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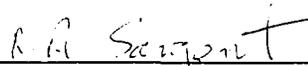
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The Formalization of Nonformal Education:
Case Studies of Botswana and Kenya

c. Andreas Rohrbach, 1993

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Master of Arts degree in
International Development Studies at
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
August, 1993

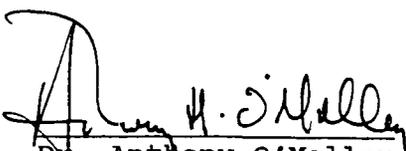
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ABSTRACT

**THE FORMALIZATION OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION:
CASE STUDY OF BOTSWANA AND KENYA**

Andreas Rohrbach, August 1993

The rise of nonformal education coincided with a disenchantment in formal education, which was not meeting the development and educative needs of nations. Nonformal education with its unique distinguishable characteristics was seen as an efficient, effective and relevant means of achieving both education and development. However, with nonformal education's "success" came increasing state involvement. This thesis argues, through the examples of the Brigades in Botswana and the Village Polytechnic in Kenya, that increased state involvement in nonformal education leads to its formalization and as a result a loss of efficiency, effectiveness and relevancy. The foundations of this argument are built upon a broad conceptualization of the social, economic and political context within which nonformal education exists.

PREAMBLE

The revival of nonformal education began in the late 1960's and early 1970's, prompted by the growing disenchantment with formal educational practices. This disenchantment grew out of a realization that formal education was not delivering its promised outcome of development. Formal education was not guaranteeing a wage income nor was it facilitating equitable rural development. Formal education was thus labelled as inefficient, ineffective and irrelevant to the needs of the majority of the population. The idea of nonformal education was taken up as either an alternative, complement or supplement to formal education. Regardless of how it was placed, it was viewed as a way of educating for practical and obtainable objectives. It was hoped that nonformal education could fill in some of the development gaps missed by formal education.

By definition, nonformal education is anything that is not formal education. However, this definition is not precise enough for the purpose of this study. Nonformal education is more than just education which exists beyond the confines of a classroom or outside a linear model of education. It included, at one time in its history two underlying assumptions. "First, that nonformal education existed entirely outside the management structure of formal education and

secondly outside the focus of Ministers of Education".¹ It is these two assumptions which have made nonformal education attractive to some and unattractive to others. For example, the relative success of nonformal education has been attributed to the fact that it avoids becoming over bureaucratic. Others however, might argue that if such relative success occurs it could have been enhanced within the formal system.

The lack of this 'top heavy' and 'top down' characteristic, seems to allow nonformal education to obtain great diversity and, perhaps more importantly, linkages to specific development objectives and local needs. Nonformal education addresses fields such as agriculture, water sanitation, family planning and rural industry. It is the diversity, spatial target potential, cost effectiveness, program relevancy and resource efficiency which are some of the factors that are used to advocate increased state involvement in nonformal education.

This thesis will focus on the result of increased state involvement in nonformal education. As the state becomes involved many of its distinguishable characteristics change. They change to the extent that they come to bear a remarkable resemblance to formal education. The result is the formalization of nonformal education. Although there are a

¹ P.H. Coombs. The World Crisis In Education: A View From the Eighties. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. p.86.

number of hypotheses that contribute to formalization, amongst which goal displacement and institutional ambivalence of grassroots organizations are two, this thesis will focus on the political, economic and social agenda of the state. Therefore, this thesis argues that increased state involvement in nonformal education leads to its formalization and thus to a loss of effectiveness, efficiency and relevancy.

First, it is necessary to establish the formal education dilemma. This will be done primarily by looking at sociological explanations for educational problems. An examination of the literature suggests that this dilemma is highly interpretative, based as it is upon opposing sociological frameworks; thus a variety of issues arise which confirm this dilemma. Once the educational dilemma is defined its origins are established. Its origins are traced back to the beginning of formal education, the exact time when the state gained control. State control of formal education created a highly structured institution with defined functions that dictate its characteristics. Establishing the state relationship with education sets the foundation for the rest of the thesis.

The second chapter primarily is a review of the literature on nonformal education, in order to establish a context for the thesis argument. The literature is reviewed in three distinct sections. The first section establishes definitions of nonformal education which highlight its

opposing characteristics with respect to other educative models (such as formal and informal education). Thus we begin to understand where nonformal education fits into an educational framework. This sets the foundation for the second section which takes nonformal education and applies it to the education and development model. As a result, theoretical approaches in nonformal education are established. From the various theoretical approaches, key issues are drawn out and explored in the third section. This section addresses issues such as control, employment, rural development, aspirations and gender, giving various interpretations of their centrality in the nonformal education dialogue. By pulling all three sections together, it becomes clear that the key issues, definitions and theories of nonformal education rely heavily on a juxtaposition to formal education. As such the distinction is clear and the framework for discussing its formalization can proceed.

The third chapter sets the methodological foundation for the case studies of the Village Polytechnic in Kenya and the Brigades of Botswana. It discusses the rationale behind the case studies and the rationale behind using an analytical grid. The analytical grid simply identifies key entry points in the discussion. Each entry point is a distinguishable nonformal education characteristic (as determined in the previous two chapters). This is done with a view to determining the parameters whereby the formalization of

nonformal education can be identified within the case study data.

The final two chapters are the case studies. They are both identical in their set-up. Each begins with an historical look at the country's education system and the development model pursued. This establishes the importance of nonformal education within Kenya and Botswana and determines the exact issues that the Village Polytechnic and the Brigades were formed to address. Once this framework is established the analytical grid is applied. Each entry point is discussed over the time span of the program to determine any changes. Significant changes are noted and then explained in terms of the role of the state and the formalization process.

Finally, the concluding chapter considers the evidence presented in the body of the thesis, and attempts to draw out conclusions as to whether or not the state plays the dominant role in formalizing nonformal education. These conclusions are recast in terms of policy implications that may affect nonformal education in other developing countries.

CHAPTER I

The Formal Education Dilemma

Introduction

In order to discuss possible obstacles or issues which have and may be confronting nonformal education it is useful to briefly examine the source of disillusionment with respect to formal education. The literature on nonformal education reveals that the problems which have plagued formal education are appearing with greater frequency in the nonformal education dialogue. More importantly, an alarming observation is that the very root issues which nonformal education was to combat, those of formal education's ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy are problematic at best in the nonformal education context. By outlining the problems with formal education, later conclusions and suggestions on nonformal education are drawn. Thus setting the formal education critique makes for an appropriate point of entry.

In this critique of formal education the focus will centre on the role of the state in education. Arguing that the state through its historical formalization of education has structured education in such a rigid fashion that it is incapable of responding effectively to criticism.

The ...Faure Commission report...emphasized that existing formal education systems everywhere were

growing increasingly obsolete and maladjusted in relation to their rapidly changing societies.¹

The critique will begin by defining the educational dilemma in terms of sociological explanations and perspectives (Functionalist, Marxist and Weberian) on the ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy of education. With this background it is made clear that the way one defines and deals with problems in education is a reflection of one's theoretical framework. Having established what the problematic issues are in formal education we then examine the educational explosion of the past 30 years, linking it to the issues raised within the sociological literature. Linking the educational explosion with sociological issues will show that education is in crisis, manifested in claims of ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy.

Having established the existence of an educational crisis, an historical analysis will be used to show that the state has been instrumental in narrowly defining educational functions and characteristics, and thus to be held responsible for the problems apparent within the formal education system. Linking the state to the educational crisis will be done in three stages. First, state theory will be reviewed to determine how the state views itself historically in the construct and maintenance of institutions such as education.

¹ Philip H. Coombs. The World Crisis in Education: The View From the Eighties. New York: Oxford University Press. 1985. p.21.

For example, in a capitalist democratic state education serves a distinct purpose. Second, we need to look at the formalization of American education as an example of the process whereby the state exercises domination over education for the maintenance of the status quo. This will show that the state's relationship to education serves very particular political, economic and social functions. Finally, we will link educational functions (which have been historically developed by the state) to the distinguishable characteristics of education. Linking the functions with the characteristics in this way shows just how tightly structured an education system can become, as a result of the state's involvement. Understanding the connection between educational characteristics and state involvement becomes crucial in later discussions where comparable processes are noted as taking hold in nonformal education. If they are problematic in formal education, they will most certainly be problematic in nonformal education.

Setting the Formal Education Critique

Sociological Explanations

Ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy are words which haunt the formal education sector. Regardless of the theoretical perspective/approach, the general conclusions are the same. Whether one takes a Functionalist, Marxist or

Weberian approach to the analysis of education, each framework, as an analytical tool, leads to similar conclusions as to the shortcomings of formal education. Each school of thought starts with different issues and assumptions and thus concludes that there are different methods to correct the problems. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the dilemma facing formal education it is useful to establish what each theoretical perspective views as the root of the formal education problem.

Functionalism argues that "all societies consist of systems which perform the basic functions necessary for the society to survive".² One of those systems is education. Therefore, taking a functionalist approach, one views social institutions such as education as having a specific function in the larger society. Society is seen as moving in a linear fashion in which various institutions have a role in societal maintenance and progress. Problems in society or the system are isolated to specific institutions such as education. Therefore problems in education are seen as originating from the education system and not from societal constructs. Problems are institutionally specific and therefore not structurally transformative. Problems of education are isolated with respect to preserving existing systems, "consequently... societies continue to organize formal

² Kathleen P. Bennett and Margaret D. LeCompte. The Way Schools Work: A Sociological Analysis of Education. New York: Longman, 1990. p. 31.

schooling because doing so helps societies to survive".³ This approach leads to the isolation of the problem of education with respect to other institutions and the maintenance of these institutions.

The functionalist approach means that when problems of education are raised answers and explanations to those problems are solely extracted from the education system. Therefore, a functionalist approach which deals with education's ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy isolates both cause and cure within the same institution. Much of the traditional writings on educational problems comes from a functionalist approach operating in line with the dominant paradigm.⁴ Societal problems such as the lack of employment skills, educated unemployed, unrealistic aspirations and rising educational costs are tracked back to education, and suggests that education is the only institution which can combat them.

Alternatively, a Marxist perspective sets education into the broader political economy of the nation. It views education as an apparatus for maintaining or reproducing the

³ Ibid., 31. Similar arguments can be found in J.H. Turner. The Structure of Sociological Theory. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1978.

⁴ The World Bank. Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion. Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1988. T.W. Schultz. "Investment in Human Capital". American Economic Review. Vol 51, (March) p. 1-17. Jacques Hallak. Investing in the Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World. Paris: UNESCO, 1990.

existing social, political and economic order. Education has the function of transmitting values required by the social system, whether capitalist or socialist. From a Marxist perspective, problems in society cannot be as neatly allocated to various institutions. Problems are not seen as arising solely as a result of the imperfections within an institution. Therefore, dealing with problems cannot be effectively done by the institutions themselves. Problems in education are of a structural nature which require examination of the underlying social, political and economic structure of society itself. Accordingly, a Marxist critique of formal education has a different root, and thus raises different key issues.

A Marxist perspective tends to focus on educational inequalities which emerge from the political and economic dynamics of the capitalist system and thus ensure reproduction of existing social relations of that system. Marxist explanations for capitalist schooling point to the class structure of society which is responsible for differences in student achievements and attainment. Marxist explanations argue that knowledge in schools through curriculum tends to "obstruct rather than facilitate a clear understanding of our social and political world".⁵ Key issues in a Marxist analysis include the role of education in maintaining the status quo, perpetuation of class inequalities, its

⁵ Daniel P. Liston. Capitalist Schools: Explanations and Ethics in Radical Studies of Schooling. New York: Routledge, 1988. p. 14.

relationship to employment and material production, and the social construction of knowledge. This is not to say that a Marxist analysis does not comment on what Functionalists have raised as key issues. What this does suggest is that both look in different directions when analyzing problems and therefore seek corrective measures in different ways.

Both Functionalist and Marxist examinations of formal education are focused within the wider society as a macro analysis of its problems. For a Functionalist, the role of education is determined by the system's functional prerequisites and requirements for order and equilibrium; for a Marxist it relates to the interests of the dominant class in the reproduction of existing social and class relations of the system. As an initial tool of analysis, both are useful in discussing the weakness of formal education. However, due to their overriding macro interpretation of education neither perspective goes far enough. Neither provides a sufficiently broad enough scope of analysis for all possible issues which face formal education. Using a Neo-Weberian analysis both macro and micro relationships between education and society are analyzed. A Weberian perspective looks at both individual action/interaction as it both influences and is influenced by social, political and economic systems. Weber used a multidimensional analysis of class, status and power to

understand the complex construct of the social world.⁶ Weber's conceptualization of society did not only argue that a person's location within the economic system has a powerful effect on "beliefs, culture and consumption patterns" but also that one's "gender, geography, ethnic background, religion and occupation" effect the way in which individuals interpret reality.⁷ A Neo-Weberian type analysis, in discussing the problems of formal education focuses on "power, authority, conflict over economic resources or rewards, competition for status and prestige and the strength for political control", and thus extends the parameters of analysis.⁸

The problems in formal education are structured differently within the approaches reviewed above. Each asks different questions and therefore seeks answers by alternative avenues. What all the various issues, those of the educated unemployed, unrealistic aspirations, rising educational costs, employment skills, maintenance of the status quo, class inequalities, power, authority and rewards suggest is that the problems of education can be drawn together under the general

⁶ Randall Collins. Three Sociological Traditions. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. pp 81-92.

⁷ Alan J. DeYoung. Economics and American Education. New York: Longman, 1989. p. 56.

⁸ David Blackledge and Barry Hunt. Sociological Interpretations of Education. London: Routledge, 1985, p.336. For additional material on Weber, particularly differences with Marxism analysis look at Randall Collins. Three Sociological Traditions. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. pp. 81-101.

rubric of ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy. To gain a clearer understanding of how labels of ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy are derived, it is useful to examine the 1960's and 1970's when there was an explosion in the formal education sector. This explosion is often referred to as the 'educational explosion' and simply depicts a time period when there was massive educational expansion.

Educational Explosion:

The educational explosion which the developing countries have undergone in the past 30 years is unprecedented in human history. In 1960, 54 per cent of primary school aged children were in school. By 1984, that figure rose to 97 per cent.⁹ Equally impressive were the increases in secondary and higher education, which rose from 14 per cent to 32 per cent and 2 per cent to 4 per cent respectively. Table 1 shows the increase of school enrolments in Africa and Tables 2 and 3 show these increases in the case study countries of Botswana and Kenya. Within every level of education there was a tremendous push to expand access and expand participation. Explanations for the origins of this explosion range from economical, political and social.

The economic explanation proclaimed that the expansion of a nation's education system was a prerequisite for a modern

⁹ Ingemar Fagerland and Lawrence Saha. Education and National Development. New York: Pergamon Press, 1989. p.266.

TABLE 1

Increased School Enrolment in
Africa

YEAR	ENROLMENT (THOUSANDS)		
	1ST LEVEL	2ND LEVEL	3RD LEVEL
1975	40 229	7 804	818
1980	59 182	13 718	1 396
1985	65 872	19 040	1 886
1987	67 430	19 924	2 065
1988	69 747	20 350	2 115

SOURCE: Unesco. Statistical Yearbook 1990. Paris: Unesco, 1990. p.2-11.

TABLE 2

School Enrolment at all Levels
Botswana and Kenya

Country/ Year	Population (millions)	Pupils Enrolled		
		1ST LEVEL	2ND LEVEL	3RD LEVEL
Botswana				
1965		66 061	1 325	
1970	0.58	83 002	5 197	
1975	0.68	116 293	14 286	469
1980	0.82	171 914	20 969	1 078
1985	1.09			
1987		248 823	42 952	2 731
1988	1.21	261 352	44 306	
1989		274 358		
Kenya				
1965		1 010 889	49 223	2 981
1970	11.25	1 427 589	136 030	7 795
1975	13.41	2 881 155	240 969	
1980	16.67	3 926 629	428 023	12 986
1985	20.33	4 702 414	457 767	21 756
1987		5 031 340	544 745	26 839
1988	23.88	5 123 581	563 440	
1989				

Source: Unesco., Statistical Yearbook 1990/1980/1970. Paris: Unesco, 1990, 1980, 1970.

TABLE 3

Enrolment Ratios
Botswana and Kenya

Country/ Year	Enrolment Ratio (Gross)M/F		
	1ST LEVEL	2ND LEVEL	3RD LEVEL
Botswana			
1975	72	16	.7
1980	92	21	1.4
1985	108	30	2.2
1987	115	33	2.8
1989	117	34	
Kenya			
1975	104	13	.8
1980	115	20	.9
1985	98	21	1.3
1987	96	23	1.5
1988	93	23	

Source: Unesco., Statistical Yearbook 1990. Paris: Unesco.
1990. p.3-19 and 3-26.

production system. For developing countries it was the search for a modern production system which guided educational decisions. The emphasis on "manpower" planning along lines of modernization and the human capital theory's of development called for heavy investment in education. The major function of governments was to create the conditions for economic progress since it is believed that "improving its provision(education) might improve the nation's level of material welfare".¹⁰ The political explanation for the educational expansion is explained under the need to unify the nation and to "incorporate the new individuals into society as citizens with rights and duties".¹¹ With many of the nation states in Africa emerging during the 1960's, education was seen as a way of reaching people to help forge a national political identity. Marxists and Neo-Weberians have argued that:

The expansion of education at all levels [is] a result of conflicts and rivalries between interest groups, [and arises out of] the need to exercise ideological and hegemonic control by those in power over their subordinates.¹²

The social explanations for expanding education are similar to the political reasons. Fagerlind and Saha, from a

¹⁰ Ronald Dore. The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. p.84.

¹¹ Fagerlind and Saha. p.267

¹² Ibid., p. 267.

functionalist perspective, point to the "integrating mechanism" of education which "socializes individuals into a more complex system of roles and norms which the kin system or modern family are no longer able to do".¹³

Regardless of the reasons given for the educational expansion, the consequences for the social systems of developing nations were considerable. The educational explosion and the issues that came out of it helped to popularize education itself, and not coincidentally, popularized the problems associated with this social institution. The educational expansion created serious tensions and strains in and on society, which in turn placed restrictions on both economic and political development. The exacerbated problems of educational expansion were thus linked to rising costs and the phenomenon of the educated unemployed, which in turn became increasingly difficult to resolve as the social demand for education continued to grow.

The rising costs of expanding and maintaining a formal educational system are often cited as an obstacle to a nation's economic development. This directly relates to accusations of education being inefficient. The rising costs set education in direct conflict with other sectors for a share of a nation's finite resources. As more money is spent on education, less can be spent in other sectors of the economy. Underlying the exploding costs of education is the

¹³ Ibid., p.267.

observation that the increased cost of education is not arithmetic but rather geometric.¹⁴ In these terms, the cost of educating peoples is deemed too expensive in relation to its returns for society, and thus places questions on the efficiency of formal education.

In the 'developing world', the escalation in cost, coincided with rising enrolment ratios, which are compounded by high birth rates and falling infant mortality and thus even higher costs. Significant is the fact that not only are more children reaching school age, but a larger proportion want schooling and want to stay in school longer. The rising cost of education is further compounded by social pressures to increase higher levels of education and the fact that there are more students in colleges and universities. A clear illustration of escalating enrolments in universities is seen in Table 4 which shows the increase in graduates from the University of Swaziland. Allocating resources in the most efficient manner becomes a real question when one considers the cost ratio per pupil between primary and higher education. In Kenya and Tanzania that cost ratio is as high as 283:1.¹⁵ This means that 283 students can attend primary school for the cost of 1 attending university.

¹⁴ Husen Torsten. The School in Question. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. p.72.

¹⁵ M. Todaro. Economics for a Developing World. London: Longman, 1979. p. 260.

TABLE 4
Escalating Enrolment Patterns
Swaziland

Calendar Year	Graduates: Bachelor of Law
1986/87	22
1988/89	30
1989/90	44

Calendar Year	Graduates: B.A(Social Science)
1986/87	20
1988/89	25
1989/90	41

Calendar Year	Graduates: B.Comm.
1986/87	16
1988/89	21
1989/90	30

Source: University of Swaziland Calendars: 1986/87, 1988/89 and 1989/90.

Questioning the cost of an ever-expanding education system, particularly at the higher levels, falls directly into what was earlier labelled a functionalist approach. This concern, although very real to all nations in the world, suggests that the cost of education is part of the problem. If only the cost could be more efficient then education would be efficient. This type of questioning avoids the larger social construct relating to the whole efficiency of education as a social system, and as such solutions for education's cost problems are isolated solely to the education system. These solutions range from freezing enrolments, no new expenditures, double and triple streaming to use school buildings 16 hours a day instead of 8, to expanding alternative forms of education such as nonformal education. Although these measures may make education more efficient economically (allowing moneys to be freed up for other sectors) they still avoid the social, economic and political forces that make a "modern" education system both expansive and increasingly expensive. Questioning the cost of the educational explosion becomes even more relevant when one sees the end products of the education system: the educated unemployed.

The educated unemployed refers to those people who upon receiving formal education (with all its built in hopes and aspirations) fail to gain employment in the modern economy of a nation. With the explosion of education more and more people began receiving education but not employment, which

they assumed would follow. To understand this problem and the social and political tensions it creates, it may be useful to look at the phenomenon known as the law of zero correlation. Essentially this suggests that as the level of school attainment rises, (nearing 100 per cent) the social values attributed to education will decline.¹⁶ This phenomenon has many consequences for developing countries in particular. First, as the level of school attainment increases levels of disparity between those who have attained and those who have not attained education increase. Secondly, as the education system moves closer to 100 per cent at various levels (ie primary, secondary and so on) pressure will increase for expansion at the next higher level. Thus educational expansion becomes a vicious cycle. Although the educated unemployed is a problem caused partly by a rapidly expanding education system (which can not be absorbed into the modern economy), it creates within itself further conflicts by raising (inadvertently) the demand for education, thus setting the system into a qualification spiral.

The demand for education increases as education becomes a criteria for rewards and prestige. Bacchus argues that it is the income differences between those who have education and those who do not that is the " major factor which has fuelled the demand for more of the so-called 'irrelevant'

¹⁶ Fagerlind and Saha., p. 167-168.

education".¹⁷ Education as such becomes a socially and economically valued commodity.¹⁸ Socially because it is the primary means of upward mobility, economically because any chance to gain employment in the modern sector is dependent upon its certification, which will make any prolonged unemployment by the individual still worth the wait. Youth unemployment is thus negatively correlated with the level of schooling and " young people are aware of this fact and try to continue their studies as long as they can".¹⁹ It is this struggle for economic positions by the learners and for increased levels of economic production by the state, which results in an expansive education system geared to the attainment of credentials.²⁰

The issue of the educated unemployed is often linked to the educational explosion. It directly attacks education with respect to its relevancy, effectiveness and efficiency. To

¹⁷ M. Kazim Bacchus. "Education for Development in Underdeveloped Countries". Comparative Education Review. Vol. 17, No. 2. June 1981. p.220.

¹⁸ Randall Collins. The Credential Society. New York: Academic Press, 1979. pp.53-58. Randall Collins writes about education not as a commodity but as a form of property. He explains this drive for education as a way of securing "positional property" which puts an interesting analysis on education as a form of property which Collins argues is " crucial in determining most class organization and class struggle in everyday life" p. 54.

¹⁹ Jean-Claude Escher and Thierry Chevaillier. " Rethinking the financing of post-compulsory education" in Prospects. Vol 78,no 2, 1991. p260.

²⁰ Collins., (1979). p.194.

illustrate this we need only examine where the blame for the educated unemployed is levied. Economists and manpower planners who had originally supported the increased enrollment option are now suggesting that the educational system is exceeding the economic system's capacity to absorb new graduates. Their solution rests in simply cutting back on educational output. Business leaders put the blame squarely on the school system suggesting that the reason for the educated unemployed lies in the failure of the education system in not teaching the necessary skills.²¹ The suggestion here is that more relevant education be adopted, such as vocational education and curriculum reform. Still others suggest that the educated unemployment problem is a result of the premiums put on credentials. Finally, blame has been put on structural-class factors, suggesting that the educated unemployed are a result of an economic and political system which relies on "producing reserve armies of skilled labour".²²

The formal education dilemma, claims of its ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy, are manifested in the contemporary issues of rising costs and the educated unemployed. These issues stem as much from the education explosion of the 1960's (which was a result of

²¹ Coombs., (1985). p. 181.

²² Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. Schooling In Capitalist America. New York: Basic Books, 1976. p.56.

economic, political and social policies) as they do from one's theoretical perspective.²³ Understanding how the general issues of ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy are manifested in contemporary debates on the education dilemma is only part of a greater understanding of how and why these issues have evolved to become problems in formal education. To answer this question it is useful to place education into a historical perspective to show that the state has a profound impact on formalizing "education", and thus has contributed to the ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy of education.

Historical Setting of Formal Education

The State and Education:

The move of states to include education within their institutional make-up was a gradual process, starting in the early/mid 19th century (in the western world). The state, as a distinctive entity or as a concept predates the existence of what we today would call formal education. Since education as an institution grew up within the framework of the state, any understanding of education's functions, origins, purpose and evolution can find some grounding in explanations of the

²³ The 1982 Harare conference strongly suggested that education's failure was due to social and economic factors. UNESCO. Educational and Training Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa: problems, guidelines and prospects. Paris: UNESCO, 1987. p.25.

state's function within society. In this regard, we can bring in various theories of the state which will help in later clarification of education's larger functions within society. The term 'state' is often mistakenly used synonymously with 'government'. This mistake is easily explainable since most citizens do not perceive the state as acting, but rather 'persons in government' as actors.²⁴ It is after all the government which carries out the authority of the state, and thus maintains its legitimacy. Although government and state may not be synonymous any concept or definition of the state would include government along with many other noticeable qualities. Andrew Vincent suggests that there are some fundamental characteristics of any state, these include territory, legal system, judiciary and a monopoly of force.²⁵ As such it becomes clear that a fundamental characteristic of a state is the institutions it creates. Agreeing that the state includes government in a defined territory and with the authority to create institutions adds to conceptual clarity when looking at theories of the state in capitalist democratic societies.

The liberal/pluralist view of the state is the dominant theory which guides the state's function within a capitalist democratic society. Essentially, classical liberal theory

²⁴ Andrew Vincent. Theories of the State. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987. p. 31.

²⁵ Ibid., p.7.

suggests that the state is a representation of the general will and good of a society. Within the classical liberal theory of the state "power resides in the people and the state is composed of legislators chosen by those people to represent their interests- the general will".²⁶ As such the state is seen as a neutral terrain where the people define policy. The state as a neutral terrain is also important in pluralist theory. Pluralism from its more philosophical origins contends the acceptance of diversity. In political and state theory this transforms into incorporating diversity amongst individuals and groups under " some form of totality"- the state.²⁷ Deep within the liberal/pluralist theory of the state is the democratic imperative that people/individuals collectively determine the institutions which govern them. As a theory of the state, a liberal/pluralist view suggests that the state's function is one which mediates and harmonizes civil diversity. In effect the end result is a state which is seen to have moral and ethical authority, and more so, responsibility to its people. Actions by the state are thus seen as the general will or for the common good of civil society. Therefore, the creation of institutions, such as education, which become part of the state, are legitimized as aiding in the state's neutrality.

²⁶ Martin Carnoy, The State and Political Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. p.35.

²⁷ Andrew Vincent., p.211.

The liberal/pluralist view of the state can be set against a Marxist view. Although Marx and Engels never developed a single theory of the state, Marxism, as a theoretical framework does offer insight into the possible functioning of the state in capitalist democratic societies. There is a tendency to oversimplify the Marxist view of the state. Richard Brosio dismisses what he calls the Orthodox Marxist view as one which simply "depicts the state as nothing more than the executive committee of the whole bourgeoisie".²⁸ Although the dominant tendency of the state in Marxist theory operates from the vantage point of the bourgeoisie, Marx in 'the eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' does note historically specific situations where in fact the state is not the mere disguise of the bourgeoisie.²⁹ The rather simplistic notion of Marxist views on the state which Brosio exemplifies detracts from some of the analytical tools one can draw from Marxism. Martin Carnoy explains two Marxist fundamentals which are crucial in framing a Marxist notion of the state. First, Carnoy suggests that Marxist view the origins of the state as fundamentally different from the liberal/pluralist. Marx viewed the state as emerging from

²⁸ Richard A. Brosio. "The Role of the State in Contemporary Capitalist and Democratic Societies: Ramifications for Education". Educational Foundations. Vol 7, No 1, Winter 1993. p28.

²⁹ Karl Marx. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works. Vol 1 Moscow: Progress Press, 1973. pp 394-487.

material conditions, "not from the general development of the human mind or from the collective of men's will".³⁰ Secondly, Carnoy explains how Marx viewed the state as emerging from production relations which do not represent the common good but are simply a "political expression of the class structure inherent in production".³¹

With Carnoy's two points noted, it is clear that Marxists do not view the state as neutral or representing the common good. Extending the institutional aspect of the analysis, institutions such as education which emerge under the state, are seen as non neutral places where underlying production relations guide its development.

A final theory of the state can be labelled as Critical State Theory. Its principles are devised by the Gramscian notion of state, civil society and hegemony. It is a theory which presents the state as neither neutral nor completely in control of the Bourgeoisie. Martin Carnoy calls this an "alternative Marxist view of the state".³² The Gramscian concept of the state views the state as an "integral institution [which] features both coercion and consent."³³ Central to an understanding of the Gramscian concept of the

³⁰ Martin Carnoy. (1984). p.46.

³¹ Ibid., p.47.

³² Ibid., p.65.

³³ Brosio., p.29.

state is the notion of hegemony. In Gramscian analysis hegemony can have two tendencies or meanings. First, hegemony can refer to the mechanisms whereby factions within the state power bloc gain dominance and power based on moral and intellectual leadership. Secondly, hegemony can refer to relations between the dominant and subordinate classes where the dominant class attempts to use its "political, moral and intellectual leadership to establish its view of the world as all-inclusive and universal".³⁴ It is clear from a Gramscian understanding of the state and hegemony that the state is not a neutral entity nor is it solely the site of bourgeois dominance. It is a site of conflict and contending ideas based on moral and intellectual leadership and persuasion which vie for hegemonic control of the state apparatus at particular conjunctures within the capitalist socioeconomic formation. It is within this quest for hegemonic control that the institutions of the state, such as education, become places of "refinement, diffusion, and reinforcement of its [the states] hegemony"³⁵. In Gramsci's understanding the state not only guards the capitalist system it also "participates in the struggle for control over the formation of its citizenry".³⁶

³⁴ Martin Carnoy., (1984). p.70 and Alberto, Carlos Torres., The Politics of Nonformal Education in Latin America. New York: Praeger, 1990. p.24.

³⁵ Torres., p.25.

³⁶ Ibid., p.26.

In the struggle over the formation of its citizenry the state has institutions at its disposal. Gramsci writes:

[If] every State tends to create and maintain a certain type of civilisation and of citizen (and hence of collective life and of individual relations), and to eliminate certain customs and attitudes and to disseminate others, then the Law will be its instrument for this purpose (together with the school system and other institutions and activities).³⁷

Many contemporary writers have incorporated forms of Gramscian analysis in looking at the relationship between education and the state. Martin Carnoy and Henry Levin stress the dynamics between capitalism and democracy as they are expressed in an often contradictory fashion through schooling. They look at the way the state operates to support dominant ideologies and at the same time act democratically in making schools a site of conflict.³⁸ Michael Apple looks at schools as a place of contested terrain by analyzing the hegemonic power in curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. In effect, how schools produce effects conducive to the legitimatization, accumulation, production and reproductive needs of the state.³⁹ Henry Giroux examines the way in which the

³⁷ Antonio Gramsci. Prison Notebooks. New York: International Publishers, 1985. p.246.

³⁸ Martin Carnoy and Henry, Levin. Schooling and Work in the Democratic State. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.

³⁹ Michael Apple. Ideology and Curriculum. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

production of knowledge is linked to the greater political sphere. In doing so Giroux looks at hegemony and how it plays upon schools in formal curriculum and in the way knowledge is structured.⁴⁰ Each of these contemporary writers use some facet of critical state theory and incorporate it into an analysis of education.

It is clear from this brief discussion on various theories of the state that regardless of which theory one subscribes to, education has a definite function within the modern capitalist state. If one subscribes to the liberal/pluralist view education aids in the state's neutrality. If one accepts a Marxist view, education cannot fulfill a neutral role. And finally, in a Gramscian notion the relationship between the state and education is not simply a question of neutrality but one of conflict and quest for hegemonic control. After briefly outlining various state theories it becomes apparent that the way in which one views the state determines significantly the way in which one perceives education as functioning within any society. Understanding this relationship between the state and education helps form a starting point in an attempt to isolate dilemmas and problems. To help clarify the state-education relationship we need to look at the formalization of education

⁴⁰ Henry Giroux. Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition. Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey, 1983.

which involves the ever changing function and purpose of education as the state became the principal agent.

The Formalization of Education:

The formalization of education refers to the increased involvement of the nation state, over the past 150 years in the field of education. This formalization of education was driven under the guise of many rationales: cultural, political, social and most profoundly economic. With the hope of illuminating the significance of these rationales, we will illustrate by briefly tracing the formalization of American education. This summary shows both when and how each rationale came about, and shows that in the end each are connected, mutually supportive and contradictory. It is the contradiction and conflict between these rationales which set the stage for the present day dilemma in formal education. These rationales have not only guided educational policies but have also transformed the structure of education in such a fashion that the very institution is rendered incapable of responding to criticisms of ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy. Although the various rationales for state education imply varying levels of dominance over the past 150 years, each has left a mark on formal education. Together the various rationales have helped define education's unique distinguishable characteristics. It is the exact construct of

education which limits the way it defines and therefore deals with problems and criticisms.

Before the development of state education systems, education was the product of private enterprise. Churches and guilds all set up their own systems of education to serve their own private interests. It was not until the early 1800s (in the United States) that these private interests took on the facade of public concern. Initially, in America, education was the prerogative of the private household. It was within the household that children received the moral and character training necessary to facilitate a productive life in a largely rural society. With the emergence of industrialization in the early 1800's two new phenomena took place - urbanization and large scale immigration from non-traditional places. There was growing concern among the elite of the Northeast that both urbanization and immigration added to the increasing numbers of poor people in America. It was in fear and to some extent pity of the poor (with reflections on earlier mass urbanization and ghettoization in Britain) that the American establishment began to arm itself with the sceptre of education. Although it was the poor who were at issue it was the children of the poor who became the targets. Poverty was seen as a result of an undisciplined character and an immoral disposition. If only the children of the poor could be properly socialized they could escape the unruly paths of their parents. David Nasaw's book Schooled to Order

identifies this dilemma and points to the establishment of charity schools as the initial arsenal in the fight towards universal socialization and public education. Quoting a New Haven newspaper Nasaw draws together the competing rationales for supporting charity schools.

The charities, in aid of the education of the poor, are not only an individual but a public blessing. Poverty does not always teach good lessons; she may be the 'mother of invention', but her inventions are, too often, the craft of wickedness....It is easier to train than to correct the mind. It is easier to inculcate virtue than to eradicate vice. And it becomes a community, regardful of its moral and intellectual character, to guard, with the utmost solicitude, against the introduction of evil principles and habits.⁴¹

Much of the same sentiment towards the poor was expressed in Britain during the early part of the nineteenth century. In discussing the impetus behind state elementary education in Britain, Ronald Dore traces its origins to an early school system at the turn of the century geared specifically at the poor. Dore writes:

The new system of schools which was slowly built up into the state elementary education system was entirely separate from the schools of the middle class. Its primary aim was to instruct the lower orders in the elementary virtues of diligence, thrift, hygiene, sobriety and proper deference to superiors...⁴²

It was not until the drive for the common school in the United States, led by Horace Mann, that the concept of

⁴¹ David Nasaw., Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public schooling in the United States. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. p.23.

⁴² Ronald Dore., p. 17.

publicly supported school systems came about. In the fight for common schools, which were envisioned as being open to all socio-economic groups, Mann realized quickly that he could not rely on philanthropic individuals and charities to finance such a massive endeavour. The only alternative avenue was the raising of revenue through public taxation. Remarkably, the arguments levied by the common school supporters were somewhat successful. They argued that taxpayers (property owners) should view school taxes as a form of insurance," an investment in the social order".⁴³ As one reformer expressed in a resolution which favoured school taxation stated:

...the best police for our cities, the lowest insurance of our houses, the firmest security for our banks, the most effective means of preventing pauperism, vice and crime, and the only sure defense of our country, are our common schools; and woe to us, if their means of education be not commensurate with the wants and powers of the people.⁴⁴

In the fight for common schools the stage was set for state involvement in schooling. Local schooling autonomy was slowly etched into state schooling laws. The intrusion of the state in local affairs can not be seen in isolation as solely an educational phenomenon. It was during the early/mid nineteenth century that the state began interfering in a variety of local affairs. This ranged from "state regulated commerce, banking and transportation" through to "state

⁴³ Nasaw., p.52.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.52.

legislation mandating taxes and establishing state boards of education".⁴⁵

The initial purpose for a state supported school system was quite clear. The need to provide children with basic literacy and instil social values. The social rationale for state supported schools were thus a natural extension of early arguments which were used to support charity schools. It was the political function behind the common schools which was new and aided in public acceptance of state supported education. "Political education", as Nasaw put it, "would be a primary and explicit function of the reformed common schools".⁴⁶ Horace Mann wrote "it was an easy thing to make a Republic; but it is a very laborious thing to make Republicans".⁴⁷ Education through its political and social functions was therefore seen as a way to secure the American Republic. It was obvious to the reformers that the main goal behind a state supported education system was social peace and prosperity.

The guiding force behind the common school crusade was not so much the education of the children as the maintenance of social peace and prosperity. Because the republic and its private property were endangered more by 'immoral' than by illiterate adults, the common schools' responsibility for

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.59.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.40.

⁴⁷ Lawrence. Cremin. (ed). The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on The Education of Free Man. New York: Teachers College Press, 1957. p.92.

character training and moral instruction overrode all others.⁴⁸

The social and political functions of schooling were seminal in the origins of state supported education and are still evident in the present day system; not only as remnants of the past but also as strong countervailing forces in modern definitions and debates of what education should be. The economic rationale as a function of schooling has a more illusive history. Early on in the origins of state funded education an economic rationale became integrated with social and political rationales.

Economic arguments are detected early in the nineteenth century but these arguments were always second to the social and political issues. Even Mann's appeal to the manufacturers, who supported common schools, was guided by social and political rationales that embodied the hidden economic function of the new compulsory education system.⁴⁹

As early as 1941, Mann wrote about the market value of education. " Education has a market value that it is so far an article of merchandise, that it may be turned to a pecuniary account: it may be minted, and will yield a larger amount of statutable coin than common bullion".⁵⁰ Arguments in support

⁴⁸ Nasaw., p.240.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.45-47.

⁵⁰ Merle Curti. The Social Ideas of American Educators.
Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co, 1979. p.112.

of compulsory common schools quickly tied the social, political and economic benefits of schooling to the economic development of the United States.

For the creation of wealth, then,- for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,-intelligence is the grand condition...The greatest of all the arts in political economy is to change a consumer into a producer; and the next greatest is to increase the producer's producing power,- an end to be directly attained by increasing his intelligence.⁵¹

Educationalists in the United States began formulating arguments that appealed directly to the self-interest of industrialists as early as the mid nineteenth century. Educationalists trying to gain support from industrialists began gathering data to link education with productivity hoping to show the economic utility of education.⁵² Up until the early 19th century, there was no link between the "needs of the economic system and the products of the education system".⁵³ The relationship between education and economics was only firmly established after the state became the principal proponent of education. The fact that education also had profound economic impact became apparent in England as early as 1870, when hope for the British lagging economy

⁵¹ Allan J. DeYoung., p.36.

⁵² Nasaw., pp. 45-47.

⁵³ David Blackledge and Barry Hunt. Sociological Interpretations of Education. London: Routledge, 1985 p.329.

was tied to Forster's education act.⁵⁴ Similar hope was placed on Japan's reforms of the 1870's which saw education as fundamental in restructuring both society and economy.⁵⁵

Still it must be made clear that the economic benefits of education in the early years (roughly 1830-1870) of state supported schooling emphasized the social and political function of schooling which centred on character training (obedience, punctuality and literacy). It was through character training not cognitive skill acquisition that the three functions became connected. Education made economic sense since it formed a well disciplined worker not because it gave the worker cognitive skills.⁵⁶ The economic arguments for education slowly began to change in such a fashion that they were eventually able to stand on their own. Although the character training arguments which encompassed all three rationales were dominate up until the end of the Second World War, economic arguments became and still are the most prevalent today.

It is clear that the various functions/rationales for state education (social, political and economic) played different roles of dominance throughout the initial years of state supported education. Initially it was social ills that

⁵⁴ Ronald Dore., p.17.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.38.

⁵⁶ The idea of cognitive skill acquisition is discussed in Chapter II in terms of the Human Capital Theory.

education was to combat, followed by political ideals and intermeshed between them were the economic arguments. By the end of the second world war economic arguments became the explicit function of education with implicated goals in both the social and political realms. The functions of education which have arisen out of state support have structured education in a very particular manner. Each function has contributed to the present day characteristics of education, which as we will show has contributed to education's ineffectiveness, inefficiency and irrelevancy.

Characteristics of Formal Education

The structure of formal education today has many distinguishable features. Simply stated, formal education is state supported, takes place in a definite location (schools), uses standardized curriculum, time specific, relies on evaluation (tests, exams), leads to certification (awards credentials or degrees) and has entry requirements. Education has not always accommodated these traits. Over the past 300 years these characteristics have amalgamated to form what is internationally recognized as formal education. By identifying the characteristics of formal education one can pin-point their origins with respect to the social, political and economic functions of education.

The idea of education taking place within a definite location, ie. schools, is a result of the nation state becoming involved in education. As the form of governance changed in the late 18th century from a monarchical-theocratic to the present nation-state form, education could no longer be the preserve of the church. " A new ruling class toppled the church/crown alliance and initiated its own form of institutions".⁵⁷ One of these new institutions created was education/schooling. Thomas La Belle uses the French Revolution as an example of the overthrow of the old aristocratic alliances and cites the control of schools as a major issue before and after the revolution. As an institution schools had to be made to replace the physical structures of the church but at the same time schools had to be able to offer the same type of forum for establishing ideological uniformity. In essence the concept of schools as a defined place and structure had to ensure the social and political functions of education. Schools became the perfect institution to transmit values, morals and character training thus replacing (in one sense) the church. La Belle identifies both the explicit and implicit constructs of schools which enabled them to transmit these values. " Schools became an institutional mechanism by which a standardized and uniform

⁵⁷ Thomas J. La Belle. "A comparative and international perspective on the prospects for Family and community control of schooling." Robert B. Everhart. The Public School Monopoly. San Francisco: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1982. p.284.

set of cultural symbols- flags, pictures of cultural heroes or rulers, slogans, standardized books- are transmitted, ensuring some conformity to the aims and imperatives of the state system".⁵⁸ Equally important was the idea of having schools as distinct entities within a community in that the children whom they were trying to reach, those of the poor and the lower class, were removed from their families (negative role models) and immersed in a setting full of positive/democratic symbols. Even the very structure of the classroom contributes to the social and political function of schooling. The teacher standing in front of class, students raising hands to answer, and students seated lower than the teacher all go a long way in adding implicitly to education's political and social functions.

The use of standardized curriculum is another way that the social and political function of education is transmitted. If social and political ideals are so important what better way to disseminate them than a standardized curriculum (which is done through standardized books in the name of equality, all people regardless of socio-economic standing receiving the same education, the same tools to make a start in life). This gives continuity in the education all children receive across a nation. Most of the present day work in tying curriculum to the social and political function of education is done under the ideas of cultural reproduction. Theories of cultural

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.284.

reproduction look at the ways in which culture is reproduced through institutions such as education, reproducing class relations. Michael Apple has directly targeted curriculum as a central means to achieving this end.⁵⁹

It would be misleading to suggest that the establishment of schools in a definite structure and the use of a standard curriculum are solely the reflection of the social and political functions of education. Both equally aid in establishing state legitimacy through character training which in turn aid the economic functions of education. However, the formal education characteristics which best reflect the economic function of schooling are those of evaluation, certification and entry requirements. Each of these characteristics not only tie schooling to the development of nations, thereby furthering the economic function of education, they also legitimate and further the production relations which national development is believed to rest on.

If one takes certification, entry requirements and evaluation as a point of entry one notices that their beginnings correlate with growing economic benefits associated with schooling. Initially, state supported education was founded on the principle of education for all socio-economic groups. Every movement of the state to expand its control over education became a move to change education from the "elite to

⁵⁹ Michael Apple., (1979).

the mass".⁶⁰ But, as Nasaw points out, "was this massification a democratization?".⁶¹ Although education could be massified it could not be democratized. Education's characteristics of entry requirements, evaluation and certification meant that schooling could be massified without being democratized and thus serve the production system of the state. Entry requirements meant that secondary or tertiary education theoretically would be open to all people. Those who did not meet the requirements could be sorted and channelled into activities fitting their credentials. This in effect raises the issue of education as a sorting mechanism which has a definite economic impact. (This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter II).

An overriding implication of the evolutionary correlation between education and economic development is the use of economic analysis in addressing education. The use of economic analysis leads to economists attempting to devise precise ways of measuring the ways in which education contributes to economic growth. This also leads to legitimizing many of education's distinguishable characteristics which are easily quantified. Several models have been devised. Cross-country comparisons, manpower planning, cost-benefit analysis, cross-correlations and rate of return analysis. All these methods rely on extensive data

⁶⁰ Nasaw., p.239.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.239.

which can measure both inputs and outputs of both the education and economic systems in quantifiable terms. Thus one needs information on educational inputs such as cost per learner, curriculum and teacher training. Information on educational outputs such as primary/secondary/tertiary school leavers, (of which degree granting is one way of keeping tabulation). General educational information such as enrolments and literacy are also used. On the economic side, are attempts to correlate educational factors, either inputs or outputs, with economic indicators such as GNP, income levels or population rates.

It is this economic analysis, which was fostered out of state awareness of a relationship between education and economic growth, which has contributed to some of the characteristics of present day formal education systems. The formal education system has evolved to become such a tightly structured system with highly entrenched characteristics that the system itself is rendered incapable of responding effectively to crisis.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was twofold. First to show that formal education is in a dilemma and secondly to show that state formalization of education contributes to this dilemma as manifested in cries of education's ineffectiveness,

inefficiency and irrelevancy. This is of great significance to nonformal education. As states search for ways to deal with the educational dilemma they are increasingly turning to nonformal education as an alternative. However, as the case studies will show, when the state becomes involved in nonformal education it slowly changes nonformal education's distinguishable characteristics to resemble those of formal education. This, in effect, puts into question the role of the state in nonformal education. For if state involvement means the adoption of formal education characteristics, we know what the results will be: an inefficient, ineffective and irrelevant alternative.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to review the most relevant literature dealing with nonformal education. A review of the literature reveals considerable conflict in different views. Often this conflict is grounded in questions of definition and theory and is translated into the practical or program issues which are present in the literature on nonformal education. Thus we will review the literature in three distinct sections. The first will deal with the definitional debate. The second deals with theoretical understandings and assumptions. The third, focuses on key issues in the practical or program concerns of nonformal education.

What is Nonformal Education?

Problems of Definition:

To define a word is to set the boundaries within which it operates. It is only by setting these boundaries that one is able to use the word in its proper context. Defining nonformal education presents initial conceptual problems. Does the prefix "non" simply modify the meaning of formal

education or does it form a whole new word. The definitional debate is important "since the lack of conceptual clarity muddies discussion and, more importantly, confounds policy, planning and programme actions".¹ It is this search for conceptual clarity which must form the basis for any discussion or any investigation into nonformal education.

Definitions of nonformal education are often presented in terms of what it is not.² Nonformal education is not formal education and it is not informal education. Defining nonformal education in such terms makes initial conceptualization easier and potential strengths more visible. However, this results in an analysis which centres on a comparison of strengths and weaknesses between differing educational systems, and does not really establish what it is.

Coombs and Ahmed are most often cited for their definition of nonformal education.

Nonformal education is any organized, systemic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children.³

¹ Harbans S. Bholá. "Non-formal education in Perspective". Prospects. Vol 13, no.1, 1983. p.47.

² David R. Evans. The planning of nonformal education. Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1981. p.27.

³ P.H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed. Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education can help. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1974. p.8.

This definition relies heavily on the 'what it is not' approach. The definition explicitly states its existence outside of the formal school system. Grandstaff suggests that by defining nonformal education as all education which takes place outside of schools, nonformal education "is put in a negatively defined notion".⁴ If what Grandstaff suggests is correct the definitional debate does have policy implications. However, this out of school concept although not incorrect forms the essence of most other definitions.

Reed defines nonformal education as any "organized, intentional and explicit effort to promote learning to enhance the quality of life through out-of-school approach".⁵

UNESCO defines nonformal education as:

Education which takes place outside the formal system on either a regular or an intermittent basis. Such education may provide an alternative to formal education as a means of acquiring educational achievement or professional qualification.⁶

A working group at Michigan State University categorizes four types of education. They define nonformal education as "any non-school learning where both the source and the learner have

⁴ Marvin Grandstaff, "Non-formal education as a concept". Prospects. Vol 8, No. 1. 1978. p. 178.

⁵ Horace B. Reed. "Nonformal Education". in Horace B. Reed and Elizabeth Lee Loughran (ed) of Beyond Schools Amherst:Community Education Resource Centre, 1984. p.52.

⁶ UNESCO. Terminology of technical and vocational education. Paris: UNESCO, 1984. p.23.

conscious intent to promote learning".⁷ A final definition comes from Harbison who defines nonformal education as:

skill and knowledge generation taking place outside the formal schooling system, is a heterogeneous conglomeration of understandardized and seemingly unrelated activities aimed at a wide variety of goals. Nonformal education is the responsibility of no single ministry; its administration and control are widely diffused throughout the private as well as the public sector; its costs, inputs, and outputs are very difficult to measure.⁸

To gain a more comprehensive conceptual framework one must place nonformal education in its rightful position among all learning activities of human beings. The boundaries between nonformal and formal education seem straightforward. Largely labelled by the distinction between school and non-school. A third category, informal education, presents additional boundaries for nonformal education. Informal education is education or learning that is determined by one's environment. It encompasses the idea of education as a life long process, from birth to death. Coombs and Ahmed define it as "unorganized and often unsystematic learning which every person acquires knowledge, skills and attitudes from daily experience".⁹ The Michigan State University working group suggests that informal education is "learning resulting from situations where either the learner or the source of

⁷ Evans., p. 28.

⁸ Frederick H. Harbison. Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973. p. 52.

⁹ Coombs and Ahmed., p.8.

information has a conscious intent of promoting learning - but not both."¹⁰ This definition for our purposes of defining nonformal education is very useful. If one subscribes to this definition the 'conscious intent' becomes the focus of the differences between nonformal and informal. If both parties have intent to learn than it could be nonformal, so long as it exists outside the institutional framework of schools which are characterized by their standard methodological practices.

The World Bank finds it similarly useful to distinguish between the three types of learning. In the hope of providing conceptual clarity for educational administrators and planners, the World Bank focuses on the delivery of all educational services with respect to their institutional context and the objectives/purpose of educational services with respect to their instructional methods.¹¹

Distinguishable Characteristics:

Although the various definitions of nonformal education offer a starting point for conceptualization, much is left out. Nonformal education is more than just an organized, systemic educational activity carried on outside the formal school parameters. "The simple 'out-of-school' definition identifies a huge and amorphous field and does little to

¹⁰ Evans., p.28.

¹¹ Bhol., p. 47.

provide a means of discriminating among the data that makes up that field."¹² It is more than just non-school learning where both parties are conscious of the process. There are explicit characteristics which these definitions leave out. To understand nonformal education one must identify and hopefully incorporate these distinguishable characteristics into a more precise working definition.

Authors place different emphasis on a variety of characteristics. Writers, such as Evans, place more emphasis on the control aspect.¹³ Thompson, discusses the purpose of nonformal education as its unique distinguishing characteristic.¹⁴ Grandstaff in discussing parameters in which one can base a contextual definition lists six distinguishing criteria. Administration affiliation, pedagogical style, function, clients, reward systems and cultural congruence. Paulston lists what he calls "model-defining characteristics of nonformal education and formal education".¹⁵ His list defines and lists variables which make the two systems different. They are structure, content, time,

¹² Grandstaff., Prospects, Vol.8, No.2, 1978. p 178.

¹³ Evans., p. 60.

¹⁴ A.R. Thompson. Education and Development in Africa. London:MacMillan, 1981. pp. 211-212.

¹⁵ Rolland G. Paulston. "Nonformal Educational Alternatives". in New Strategies for Educational Development: The Cross Cultural Search for Nonformal Alternatives. (ed) Brembeck, Coles S. and Timothy J. Thompson. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1973. p. 66-67.

control, locale, functions, rewards, method, participants and cost. Simkins lists five main characteristics which help to define nonformal education. These are: purpose, timing, content, delivery system and control.¹⁶

The purpose refers to its immediate application. Nonformal education as a means of addressing immediate community concerns. This is often called relevancy or the here-and-now aspect.¹⁷ Timing refers to a set time limit, usually a short cycle. Content is practical and consumer centred. The delivery system of nonformal education is community centred, non-academic and uses local skills and resources. Lastly, control is at the local level, community based and democratic.

These characteristics translate into an almost endless list of diversified activities and programs. Nonformal education program applications include family planning, nutrition, vocational training, youth services, agricultural extension and literacy programs. Nonformal education is thus education which exists outside of the formal school parameters where both the source and the learner have a conscious intent and follow a highly defined set of criteria.

¹⁶ Tim Simkins. Nonformal Education and Development. (Manchester: Manchester Monographs # 8, Department of adult and higher education, 1977.) pp. 12-15 Note: these headings correspond to those of Simkins.

¹⁷ Townsend calls it the here-and-now and Dejene calls it relevancy.

To define nonformal education without including in its definition these distinguishable traits is to do an injustice to its possible function. Nonformal education must be viewed not only in its limited comparative definition towards formal and informal education but also in light of its unique characteristics and practical program applications. Moving towards a more precise definition starts the road towards conceptual clarity. This clarity is of importance to both administrators, planners and evaluators. Nonformal education's revival is a direct result of formal education's inherent limitations in addressing many crucial development and educative concerns. Nonformal education is thus believed to be able to deliver equity, justice, wealth, realistic aspirations and employment in an effective and efficient way.

Theoretical Frameworks

Education and Development:

To place nonformal education into a theoretical framework one must first establish its linkage in the education and development model. It is out of this construct of ideas and assumptions that we form the nucleus of various theoretical frameworks in nonformal education. Therefore, by drawing out the relationship between education and development, and by using the human capital theory as a focus, we will show that nonformal education is not only part of the development debate

but, also, in its current forms, may be central to that debate.

What is the relationship between education and development? Many scholars suggest that there is a fairly powerful connection.¹⁸ Manzoor Ahmed writes " there is no real dispute over the general proposition that education contributes to economic development and improvement of the quality of life in direct and indirect ways..."¹⁹ As such, any disagreement focuses on the degree of this relationship and the specific aspects of education which maximize development objectives. Those who agree that there is a strong relationship between education and development are said to hold a functionalist view, operate out of the dominate paradigm, believe in a modernization approach to development, and subscribe to neo-classical economics. These are people like Philip Coombs, Manzoor Ahmed, Theordore Schultz and organizations like the World Bank and UNESCO.²⁰ For them, education is the major input which greatly enhances the individual's ability to participate in individual, community and national development. As such, education is the vehicle to equitably distribute wealth and resources.

¹⁸ Such as Coombs, Dejene and Thompson.

¹⁹ Manzoor Ahmed., "Critical Educational issues and non-formal education". Prospects, Vol XIII, No 1, 1983. p.41.

²⁰ UNESCO. Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning, UNESCO, 1967.

Others, calling to question this relationship, look at the social, political and economic composition of both terms (education and development).²¹ They, in fact, suggest that there is a dispute over the general proposition that education contributes to economic development and improvements in the quality of life. For them, it is not a given that education will necessarily lead to development. They wish to argue that education has the potential to lead to and perpetuate inequalities and therefore can be anti-developmental.

Education is an institution in which many of society's basic conflicts and contradictions are carried out. As such education has both the potential for contributing or detracting from equitable economic, political and social development.²²

Those disagreeing with a strong and assured relationship between education and development might be said to hold a structuralist view, incorporate Marxist and Neo-Marxist analysis, utilize dependency theory, and support more of a Weberian analysis.²³ In this context education is placed in line with other social institutions, and viewed within the

²¹ Klees, Weiler, Blaug and Bock are but some of the more recent writers questioning education and development. In particular its relationship with economic development.

²² John Bock and George J. Papagiannis. Nonformal Education and National Development: A critical assessment of policy, research, and practice. New York: Praeger, 1983. p.XV.

²³ Samuel Bowels and Herbert Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America. New York: Basic Books, 1976. Philip Altbach, "Servitude of the Mind? Education, Dependency and Neocolonialism" in Altbach, Arnove and Kelly, Comparative Education. New York: Macmillan, 1982.

total structure of society. Educational systems, as presently found, simply reproduce class divisions, and thus maintain the class structure. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that an educational system which is highly unequitable, functioning within a political economy based upon inequities, will be able to contribute to equitable development.

This debate about education and development is often highly subjective, and perhaps open to theoretical interpretations. As a point of entry into the theoretical realm of education and development the human capital theory is a reasonable starting point. Human capital theory is used by both those who support and those who caution a correlation between education and development. Examining the assumptions within this theoretical construct therefore leads naturally into the underlying theories of nonformal education.

Human capital theory is used to explain both the value of human capital for individuals and nations. At the individual level, it is assumed that individuals invest in education in the hope of future financial returns. At the national level, the human capital theory of development suggests that if enough resources are put forward to provide training and skills for a majority of the people the most significant obstacle to development is overcome. Theodore Schultz devised the human capital theory to explain an increase in national output relative to a decline in the factors of production in the post World War II developed world. Schultz attributed the

increase in national output to an increase in the productivity of workers. Increased productivity was explained in terms of an increase in skills and knowledge brought on by education and training.²⁴ Schultz drew a direct relationship between the development of "human capital" and the transition from agricultural to industrial society:

... a fundamental proposition documented by much recent research is that an integral part of the modernization of the economies of high and low-income countries is the decline of the economic importance of farmland and a rise in that of human capital-skills and knowledge.²⁵

Education should thus be seen not solely as a consumption good but as an investment good. The human capital theory :

Substantiated the classic liberal argument that underinvestment in education, not discrimination, is the cause of the continued disadvantage of certain societal groups; similarly, that underinvestment in human capital, not economic exploitation, explains the lack of economic growth and development in poor countries.²⁶

It was Schultz's human capital theory which guided educational development since the 1960's. For the neo-classical economist it presented a great accomplishment. It not only linked

²⁴ Theodore Schultz. "Investment in Human Capital," American Economic Review 51, March 1961, pp.1-17.

²⁵ Theodore Schultz. "Nobel Lecture: The Economics of Being Poor", Journal of Political Economy. Vol 88, No 4, Aug. 1980, p.642.

²⁶ Karen Mundy. "Human Resources Development assistance in Canada's Overseas Development Assistance Program". Canadian Journal of Development Studies. Vol.XII, No 3, 1992. pp 387-88.

education to neo-classical economics but also presented a model which could be evaluated by economic formulas, such as a rate of return analysis.

Roe Johns, Edgar Morphet and Kern Alexander discussed a variety of rate of return approaches which have been used to test and support the human capital theory. They listed four approaches: the relationship approach, cash value approach, cost benefit approach and the residual approach.²⁷ The residual approach is the most significant for our purposes. It is the approach used by Theodore Schultz to show a relationship between public education and national economic development. A residual approach takes into account all the agreed upon factors of economic growth (physical capital, rent and labour..etc..) and then suggests that there are many more unexplainable factors which occur outside of quantifiable/measurable indicators. These new unquantifiable indicators are called residual factors. According to the human capital theory " the explanation of a large part of the residual variance in economic growth lay in the increasing skill base of workers".²⁸

²⁷ Roe Johns, Edgar Morphet, and Kern Alexander, The Economics and Financing of Education. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

²⁸ Alan J. DeYoung. Economics and American Education. New York: Longman, 1989. p.123.

At the heart of the human capital theory is the assumption that formal education is an essential ingredient in expanding the productive capacity of a society:

The human capital theory is based on the individual's productive capacity and assumes that development is achieved "by" humans... Upgrading of the labour force is viewed as a form of capital investment, and the training of human capital as the most effective way to achieve national development.²⁹

The human capital theory uses the individual as the main unit of analysis. It suggests not only a change in the individuals skills but also values, beliefs and behaviour which all add up to an increase in productivity.

A final assumption on part of the human capital theory is the notion that investment in education can redistribute societal wealth to poorer groups by increasing productivity and real wages.³⁰ The assumption is that education, by increasing productivity, can redistribute wealth and therefore lead to development. This assumption therefore assumes a relationship between productivity and development. At this point the human capital theory comes full circle, basing itself on a set of assumptions which essentially attempt to prove that education equals productivity, and that productivity equals development. Therefore human capital theory concludes that education equals productivity and

²⁹ Michel, Saint-Germain. "Education and Theories of Development", Development. Winter, 1985. p.17

³⁰ Karen Mundy., p.388.

productivity equals development and therefore education equals development.

Many of the underlying assumption of the human capital theory have been challenged. It is a challenge which suggests that the human capital theory is inadequate to explain the relationship between education and development. Adams, goes as far as to suggest that the evidence used by supporters of the human capital theory was so weak that he termed the education-economic growth model "one of the most romantic tales of the century".³¹

The human capital theory is attacked on both methodological and theoretical weaknesses. Methodological criticism is directed at an uncritical use of rate of return approaches. Which DeYoung says: "contain an important element of guesswork and are therefore not as methodologically rigorous as they might appear".³² Many of the theory's assumptions have also come under question. The theory assumes that the labour market is a perfect one, thereby not taking into account other factors such as structural unemployment, job satisfaction, and reward structures. The theory also assumes that a country's primary motivation for investing in education is to stimulate economic growth rather than meet basic social needs. Finally, the human capital theory assumes

³¹ Donald Adams. "Developmental Education", Comparative Education Review, Vol 21 (2 and 3), June/October, 1977, p.300.

³² DeYoung., p.128.

that by understanding and changing the individual, social and economic progress will occur. "Yet at least since the writings of Robert Owean and Karl Marx, there have been arguments that it is the human community that ought to be the first concern of those interested in understanding and furthering the process of economic and social change".³³ Besides criticising human capital theory's underlying assumptions, detractors point to alternative theories that contradict the basic principles and interpretations of this theory.

There are strong suggestions that the human capital theory underestimates the socialization function of schools.³⁴ Education is, after all, a form of political, economic and cultural legitimization and reproduction. The human capital theory economists implied that the economic value of education is due entirely to the effects of cognitive learning in schools. Disagreement with this belief can be traced back to the liberal tradition of John Stuart Mill who writes:

Education makes a man a more intelligent shoemaker, if that be his occupation, but not by teaching him

³³ Ibid., p. 149.

³⁴ Bowles and Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America. Mark Blaug. The Economics of Education and the Education of an Economist. Martin Carnoy and Henry M. Levin. The Limits of Educational Reform. New York: Longman, 1978. For a more indepth discussion refer back to chapter 1.

to make shoes; it does so by the mental exercise it gives and the habits it impresses.³⁵

Bowles and Gintis have argued that effective job performance rests more on certain non-cognitive personality traits such as punctuality, concentration and persistence.³⁶ However, the fundamental disagreement with the human capital theory boils down to a questioning of the relationship between education and productivity.

Questioning the relationship between education and productivity originated from what economists call the screening hypothesis. Mark Blaug is probably the strongest proponent of the screening hypothesis. Originally, in 1970 and 1972, Blaug defended the human capital theory against the screening hypothesis.³⁷ By 1987, however, Blaug had come full circle, describing the screening hypothesis as the "acid

³⁵ John Stuart Mill. "Inaugural Address at the University of St Andrews," in Francis Garforth (ed). John Stuart Mill on Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 1971, p. 156.

³⁶ Bowles and Gintis. p. 94. Bowles and Gintis argue earlier on in their book that the overemphasis of cognitive skills is a reflection of a technocratic version of liberal educational theory. They argue that it is social rather than technical relations of production which determine an association of education with economic success. p. 47.

³⁷ Mark Blaug. An Introduction to the Economics of Education. London: Penguin Press, 1970. and Mark Blaug. "The Correlation between Education and Earnings: What does it Signify". Higher Education. Vol 1, February 1972, pp 53-76.

that corroded my confidence in human capital theory".³⁸ The screening hypothesis simply holds the view that education's main function is not to enhance vocationally useful skills but acts as a selection vehicle placing people in accordance with their native ability. In support of this hypothesis, notions of statistical discrimination, internal labour markets, incomplete employment contracts and theories of segmented labour markets are used.

Statistical discrimination looks at questions of why firms or employers discriminate on bases of education. The bases for discrimination are credentials. The human capital theory values and fuels credentialism by assuming that rational individual and national choice will guide an investment in more education with the ultimate objective of increasing one's income, which is identified in terms of productivity. The human capital theory attempts to forge a relationship between credentials and productivity. However, it can be suggested that diplomas and degrees are likely a signal of individual achievement, not productive employment. Credentials are used to screen workers and have hence become a legitimate form of discrimination, research indicates: "degrees are as much predicted by race and class as ability".³⁹ Internal labour markets question why firms hire

³⁸ Mark Blaug. The Economics of Education and the Education of an Economist. New York: New York University Press, 1987. p. viii.

³⁹ DeYoung., p.140.

or move people around internally if schooling is the main source of technically advanced and productive labour. Finally, a segmented labour market analysis along with dual labour market theory radically rejects the human capital assumptions of jobs being determined by one's productivity (and thus education). "In their judgement, human capital theory is deficient because it argues that competencies of workers are primary determinants of the types of jobs available and carried out".⁴⁰ A dual labour market theorist would argue that jobs are not determined by the types of skills available but more so by the types of jobs the private sector creates. Similarly, a segmented labour analysis would suggest that human capital theory's greatest theoretical mistake is an overemphasis on the supply side of human skills and its effect on economic inequalities and productivity. Segmented labour analysis looks equally at the demand side and argues that in a segmented labour market access to high or low status jobs, skilled or low skilled jobs, has more to do with ethnicity, gender, appearance and values than with productive skills.

All these disagreements with the human capital theory suggest that the economic value of schooling is far removed from the belief that education makes workers more productive and that employers pay workers more because they are more productive. Therefore, if education contributes little to

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.155.

productivity then the relationship between productivity and development is unclear or even unproven. Largely a product of the 1950-60's, human capital theory found its supposed vehicle for change in formal education. Success was however not so assured. By 1968, evidence was being gathered that suggested the high cost educational expansion of the 1950's and 1960's, which was supposed to increase equity, rural development, national productivity and wealth, had largely failed.⁴¹ Adrian Blunt suggests that the "increase in the world's population, the rapid expansion of technology and knowledge, together with escalating costs and inflation combined to negate the anticipated economic benefits of the great investment in education".⁴² It became increasingly apparent that at least this form of education was not the "prime mover" in the development process.⁴³ However compelling the opponents of the human capital theory are, it is clear that the theory, and its present day cousin the human resource development model, continue to guide education policy. They guide policy both directly and indirectly. Directly through the continued expansion and support for formal education, and

⁴¹ Coombs., (1985). pp. 4-9.

⁴² Adrian Blunt. "Education, Learning and Development: Evolving Concepts". Convergence. Vol 21, No 1, 1988. p.39.

⁴³ John C. Bock and George Papagiannis. Nonformal Education and National Development. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983. p.xv.

indirectly by contributing to the rise of alternative forms, such as nonformal education.

Schools of Thought in Nonformal Education:

Nonformal education is as old as humankind, but, the idea of using nonformal education as a vehicle for social change and national development is relatively new.⁴⁴ Discarding formal education as the sole means of achieving development, educationalists jumped on this alternative form of education. Education per se was not under question, only the type of education. The problem may be better conceptualized by relating it to a mathematical problem. The answer is known (development) and the equation to get the answer is known (education) but the exact variables that fit in the equation to produce the answer are unknown (a possible selection from or combination of formal, nonformal and informal). The fact remains however, that the problem may not lie in the variables but may be in the formulation of the equation or even in the construction of the answer.

However, nonformal education within the dominant paradigm is seen as a way to promote direct rural development with local participation, planning and definition of problems. It is seen as a way to obtain a more equitable distribution of wealth and it holds educative objectives while remaining cost-effective. All these are problems which formal education, by

⁴⁴ Bock and Papagiannis., p.xv.

its inherent restrictions, could not solve.⁴⁵ Thus, from the moment of its revival, the hopes for nonformal education were extremely high.

The theoretical discussion around nonformal education can be seen as the dialectic between both education and society. "Education acts both as a producer of social mobility and as an agent for the reproduction of the social order".⁴⁶ Is nonformal education a means to social mobility, economic employment and political participation, or does it simply reproduce and legitimize structural inequalities required by capitalist economies? Central to this argument's extension into theoretical dialogue is the perception of nonformal education as a "nearly value-free" process or social reform mechanism.⁴⁷ The "value-free" idea expounded by Reed, can be useful in separating various theories of nonformal education in a development context. Essentially, a "value-free" argument suggests that there is no explicit higher value emphasis in nonformal education. Nonformal education is simply

⁴⁵ Rolland G. Paulston and Gregory LeRoy. "Nonformal Education and change from below". in Comparative Education, ed by P.G. Altbach, R.F. Arnove and G.P. Kelly. 1982. They list three general obstacles to development which nonformal education has tried to address. Functional and logistical problems directly in response to formal education and changes in conception of national development. pp 337-338.

⁴⁶ Ingemar Fagerlind and Lawrence J.Saha., p. 225.

⁴⁷ Horace Reed. Beyond Schools. Amherst: Community Education Resource Centre, University of Mass. 1984. p. 63.

a re-mixture of educational variables required to achieve a desired outcome.

Theories of nonformal education can be classified into three distinct schools of thought. Process theory, social reform theory and an alternative analytical theory. The different labels assigned by various authors suggests that the formatting of theoretical frameworks in nonformal education is at an early stage.

Process Theory.

The term process theory is borrowed from Reed. Terms such as incremental are used by Torress, ecological approach by Paulston and Roy. All terms essentially suggest a functionalist view. Viewing nonformal education as a process suggests that nonformal education is a more effective means of achieving development targets in accordance with the established social system.⁴⁸ In relation to the human capital theory, a process approach should not be viewed as a wholesale replication of the human capital theory but as a more "sophisticated and efficient means of reaching the poor and increasing individual productivity".⁴⁹ Nonformal education can thus be viewed as a distinctly unique system

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 63. Process theory is more commonly referred to as a functionalist approach. Paulston and LeRoy use the term ecological approach. They all imply the same fundamental assumptions.

⁴⁹ Bock., p.7-8.

performing unique tasks in an educative process.⁵⁰ Brock calls this both a reformist development model and a functionalist approach. As such, nonformal education legitimatizes the human capital theory of development, reinforces a psychological approach by " assuring that the ills and disparities of society can be remedied by an increased investment in education".⁵¹ Inequalities, whether they be educational, economic or cultural, are addressed by educating the individual in a more effective and efficient nonformal way. A functionalist view towards the existing political- economic and social order was suggested by Coombs who believed that the "reduction of deep-seated educational inequalities is at best a gradual process"⁵² Central to this approach is the idea that inequalities can be addressed without major social or structural changes. To add conceptual clarity, it is useful to list some of the fundamental assumptions a process theory contains:

1. Nonformal education can contribute to development (There is a link between education and development).
2. Nonformal education can address the inequitable distribution of wealth.

⁵⁰ C.S.Brembeck. Nonformal education as an alternative to schooling. East Lansing, Mich: Michigan State University. Institute for international studies in education. 1973.

⁵¹ Bock., p.8.

⁵² P.H. Coombs., (1985). p.239.

3. Nonformal education can be more efficient, effective and relevant than formal education.
4. Psychological modernity. Unrealistic aspirations and the wrong kinds of skills exclude people from the development process.
5. Nonformal education is nearly "value-free". That it is simply a case of interrelated educational variables, (i.e. objective, students, curriculum and resources) and that if one finds the right mixture of these variables the desired outcome is sure to happen. With a value-free approach nonformal education is not seen as transformative but as evolutionary.

Social Reform Theory.

The reform theory of nonformal education emphasizes that it is a means to address and change the underlying socio-economic structures of a society. Reform theory implies the transformative potential of nonformal education, that is, nonformal education has possible effects on other social institutions and structures. Accepting a reform theory approach also suggests the acceptance of a number of other assumptions:

1. Formal schooling as elitist.
2. Nonformal education is not "value-free". "Unless nonformal education is tied to an explicit value emphasis, nonformal education could be used as a band-aid to cover up

and make bearable the injustices seen as characteristic of many cultures".⁵³

3. Nonformal education has the potential to lead towards individual and national development.

4. Empowerment. Nonformal education should not only provide practical skills and knowledge for economic well-being but also "empowerment" (political, social and economic) whereby existing structural inequalities can be addressed. Much of this theory is taken from Paulo Freire's concept of development; "conscientization", which builds upon a learner's experience and knowledge, and which is used to address reforms of a structural nature.⁵⁴ Empowerment, as one of nonformal education's goals, suggests that there are explicit value emphasis on education. There is also debate amongst the reformist theorists as to the extent to which an explicit/conscious empowerment philosophy has to be integrated. Although agreeing with the structural inequalities, authors like Thompson and Brembeck, see nonformal education as intrinsically empowering by virtue of its community-centred and participatory approach. Thompson and Brembeck view nonformal education programs as establishing

⁵³ Reed., p.63.

⁵⁴ P. Freire. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

a seedbed of increased social awareness.⁵⁵ Klees and Wells similarly suggest that "there are always liberating possibilities in the content of education, which was why teaching slaves to read was considered dangerous".⁵⁶

Alternative Analytical Theory.

The third theory is called an alternative analytical theory. This radical theory rejects the assumption that "problems of distribution and participation resulting from power conflicts on other social subsystems can be solved through the manipulation of educational variables alone".⁵⁷ To gain a clear conceptual understanding of this theory, it is useful to first look at ways in which it departs from a reform theory analysis and secondly at its underlying assumptions.

The alternative analytical theory does not reject the principles of empowerment philosophy, but it does reject the assumption that empowerment leads naturally to transforming individuals in a fashion that enables existing structural inequalities to be addressed. Nat Colletta and Trudy Todd in their analysis of the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement in Sri Lanka raised questions as to the extent to which villagers

⁵⁵ T.S. Thompson and C.Brembeck. New Strategies for educational development: the cross-cultural search for nonformal alternatives. Lexington Mass: D.C Heath, 1973.

⁵⁶ Klees and Wells in Bock(ed)., p.226.

⁵⁷ Bock., p.9.

actually become empowered. They questioned the extent to which empowerment had affected village affairs, structures and the decision making processes:

What measurable changes occur in village power relationships as a result of the nonformal education movement? Do villagers actually become empowered in village affairs and decision making or are they only being given the illusion of control while the real power remains in the hands of the village elite and influential outsiders?⁵⁸

Asking villagers whom they turn to for advice about individual and village problems; Colletta and Todd discovered that "villagers name those to whom they have traditionally turned: relatives, village elders, and priests".⁵⁹ Equally as important was the discovery that "52 percent of the respondents said that they expected outsiders and leading personalities to play instrumental roles in solving village problems and in implementing projects".⁶⁰ A similar criticism is raised by LaBelle who found that programs using a Freirean philosophy of empowerment were often using a person-centred approach which focused on changing individual characteristics of the learners. A person-centred approach renders the individual application of new knowledge and

⁵⁸ Nat Colletta and Trudy A. Todd. "The Limits of Nonformal Education and Village Development: Lessons from the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement". in Nonformal Education and National Development: A Critical Assessment of Policy, Research, and Practice. John C. Brock and George J. Papagiannis (ed). New York: Praeger, 1983. p.215.

⁵⁹ Colletta and Todd., p.210.

⁶⁰ Ibid., P. 210.

behaviour impossible in an economic and political structure which remains unaltered. Labelle argues for what he calls a system-centred approach which links the individual to institutions and the environment.⁶¹

There are two general assumptions which are made in this alternative analytical theory.

1. That nonformal education legitimizes inequalities and actually serves those in formal schooling. Nonformal education functions as a socializing institution in which learners accept an inferior status in the social and economic system.

2. That education is not equal to, and does not create development. According to the alternative theory nonformal education is based on one fundamentally incorrect assumption: that there is a relationship between development and education. There are systemic structural flaws of the entire socio-economic system which nonformal education can not address. It is argued, therefore, that nonformal education is itself a socializing agent and therefore an agent of social reproduction, and thus no different from formal education. Nonformal education has its own social features and functions, which make it similar to other socializing organizations, but

⁶¹ T.J. LaBelle. Non-Formal Education and Social Change in Latin America. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Centre, 1976. p.55.

like them it is unable to address structural inequalities.⁶²

Nonformal education is another one of the "solutions" to massive world poverty and unbalanced development that have been put forth over recent years, along with many others: a variety of educational "innovations", rural development strategies, private sector incentives, etc..... All these activities principally serve to mediate the contradictions inherent in capitalist structure that result from a system that requires substantial inequality and unbalanced development to sustain itself.⁶³

It is clear that there are a number of ways to approach nonformal education on a theoretical level. Each theoretical approach offers a way to view nonformal education within the larger societal context. By understanding and appreciating where the various theoretical approaches draw their assumptions, one can begin to investigate nonformal education literature within a critical framework. However, applying a critical framework does not imply endorsing a particular theoretical framework in one's analysis. A critical framework does provide for a more critical approach to the key issues which are presented in the nonformal education literature (which are largely issues as defined by a process theory), and

⁶² Bock., p.15.

⁶³ Frank Dall, Steven J. Klees and George J. Papagiannis. "Nonformal rural development schemes in Zambia: Institutionalization and its effects on occupational aspirations of unemployed youth". in Nonformal Education and National Development. (ed) John C. Bock and George J. Papagiannis. 1983.

allows the analysis to proceed in a more objective manner.

Key Issues

The diversity of nonformal education in application results in an endless variety of issues brought out by the literature. When discussing nonformal education's literacy programs, youth service, vocational training, nutrition, health, agricultural extension or family planning programs various issues stand out amongst them in differing degree. A review of the literature suggests that cost, rural development/equity, aspirations, gender and control are issues discussed in the nonformal education literature. These are issues because nonformal education is supposed to have a unique and an effective and efficient way of dealing with them. The degree to which nonformal education resolves these issues will directly impact on evaluations of the success of nonformal education.

Cost.

One of the most promising characteristics of nonformal education is its supposed cost efficiency. This has appealed to both educators, who acknowledge a run on scarce educational resources, and politicians, who see it as a more cost-effective way of achieving development. In the early years of the nonformal education revival it was assumed that nonformal

education was a more cost-efficient means of attaining educational objectives. Nonformal education's significant appeal was that the cost per learner could be cut through the allocation of local resources, using non-professionals, and lowering other operating costs through the collection of fees. Coombs agrees with the fact that "many nonformal educational activities have a lower cost per learner rate", but admits that it must be put into perspective.⁶⁴ That perspective reveals that the comparison of nonformal education with formal compares two systems with differing objectives. Since nonformal education traditionally has different learning objectives, different time objectives and serves a different group of learners it is "meaningless to compare the costs of formal and nonformal education".⁶⁵ Depending on the type of nonformal education, costs vary considerably.

Not all authors are as conscious of such cost-effective generalizations. Alemah Dejene contends that:

It is with the aim of utilizing scarce resources efficiently and maintaining low per capita instructional unit cost that nonformal education has been seen as an alternative educational system.⁶⁶

With this framework in mind, Dejene sets out to analysis three case studies of nonformal education where upon the conclusion is drawn that nonformal education is less costly. Granted,

⁶⁴ Coombs., (1985). p.25.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.25.

⁶⁶ Dejene., p.46.

the three programs that were studied are mentioned by other authors as being relatively cost-efficient, but they also contain objectives that formal education does not. Thompson points out the danger of extending this assumption too far, (which governments often do). Thompson suggests that:

We cannot simply assume that non-formal alternatives will be cheaper than formal education, though under certain circumstances and for certain purposes some of them may be.⁶⁷

Manzoor Ahmed acknowledges the controversy around the cost debate. Ahmed makes a direct attack on detractors of nonformal education suggesting that the assumed reduction of educational costs has been unjustly attributed to the supporters of nonformal education. "It has been assumed that the supporters of non-formal education took it for granted that nonformal approaches ipso facto reduced educational costs".⁶⁸ In Ahmed's analysis it is not so much the inherent features of nonformal education which makes it relatively cost-effective but more the structural flexibility of nonformal education which is responsive to various cost saving approaches.⁶⁹ Some of these cost saving approaches extend beyond the earlier mentioned techniques of using non-professionals to include accessing money from various ministries (apart from the

⁶⁷ Thompson., 1981. p.253-254.

⁶⁸ M. Ahmed. "Critical educational issues and non-formal education". Prospects, Vol 13, No 1, 1983. p.36.

⁶⁹ Ahmed., p.41.

Ministry of Education), "using borrowed facilities and receiving payment and contributions in kind from the learners themselves".⁷⁰

The whole idea of nonformal education and its cost-effectiveness has shifted from an analysis of tangible inputs as the only costs to one that includes a more comprehensive cost-benefit analysis. For example, incorporating social costs such as the learner's cost in attending the nonformal education program. With this expanded definition of cost a more realistic assessment of nonformal education can be undertaken.⁷¹

The issue of cost in nonformal education has and will be a central issue within the nonformal education dialogue for a long time to come. It is an issue because it is one of the many factors which has made nonformal education appealing, an appeal which is set directly against formal education's cost inefficiencies. This is why it is so easy to start comparing the two systems and equally as misleading. Although traditionally the objectives of nonformal education and formal education may have been different, leading authors like Coombs to suggest an incompatibility of comparison, the evidence of the case studies in this research will show that as the state becomes involved in nonformal education its objectives begin to look similar to those of formal education (hidden and real)

⁷⁰ Coombs., (1985). p.26.

⁷¹ Klees and Wells in Bock (ed). p. 219-257.

and that therefore comparing the two systems may be the most appropriate way of exposing the state's true effect on nonformal education.

Rural Development and Equity.

Another commonly discussed issue is nonformal education's contribution to rural development and thus equity. Nonformal education is seen as a means whereby the vast neglected majority of a society can obtain education which will increase their well-being. Nonformal education's ability to perform and remain relevant to rural needs is one of its often cited attributes. By having the ability to focus on rural needs, nonformal education is believed to be able to deal with some of the macro societal problems such as employment which it is hoped will have an effect on migration to the urban centres. Authors such as Paulston suggest that nonformal education can right some of the unequal distribution of educational opportunities to the rural peoples. Paulston suggests that "nonformal education programs in industry, unions, co-operatives and agriculture can make up for the elite dominated and dysfunctional school system".⁷² It is worth mentioning that Paulston typifies those who operate from a social reform theory perspective in nonformal education (as mentioned

⁷² Rolland G. Paulston. "Socio-Cultural constraints on Educational Development in Peru". The Journal of Developing Areas. Vol 5, no 3, April 1971. pp. 401-418.

earlier in this chapter). As such the issue of equity and rural development are close to his analysis. On the other hand, Klees and Wells are critical of the role nonformal education can play in rural development and equity. They suggest that most nonformal rural development programs are characterized by "agricultural extension models that are based on an individualistic success ethic, intentionally avoid farmers' organizations that could turn overtly political and militant."⁷³ Similarly, it is believed that nonformal education may be seen as a second-rate education for rural peoples, "an inferior substitute for the formal system".⁷⁴ Although aimed at employment and skill acquisition the reward structure does not make it comparable with a formal education. Therefore, linkages of nonformal education with equity and rural development are misleading.

The issue of rural development and equity show that nonformal education will always be compared to formal education. Although nonformal education may be seen as a more effective and efficient means of addressing the issue of rural development, 'development' as envisioned by the dominant paradigm (that of classical economics and modernization) places the same hopes and aspirations on rural peoples as they do on urban peoples. So long as the rewards (those of income and credentials) are given to those with formal education,

⁷³ Klees and Wells in Bock., p.255.

⁷⁴ Blunt., p.43.

nonformal education will be seen as second-rate. Although some of nonformal education's most successful programs have been geared to rural peoples (those of agricultural extension, health services and skills acquisition), the demand has not been to discard nonformal education but to encourage its transformation, which includes making its reward structure resemble those of formal education. The question of how and why this transformation takes place will be left for the case studies. It is important to note here that rural development/equity is one of the main issues within the nonformal education literature.

Aspirations.

The issue of changing aspirations centres around a critique of formal schooling. Formal schooling creates unrealistic expectations and thus unattainable aspirations. Formal schools create students who aspire to employment which may not be available.⁷⁵ Authors who subscribe to the process theory or hold a functional view of nonformal education argue that nonformal education can bring about more realistic aspirations. In commenting on National Youth Services, Thompson, suggests that "deliberate efforts are made that the National Youth Services may be both immediately practical and avoid encouraging aspirations for further education and

⁷⁵ Lesley Macdonald. Occupational Aspirations of Students in Lesotho. Masters of Education, Dalhousie University, 1984.

employment of a kind other than that to which the training component is itself directed".⁷⁶ Dejene openly states that "the most promising potential of nonformal education is that it can provide appropriate skills and attitudes to the rural masses".⁷⁷ To critique Dejene's statement one must ask, who is defining what the appropriate skills are and what the appropriate aspirations should be?

All too often it is the urban educated elite who define what is appropriate for the rural ill-educated poor. Invariably this results in designed programs that are incompatible with the true needs of the community and therefore inappropriate. Similarly, inappropriate aspirations are defined as those aspirations that people receive from formal education and aid in claims of formal education's irrelevancy. Aspirations for employment in the formal economy, aspirations for access to health care, access to formal schools for children and access to material possessions are all aspirations furthered by formal education. Although these are aspirations that most people in developing countries can not achieve, whether in urban centres or rural settings, they are still aspirations legitimately derived through individuals' interpretations of their form of social organization. A form of social organization is nothing more than ways in which society is organized for the extraction and

⁷⁶ Thompson., p.225.

⁷⁷ Dejene., p.33.

distribution of its resources. Capitalism is nothing more than a form of social organization that directly and indirectly breeds some of these aspirations. To suggest that education, let alone nonformal education, can resolve this issue is to misinterpret its origins. Moreover to expect nonformal education to deal with aspirations (which can be broken down to values) is to assign nonformal education the formal education role of socialization.

With this type of questioning Dall, Klees and Papagiannis argue that lowering aspirations among the rural poor or the traditionally disenfranchised will legitimize inequalities from which only the urban elite benefit.⁷⁸ By lowering aspirations, Bock argues that nonformal education serves in a "cooling out" function by "lowering aspirational levels heightened by exposure to the early years of formal education and to the mass media".⁷⁹ As such, nonformal education subverts legitimate accusations directed at structural changes. What this brief discussion of aspirations shows is that not only is it a key issue in the nonformal education literature but it is like the issues of cost and rural development/equity, it is set in comparison to formal education.

⁷⁸ Dall, Klees and Papagiannis., pp. 91-94 in Bock (ed).

⁷⁹ Bock., p.18.

Employment.

The issue of aspirations leads directly into the issue of employment. They are both connected to a functionalist approach towards nonformal education. A functionalist would argue that both attitudes and skills are wrong and inappropriate and this has made employment illusive for many. If both skills and attitudes could be changed employment would result and development could take place. Nonformal education by being an effective and efficient way of training and teaching relevant skills for employment contributes to both equity and development. Nonformal education's ability to confront the employment problem directly, leads to conclusions that suggest nonformal education is more relevant, more efficient and more effective than formal education. The employment issue is particularly relevant for this analysis since it is one of the major reasons why so much support and effort has been given to the Brigades in Botswana and the Village Polytechnics in Kenya. Each, in its own way has employment as a key objective.

Underlining contemporary analysis of nonformal education with respect to employment and skill creation is the assumption that there is a "relationship between training and the application of the training in a productive way".⁸⁰ Ian Livingstone argues that education, either formal or nonformal, can not significantly effect employment since contemporary

⁸⁰ Evans., p.92.

analysis defines the problem in a narrow fashion. The problem of unemployed youth (to take Livingstone's example) is defined as a result of the lack of appropriate skills. Livingstone fears that such a narrow definition of the problem does not allow for an alternative analysis. Such an alternative analysis might suggest that the lack of employment opportunities may be the real problem.⁸¹ It does not matter what kind of skills one has so long as there are no jobs.

Bock and Papagiannis suggest another limitation of nonformal education within the employment issue. They argue that nonformal education lacks the credentialing powers of the formal system. "Consequently the linkage between completing training and the likelihood of finding employment are often weaker for graduates of nonformal education than for formal education".⁸² This again relates to the reward structure of nonformal education which is undoubtedly set against the formal system.

The success of many nonformal education programs (those geared specifically to employment) such as the Brigades and Village Polytechnics are and will continue to be gauged on their ability to stimulate employment amongst their participants. So long as the employment problem is defined as being a lack of individual skills both formal and nonformal

⁸¹ Ian Livingstone. "Unemployed Youth: Alternative Approaches to an African Crisis". International Labour Review. 1989. p. 390.

⁸² Bock and Papagiannis., p.273.

education will be called upon to address it. However, as more and more participants of nonformal education fail to gain employment (as the case studies will show), nonformal education comes into crisis and calls of its inefficiency, ineffectiveness and irrelevancy are raised.

Gender.

The issue of gender in nonformal education is not readily addressed in the literature reviewed. Some of the more general and 'classical' texts on nonformal education avoid the issue altogether.⁸³ However, women tend to represent a large proportion of the enrolments in nonformal education programs. A survey of 15 nonformal education programs in Africa found that 70 per cent of the participants were women.⁸⁴

Authors such as Court and Kinyanyui discuss gender in education outside the specific nonformal education experience. Court and Kinyanyui suggest that the "education of women outweighs all other factors, including income, in its beneficial impact on a range of development related areas such as childcare, nutrition and health".⁸⁵ The conclusion is

⁸³ Such as Cocombs, Brock, Simkins and Evans.

⁸⁴ Nelly Stromquist. "Empowering Women through Education: Lessons from International Co-operation". in Convergence. Vol 19. No 4. Toronto: International Council for Adult Education, 1986. p.2.

⁸⁵ David Court and Kabiru Kinyanyui. "African Education Problems on a High Growth Sector." in Strategies for African Development. (ed) by Robert Berg and Jennifer Seymour. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

made that restricting women's education seriously impedes on national development. When nonformal education is discussed as a gender issue, it most often focuses on the exact issues Court and Kinyanyui raise, that of increasing women's access. In particular, nonformal education's attempts to include women in the educative process by focusing on access.

Chitra Naik discusses how nonformal education can address this issue of access. In a case study of a nonformal education program in India, Naik found a much higher girl attendance rate than expected. She attributes this success to the fact that classes were held in the evenings. This fact alone made the program more accessible to girls, who during daylight hours had to keep to their designated chores.⁸⁶ Although increasing access is of concern, many would argue that it is not enough.

For authors like Stromquist, access is an important issue since it reflects the greater gender inequalities within a nation. However, she would also be cautious of focusing too much attention on access. Concentrating on access avoids some of the more fundamental gender issues. Nonformal education must position itself to address the larger issue of women's roles as social actors. Stromquist argues that nonformal

p. 365.

⁸⁶ Chitra Naik. "An action-research project on universal primary education: The plan and the process." in Kelly and Elliott. Women's Education in the Third World. Albany: State University of New York, 1982. p.170.

education programs were " implemented from a perspective that held a limited definition of women as social actors".⁸⁷ As such, nonformal education views women's role as mother and homemaker thus limiting its impact to a limited amount of programs (such as health, nutrition, family planning). Programs which have been extended to include women in vocational or marketable skill training have similarly been critiqued. Stromquist contends that they train in those skills which " do not disrupt the domestic responsibilities of women or take them away from home." ⁸⁸ As such, any true success nonformal education is to have in dealing with gender must be guided under the need to address both reproductive needs (as most programs already do) and an expanded concept of productive needs which includes the subordination of women based on the social constructs of gender relations. If nonformal education can accomplish this it will far exceed its already accomplished goals of increasing access.

Control.

The final issue under this literature review is that of control. Highlighting key thoughts and concepts within this issue will help set a framework for the case study analysis.

⁸⁷ Nelly Stromquist. "Women's Education in Development: From Welfare to Empowerment". Convergence Vol 21, No 4, 1988. p. 6.

⁸⁸ Stromquist., (1988). p.8.

One of nonformal education's unique characteristics is that control is at the local or community level. The learners control and define the programs they are involved in.⁸⁹ This sets it directly against formal education which is controlled by the state.

As much as control is an issue within nonformal education it is also one of the distinguishable characteristics. As such the control characteristic must be analyzed with two other distinguishable characteristics in mind, content and delivery system. It is, after all, the content and delivery system which are defined by those in control. The debate in the literature lies in the possible consequences of increased government participation. The avoidance of centralization, and a top-down approach, is attributed to some of nonformal education's success.⁹⁰ According to Evans, government controlled planning of nonformal education would mean a "loss of the vitality and initiative which characterize the best programs in nonformal education".⁹¹ The suggestion being

⁸⁹ It is recognized that many nonformal programs such as literacy or nutrition or family planning are initiated by the government and are controlled to a degree by the government. Some suggest that this is why many such programs have been unsuccessful. However ultimate control did rest with the participants in that they could choose not to participate.

⁹⁰ Evans., p.60.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.60.

made that government control and nonformal education are not compatible.

One of the concerns regarding government involvement rests in the fears of bureaucratization. Ivan Illich when discussing de-schooling views government and bureaucracy as synonymous. Thus, he suggests, bureaucracy is potentially corruptible and will only serve its own vested interests.⁹² Bock and Papagiannis take up this argument and contend that, "bureaucratization by definition embodies inequalities, renders highly unlikely the realization of nonformal education's broad social goals".⁹³

Not all writers oppose a role for governments in nonformal education. Thompson notes that "it may be that government involvement should be directed towards ensuring that there is effective co-ordination rather than necessarily implying government management provisions".⁹⁴ The role Thompson sees government playing in nonformal education is similar to that of Evans. Evans draws clear variations in program type which help determine the amount of government participation required.⁹⁵ Evans concludes by suggesting that government efforts should be "limited to assessment of

⁹² Ivan Illich. , Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

⁹³ Bock and Papagiannis., p.340.

⁹⁴ Thompson., p.254.

⁹⁵ Evans., p.65.

likely employment opportunities, co-ordination of efforts to prevent extensive overlap of efforts and guidance to help program sponsors to improve the quality of their efforts".⁹⁶

The control issue in nonformal education therefore centres around who should and does control the education process. Fears have been raised concerning too much state involvement but people have also recognized a possible role for state involvement. Many nonformal education programs have been successful because they have been controlled exclusively by the participants. Equally however, many nonformal education programs would not be in existence today if it were not for the government contributing funds and resources. The intent is not to suggest whether or not the state through government should or should not support nonformal education programs. The intent is, however, to show what happens when the state does decide to support nonformal education programs. Through the case studies it will be shown that when the state does decide to support nonformal education programs the programs themselves tend to change. They change in such a fashion that they can no longer be classified as nonformal.

Conclusion

The purpose of the literature review was threefold. First, to introduce nonformal education as a definitional problem. Defining nonformal education is by no means easy nor

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.92.

is there a universally accepted definition. Within the definition debate it was shown that nonformal education is often defined in opposition to formal education. Although such a crass separation of the two should be resisted, it is suggested that a more comprehensive definition which includes nonformal education's distinguishable characteristics be deployed. Understanding nonformal education's unique distinguishable characteristics contributes to a clearer separation between formal and nonformal education.

Secondly, the literature was reviewed to establish the foundations of theoretical frameworks in nonformal education. Theories of nonformal education were shown to arise out of the education and development debate which centres around the human capital theory of development. As such it was shown that theories of nonformal education reflect the inadequacies of the formal education and development model. Once again nonformal education is viewed in direct contrast to formal education.

Thirdly, the literature was reviewed with respect to key issues within nonformal education text. Reviewing the literature reflected that employment, rural development/equity, aspirations, gender and control are all frequently addressed issues. Two central themes come out in the review of the key issues. First, that the issues are defined differently depending on one's theoretical approach. Secondly, each issue although discussed in the nonformal

education context, arises out of a formal education context. Each issue is/was an issue in formal education but formal education's inability to address these issues has moved them onto the nonformal education forum. It will be nonformal education's success in dealing with these issues that will determine whether nonformal education is effective, efficient and relevant.

The fourth and more general theme, in relation to the thesis argument, running through the literature review is that nonformal education is defined, theorized and analyzed with respect to formal education. This clearly reflects the fact that nonformal education is not thought of as a distinct system but rather as part of an already existing education system. Being part of an already existing education system suggests that nonformal education will have the same pressures (social, economic and political) that the formal education system has. As mentioned in Chapter 1 already, and as many points in this chapter have illustrated, the state determines and defines a society's education system. As such nonformal education, by virtue of not having the ability to be conceptualized as a distinct system, faces the same pressures put on by the state towards formal education. The debate on nonformal education often starts off by suggesting whether it is a complement, supplement or an alternative to formal education. Although many would like to view nonformal education as an alternative by virtue of its conceptualization

it can not be so. From the very beginning of the revitalization of nonformal education in the late 1960's, nonformal education has been conceptualized within the state/education model. It is because of this, that pressures are put on nonformal education which result in its formalization. The remaining chapters of this thesis will focus on how this formalization takes place.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

To examine the formalization of nonformal education a case study approach will be taken. One case study will look at the Village Polytechnic movement in Kenya and the other will examine the Brigades of Botswana. The reasons for choosing these specific examples are fivefold. First, they both present a particular type of nonformal education - vocational training. Vocational training programs are a type of nonformal education that easily incorporates all of the issues discussed so far in our literature review. Second, both the Village Polytechnics and the Brigades are long established programs, originating around the end of the 1960's, the time period when nonformal education was revitalized. Third, both the Botswana and Kenyan governments respectively have taken a keen interest in both programs, showing their support differently throughout their history in both cash and kind. Fourth, both Botswana and Kenya have acknowledged the importance of nonformal education and have thus given it great attention, legitimacy and support. The Botswana government has gone so far as to create a Department of Nonformal Education within the Ministry of Education. Finally, both programs are well documented in the literature. The longevity of both has created an abundance of information spanning over two decades. This is of central importance since

the research employed within this thesis is largely based on documentation and secondary source materials from Canadian university libraries, supplemented wherever possible with primary resources collected from consulates and governments.

Since this study intends to describe and hence argue a process as much as an issue (formalization of nonformal education), an analytical grid is deployed. By forming an analytical grid a process can be easily followed over a long period of time. The idea of an analytical grid is borrowed from Dejene's work.¹ Dejene uses this technic to analysis several nonformal education programs in a rural development context. Although the idea is borrowed, the construct varies considerably. The grid is divided into nine sections.

1) Purpose and Objectives. Establish what the objectives of each program is individually. Addressing the effective, efficient and relevant nature of its origins. By doing it this way the following sections can be analyzed with their effect on the program's purpose.

2) Organizational Structure. This section will establish the way in which the program is organized. This includes leadership, levels of bureaucracy and sponsors.

¹ Alemneh Dejene. Non-Formal Education as a Strategy in Development: Comparative Analysis of Rural Development Projects. Boston: University Press of America, 1980. pp. 39-50.

3) Decision Making. Who makes the key decisions in the program? This will focus on the degree of autonomy or the amount of control participants or the state has in basic program decisions.

4) Participation. What level of participation is there in the two programs? This will not only discuss the extent of individual participation within the program in such matters as curriculum development, facility maintenance and program design, but also community or local participation. The notion of participation also seeks to look at who is participating. What societal groups are being served by these two programs. This is critical since it is assumed that nonformal education serves a significantly different group of peoples.²

5) Finance. How are the programs financed? Do the participants contribute through fees or contributions in kind? This is relevant since the literature suggests that participant finance allows nonformal education to maintain autonomy from the government. The fact is however, that both of these programs are becoming partially financed by the government.

² Philip H. Coombs. The World Crisis in Education: The View From the Eighties. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. p.24.

6) Rewards. What are the rewards program participants and communities receive? Rewards can range from employment once finished to credentials once graduated.

7) Curriculum. What makes up the curriculum of each program. Has it changed? Was it and is it still relevant? Is it standardized? These are all significant questions since curriculum relevancy is one of nonformal education's distinguishing qualities.

8) Time. Does the time dimension play a role in the programs? Time is a unique characteristic of nonformal education. Has the conceptualization of time changed?

9) Entry Requirements. Are these programs open to all people? What are the requirements to participate?

There are three reasons for approaching the case studies in this fashion. First, less time will be spent on describing the program (on which there is a rich body of literature) and more time on discussing interrelationships. Second, by following this format one has precise points of entry into an analysis. This helps guide clarity and precision. Third, each point of entry (or section) has a definite connection to nonformal education's definition and more so its distinguishable characteristics. Applying a standard set of

criteria (which these 'points of entry' represent) over a long time span, will bring noticeable changes to the forefront. Fourth, this approach will allow for a comparative analysis, which will strengthen the conclusions to be drawn from this study.

Therefore, this analytical grid technic seems well suited to the case studies of Botswana and Kenya and fits well with the generally available information and data on these two nonformal education programs.

CHAPTER IV

Case Study: Kenya The Village Polytechnic

The purpose of the case study is show the extent to which the Village Polytechnics in Kenya have become formalized. This will be done by identifying some of the distinguishable characteristics of the Village Polytechnic through an analytical grid. In doing so, one can chart the changes occurring within the Village Polytechnic over time, and show the role the state has played in this change. Placing the Village Polytechnic into historical context offers an appropriate starting point for this discussion. This discussion provides a clearer understanding of the reasons behind their creation and a clearer appreciation for their original purpose and objective. In order to contextualize the Village Polytechnics one must first look at the origins of the Kenyan educational system and the development principles adhered to in this East African nation. It is only after establishing these two foundational points that one can contextualize an analysis of the Village Polytechnics.

Historical Background

Kenya is a country of 582,644 square kilometres with a population in 1991 of over 26 million. It is situated under the Horn of Africa on the western seaboard of the Indian

Ocean. To the south it is bordered by Tanzania, to the west by Uganda, to the north by Sudan and Ethiopia and to the east by Somalia and the Indian Ocean. The topography rises from sea level to over 2000 meters along the Kenyan Highlands. Key geographical features include Mount Kenya in the centre (at over 5000 meters above sea level), Lake Victoria on its western border, the Great Rift Valley running through from Ethiopia to Tanzania and the Chalbi Desert in the north. Kenya, like most African nations, is a multilingual, multi-racial society, consisting of over 40 different ethnolinguistic groups. It is within this contextual knowledge that we can place Kenyan education into an historical context.

Traditional Kenyan education " aimed at fitting children into their society and had taught them a love of, and respect for, their families, clans, tribes, religions and traditions."¹ It was an education done in the informal sense. It taught children their roles in the social organization of society. With the coming of colonialism, this was changed. The initial formal education system brought to Kenya was under the auspices of various church missions. Their purpose was to spread Christianity to save the pagan souls. The first mission school was established at Rabai near Mombasa in 1846. However, the real missionary expansion did not occur until the early twentieth century with the establishment of viable

¹ Beulah M. Raju. Education in Kenya: Problems and Perspectives in Educational Planning and Administration. London: Heinemann, 1973. p.1.

transportation links (such as the Uganda railway line), between the coast and the interior. With the increase of secure transportation the missionaries led the expansion inland. Their goal was as much to 'Christianize' as to 'Civilize' and this was done primarily by shattering the traditional framework from which Kenyans operated. Traditional values, customs, beliefs and religion were seen as part of the problem, and it was the abolition of these that formed the central curriculum of the missionary schools.

Education in pre-independent Kenya was not solely controlled by the missionaries. In 1911, the colonial administration established the first government schools geared to Africans.² These schools, although similar in their psychological effect (as the missionary schools) focused on vocational skill training. This was partly the result of the "European Settlers" who sat on the new boards of education. African education, from the settler point of view, would open up a supply of semi-skilled and semi-literate (in English) labour.

In 1925, the British Colonial office issued its first statement on African education. This listed 13 principles on which educational policy in Britain's African colonies should be based. The statement listed the admirable principle of addressing local community needs, preserving the 'best' parts of traditional society and preparing students for the world.

² Ibid., p.2.

However, as Beulah Raju states: " Few in Kenya would have disagreed with that idea, but many would have interpreted it differently".³ Raju goes on to suggest how some segments interpreted that principle.

The missionaries were convinced that the African would remain subordinate to the European, and educated him to fit this role. The settlers themselves saw the African... subordinate to themselves and ideal for providing both skilled and unskilled labour...They were convinced that the African was of lower intelligence.⁴

It is clear from these lines that education in colonial Kenya was clearly set on eurocentric lines held together by feelings of racial superiority and in some cases moral responsibility.

The colonial education system of Kenya also incorporated an elite education for its white settlers. An education system that mirrored that of the mother country. It was this education system which reaped the benefits of colonial profits and helped perpetuate notions of racial superiority. Entry into this education system was purely on racial grounds. By the end of colonialism there had developed an academic education system for Kenyans. This system however, was clearly not representative of or designed to serve the majority of the population.

Nevertheless, the Kenyan educational experience during colonialism set the foundation from which an independent Kenya

³ Ibid., p.4.

⁴ Ibid., p.4-5.

would have to rise. The challenge Kenya faced at independence was to rebuild, unify and redirect an imported/imposed education system to the needs of a new independent nation. The pre-independence Kenyan education system left the majority of the peoples untouched. Those who were taken under its influence were trained and educated in a foreign curriculum, serving colonial wants and needs. The education was thus relevant to British colonial structures and ideals but was irrelevant and questionable to the needs of Kenya and Kenyans. In gaining independence, Kenya inherited an education system, loaded with all its western assumptions and trappings.

Equally as important in understanding the origins of the Village Polytechnic is an insight into the development principles adhered to by an independent Kenya. A modernization approach to development, coupled with the human capital theory, became the development principle of Kenya's hopes for the future. Kenyan independence was governed by the underlying assumptions upon which such theories were built. From independence in 1963 to 1976 real growth averaged between 6 and 7 per cent per annum.⁵ Most of this growth took place in the 'modern sector' such as manufacturing and tourism. Thus in a country which is 90 per cent rural, an unbalanced growth occurred which led to increasing inequalities between urban and rural, individuals and community. For Kenya and its

⁵ Tim Simkins. Non-Formal Education and Development. Manchester: Manchester Monographs 8. 1977. p.38.

donor sources the development strategies followed predicated a rapid expansion of the education system which was needed to modernize society and the economy. In 1963, enrolment in primary schools was at 890,000 and by 1972, it was over 1,676,000.⁶ In 1965, 5 per cent of the primary age group was enrolled in school. By 1987 this had increased to 96 per cent.⁷ Kenya's commitment to this development approach can be further illustrated by the per cent of government expenditures committed to education which has remained relatively consistent at around 22 per cent since 1972.⁸

Although on paper the educational expansion looks impressive, three points of reservation must be noted. First, not all those who have enrolled in this expanding education system complete primary school. In fact, Simkins suggests that during the time period from 1963 to 1976 close to 2/3 did not complete.⁹ This problem is compounded when one realizes that the training they received up until their departure makes them heavily influenced by a formal education system whose intent has traditionally been to prepare them for formal and non-rural employment. The second point is that, even for those who

⁶ Alemneh, Dejene. Non-Formal Education as a Strategy in Development: Comparative Analysis of Rural Development Projects. Boston: University Press of America, 1980. p.84.

⁷ World Bank. World Development Report 1990. Oxford: University Press, 1990.

⁸ World Bank. World Tables 1992. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

⁹ Simkins., p.39.

do complete primary school, employment is difficult to find. The inability of primary school completers to find employment is commonly called the primary school leaver problem. The primary school leaver problem is often recoined the youth unemployment problem. The third point of reservation confronts the wisdom behind the educational expansion in light of modernization and human capital theory of development. Although education is expanding, this expansion is doing little to reduce the unbalanced economic growth, inequalities, urban migration and urban unemployment. If one looks at Kenya's GNP per capita, one sees fluctuations and indeed a decrease from \$ 420 (US) in 1980 to \$290 (US) in 1985 and an increase to \$ 360 (US) in 1989.¹⁰ Even the impressive government expenditures on education become less impressive when one looks at Kenya's increasing population rate. Kenya has an annual population growth rate of over 4.2 per cent which translates into a population doubling time of only 17 years. The rising demographic trends have been recognized by the government since the mid 1960's, and the government realizes that it can not provide all the resources required to support the development program. In the search for an alternative development model, recognizing the demographic realities, the Harambee movement was formed.¹¹

¹⁰ World Bank. World Tables 1992.

¹¹ Simeon Hongo Ominde. "The Harambee Movement in Educational Development". Vienna Institute for Development. Occasional Paper 74/4. p.7. Ominde

The word Harambee is a Kiswahili phrase meaning "Let's all pull together" and was taken from the Kenya African National Union (KANU) slogan.¹² In a more contextual meaning, Harambee means "self-help". The Harambee movement is often thought of as an alternative development model guided by the principle of mutual social responsibility. "Education, for instance was considered the responsibility of the nation as well as the community".¹³ Placing development responsibility on the nation and the community naturally extended to included the individual. Thus, through Harambee or self-help, every citizen, through whatever means available, was expected to work towards Kenya's development objectives. Although Harambee was envisioned as a development alternative it can be argued that it was merely an alternative strategy within a modernization model. For education, Harambee meant the expansion of self-help (nonformal) schools across the country. However, as Dinavo points out, Harambee served the "educational expansion [which] was part and parcel of Kenya's

notes that " Underlying the universal search for development models is the assumption that the models derived from the colonial past provided unsatisfactory approaches to new problems gracing the emergent nations". p. 2. Ominde lists the 'Ujamaa' concept in Tanzania along with the concept of 'Zambian Humanism' as further examples of alternative development models.

¹² Trina Dinavo. "Educational Policy Change in Postindependent Kenya: The Case of Harambee and Government Secondary Schools". PHd Dissertation. University of Denver. 1990. p.4.

¹³ Ibid., p.11.

overall development strategy".¹⁴ A strategy which is arguably a cornerstone in the modernization/ human capital approach to development.

Although in the Harambee movement the Kenyan development model included within its composition a uniquely Kenyan strategy, the movement itself can be viewed as a parallel to the western development models. Kenyan development strategy, which aims at increasing the growth potential of the nation by "attacking the shortage of domestic capital and skilled manpower", was dependent upon forms of education designed to meet these goals.¹⁵ It is thus clear that education has been and is today a key element in the Kenyan development approach.

By briefly establishing the historical context around Kenya's educational system and by highlighting Kenya's development strategies, the reasons behind the creation of the Village Polytechnics unfolds. It was the unbalanced economic growth, leading to an increase in inequalities which were compounded by high youth unemployment rates that are central to understanding why the Village Polytechnics were created and therefore what problems they were expected to combat.

¹⁴ Ibid,. p.12.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.12.

The Village Polytechnic

The first Village Polytechnic was established in 1966, to tackle both youth unemployment and rural development. Essentially Village Polytechnic are training centres geared to train primary school leavers in skilled and semi-skilled trades. The training ranged from carpentry, mechanics, agriculture extension to rural industrial training. Being village based it was hoped that completers of a Village Polytechnic program would remain and practice their newly acquired skills in their local, rural communities. The intention was to balance economic growth and reduce inequalities faced by rural communities.

For the first five years of existence the Village Polytechnic were founded largely through voluntary efforts headed by the National Christian Council of Kenya. The NCCCK's main function was in organizing and financing.¹⁶ Early success indicated the possibility of expansion which resulted in the NCCCK asking the Kenyan government to help.

With the purpose of this case study being an assessment of state involvement in the Village Polytechnic and how it led to their formalization an initial observation can be made. The Village Polytechnic started without support from the state, and thus, the thesis that increased support or formal intervention leads to its formalization can be analyzed. The

¹⁶ Dejene., p.84.

rest of this section will utilize an analytical grid, where key terms are used as entry points into the discussion of state involvement in the Village Polytechnic. Highlighting each aspect with respect to the past and the present will determine how much change has occurred, who has instigated that change, and how effective the change has been. It is important to remember that each of these entry points reflect characteristics of nonformal education. The extent to which they change determines the extent to which the Village Polytechnic become formalized.

Purpose and Objectives.

The purpose of the Village Polytechnic starts with the primary school leaver problem and of course, rural development itself. More specifically the Village Polytechnic was to impart skills and training so that the increasing number of school leavers would be able to find employment or self-employment and simultaneously contribute to rural development. The specific objectives of the Village Polytechnic can be broken down into the following categories.

- 1) To prepare primary school leavers with the necessary skills that would allow them to seek employment or self-employment at the village level. By implication one can suggest a drive for more relevant education.
- 2) To realize the Kenyan development slogan of "Harambee". Which suggests a pulling together of people and self-help in

achieving equitable development. The Village Polytechnic are seen as a way to pull together both primary school leavers and the local communities. This explicit objective therefore suggests the Village Polytechnic as a more effective and relevant mode of education to meet local community and indirectly national development priorities.

3) To provide an alternative to formal schooling. An alternative not only in pedagogical terms but also in ideological. Within this concept of alternative, the Village Polytechnic view education as a response to particular and changing needs of communities. Acknowledging these particular and changing needs allows the Village Polytechnic to change accordingly.¹⁷

4) The development and implementation of appropriate technology which will fit communities needs of cost-effectiveness, labour intensiveness and technological maintenance.

These categories are what form the basis of the objectives behind the Village Polytechnic. They are highly consistent with the objectives of most nonformal education programs (at least with those that are formed to address the same questions ie. the primary school leaver problem and rural development). The objectives do not change from 1966 to the

¹⁷ David Court., "Dilemmas of Development: The Village Polytechnic Movement as a Shadow System of Education in Kenya". in Education Society and Development: Perspectives form Kenya. (ed) David Court and Dharam Ghai. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974. p.226.

present. They are so grand and general that they are still as relevant today as they were in 1966. The following categories however, must be viewed in light of this, because their change (whether it makes them more formal education oriented or not) is a reflection of attempts being made to realize these objectives.

Organizational Structure.

Originally in 1966, the Village Polytechnics were run by the National Christian Council of Kenya. Within a year of opening, the Kenyan Government realized that they had much to gain from supporting such a program, since the NCCCK was essentially trying to deal with the joint primary school leaver problem and the rural development problem. The organizational structure which has since unfolded has become increasingly complex.

Co-ordination of the Village Polytechnic program is undertaken by the National Co-ordinating Committee. The NCC consists of the original founding group, the National Christian Council of Kenya, the Kenyan Government and aid agencies. The main function of the NCC is budgetary, logistical and eliciting aid and servicing staff. The NCC is broken down into two sub-groups. The Finance Committee, responsible for money and the Research and Training Committee responsible for teacher development, curriculum and community education.

The next level is the Provincial Village Polytechnic committee. They act as supervisors for a region. This is followed by a Local Management Committee. The Local Management Committee links with local church sponsors, community development officers and the district youth officer. The final level is that at the actual Village Polytechnic level. The Village Polytechnic consists of a director, staff and participants.

A more detailed organizational structure is provided by the flow chart taken from Dejene's work.¹⁸ This evolutionary structure was a result of attempts to deal with problems. Problems of finance, resource duplication and curriculum.

¹⁸ Dejene., p.88.

Kenyan Government

NCKK	National Co-ordinating Committee	Interministerial Committee
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Training Research Committee	Finance Committee	Ministry of Co- Operatives and Social Affairs
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Department of Community Development	Youth Development Division
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Provincial Village Polytechnic Committee	Provincial Youth Office
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Local Management Committee

Church	Community Development Officer	District Youth Officer
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Village Polytechnic

The diagram shows a high degree of structural hierarchy. But this alone does not predict inefficiency or ineffectiveness. The diagram might suggest a high level of bureaucracy but this does not imply something bad for the Village Polytechnic. The degree to which this structure does effect the unique characteristics of this type of nonformal education may be determined by the way in which this structure has changed the decision-making process.

Decision-Making.

The literature suggests that although the government plays a predominant role in the National Co-ordinating Committee they have "little control on the day to day activities of the program and only give financial material support".¹⁹ The greatest part of the decision making is left to the Management Committee. Existing at the local/community level its participants include church leaders, chiefs or village leaders, community development officers, local government officer and parents of Village Polytechnic participants. This Management Committee makes most of the decisions effecting the Village Polytechnic. The Management Committee's tasks include hiring of the Village Polytechnic director and staff, fee structure, curriculum content and buildings. According to Dejene the most important function of

¹⁹ Dejene., p.92.

the Management Committee is " assessing the job opportunities and relevance of the course to the local communities".²⁰

It is clear that the Management Committee's central role does take away somewhat from the original conception of the Village Polytechnic. With the Management Committee deciding curriculum content it is removed two levels away from the participants. Although this, in itself, does not predict formalization it does warrant observation.

Participation.

Participation can be broken down into two levels. First the amount of participation in terms of program formation such as the curriculum. (this has largely been taken care of in the discussion on decision-making). The second level is on the sheer number of participants and what affects or influences peoples participation rates. Does government involvement affect peoples participation?

Clearly government involvement has allowed the Village Polytechnic model to expand in numbers. Between 1966 and 1972 more than 53 Village Polytechnic were established.²¹ By late 1973, the Kenyan Government was funding over 67 Village Polytechnic.²² Government involvement made such rapid initial expansion possible. By virtue of numbers,

²⁰ Dejene., p.93.

²¹ Court., p.220.

²² Simkins., p.39.

participation within the programs has increased. Although real numbers have increased, Thompson points out that at the most 5 per cent of the school leavers can be accommodated. Another key observation is that even with this expanding system it is questionable whether the rural areas of Kenya can absorb its graduates.

Looking at who participates, Court acknowledges success for the Village Polytechnic in that all trainees are primary school leavers who have completed Standard VII.²³ Although this shows the Village Polytechnic follow their objectives some cracks were found early on. Catchment of participants is suppose to remain within the local area, in order for them to return back to the region and find employment or self-employment. What was noticed early on was "a high priority (within some Village Polytechnic) ...to building dormitories, and where this occurred the number of local trainees declined sharply."²⁴ When this happens it is clear that the original objectives of the Village Polytechnic are compromised. Court suggests, that as this becomes more fashionable "it becomes the most obvious concession to the prevalent belief that learning is proportionate to the amount of time spent in a formal institution cut off from the practical world."²⁵ This also increases the fee structure which will encourage

²³ Court., p.230.

²⁴ Simkins., p.41.

²⁵ Court., p.230.

"recruitment of 'richer' outsiders in preference to the relatively poorer people of the area".²⁶

Finance.

Originally the Village Polytechnic movement was financed through the National Christian Council and from local communities. Within a year after the first Village Polytechnic opened the government took an interest and helped in expanding the movement. As the government began taking more interest they tried to develop alternative avenues for revenue. One alternative avenue was converting youth centres into Village Polytechnics. Youth centres were partially maintained through the sale of products. Incorporating the two showed a creative example of how to raise needed moneys. The finance structure of the Village Polytechnic also includes a fee schedule. Fees are another way in which the Village Polytechnic help off-set their operating costs. All Village Polytechnic charge some type of fee. Although fees undoubtedly have a selective effect, it is thought to be necessary to maintain commitment.

The issue of financing shows the delicate balance between central authority and local autonomy. To maintain forms of local autonomy a formula for government grants was established. "The formula has been for village polytechnic to be categorized according to their demonstrated degree of local

²⁶ Ibid., p.230.

self-help and for central grants- paid in instalments after strict accounting- to be in direct proportion to this self-help component".²⁷

It is suggested by authors such as Dejene that besides finance the Kenyan Government exerts no direct control. Although this observation seems to be supported by the evidence, one does need to question how government finance exerts indirect control. Parts of this answer are discussed later.

Rewards.

A way of assessing the success of the Village Polytechnics is to examine the benefits they have offered participants and communities. Have Village Polytechnic graduates found employment with the skills they were trained in and have they remained in their respected communities? Data from the mid 1970's found that between half and two-thirds had found "some kind of paid work or self-employment".²⁸ Although statistics do show success in these terms, they must also be viewed with caution. The fact that wage employment was found does not preclude that the "acquired skill is being applied in a given job".²⁹ Few reliable data

²⁷ Ibid., p.232.

²⁸ Simkins., p.43.

²⁹ John E. Anderson. "The Formalization of Non-formal Education: Village Polytechnics and Prevocational Youth Training in Kenya". in The World Year Book of

are available on types of employment. Statistics also show that up to two-thirds remained in rural areas.³⁰ As for their contribution to community needs, assessment is much more difficult. What are labelled as successful Village Polytechnics are those which have been able to meet a specific community demand. David Court suggests that much of the demand has come for the construction side of the Village Polytechnic. The viability of this is questioned when Court states "Localized demand for construction is not insatiable and its future rate of expansion is unpredictable".³¹ The challenge is whether the community will be able to support these skills on an ongoing bases.

The reward structure the Village Polytechnic has to offer extends beyond those of employment and community development. Some Village Polytechnics have started to offer trade tests. A 1974 evaluation report on the Village Polytechnic raises some possible fear about granting trade tests or certification. Of concern is the fact that trade tests are a requirement for modern urban sector employment but not for informal rural employment. The fear is that graduates with trade tests and certificates will seek urban employment. This would compromise at least one of the major objectives of the

Education 1974: Education and Rural Development. (ed)
Philip Foster and James R. Sheffield. London: Evans
Brothers Limited, 1973. p.293.

³⁰ Court., p.225.

³¹ Ibid., p.225.

Village Polytechnic. The other concern with trade tests is the fear of the Village Polytechnic developing their own version of the diploma disease. This is of particular significance since by granting a form of credentials the Village Polytechnic come one step closer to reflecting formal education. The drive for receiving credential is not solely the fault of the government, although the government through its support makes it easier for them to be granted (ie gaining a licence to grant certificates), much of the pressure comes from the participants. The participants realize that gaining a credential upon completion gives more credibility to their training and thus makes them more employable (at least in the modern sector). The fact is, that by granting certificates or a trade qualification a fundamental change in matters such as curriculum and time occur. Curriculum becomes more formalized and time more standardized. As these change, the Village Polytechnic become formalized.

Time

The time dimension of the Village Polytechnic has also changed. Initially time was defined as the time a person needed to master the skills. Research indicates that many of the Village Polytechnic are dominated by fixed-period of one or two year courses.³² This runs in direct contrast to what was originally envisioned for the Village Polytechnic. This

³² Court., p.228.

new formal or chronological time sequence demonstrates moves towards formal education characteristics. It must be remembered that the time dimension has been crucial in what defines nonformal education.

Curriculum.

Curriculum has changed from the original Village Polytechnic vision. Initially agriculture was the central focus but this changed by the early 1970's to include carpentry, masonry and tailoring. The curriculum design of the Village Polytechnic can be seen as pressured from both the formal school system and the national economy. Although curriculum is designed to meet community needs some facets have been standardized. Language is a good example of both standardization and pressures from the modern sector economy. Originally language was in the regional tongue or more so in Swahili. The move to use more English had David Court suggesting that " training local youth for local employment does not necessitate instruction in English, but the requirements of the national modern sector of the economy create pressures for English classes and an English medium of instruction".³³

³³ Court., p.228.

Entry Requirements.

Entry into the Village Polytechnic is primarily based on the number of openings. The main requirement is that one is a primary school leaver. Entry requirements can change from Village Polytechnic to Village Polytechnic. Some have adopted a selection process which tries to establish motivation and aptitude. Although these programs have been viewed by some as being more successful for both the individual and community this change is certainly a step removed from the original entry requirements. As such, they are another sign of the Village Polytechnic becoming formalized.

Conclusion

Originally the Village Polytechnics were seen as an alternative to the formal school system, an alternative that would focus on the primary school leaver problem. They were structured in such a fashion that they incorporated the characteristics of nonformal education. They were specific in their objective, flexible in time requirements, they were demand oriented in their skill training, had no formal curriculum nor did they offer any intrinsic rewards except possible employment. As the Village Polytechnics began to evolve many of these distinguishable characteristics changed. The scope of this case study was to show the extent of this change and how it has led to the Village Polytechnic's

formalization. More specifically however, where possible, this change has been linked to the role of the state in education and development.

The contribution of the state in the formalization of the Village Polytechnics is difficult to establish. It is clear that early on the government took a key role in financing, which has contributed to a highly defined structure within which the Village Polytechnics operate.³⁴ Although this does not preclude formalization it does resemble institutionalization. This institutionalization makes the formalization of other aspects (time, curriculum and rewards) easier. The role of the state in the Village Polytechnics can not be solely seen in terms of its direct impact on the program but must also be viewed in light of indirect influences.

The major indirect influence is the pressures of the modern economy and the Village Polytechnics relationship to that economy. Entrance into the modern economy is one of the only ways to gain social mobility and higher wages. Training in the Village Polytechnics has focused on low-skills that demand low wages. Participants understand and are aware of the socioeconomic imbalances distinguished between formal academic training and that of nonformal practical training. It

³⁴ Refer back to the Chart on P.117. Anderson looks at this structure and asks questions about the process of institutionalization. John Anderson., "The Formalization of Non-formal Education: Village Polytechnics and Prevocational Youth Training in Kenya". p. 298.

is the pressure to gain access to the modern economy which force rewards to be offered (diplomas), timing to be more stringent, curriculum to be standardized and even language of instruction to change.³⁵ Since the state is primarily responsible for the development strategies followed which give more prestige to the modern economy and formal education, they are also responsible for the effects of such a strategy. For the Village Polytechnic the effect of such a strategy is its increasing formalization.

³⁵ Simkins., p.41-42. Simkins extends the list of external and internal pressures to include such changes as teaching methods which have become more classroom oriented.

CHAPTER V

Case Study: Botswana The Brigades

The first purpose of this case study is to determine the extent to which the nonformal characteristics of the Brigades have been formalized. Second, this analysis considers this change process as a result of state involvement. This will be done using an analytical grid, and by discussing Botswana's education and development model in an historical context.

Historical Background

Botswana is a country of 600,370 square kilometres with a population of just over 1.3 million.¹ It is a landlocked country situated in Southern Africa. To the south it borders South Africa, to the west Namibia, to the north Zambia and to the northeast Zimbabwe. Key geographical features include the Okavango swamp in the north and the Kalahari Desert in the southwest. Although Botswana is a multi-ethnic society it is

¹ Sheldon G. Weeks. "Reforming the Reform: Education in Botswana". in Africa Today. Vol 40, No.1. 1993. p.51. Weeks uses a 1991 population figure of 1,357,600.

not typical of many other multi-ethnic African nations. Just over 50 per cent are Tswanian and 5 per cent are Basarwian.²

Before independence in 1966, Botswana was called Bechuanaland, which encompassed eight Tswana Kingdoms. The formation of Bechuanaland was a result of a power struggle in Southern Africa. The British (in face of German South West Africa and the Portuguese Mozambique) wanted to maintain their planned Cape to Cairo road. At the same time the eight Tswanan Kingdoms feared the Boer Republics to the south. The Tswana Kingdoms saw British protection as a "means to maintain their relative political and economic independence".³ Out of this joint fear, Britain agreed to extend its protectorate to Bechuanaland. The British made it clear that the costs involved in administering or extending protection would have to be paid by the Kingdoms.

Britain's objective of keeping costs down in administering and extending protection had an implication for education. Much of the early education was initiated by the Chiefs mostly in conjunction with Christian Missions. Therefore, much of the early education was self-financed by the Kingdoms and therefore tended to meet local needs. Primary

² Edwin K Townsend Coles., Maverick of the Education Family: Two Essays in Non-Formal Education. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982. p.47.

³ Ingemar Gustafsson. "Diversified Secondary Education in Botswana and Zimbabwe: Goals and Constraints of two Experimental Programmes". London: University of London Institute of Education. May 1986. p.5.

education was solely controlled by the Kingdoms. Later, the control of secondary education, was shared by the Kingdoms, missions and the state (British Administration). Early in Botswana's modern education history attempts were made to link and integrate academic and manual training. It was initially successful on a small scale. Both local churches and the Tswana Kingdoms pooled resources to meet local demands. Difficulty came when demand increased. The Kingdoms and churches found expansion difficult and called on the state to lend financial support. By 1955, the Government agreed to give support as long as schools followed the 'Cape Code', which meant a shift in education principles toward a more academically oriented curriculum.⁴

Formal education's expansion since independence was rapid. In 1965, 65 per cent of the primary age group was enrolled in education compared with 116 per cent in 1988.⁵ Government expenditures have also shown a dramatic increase. In 1972, Botswana spent 10 per cent of its GNP on education. By 1989, that figure rose to 20.1 per cent.⁶ Botswana's education has expanded at every level and this shows the state's commitment and the importance it attaches to education. This importance is also seen in light of support to

⁴ Gustafsson., p.6.

⁵ World Bank. World Development Report 1991.

⁶ World Bank. World Bank Tables 1992. London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

nonformal education. Botswana's attempt to integrate nonformal education into their national development has allowed for the creation of a Department of Non-Formal Education.⁷ This department sits within the Ministry of Education and its main function is to administer and co-ordinate nonformal education programs.

It is clear that Botswana is laying great value on its education. This is a direct reflection of Botswana's strategy for development. In order to gain a better appreciation for this and to understand the origins of the Brigades it is important to look at the Botswana economy and more specifically at its development strategy.

Botswana has been looked upon as the miracle of Africa. As future hope for the whole continent is being questioned, Botswana is held up as a success story. For the past 25 years, Botswana has been the "fastest growing economy in the world".⁸ It has had a GNP per capita growth rate between 1965 and 1985 of 8.3 per cent.⁹ The per capita income rose from \$50 (US) in the mid-1960's to \$1000 (US) by the early

⁷ Coles., p.48.

⁸ Charles Harvey and Stephen R. Lewis. Policy Choice and Development Performance in Botswana. London: MacMillian in association with the OECD Development Centre, 1990. p. 1.

⁹ Ibid., p.1.

1980's.¹⁰ "By 1989-1990 a per capita GNP of approximately U.S. \$2,300 had been reached".¹¹ Equally as impressive is Botswana's ratio of debt service to exports which is a mere 4 per cent.¹² Botswana's success can be tied to many factors. Let us examine some of these.

Historically it has been attributed to the smooth transition to independence. Kenneth Good writes: "decolonization was as firm as it was brief".¹³ There were strong ties between the colonial administration and the Botswana Democratic Party (founded in 1962) before independence. These ties were furthered by the financial support given to the BDP from the European ranching and commercial community.¹⁴ Both worked together to establish the country's political and development strategies upon independence. Success has also been attributed to the highly efficient central state which is careful in its planning,

¹⁰ Q.N. Parsons. "The Botswana Brigades: Botswana's Experience of Education for Employment, 1965-89". Education with Production. Vol 6, No 2, June 1989. p. 30.

¹¹ Kenneth Good. "Interpreting the Exceptionality of Botswana". The Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol 30, No 1, 1992. p.74.

¹² Harvey and Lewis., p.41.

¹³ Good., p.72.

¹⁴ Louis A. Picard. The Politics of Development in Botswana: a model for success? Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers, 1987. pp. 138-42.

economic management and diplomacy.¹⁵ Their economic and development strategy has maintained a conservative fiscal and monetary policy. "The Botswana state has also tried to anticipate problems and opportunities."¹⁶ With most of its revenue gained from two industries, cattle and mining, Botswana very early on established funds to protect themselves from the highly unstable export market.¹⁷

With Botswana's focus on the export market, their conservative fiscal and monetary policy, and their expanding commitment to education, it is easy to identify the type of development policy that has been deployed. There is no denying that Botswana has developed along a modernization approach with a heavy focus on human capital development. However, the application of such an approach has resulted in many of the same consequences that have been felt throughout Africa. Although Botswana is seen as a success story in development, that success is more than often judged on a crude application of economic indicators (ie. GNP and per capita income). The successful "development" of Botswana has however involved a deepening of inequalities. As these inequalities appear one must begin questioning Botswana's success. By identifying the deepening inequalities not only

¹⁵ Good., p.75.

¹⁶ Good., p.75.

¹⁷ Kenneth Good writes that in "1990 diamonds alone accounted for 80 per cent of its export earnings". p.90.

will the Botswana 'success story' be put into perspective but the framework for nonformal education and the Brigades will be established.

Much of the deepening inequalities felt within Botswana are isolated to the rural society. The distribution of income in rural Botswana is highly uneven. Christopher Coclough and Peter Fallon analysed income data for 1974-75 and concluded that "over one-half of rural households [were] suffering from absolute poverty".¹⁸ The richest 10 per cent accounted for almost 39 per cent of rural incomes and the poorest 10 per cent accounted for only 1.5 per cent.¹⁹ Table 5 shows the full extent of this inequitable distribution. Kenneth Good suggests that since the 1970's the situation has appeared to worsen. He cites research carried out by the Bank of Botswana in 1986 that covered 664 households and 26 villages. The research uncovered that "while more than 70 per cent of the population shared among themselves about 17 per cent of total income, a minority of fewer than 20 per cent enjoyed about 70 per cent of rural income".²⁰ The fallen incomes of the rural population was also illustrated by a 1990 Presidential Commission. Kenneth Good highlights its findings as follows:

¹⁸ Christopher Colclough and Peter Fallon., "Rural Poverty in Botswana: dimensions, causes and constraints" in Dharam Ghai and Sair Radawan (ed) Agrarian Policies and Rural Poverty in Africa. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1983. p.135.

¹⁹ Good., p.78.

²⁰ Ibid., p.79.

TABLE 5
Distribution of Total Rural Incomes

Percentile Income Group	Percentage of Total Income Received	Mean Annual Income (Pula)
Bottom 10%	1.5	129
10-20%	2.5	219
20-30%	3.4	298
30-40%	4.4	385
40-50%	5.5	483
50-60%	7.1	616
60-70%	8.9	777
70-80%	11.1	970
80-90%	16.8	1,468
Top 10%	38.8	3,390
Top 5%	26.2	4,485
Top 1%	10.2	8,940

Source: Christopher Colclough and Peter Fallon. "Rural Poverty in Botswana: Dimensions, Causes and Constraints". in Dharam Ghai and Samir Radwan., Agrarian Policies and Rural Poverty in Africa. Geneva: International Labour Office. 1983. p. 134. Data from RIDs, 1974-75.

While in 1974-5 the median monthly income of all rural households was P175, this figure had fallen to P132 by 1985-6, indicating a decline in rural incomes of about 24 per cent. Of this sum of P132 a month, the non-cash income component totalled P79... while the share of total income accruing to the poorest 40 per cent of the population in 1974-5 was 12 per cent, it had dropped to 11 per cent by 1985-6. The top 20 per cent of people had, however, enjoyed a rise in their share of total income over the same period from 58 to 61 per cent.²¹

Declining income figures are not the only ones that suggest a worsening of inequalities for Botswana's rural peoples. Declining incomes have also been correlated with declining cattle stocks of rural households. In 1940, 10 per cent of the households had no cattle, by 1970, this figure rose to 29 per cent and by 1980 it had reached 45 per cent.²² Cattle figures are an important and reliable indicator since traditionally cattle ownership is associated with wealth and security (against drought).

The rich are getting richer and a new class of wealth was created within the national bureaucracy. Unlike many African countries there has been a marked rise in living standards throughout the population with respect to water, medical services and roads. By 1985, over "80 per cent of rural people lived within 15 kilometers of a health facility".²³ But like many other African countries Botswana faces many of the same pressures with respect to urbanization and

²¹ Ibid., p.79.

²² Ibid., p.77.

²³ Charles Harvey and Stephen R.Lewis, Jr., p.283.

unemployment. With a labour market of 400,000 peoples , 22 per cent are deemed unemployed.²⁴ Figures by Parson suggest that 10,000 more school leavers come into the job market every year than can be employed in the formal sector.²⁵ With these figures of school leavers, unemployment, rural income distribution and rural cattle ownership one begins to see reasons behind the formation of the Brigades. The Botswana government recognized the relationship between these factors, however like most nations following a traditional modernization approach to development they articulate its elimination through the strategic deployment of education and training. This is seen in the National Development Plan of 1979-85.

Paradoxically, while there is a shortage of work for unskilled Botswana, there is a dearth of trained and skilled people without whom new jobs for the unskilled cannot be created. This problem is tackled in Government's development strategy through the priority attached to education and training.²⁶

With education given such a prominent role in Botswana's development plan it is easy to see the importance of both nonformal education and the Brigades.

²⁴ Parsons., p.38.

²⁵ Ibid., p.38.

²⁶ National Development Plan 1979-85. Gaborone: Government Printer, 1980. paragraph 2.61.

Brigades

The Brigades originate from much the same circumstances as the Village Polytechnic; that being a primary school leaver problem. One way the government of Botswana has dealt with this issue is through its commitment to the Brigades. Brigades are essentially vocational skills training units whose activities can range from carpentry, masonry, tailoring, plumbing and agriculture.

Initially, the Brigades began as a "semi-formal" response to the primary school leaver problem.²⁷ Those who did not qualify for formal secondary education became the initial target groups. The first Brigade was started by Patrick Van Rensburg in the rural town of Serowe in 1965. The first Brigade had strong ties with local secondary schools. Two stream-schooling was originally planned; an academic stream with 80 per cent class work and 20 per cent manual and a vocational stream with 80 per cent manual and 20 per cent class work.²⁸ Following this line of academic versus manual work a model for education with production had been established. For the founder of the Brigades, Patrick Van Rensburg, it was hoped that the dichotomy between manual and academic training could be broken. Brigade training would bring both together and through this exchange gain respect for

²⁷ Parsons., p.29.

²⁸ Ibid., p.31.

one another. This however proved most difficult to achieve. By 1971, it was becoming increasingly difficult to justify keeping close ties with secondary schools. Interest in the manual aspect of the Brigades was being sidelined by pushes for academic programs. It had proved more difficult than originally expected to bridge this gap, and the Brigades set course on a distinct path of skill training.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the Brigades is probably best summed up by the Botswana Development Report of 1976. It stated that " the aim is to contribute to the development of rural areas by training primary school leavers in vocational skills in connection with the creation of job opportunities in commercial activities."²⁹

The objectives of the Brigades are diverse. Over the years they have changed. It is interesting however to start by stating their original objectives.

- 1) To provide a general and vocational education for primary school leavers.
- 2) To provide skills which would lead to employment or self employment.
- 3) To contribute to rural/community development.

²⁹ National Development Plan 1976-1981. Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. May 1977.

- 4) Education with production. (This suggests the ability and push for a self-financing type of vocational education).
- 5) Bridge the gap between manual and mental labour.
- 6) Involve students, staff and community in decision-making process.

These are the original objectives of the Brigade movement. It is interesting to note how objectives change over time. Ahmad notes two distinct schools of thought forming as to the ideal aims of the Brigades. One group believed that the Brigades should make throughput training of primary school leavers for modern sector employment as their primary aim. The other group believed the Brigades should be primarily concerned with informal training with local and rural communities.³⁰

Organizational Structure

Organization at the Brigade level ideally centres around participation of both students and staff. This is unified by the director of the Brigades who is responsible for daily operations, finance, and linkages with other institutions. Originally much of the power was at the program/ brigade level. Over the past 15 years the Board of Trustees has seemed to have taken over the responsibility. The Trustee

³⁰ N. Ahmad. "General Educational Requirements for Access to Manual Skills Training in Botswana". Gaborone: University College, June 1979. p.48.

Board has taken over much of the community-based Brigade initiative.

The initial success of the Brigades gave rise to the establishment of the Brigade Co-ordinating Committee in 1969. This brought the Brigade movement under the wing of the Ministry of Education.³¹ The National Brigade Co-ordinating Committee led initially by Van Rensburg, had as its main function the formulation of rural development policy.

The formation of the Brigade Skill Development Centre (BRIDEC) was another layer in the institutional structure created by the government. The main objective of BRIDEC was to "provide and co-ordinate training with the aim of making Botswana self-sufficient in qualified co-ordinators, managers, teachers, instructors, accountants and bookkeepers".³² Teaching and training through a centralized centre such as BRIDEC suggests a clear movement towards formalization. Equally as important in understanding BRIDEC is the change that occurred in the early 1980's as a result of government indecision as to their role in the nation's production relations. This finally resulted in consultations and compromise that upgraded BRIDEC within the Ministry of

³¹ A.R. Thompson. Education and Development in Africa. London: Macmillan, 1981. p.241.

³² National Development Plan 1976-81., p.130.

Education to "provide support for production and community service as well as education within the Brigades".³³

The chart provided on the following page shows the extend to which the Brigades have been structured within the Botswana development framework. Thus, as time passed from 1965 to the present progressively new layers were added on to the original structure.

³³ Parsons., p.36.

Botswana Government

Ministry of
Commerce and
Industry

Ministry of Education
(1968)

Department of
Community
Development
(1967)

National Brigade Co-ordinating Committee
(1970)

Brigade Skills Development Centre
(BRIDEC-1977)
(1980-85)

Rural Development
Council
(1970-71)

Board of Trustees
(1972)

Brigades
(1965)

Decision-Making

With the organizational structure as shown above, the decision-making process is hierarchical, but does not preclude that information and decisions travel in only one direction. The government, and its various departments and ministries, act as co-ordinators and support systems to regional units, the community, and the Brigades. The literature on the Brigades suggests that much of the real decision-making process is done by the Board of Trustees at the community level. But this has not always been the case. Before 1972 much of the decisions were undertaken at the program level: this means between the learners, instructors and directors.

The idea of a Board of Trustees came out of government struggles with the original Brigade at Serowe. Two points of contention stand out. The first were the strikes at the Brigade in 1970 and 1972 and the second can be viewed as the Serowe Brigade's attempt at "autonomous expansion".³⁴

The strikes resulted from students' unwillingness to accept the idea of work for the school and the community jointly. A compromise was reached after the 1972 strike where work for the community would be voluntary. Van Rensburg (the founder of the Brigade movement) saw the solution to this "internal conflict in a high degree of self-government which would include staff and students".³⁵ This however, was not

³⁴ Parsons., p.34.

³⁵ Gustafsson., p.9.

a view favourable to the government. The government felt threatened by the Serowe Brigade's example of brigade development. The Serowe Brigade grew out of socialist principles and thus became active in opposition to the government's development strategies. The government, in response, viewed a new Brigade at Molepolole as an example of how Brigades should function. With an emphasis on commercial viability rather than on building an alternative socialist society.³⁶ The government responded to what they perceived as a socialist opposition and strikes by insisting that " the Brigades must not be run by an internal democracy but must follow the Molepolole model - under a Board of Trustees elected at an open meeting of the community outside the Brigades".³⁷ It is clear that the decision-making process had taken a turn within the original Brigade construct. Although the government could claim not having total control, control was removed from the participants which should be a central feature of nonformal education.

Participation

With the assumption that government involvement will effect participation, the Brigades offer some interesting insights into that relationship. The per cent of participation rose considerably during the first 15 years,

³⁶ Parsons., p.34.

³⁷ Ibid., p.34.

from just under 50 people to a high of 1127 in 1976.³⁸ Participation after 1978 began to stagnate and drop. It was not until 1989 that the pre 1978 level was once again reached. Speculations for this are numerous but most weight has been placed on government indecision as to its place in the Brigade movement. This translated or spread to foreign donor indecision.³⁹ Steering a path of deregulation the Botswana government began a long period of reflection as to its role in production and the Brigade movement itself.

Finance

One of the most unique characteristics of the Brigade movement is their ability to finance part of their operation themselves. Initially self-financing was a principal reason behind the education with production model of training. As both the Brigades began to expand and as the government began to take interest, demand and scope of the Brigades changed and required new resources and finances. By the mid 1970's, the Botswana government began to subsidize the Brigades through paying a "proportion of the salaries of instructors and making allowances available to trainees".⁴⁰

Although authors such as Thompson suggest that this minimal finance of governments has allowed the Brigades not to

³⁸ Ibid., p.36.

³⁹ Ibid., p.35.

⁴⁰ Thompson., p.241.

become overly bureaucratic and allowed them to retain control, a look at the Botswana National Development Plan of 1976-81 sheds a different light onto this matter. The National Development Plan of 1976-81 sets out four conditions which have to be followed if Brigades wish funds from the government.

1. The initiative arises from the local community.
2. The Brigade is fully governed by a Board of Trustees.
3. It is proven that no other financial resources are available.
4. The Brigade promises to train for either direct employment, self-employment or employment in a Brigade production unit.⁴¹

Clearly by issuing such a statement the government, by virtue of its financial contributions, has a significant influence on Brigades. Condition number two shows the government's continued desire and interest in eliminating problems like those faced in 1970-72.

Rewards

Although the ability to find employment or self-employment is high among Brigade completers, (compared to other segments of the society) the reward of employment is far from guaranteed. Many Brigades also offer skills training which is directed to passing the national trade test. They offer either trade test B which qualifies one as a semi-

⁴¹ National Development Plan 1976-1981. p.128.

skilled craftsperson or trade test A which signifies a skilled craftsperson. Between the two is an additional year or two of training. This can be viewed as an additional reward of some Brigades since trade tests make entry into the formal sector possible.

Rewards to the communities are mixed. Those Brigades that act as employers can contribute to "the overall operation and diversification of village economies".⁴² However, trainees continue to migrate to the urban and mining centres to seek modern sector employment. Urban migration and Brigade organization with respect to the local community are two reasons why the Brigade contribution to rural development is questionable or limited.

Curriculum

The Brigades offer a variety of curricula. This is largely due to their own individual uniqueness. Originally, the curriculum was divided between manual skills and academics. A carpentry Brigade would thus train partly in carpentry skills supplemented by basic education such as English, math and civics. With the introduction of trade tests as part of the Brigade process academic curriculum became more standardized. Trade tests made instruction in English a prerequisite since most tests are conducted in English.

⁴² Parsons., p.38.

Time

The time participants spend in a Brigade varies greatly. Originally time was conceived as the time it took to acquire a skill. This has changed to the time it takes to pass the trade test. A 'bridging course' for those not old enough to enter the Serowe Brigade has a three year time stipulation attached. This change in time requirements is seen as a result of the Brigades concentrating on 'throughput training'. The focus on throughput training has meant "taking school leavers, putting them through a three year course and sending them out to the job market".⁴³ However, this can be seen as a move to formalization. Ahmad writes:

This is a move away from the original concept of a Brigade centre that would play an all-round role in rural development - providing community services, extension work, and employment opportunities as well as formal training.⁴⁴

Entry Requirements

The entrance requirements of the Brigades show a clear change from original conception. The original Brigade in Serowe had no entry requirements. This has changed over the years. Presently most Brigades have a combination of four essential entry requirements; level of schooling, language, age, and fees. Many of the Brigades require standard 7

⁴³ Ahmad.N., p.34.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.34.

completion, English, and age level of 16 to 25.⁴⁵ These entry requirements are shown in Table 6, and clearly show how the original requirements at Serowe have changed.

Conclusion

The original characteristics of the Brigades have changed. These changes are beginning to show remarkable similarities to the formal education system. Originally the Brigades had no formal entry requirements, no set curriculum, and no time constraints. The original Brigade format bore a remarkable resemblance to nonformal education. It had specifically defined objectives, a participatory decision-making process, and a loosely defined organizational structure. As the Brigades began to evolve many of these distinguishable characteristics changed. The scope of this case study was to show the extent of this change and how it has led to the Brigade's formalization. More specifically however, where possible, this change was linked to the increased role of the state in the Brigade movement.

Increased state participation was shown in many instances. One example was the establishment in 1972, of a Board of Trustees. This clearly showed the impact of state intervention on the internal structure of the Brigade movement. The Board of Trustees changed many internal

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.33.

TABLE 6
BASELINE DATA ON BRIGADES

Centre	Year Course Began	Course	Entry Requirements in that Year			
			School	Language	Age	Fees
Serowe	1965	Building	None	None	None	None
Lobatse	1967	Build. Car-pentry	Std 7 Std 7	Eng. Eng.	16-25 16-25	? ?
Kgat-leng	1968	Build. Leatherwork Auto	Std 7 Std 7 Std 7	Eng. Eng. Eng.	16-24 16-24 16-24	? ? ?
Kanye	1969	Build. Home-craft	Std 7 None	Eng. None	? Older Women	? ?
Shashe	1969	Textiles	Std 7	Eng.	None	?
		Welding	Std 7	Eng.	None	?
		Car-pentry	Std 7	Eng.	None	?
		Build.	Std 7	Eng.	None	?
Kwen-eng	1970	Text/Handicrafts	Std 7 (some lower)	Eng.	15-25	?
Tutume	1970	Brick-laying	Std 7	Eng	None	?
Madiba	1971	Build.	Std 7	Eng	18+	P 10
Tswel-elopele	1971	Knitting	Std 7	Eng.	16-23	?
Ngam-iland	1972	Sewing	Std 7	Eng.	16+	?
		Build.	Std 7	Eng.	16+	?
		Car-pentry	Std 7	Eng.	16+	?

Centre	Year Course Began	Course	Entry Requirements in that Year			
			School	Language	Age	Fee
Mahalapye	1974	Text-tiles	Std 7	Eng.	18+	?
Palapye	1975	Build. Car-pentry Dress-making	Std 7	Eng.	None	P 240
			Std 7	Eng.	None	P 240
			Std 7	None	None	P 240
Chobe	1978	Auto.	Std 7	Eng.	18-23	?

Source: N.Ahmad. "General Educational Requirements for Access To Manual Skills Training in Botswana". Gaborone: University College. June 1979. p. 30.

characteristics such as curriculum design. Another example was the financing stipulations as written in the Development Plan of 1976-81. Following the stipulations set out in the plan, clearly determines who receives the much sought after financing. This shows the implicit extent of state control. Finally, the pervasiveness with which the Ministry of Education became involved in the Brigade movement is shown in the extent to which it has set the external hierarchical structure in motion. Creating at various times institutions such as the Board of Trustees, the NBCC and BRIDEC. The organizational structure of the Brigade system is a direct result of the Ministry of Education (as an agent of the state) and the attempts to deal with the developments in the political economy. Hence the creation of the Board of Trustees (resulting out of the strikes in 1970 and 1972) and the upgrade of BRIDEC between 1980 and 1985 (resulting from the government's insistence on "deregulating the economy by withdrawal of any direct state participation in production"⁴⁶).

The origins behind the Brigades are quite explicit. They grew out of a need in Botswana to address the primary school leaver problem within a rural development context. The extent to which the Brigades have contributed to rural development will be the criteria upon which success is ultimately judged. The record so far is difficult to evaluate. Tracer studies

⁴⁶ Parsons., pp.35-36.

have shown that "Brigades graduates are the most likely school leavers to get jobs in the formal sector"⁴⁷ however, "many trainees continue to migrate to seek modern-sector employment in the urban and mining areas...Relatively few seek to work in the rural areas".⁴⁸ What is clear is that the rural development component of the Brigades loses out when its characteristics begin to incorporate the demands of formal sector employment. It is within this process of incorporation that the Brigades and nonformal education become formalized.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.38.

⁴⁸ Thompson., p.242.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

The formalization of nonformal education is a process. A process which is the result of increased state involvement within the nonformal education system. The Village Polytechnics and the Brigades originally displayed many of the characteristics that distinguishes nonformal education. They had a specific objective (training primary school leavers for employment), had a participatory decision-making process, had no standardized curriculum, had no time constraints, no intrinsic rewards besides employment, and were originally financially independent of government. As the state became involved these characteristics changed. The state both directly and indirectly influenced the development of these nonformal education characteristics. Direct influence was seen in financial support, which, in retrospect, indirectly influenced other areas such as the decision-making process. Indirectly the state, through its development policies, set the conditions upon which social demand was formulated. In the case of the Village Polytechnic and the Brigades this social demand called for a change in the reward structure, curriculum design, and time allocation.

It is clear that state involvement in the Village Polytechnic and the Brigades has led to their formalization.

The extent to which this raises questions about nonformal education's efficiency, effectiveness and relevancy is perhaps the most significant issue. In Chapter 1, we argued that formal education is in a dilemma which centres on claims of irrelevancy, ineffectiveness and inefficiency, claims linked by various sociological interpretation and by the historical state-education relationship. If our analysis is correct, it is possible to conclude that nonformal education, by virtue of its formalization will also become irrelevant, ineffective and inefficient.

Although the formalization of nonformal education has been established and the role the state plays in this process identified, it is important to examine the implications of formalization in terms of policy. The implications lie at both the program and government level but can be drawn together under a general discussion of policy implications.

At the program level, nonformal education programs must be aware of the possible effect of state involvement. Acknowledging formalization as a consequence helps clarify program objectives and establishes the hurdles nonformal education programs confront as the state takes more interest. In this case, anticipatory planning will decide whether the trade-off is too great. Both the Village Polytechnic and the Brigades formalization started with government financing as the first stage in a much longer process. Knowing that government financing could lead to formalization allows new

programs to not only rethink their financial viability but also to factor in mechanisms whereby government financing would not necessarily lead to formalization.

At the government level, policy must be explicitly clear as to its objective in supporting nonformal education. If rural development is the main objective behind a nonformal education program then the formalization of nonformal education is not desired. Clarity of objectives must be based on its understanding of nonformal education as an alternative, compliment or supplement to formal education. If it is perceived as an alternative, preserving nonformal education's unique distinguishable characteristics is the goal, and establishing the social, political and economic climate whereby this can proceed becomes its point of entry. If the government views nonformal education as a compliment or supplement the distinction between formal and nonformal becomes harder to maintain and thus government policy must concede its inevitable formalization and thus focus on ways of integrating both systems in a way that captures the redeeming qualities of both.

However, any formation of policy, whether at the program or government level, must be based on an understanding of the process of formalization which fundamentally requires an understanding of the social, economic and political context within which nonformal education exists. Understanding this relationship will eliminate policy options such as

deregulation. On the surface one might suggest that if state involvement leads to formalization the elimination of the state in nonformal education is required. Although this follows in-line with the neo-conservative agenda this is not a solution. Calls of deregulation are often carried from a narrow conception of the state. A conception which often equates the state as synonymous with government. It is suggested within this thesis that we must widen our conceptualization of the state. Government is merely one state agency, an institution like education is another, and political elites and majoritarian interests in the economic sector are others.¹ Deregulating the government from nonformal education will only shift the central state agency and will therefore not tackle the real issue. The real issue, once formalization is established, is not the elimination of the state in its interrelationship with nonformal education, but rather the extent to which these economic, political and social factors influence this relationship. It would be rather naive to suggest that the state will relinquish control of education when schooling in our society is part of the state system. It is only by understanding the full extent of state control in nonformal education that attempts can be made to minimize its formalization effect.

¹ Bob B. Everhart. The Public School Monopoly. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1982. p. 554.

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