local conditions.

However, it is grossly unfair – especially given today's chaotic scramble for accomplishment – to be severely critical of governments, NGOs, international organizations, regional, national and local affiliates and independents which are trying to do their best to help others. To be overly critical at this stage, in light of the tremendous achievements of recent decades, is to be unrealistic. Rather than be critical of one another – which leads only to pessimistic and fatalistic misconceptions – these vitally important elements should continue to strive to be of mutual assistance. National governments, regional and local entities are key elements, as are private enterprises and individuals. Assistance from UN agencies and other international organizations (i.e. UNICEF, World Bank, and UNDP, which, with Unesco, are the principal sponsors of the World Conference on Education for All: 'Meeting Basic Learning Needs') are of great assistance. Unesco has assumed a lead role helping to eradicate illiteracy, universalize primary education and provide continuing education for out-of-school youths and adults. It is this type of desire and its accompanying ability to help which has established the foundation from which attitudes may change – both individual and societal attitudes. But more help is needed, and that help is needed now.

Socio-economic constraints. Radical reforms have been indicated. What those reforms will consist of precisely has yet to be hammered out. Whether any will really transpire remains to be seen, but the certainty that they are needed is witnessed by actual conditions. A tether hook is usually attached to one element, though not exclusively: the poor. The poor cannot afford to send their children to school. That is a truism. Even when school is free, when uniforms and textbooks and writing utensils and midday meals and even transportation are provided, the poor still cannot afford to send their children to school. It is not difficult to understand the reason. The older children, when possible, work to supplement the family income, or else they (or second-level children) bear the responsibility of caring for the younger siblings while the mother and father are working. To send children to school is a great financial burden on the poor. Even when everything associated with attending school is free, they still cannot afford it. What is to be done for the children of these families? This is a major item on the agenda for the future, as the poor are perhaps the most disadvantaged of all. Financial incentives immediately come to mind, such as paying parents to send their children to school; pay them – in cash or in kind – provided they adopt a 'girls first' approach, so that girls receive priority consideration in matters of education. This would be one radical reform. Almost any radical reform will require considerable funding. The question 'Is it worth it?' deserves no answer. The future of children everywhere, the future of our race, depends upon the desire and ability of those who now 'have' to provide assistance to those who 'have not.'

Some children, whose families might be more able to afford it or more willing to assume the expense for the opportunity, do not have the opportunity. Children in isolated and rural areas, those who belong to nomadic, refugee or migrant populations, for instance, lack even the opportunity of access. The majority of these people would in no way be regarded as wealthy, so the larger grouping of 'poor' might still logically apply.

The diversity of factors which come into play in the Asia-Pacific region does not lend itself to making one plan, stick to it, and getting the job done. A plan which works well in one country, simply may not apply in another. While this situation is not new to educationists in the region, it remains one of the principal difficulties involved in 'getting the job done.'

CONCLUSION

The overall concern, then, should not be with revising the timetable for achieving education for all. It should be with wholeheartedly pursuing the goal, regardless of cost and other obstacles.

If during the next ten years the concept of education for all fails to penetrate the hard-core pockets, fails in particular to generate the needed support for education for women and girls, it may never succeed. Many of the *problems* lie within the societies themselves, within the most basic perception of women and girls and disadvantaged groups and of the *roles* they play. If the basic perception and the attitude towards these groups do not change the goal will never be achieved – though the programme and all of the people directly and indirectly involved in that programme will have achieved other successes of monumental proportions. It is not, after all, necessary that a goal be realized for progress to have been made. In approaching the goal of education for all by the year 2000, progress already has been made, though none would think it sufficient, and more rapid advancement is only to be expected.

The opportunity is at hand right now; it is incumbent upon all to take every advantage of that opportunity. To do so necessitates paying strict attention to the unfinished tasks. The tasks are many, but three or four touch upon the very core of what remains to be done. First, the people who need to be accessed must have the opportunity. Second, teachers must be available; without teachers there can be no teaching. Third, to complement the acquisition of more and better skilled human resources, more and better equipped physical resources are needed. This includes construction of new and improvement to existing school buildings and such related facilities as playgrounds and hostels (especially for girls). It also includes the preparation and dissemination of improved, relevant teaching-learning aids and materials. This element, one of many unfinished tasks, could prove especially instrumental in turning the tables on illiteracy and achieving the goal of education for all by the year 2000. For that reason, it warrants the final comment in this article.

Unesco PROAP has produced a vast array of publications for use within various countries in the region. It has assisted in the conception of locally-specific materials and aided in the translation of materials into native dialects.

Quality teaching-learning materials are of vital importance, as a learner's potential and enthusiasm are directly related to the materials used. Learners who obtain their knowledge via poor learning materials gain very little and often drop out of school, never realizing that, in part at least, the learning materials were at fault for their initial failure to comprehend instruction in basic literacy skills. Certainly better skilled, more qualified teachers are needed, but even a skilled teacher can only do so much with poorly designed and developed teaching-learning materials.

Within this area, there is a lot to be done. Much of the material being utilized in some countries of the region is totally irrelevant to both the times and conditions. Worse, it is often gender-laden and sometimes even discriminatory against females. In some ways, this single issue becomes a point of focus for the future – towards the year 2000, towards education *and* equality for all.

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