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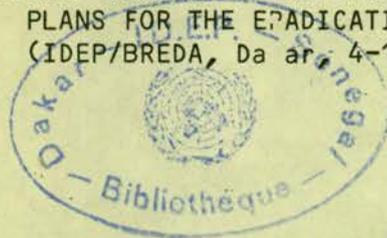
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Comments on the coordination between primary education
and literacy programmes in the african context

Working document on theme 2
prepared by :

F. Caillods and G. Carron
from the International Institute for Educational Planning
(established within the framework of Unesco)
7-9, Rue Eugène Delacroix - 75116 Paris

I. INTRODUCTION

1. General comments on the strategy for the elimination of illiteracy in Africa

In recent years, African countries have made great efforts to develop their educational systems, at primary as well as other levels. Between 1960 and 1982, the adjusted (1) gross rate of primary school enrolment for Africa (2) increased from 44.1% to 80.7%, corresponding to a tripling in enrolment figures during the same period (3). Compared with other regions of the world, Africa has made greater efforts to expand primary education (see Annex 1). At the same time, several countries have set up ambitious national and adult literacy programmes, while in other countries, literacy activities have remained more modest.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the illiteracy rates in Africa for ages 15 and above remain high (60.3% in 1980) and, if the current trends continue, this rate would still be 35.2 in the year 2000 (3).

This observation led the Harare Conference to recommend to the Director-General of Unesco that a special regional programme be set up to promote the elimination of illiteracy in Africa before the end of this century through a coordinated action of generalization and renovation of primary school education and adult literacy. (4)

The need to renovate primary school education

Two elements of the strategy recommended by this program deserve to be underlined. The first is the need to renovate primary school education. Although primary schools have experienced rapid growth over the past two decades, they have proven unable to completely satisfy educational demand in the region. Large segments of the society, especially the disadvantaged and rural populations, are still poorly-integrated into the school as it exists now. Moreover, since its functioning is far from perfect, a great many young people, especially the more disadvantaged, leave primary school before completing even three or four

(1) The term "adjusted" means that the populations used for calculating these rates were obtained taking into consideration the teaching structure in each country of this region.

(2) Including the Arab States

(3) Unesco, Etude statistique sommaire sur l'éducation dans le monde de 1960 à 1982, Conférence internationale de l'éducation, 39th session, 1984, p. 35-43

(4) BREDIA, Programme régional d'élimination de l'analphabétisme en Afrique, Dakar, 1984, p. 5-6

* This text is a revised version of a document prepared for the International Workshop on Planning and Implementing of Literacy and Post-Literacy Strategies held in Madras, India from 14 - 21 December 1982.

years of study (see Annex 2). Finally, the school has shown itself to be an inadequate tool for satisfying a whole series of training needs which have emerged alongside a new concept of development which is more directly oriented towards meeting the basic needs of the population, such as those related to production, health, family planning, etc.

"In fact, it is as if there were two distinct phases in the generalization of primary education. The first consists in developing educational service in areas where this service meets a need felt directly by the population, generally in towns and economically developed regions. This is the relatively easy stage, in which the chief concern of the authorities is to satisfy a guaranteed demand as quickly as possible. In the second stage, on the other hand, once the bulk of the nation's demand has been satisfied, the problem becomes one of stimulating school attendance in areas which, for historical reasons, have been passed-by in the process of educational development. Here, the problem is no longer simply one of establishing schools but often of actually having to stimulate demand for education among deprived and marginal groups while at the same time developing a supply adapted to their specific requirements. This second stage is a good deal more complex than the first, since it is at this stage that the problems of interaction between educational supply and demand, as these emerge in the very low enrolment rates and the very high drop-out rates in deprived areas, become particularly acute." (1)

What is necessary then to make school accessible to all children is not merely an extension of educational services but innovative action touching the very concept of school, its programmes and methods of teaching.

The advantages of a better coordination between literacy activities and primary school education

The second important element of the strategy for the elimination of illiteracy, the operational implications of which will be examined in greater detail later in this paper, concerns a better coordination between primary education and adult literacy activities. It should be noted, right from the start, that this coordination must come about through the upgrading of literacy programmes. It must be recognized that the human and financial resources

(1) G. Carron and Ta Ngoc C., Reduction of regional disparities: the Role of Educational Planning, Unesco, Paris, 1981, p. 97

which are at present devoted to literacy programmes remain very limited compared to the amount reserved for primary education. In Africa, "statistics for sixteen countries show that the portion of educational expenses reserved for adult education programmes is very limited : less than 2% in 11 of these 16 countries, the exceptions being Cape Verde (4.6%), Ethiopia (3.9%), Upper Volta (8.3%), Sao-Tomé-et-Principe (7.0%) and Swaziland (2.1%). " (1)

If we wish to attain a fruitful interaction between the schools and the literacy programmes, in which neither of the systems loses its identity, these programmes must first be technically and financially developed and strengthened. A number of advantages would thus ensue from such a coordination; the first of a financial nature. The functioning of two parallel systems which after all share common objectives, seems a costly solution. An improved cooperation between the two systems could lead to a more efficient utilisation of resources, and consequently, the saving of money. Great efforts have been made by sub-Saharan African countries to develop their educational system over the past twenty years. "They doubled the percentage of GNP spent publicly on education since 1960. In many of them that percentage was above 4% around 1974, and they were on average almost one point above the rest of the developing countries." (2) Moreover, contrary to what has happened in the other regions of the world, the continual growth has not slowed down since the period of economic crisis began in 1974. (3) If current trends continue by the year 2000 a total of 10.6% of the GNP will be devoted to education in the sub-Saharan region. However, this figure is hardly realistic in light of the growing competition for funds by other social sectors. It would seem, in fact, that educational budgets are reaching their upper limits, which are difficult to go beyond, and that it will be more and more necessary to make economies in the utilisation of available resources.

The second advantage of a better coordination between primary education and literacy programs, which is complementary to the first, is an improvement in the internal efficiency of both systems. It may be assumed that the relationship between schools for children and adult literacy is a reciprocal one. As research - still very limited - on this subject confirms (4) adults who are literate are

(1) *Combattre l'analphabétisme en Afrique*, BREDA, Dakar, 1983, p. 16

(2) J.C. Eicher, *Educational Costing and Financing in Developing Countries*, The World Bank, Washington, D.C. 1984, p. 47

(3) J.C. Eicher, *ibid.*, p. 55-57

(4) Prem Kasaju and T.B. Manandhar, *Impact of parents' literacy on school enrolments and retention of children : the case of Nepal*, in G. Carron and A. Bordia, *Issues in planning and implementing national literacy programmes*, Paris, Unesco, 1985, p. 323- 337

better informed on the different possibilities available for their children and are more inclined to make sacrifices so that their children may attend school. In light of this, it would seem that a concerted action, aimed at the same towards educating children and making their parents literate, is a promising strategy.

The third advantage relates to a concern for greater equality and is directly linked to the objective of implementing a system of on-going education, according to which "anyone, at any time during their life and in the way most suited to their needs, should be able to take advantage of all the educational opportunities provided by society".⁽¹⁾ In this perspective, more coordination between the school and out-of-school systems is essential in order to ensure that literacy is considered as an initial stage in a wider educational process which supposes, at any moment and according to the level of knowledge already acquired, the possibility of transition from one form of education to another.

2. The structure of this document

In this short paper, we have attempted to examine the levels at which coordination between the school system and literacy programmes can be organized :

- in the utilization of resources
- at the point of transition of pupils from one programme to another
- at the level of teaching methods
- between the various administrations and organizations involved.

For each of these levels, we will briefly discuss the possibilities of, but also the limits to such coordination. In conclusion, we shall examine some of the implications for educational planning.

(1) Unesco Draft Medium-Term Plan, 1984-89, Unesco, Paris, 1982, p. 67

II. DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE COORDINATION PROCESS

1. Pooling of human and material resources

One of the most basic ways to coordinate literacy and post-literacy programmes with formal education is to share common resources : buildings and teachers. One case in point is that of Tanzania, where the person responsible for organizing and running literacy and post-literacy courses at the village level is the primary school headmaster. In principle, all primary school teachers are involved in literacy or post-literacy teaching (1) - without any extra pay. This does not mean that there are no other agents of literacy. Considerable use is made of volunteers (primary school leavers, primary and secondary school pupils or drop-outs), representatives from from the party and other organizations as well as government officials. Many other countries are using teachers, but not always to the same extent : teachers may be asked to participate with or without extra pay. As for buildings, primary schools can be used to organize literacy classes. This is done in many countries when a primary school (or secondary school) is found nearby.

Advantages

There are a number of advantages to this sort of pooling of resources, particularly concerning teachers. The first advantage is the economizing of scarce resources. If teachers can be asked to organize literacy classes as part of their normal teaching duties, without any extra pay, it saves the cost of creating a special corps of literacy teachers or paying volunteers, however low that pay may be. The second advantage is that one could hope that the level of participation of teachers would be higher than that of many volunteers who, after an initial burst of enthusiasm following the launching of a literacy campaign, may become discouraged by the extra work involved in teaching regularly, every week, the low pay (if there is an pay at all), the absenteeism of the adults and, in some cases, the unlikelihood of their participation eventually turning into a full-time job in the civil service. However, convincing teachers that it is part of their normal teaching duty to do literacy work may require that they be paid extra or that their workload in day schools be reduced. Another advantage would be that, technically speaking, schoolteachers could be expected

(1) With the only exception being those teachers who teach a large number of periods, i.e. Standard I and II teachers. Whenever post-literacy courses are organized, teachers are involved mainly in post-literacy, leaving literacy teaching to volunteers.

to be more familiar with reading, writing and calculating skills than volunteers. In many instances, the volunteers have barely finished primary education, and it may be optimistic to believe that they would teach efficiently what they themselves have not really mastered. This would be even truer at the post-literacy level where the objective is not only to ensure retention and upgrading of acquired skills in the 3Rs, but also to apply those skills towards improving productivity and income-earning potential. In such courses, even teachers themselves are not necessarily qualified and may have to work in very close cooperation with representatives from extension services, local government bodies and community development organizations.

Limitations

There are, however, limits or even draw-backs to the common use of resources by literacy programmes and the formal system. The first obvious limitation is that there must already be a school in the village, whereas we may expect a large number of illiterates to be found in precisely those villages where there is no school nearby. A second limitation derives from the fact that the interaction between supply and demand of education for adults is somewhat different from what happens in the formal school system. When organizing school activities, we generally assume that the demand for education exists and that, whenever we create an educational service, children will enrol. In the case of adults, we cannot make the same assumption. Experience has shown that even when a school exists and literacy courses are organized on its premises (using its equipment and facilities), adults are often reluctant to walk long distances, and often lack the time to do so. Thus, in order to encourage them to attend courses, classes have to be organized much closer to their homes, using whatever premises are available. In this case, it is not so much the adults who go to the school, but the school or the educational service, i.e. the teachers, who have to go to the adults. Another drawback, more frequently mentioned, is that the teaching methods used in literacy courses and adult education should be different from those which are used in formal schooling. They should be much more participative, and more directly based on the experiences and everyday life of the participants. The next section will deal with the problem of the school teacher who has been teaching children for years in a traditional way, and is not likely to change his methods when dealing with adults. On the other hand, it is debatable whether better results can be expected from volunteers and, if so, how much better.

Possible measures to be taken

What conclusions can be drawn from all this and what measures can be taken, keeping in mind the general objective of eradicating illiteracy, in order to encourage a better coordination in the use of resources by literacy and formal school programmes ?

- The first conclusion may appear obvious, but it is still worth mentioning: the necessity of building primary schools in areas which are not presently served by the existing network. On the one hand, resources cannot be coordinated if both formal and non-formal programmes are not organized in the same area. On the other hand, there is no hope of stopping illiteracy from increasing unless efforts are made at the very outset to enrol and retain children in primary education. Priority should therefore be given to building schools, wherever the size of the population allows the opening of at least one class (school mapping and microplanning techniques can be of great help in this respect). The norms themselves, which are normally applied by the Ministry of Education for opening a school, could be changed by enlarging the role and mission of that school to become a real educational centre, where not only children of school-age would attend, but also where adults could participate in various literacy, post-literacy, and development-oriented programmes. In such a centre, the traditional teacher would work together with other literacy or development agents.

- The second conclusion, related to the first one, concerns the planning of facilities which should be designed so as to allow the classroom to be used for various school and out-of-school activities.

- The third conclusion is related to the training of trainers. School teachers should receive training for teaching literacy classes. Other members of the community, literacy agents and volunteers should be associated with some part of the teaching in primary education, particularly in the lower grades. All these measures would facilitate an interaction and exchange of methods and experiences between teachers in the formal and non-formal systems.

- Finally, the pooling of resources calls for a flexible organization of the school system : the possibilities of using schools and teachers at night, during vacations, modifying the calendar of the school year, facilitating the use of literacy agents and community workers in the formal school system. It should be borne in mind that all this may require significant changes in administrative regulations which very often can only be done through decentralization of educational administration.

2. Cross-fertilization of methods and contents

One of the aims of the non-formal/formal education link up is to foster cross-fertilization of contents and teaching methods.

Thinking on this subject has often taken as its point of departure a sort of disappointment at the school system's inability to innovate; despite a host of sometimes highly ambitious reforms, most of the time schools have to adjust to the specific needs of the rural regions and the marginal urban areas. There has been a secret hope that, by bringing the school into close contact with the non-formal programmes, which are more innovative and close to people's needs and experience, the latter might have a beneficial influence over the former and bring about genuine change in them.

Literacy work as a source of innovation

To return, more specifically, to the field of literacy, the principal innovations from which the school could learn operates on several different levels. Firstly, there is the general philosophy shaping programme-contents. Since the milestone World Conference of Education Ministers on the Eradication of Illiteracy, held in Tehran in 1965, literacy programmes in most countries have become predominantly functional in emphasis, that is to say that they have been explicitly formulated in a development context. Unlike what generally happens in traditional primary schools, the purpose of these literacy programmes is no longer simply to teach people to read, write and count, but also to help them to assume responsibility for their own fate. In other words, literacy programmes have sought to radically alter the relations between education and development. This change of perspective has been reflected in a series of practical innovations such as:

- the introduction of new practical subjects aimed at directly changing the living conditions of those concerned (hygiene and health, family planning, community organization, etc.);

- the development of production schemes as an integral part of literacy and post-literacy programmes;
- making use of local forms of cultural expression (songs, dances, stories, etc.) as a means of stimulating endogenous development.

From the point of view of methods, there is also a rich profusion of new approaches, varying greatly from one country to another. Nearly all, however, may be said to have grown up in opposition to the formal educational process, which generally takes the form of a one-way transfer of knowledge, from the teacher who knows to the pupil who is learning. The differences in the situations of individual pupils matter little in this process.

Most of the literacy programmes advocate, on the contrary, forms of educational work that take as their point of departure the specific socio-cultural and economic conditions in which different communities live; they demand that those taking part become directly and actively involved in their own learning process. This educational approach has facilitated the introduction of a whole series of innovations that highlight the specific character of literacy programmes. The following innovations in particular deserve mention:

- The use of local languages. (1) Language is both a means of communication and a vehicle for the expression of specific cultural values. For these two reasons, an education that is genuinely rooted in the everyday experience of those taking part and designed to foster endogenous development entails the use of local languages. One is bound to admit that literacy programmes have proven far more innovative than the school system in this respect.
- The use of mass communication media. (2) Specialists in nonformal education lost no time recognizing the vast potential of the mass communication media (radio especially) as means of stimulating awareness of problems and as training tools, and they have made imaginative use of them in literacy programmes, among others. In fact, most of the experiments aimed either at supplementing or replacing inter-personal communication by radio and television in the training process have probably been made in nonformal education.
- The use of volunteer instructors. The use made of different types of volunteers as instructors (including students and newly-literates), is undoubtedly the most revolutionary of the innovations attributable to the literacy programmes. Necessity was the chief determining factors in this use

(1) For a more complete discussion, see J. Ryan, Language and Literacy: The Planning of Literacy Activities in Multilingual States, in G. Carron and A. Bordia, Issues in planning and implementint national literacy programmes, Unesco, Paris, 1985, p. 159-178.

(2) For a more complete discussion, see Rafe-uz-Zaman, Innovative Methods for the use of mass media, in G. Carron and A. Bordia, id. ibid., p.222 261

of non-professionals as teachers, however, it is also justified by the working methods used, in which the instructor is no longer supposed to be the dominant element in the learning process.

A few reservations

All this being said, it would be wrong to claim that every innovation in contents and methods has proved fully successful everywhere. Frequently, their implementation and above all generalization has run into very serious obstacles. In many countries, for instance, productive activities exist on paper only, or, where they do exist, they are poorly integrated with literacy activities. Elsewhere, the introduction of new subjects has been confined merely to reading a few passages on hygiene or family planning. Similarly, the extensive use of mass communication media has been bedevilled by financial and logistical difficulties, while in more than one country the use of volunteers has merely resulted in a very large, unstable body of instructors, and poor learning results among participants.

In addition, until now, it has been the school system which has influenced literacy and post-literacy programmes rather than the reverse. As one study done in Mozambique clearly shows, volunteer instructors mobilized during the literacy campaign, whether students, workers or primary school teachers, frequently tend to cling to the teaching methods they know best, namely those of the primary school, despite the new methods demonstrated to them.(1) So the question is how can we reverse this tendency?

The promoters of nonformal education have often shown an inclination to think that the only way to develop alternative approaches is to ignore the existing school system altogether. But surely this is a little utopian, in as much as the old system is there in any case, and that it will go on influencing the new if only because it has directly or indirectly shaped the outlook of both instructors and participants. Surely, too, this attitude ignores the fact that the school system has changed in certain instances, and that it may have some positive contributions to make to the discussion.

Some possible measures to take

If we really are concerned to see the innovative aspects of the literacy programmes develop fully and become a source of inspiration for the school

(1) Agneta Lind, Literacy campaigns and nation-building in Mozambique, Stockholm University, Institute of International Education, 1981

system, ought we not, on the contrary, to encourage relations between the two sectors as much as possible? Any such interaction would entail regular contacts and joint planning at several levels, in particular between units responsible for the development of programmes and methods, and between those responsible for personnel training. But real cross-fertilization necessarily entails a more intense mingling and exchange of educators themselves. Until now, literacy programme agents have scarcely been involved in formal education at all, while in many countries primary school teachers have either held aloof from or been kept out of the literacy classes. Certain countries, however, have started to train teachers for both types of education, adding to their initial training a component specifically dealing with adult education. This strategy, whose aim is to turn out an all-round educator, is unquestionably an excellent thing, but it will most probably fail to achieve the desired mingling unless accompanied by other measures relating to organization and to the teachers' terms of employment, and designed to encourage transfers from one type of education to the other - in either direction. The question then is how best to plan these measures in the light of the stated aims and the specific conditions of each country.

3. Making the flow of participants possible

One of the ways of ensuring equality of educational opportunities is to organize a system of lifelong education whereby the graduates of one programme can enter another programme in order to continue their education. The striking fact is that, in most instances, the flow of pupils/participants goes from school to out-of-school activities : primary school leavers or drop-outs can enter a variety of non-formal courses, including literacy and post-literacy programmes. The reverse is much more difficult and infrequent.

From literacy programmes to primary schools

To be sure, a number of countries have planned literacy courses as an integral part of a more general policy of universalization of basic education. They have therefore left open to literacy graduates the possibility of entering primary education, given them an equivalency for certain grades. In Ethiopia, for example, new literates can enter grade 2 of primary education. But the existence of bridges between the two systems remains the exception.

Furthermore, it is very difficult to obtain figures which show the proportion of these literates who enter formal education. It seems, however, that there are quite a number of difficulties. One obstacle seems to be the level achieved by literacy graduates : many of them, given the reduced duration of literacy courses, do not attain sufficient proficiency in reading and writing to follow formal primary education programmes. Another problem is age : literacy graduates are normally above primary school age and in practice are not always allowed to enter primary education. On the other hand, if allowed, there is such an age-difference between them and the other pupils, that they are likely to drop out very quickly. Last but not least, there is the problem related to the actual organization of the formal school system: if children do not enter primary education in the first place (assuming that they had the opportunity to do so), there is little reason to believe that they will do so after having taken literacy courses. Similarly, if they have dropped out of primary education, one cannot expect that the same reasons which prevented them from attending school (i.e. the necessity to work to help feed the family, impossibility of attending school during the day, or even the lack of motivation) will have changed. If one adds to this the fact that in primary schools the teaching methods (and content) are adapted more for children than for adolescents/adults who are already working and playing a role in society, one understands all the better the difficulties facing the new literate when offered the opportunity of attending formal courses.

Organizing a parallel structure for adults

One way of attracting new literates into formal programmes seems to be to make them less formal; or at least better adapted to the specific requirements and characteristics of the clientele they have to serve: operating at night, during certain seasons only, and on an accelerated basis, etc. With this objective in mind, certain countries, such as Mozambique have organized a whole structure of night courses parallel to formal day schooling which, in principle, allows the adolescent or adult to continue his/her studies starting with primary courses and finishing in university if he/she so desires. This solution has been adopted in many Latin American countries (night school - "enseñanza nocturna" or supplementary schooling - "ensino supletivo") and in the socialist countries. Such courses can have

the same duration as day-schools, or operate on an accelerated basis (a year and a half instead of three years). They may have the same curriculum or a simplified one. In some countries, such courses are organized using the mass media (radio, television) and/or correspondence courses.

The major advantage of these formulas seems to be that, while adapted to the specific constraints of adults, they avoid the pitfall of creating a dual educational system and more particularly a lower educational standard for adults. The special classes prepare for the same examinations as the normal ones and, in principle, they offer the adult the possibility of climbing up to the highest educational level. The disadvantage may be that, since these classes are modelled on formal schooling, they also have some of its drawbacks; for example, they only cater to a limited number of adults. The teaching that takes place is not directly related to the immediate work and life experience of the participants and is therefore likely to interest more the people living in urban centres than in rural areas ; that is to say, those who would need to have certificates in order to have access to certain jobs, or simply those who have more opportunity to continue their education.

The need for mass post-literacy programmes

A complementary strategy therefore would be to set up special post-literacy programmes which are not merely modelled on the formal school system but which are directly related to the socio-economic and cultural needs of the participants. As A. Bordia explains (1), such programmes should be open to both adults who have taken part in literacy courses and to children who have completed primary schooling. They should aim at :

- (i) remedying some of the deficiencies of literacy programmes and primary education :
- (ii) reinforcing and consolidating literacy and functional skills
- (iii) up-grading and applying skills and knowledge in the field of agriculture, health, family planning, etc. and facilitating the transfer of some basic technology to those areas and persons who have remained deprived of its benefits.
- (iv) strengthening the process of positive socialization and the use of communication skills for individual and group assertion.

(1) A. Bordia, Planning and Management of Post-Literacy Programmes, in G. Carron and A. Bordia, op. cit., p. 150-178

On the whole, these courses should help participants to analyse and find solutions in a participatory fashion to some of their own development problems.

Those programmes whose contents should be defined on a participatory basis by the actual participants, using whatever resources are available at the local level, should be able to attract and motivate the vast majority of learners who live in rural areas and in deprived urban zones.

While the first type of programme gives priority to the possibility of upward educational mobility, this is not the major concern of the latter programmes (although this is not excluded entirely). The concern of post-literacy programmes is much more to attend to the majority of pupils/adults who will not pursue their education, and "to be part and parcel of an overall development strategy, emphasizing linkages with other basic services." The two systems of continuing education should not be mutually exclusive but complementary.

4. Institutional and administrative co-ordination

Within the vast field of nonformal education, literacy programmes have their own specific characteristics. Unlike other types of nonformal education, which are frequently limited in scope, with little linkage between them and which depend on a profusion of private, semi-private or public bodies, literacy work generally covers the entire country, it is usually well-structured, and often depends chiefly, on public initiative. In a sense, the way in which this nonformal sector is organized presents certain analogies with the formal system.

Different situations

The situation may vary considerably in practice. In many countries, the literacy sector is run by a distinct, fully-fledged administration of its own, represented at every level of government. In some countries, it is run by a department within the ministry of education, while in others it may be controlled by a different ministry (the ministry of culture or community development, for example) or again by a special

independent, or semi-independent body, often attached to the ministry of education. In certain countries, there may be a single department serving the two types of education, or a department of literacy in the central education ministry, with unified educational authorities running both formal and nonformal education at regional and local levels.

Clearly, the terms in which problems of organizational co-ordination are posed will vary from one situation to another. It might be, thought, on the face of it, that the ideal formula would be for a single authority to run both formal and nonformal educational services. It would presumably be easier to pool resources in this case, although serious difficulties could still arise in the interaction and co-ordination of local institutions, at least if the two systems employ different teaching staffs. Some people will argue, moreover, that this approach contains a serious risk that nonformal education will be treated as a kind of "poor relative", and that in practice it will be dominated by the formal system's rules. Similarly, it might be thought that it would be easier to co-ordinate two parallel departments within the ministry of education than two departments run by two separate ministries. But it would be wrong to under-estimate the obstacles and blockages that can occur even inside a single administrative body, or on the contrary the possibilities of co-operation that can emerge between two distinct government departments who would be able to dialogue without becoming embroiled in day-to-day administrative disputes.

In any case, it is pointless to try to weight all the pros and cons of each approach. In real life, existing administrative structures are given, and the person attempting to articulate the two types of education has no alternative - short of being able to bend them to suit his own preferences - but to make the most of them as they are.

The need to strengthen decision making power at the local level

Indeed, regardless of the existing set-up, any attempt to coordinate formal education with literacy activities will entail some strengthening

of local decision-making powers, notably as regards the use of resources. For while the formal, school system is often organized along uniform, often rigid lines (standardized timetables, curricula, teaching staff, etc.), the very essence of the literacy process requires a high degree of organizational flexibility. In other words, local administrators can only properly meet the needs of their communities if the system leaves them considerable autonomy to design and establish services as they think fit. This means, too, that links with the school system presuppose the same freedom of manoeuvre for the administrators of the two systems. The reason for this is that if each rank-and-file co-ordination proposal involving the mobilization of any kind of resources (and often, moreover, implying changes in the workings of the school system) requires central approval before anything can happen, there is a serious risk that local officials will soon feel cold-shouldered and avoid taking further initiatives in this direction.

There are other reasons why the coordination between formal and nonformal education presupposes some decentralization of decision-making powers. One is that the teaching methods employed in literacy programmes are based on the mobilization and participation of the people concerned. Here again, it will only be possible to mobilize these people and obtain their participation if the management system leaves local officials (including those in the school system) real freedom to respond to this need.

Lastly, the coordination between the school and non-formal system needs to be set in the wider context of coordination with other development departments. As we pointed out earlier, there is now a general consensus that the literacy process can only be effective if it is functional, that is, if it contributes to the improvement of the living conditions of those concerned. Yet, a literacy programme can only be fully functional if it is an integral part of a much wider effort to reorganize basic services with a view to stimulating a self-sustaining economic and socio-cultural development process. Once again, though, these services can only be organized efficiently at the local level, which at the same time implies a sufficient degree of autonomy for this level, and a major re-examination of relations with the central and regional decision-making authorities.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

In the minds of many theorists, educational planning still basically means the planning of formal education. This does not mean, however, that non-formal education, and in particular literacy and post-literacy programmes, are not being planned. On the contrary, many national campaigns have been launched after a thorough analysis of the educational needs and a detailed programming of activities. In most cases, however, the planning of formal education on the one hand, and literacy programmes on the other, have been quite different, and what is even more important, they have most of the time been carried out in complete isolation one from the other.

Reasons for the lack of coordination at the planning stage

This lack of coordination at the planning stage can be explained by various reasons. The first is some form of mistrust between the planners of the two systems. Formal educational administrators tend to regard the organization of literacy programmes, and generally speaking of all non-formal education programmes, as something which is more a mixture of political mobilization, ad hoc measures and local improvisations than of "real planning". Administrators of literacy campaigns, on their side, try to keep away from formal educational planning as it is practised in many countries : namely a quantitative exercise, rather rigid, centralized, based on a uniform model of training, and with little participation from the persons and groups concerned.

The second reason for this lack of coordination is more technical and has precisely to do with the fact that it is not possible to plan literacy campaigns the same way as one plans the expansion of primary or secondary education. To begin with, in most cases, the statistical data on literacy and illiteracy are scarce. Unless a census has recently been carried out, it is hard to know exactly what is the number of illiterates, who they are in terms of age, sex, where they are and whether or not they have already attended some years of primary education. Before launching campaigns, some countries have asked local authorities to provide estimates, village by village, on the number of illiterates. This is a huge task, but very often the estimates remain unprecise. Data on enrölements, attendance, drop-outs and even more so achievements are not always reliable : the same adult may enrol repeatedly for several

years and be counted as a different person, although he has dropped out very quickly or attended very few sessions. It is thus very difficult to assess how many people have gone through literacy courses. The measurement of who has achieved literacy is even more difficult. Some countries have established carefully worked-out literacy tests and only those persons who pass these tests are considered as literate ; but in many countries, it is sufficient to have participated in a literacy programme for a specific duration to be called literate.

Unlike what is observed in formal education, in literacy, the programmes, the content, the primers, the opening dates, the number and the length of the sessions per week, cannot be identical throughout the country. They are bound to change from one region to another, or from one local area to another, according to the specific conditions.

Furthermore, administrators of literacy cannot count on a fixed corps of teachers. Most programmes rely on a massive use of volunteers : primary school leavers, pupils and students, regular teachers and representatives of various local communities or government organizations. As a consequence, forecasting the number of volunteers and who they will be, can only be tentative and monitoring the whole system becomes a difficult issue.

Finally, the success of a campaign depends on the mobilization and conscientization of the masses. It is the quality and intensity of this mobilization movement which will determine both the motivation of illiterates and volunteers to participate in the campaign.

It is all these factors of uncertainty, combined with the necessity to leave a good deal of flexibility to administrators working at the local and field levels, in order for them to adjust to the specific conditions of the area where they are working, which determines the specificity of non-formal education. Consequently, the distribution of tasks to be carried out in the planning, programming and implementing of literacy activities is quite different from what is to be observed in most formal educational systems.⁽¹⁾ At the central

(1) D. Evans, The Planning of Non-Formal Education, Paris, Unesco, IIEP

level, planning activities focus mainly on :

(i) fixing the general policy of literacy and post-literacy programmes and designing the strategy to be applied in order to implement these objectives ;

(ii) defining criteria for allocation of resources between different regions and areas ;

(iii) organizing the training of regional personnel ;

(iv) designing the strategy and methodology for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the programme. Many planning and programming activities have been decentralized to the regional and local levels : this includes, in many instances, the development or local adaptation of the curriculum and the distribution or even the production of learning materials, the mobilization of resources and articulation with other programmes at the local level, including formal education, the selection and training of staff (supervisors and volunteers), and last but not least, the mobilization of learners and resource contributors. At the field level, where the activity really takes place, agents of literacy are responsible for organizing the activities, making use of all available resources and stimulating learners' motivation and community involvement.

In this distribution of activities between different levels, there is much room for reflecting on the part of the formal educational planner and probably many lessons could be drawn from the non-formal planning experience, particularly when one observes that, in spite of several official declarations in favour of decentralization, formal systems continue to be extremely centralized.

Suggestions for a better coordination of planning activities

More specifically, what suggestions could be made with regard to improving the co-ordination of planning activities in the formal and nonformal systems. Probably one of the first suggestions would be that educational planners in charge of the two systems, formal (primary education) and non-formal (literacy and post-literacy), work together in preparing a general diagnosis

of the educational system in fixing complementary objectives and in co-ordinating strategies of action. In many respects literacy programmes are trying to remedy the defects and failures of the formal school system. A common analysis of why the formal system has failed - sometimes so dramatically in some regions - could lead to a better understanding of what kind of measures should be taken in both formal and nonformal education in order to change the present situation. As a second suggestion we have already mentioned the necessity to decentralize the administrative structure and give more autonomy to the local administrators. They are the ones who should be in charge of :

- (i) co-ordinating and stimulating the sharing and pooling of resources;
- (ii) facilitating contacts between teachers and agents in the two systems;
- (iii) motivating learners and encouraging them to continue their education;
- (iv) co-operating with representatives from other ministries or local non-governmental organizations in the planning and conduct of activities.

It is the carrying out of all these tasks which will make articulation between the two systems of education a reality. One cannot expect, however, local administrators to undertake all this without efficient support from the national level. Many initiatives may become, or have already been, discouraged because of a lack of understanding and obstacles created by the administrative structure.

Therefore a third suggestion could be that the national level takes the initiative:

- (i) to make the necessary contacts with other ministries and organizations, in order to facilitate the co-operation at local level;
- (ii) to alter whatever regulation may exist, or issue new regulations which would make the flow of participants and pupils possible from one programme to another, from one form of education to another;
- (iii) to reform teacher training programmes (their content should make more room for teaching/learning strategies for adults) to modify norms of admission in order to facilitate the admission and training of nonformal and literacy agents;
- (iv) finally, to give more flexibility to local administration, with regard to the organization of education at the local level: timetable, calendar year, etc

Annex 1

ADJUSTED* GROSS ENROLMENT RATES IN PRIMARY EDUCATION

Region / Year	1960	1970	1982
The world	81.9	84.8	94.3
Developed countries	105.9	106.3	107.0
Developing countries	72.2	77.8	91.5
Africa	44.1	56.6	80.7
North America	115.0	117.4	119.8
Latin America and the Caribbean	73.1	92.4	104.7
Asia	79.4	80.3	90.3
Europe-USSR	103.0	103.8	105.0
Oceania	101.5	103.4	100.9
Arab States (1)	49.3	63.6	83.2

(1) Statistics for the Arab States are also included in the figures for Africa and Asia

Source: Etude statistique sommaire sur l'éducation dans le monde de 1960 à 1982, Unesco, Paris 1984

* The term "adjusted" means that the populations used for calculating these rates were obtained taking into consideration the teaching structure in each country.

Moyennes non pondérées des taux de rétention scolaire
par régions pour les cohortes entrées dans l'enseignement
primaire vers 1980.

Groupes de pays et régions	Nombre de pays	% de la cohorte qui atteint la classe:			
		1	2	3	4
<u>AFRIQUE</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>74</u>
Etats arabes	6	100	92	90	84
Pays francophones	16	100	88	84	75
Pays anglophones	12	100	88	84	79
Pays lusophones	4	100	69	55	42
<u>AMERIQUE LATINE</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>ASIE ET OCEANIE</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>87</u>
Etats arabes	9	100	96	95	94
Autres pays d'Asie	16	100	89	85	82
Océanie	5	100	93	91	90
<u>EUROPE</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>96</u>

Source, Evolution de la déperdition scolaire dans l'enseignement du
premier degré dans le monde entre 1970 et 1980, Unesco, Paris, 1984

EVOLUTION OF THE PERCENTAGE OF GNP
SPENT ON EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, 1970 - 1978

REGION OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES	1970 (1)	1974 (2)	1976 (3)	1978 (4)
Sub-Saharan Africa	3.57	3.52	3.64	4.11 (4.39) <u>a/</u>
West Africa	3.39	3.54	3.79	4.39 (4.46) <u>a/</u>
East Africa	3.79	3.48	3.42	3.77 (3.93) <u>a/</u>
Former French colonies	3.51	3.69	4.02	4.67 (4.81) <u>a/</u>
Former British colonies	3.92	3.53	3.70	4.04

Source: Col. 1: Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1980, Table 4.1.
Cols. 2,3,4: own calculations using Unesco Statistical Yearbook data from total public current expenditures on education and IMF International Financial Statistics for GNP (except for the Central African Republic, Chad, People's Republic of Congo, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Somalia, for which World Bank data were used).

Note: All the percentages have been calculated by computing an unweighted arithmetic average of country ratios.

a/ Numbers in parentheses are percentages excluding countries for which no data were available for preceding years and countries for which data did not come from the same source as in preceding years.

Source, J.C. Eicher, Educational Costing and Financing in Developing Countries, World Bank Staff Working Papers Number 655, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 1984