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9. ABSTRACT

An examination of the role of women and families in social and economic development, for purposes of identifying learning needs and developing appropriate non-formal learning programs. Summarized are some of the critical functions of the family in social and economic development, its educational role, and its contribution to human resource development. The status and role of women in social and economic development is briefly reviewed. The report is directed to educators in both formal and non-formal systems, policymakers, program planners, and practitioners in non-formal education. Increased attention needs to be given to supporting and undergirding education within the family system, for it is here that the foundations for learning are established. The family is a pervasive and influential educator. All of its members, male and female, need to be prepared to function productively in the larger social and economic systems. Because of the nature of learning in the family, non-formal educational delivery systems are critical for supplementing and complementing family learning. Those interested in enhancing development need to look closely at the contributions the family can make, for the quality of life achieved by individuals in their family settings directly affects the total society.

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IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION**

Supplementary Paper No. 6

**WOMEN, FAMILIES,
AND NON-FORMAL
LEARNING PROGRAMS**

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Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education
Supplementary Series

WOMEN, FAMILIES AND NON-FORMAL
LEARNING PROGRAMS

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FOREWORD

This paper reports a study which examines the role of women and families in social and economic development as a means of identifying learning needs and developing appropriate non-formal learning programs. Much of the non-formal education (NFE) research related to families and women centers on agencies and their delivery systems in such areas as health, literacy, family planning and nutrition. This approach adds to our knowledge of family support systems, but it does not tell us much about the actual and potential contributions of families in social and economic development, nor about critical learning needs to which NFE should be directed. The intent of this study was to reverse the approach, with the overall goals twofold: 1) a better understanding of the development role of women and families; and 2) better plans for enhancing that role.

Two basic questions guided the study:

- a) What are the identifiable learning needs of families that would enhance their contribution to social and economic development?
- b) How can appropriate non-formal learning services be developed to meet these needs?

Little attention has been given to the significant functions the family plays in the social and economic development of a nation: this study, therefore explores

these functions as its central concern. In virtually all societies women play a central role in family life. In many developing countries they are extensively involved in agriculture, while in developed nations they assume an increasing share of the non-agricultural labor force. However, they generally have had fewer opportunities for education and have been under-represented in development efforts. Therefore, attention is given to identifying learning needs of family members with a special emphasis on the needs of women, and their actual and potential contributions to social and economic development.

This preliminary report is based on a distillation and summary of primary information (discussions with university colleagues and international scholars), analysis of a considerable body of data which has been assembled and catalogued (published research reports, monographs and policy statements prepared by governmental and non-governmental agencies) and a series of group discussions in the United States and Thailand.

The information obtained from the published material and group discussions constituted the basic data for the study. The methodology used was a series of successive analyses and syntheses of the data, clustered around these questions:

1. What is the educational role of the family in relation to other educational systems, both formal and non-formal?

2. What does the family contribute to social and economic development?
3. What does the family contribute to human resource development?
4. What dimensions of the role and status of women appear to be critical to social and economic development?

As a result of this process of analysis and synthesis an ecological model was developed to serve as a paradigm for decision-making and programming in non-formal education. To test the meaning of the concepts and model to professionals the report was submitted to an experienced professional who had worked extensively in non-formal programs in Latin America for her reactions.

The purpose of this report is to present a family ecological framework for identifying the competencies needed by families to facilitate their social and economic functioning. It should provide a basis for assessing needs and resources for determining non-formal education programs supportive to social and economic development at community and national levels.

The report summarizes some of the critical functions of the family in social and economic development, its education role, and its contributions to human resource development. The status and role of women in social and economic development is briefly reviewed. The report is directed to educators in both formal and non-formal systems, policy makers, program planners and practitioners in non-formal education,

researchers, and officials concerned with social and economic development.

Many people have contributed to this study, but we would like to acknowledge the special contributions of Mary Rainey, Assistant Professor, Institute for International Studies in Education; Mary Andrews, Instructor, Department of Family and Child Sciences; Maxine Ferris, Associate Professor, Institute for Agricultural Education, Virginia Boyd, Assistant Professor, Department of Clothing and Related Arts, University of Wisconsin (Madison); and Linda Nelson, Associate Professor and Chairman, Department of Family Ecology.

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CHAPTER I
FAMILY AND DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

There is growing awareness that a unified approach to development planning is needed in order to achieve the goal of a better life. Economic development efforts must be coupled with emphasis on the well-being and development of people. It has become clear that sectoral approaches to development can create serious imbalances.

"One-sided emphasis on economic growth has often increased the misery of the masses while benefitting a few. Excessive investments in capital-intensive industry or in education have created vast numbers of educated unemployed. Dynamic health programs have often reduced mortality. Lagging sectors of national economy have increased hunger and malnutrition. Inadequate attention to family planning has resulted in unmanageable growth of population which, in turn, dissipates the results of development. A whole score of social problems has followed in the wake of such lopsided development, often destroying the old and traditional patterns of life without substituting or even holding out the promise of a new or improved way of life." (Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 1972).

No institution has been presented more often as either an obstacle or victim of social and economic development than the family, particularly the extended family. The position taken here is that in the processes of development the family,¹ like other social institutions, will change as a result of the transformation of the economy. But it need be neither obstacle nor victim. Social and economic changes present new opportunities (e.g., diversity of goods and services, more stable educational, health and social supports) for a better life in and for the family. They also make new demands on it (e.g., specialization of skills, more complex decision making). Development in some societies, such as the increasing rate of divorce, increase in single-parent and childless families, the rise of communal groups and increase in premarital or extramarital sexual activity have led to questioning the necessity for, or the ability of, the family to function in contemporary society. However, examination of several societies reveals that while such changes are occurring in some areas, and that other social institutions can and do perform some functions previously associated with the family, the family is very much "a going concern" and is essential in social and economic development (Goode 1963).

1. "Family," in this paper, is used to represent a generalized social group. It takes on many forms from single-parent to extended kinships. No one form is the target of discussion herein.

Functions of Family in Social and Economic Development

There is widespread agreement that chief among the functions of the family are the educative, socialization and nurturance functions. Being cared for and nurtured in a primary group, with close physical and emotional contact with attentive human beings and care givers, is deemed essential to adequate physical, emotional, social and intellectual functioning as a contributing member of society (Reiss 1965). Other essential learnings required for living in a given social group or culture are also acquired primarily in the family (Leichter 1974).

In addition, the family continues to play a vital role in economic and social development, through (1) contribution in and motivation for participation in the market economy, and (2) through the non-market, unpaid activities of family members in the form of production of goods and services for family consumption (Paolucci 1974).

The family plays another essential role, too, in the functioning of the economy and the society. This is its integrative function (Boulding 1973). One of the most fundamental needs of human beings is development of the sense of trust. This begins in infancy as parents care for and meet the needs of young children. Trust is the foundation for moral values and cooperative human relationships.

It, coupled with love, is also the basis for the grants the family makes to its members for material and emotional sustenance. A principle of reciprocity is at work here: as parents provide for their children, there is the assumption, usually implicit and not contractual, that children will, in turn, provide for parents in their older age.

Both emotional and monetary support is exchanged within the family and through a system of societal transfers - individuals participating in employment and attendant taxation to support social programs such as income maintenance and health care. The continued functioning of the economy and the society is dependent on the building of a trust that people can be counted on to do what is expected of them and on the implied reciprocity of human transactions. Through trust and a belief in reciprocity, diverse individuals and strangers can interact and carry out functions essential for a social and economic system to continue. The market system functions on the basis of trust. The foundations for trust and reciprocity are established in the family, and it is through their provision that the family plays an integrative function for society.

The family contributes further to social integration through its provision of continuity in human relationships through kinship structures, through preservation of basic values and through its participation in religious systems

and ceremonial activities. Likewise, traditional home arts and crafts, literature, music, dance, drama and recreation which give meaning to life are often rooted in family life and experience.

Population management has become one of the most critical needs in a contemporary world faced with increasing shortages of food, energy, space and other resources needed for survival, at the same time that expectations for a better life are increasing. In most societies reproduction and replacement of a society's members continue to take place within the family. Hence, values and goals related to children and decisions about family size and family planning have become one of the most fundamental ways the family interacts with the society and the way it relates to social and economic development.

Programs of economic and social development must of necessity place a high priority on education as one of the means to achieve desired goals of improved health, more security, greater productivity and a better and longer life. In plans and programs for development, the essential and powerful role played by the family, especially in its role as educator, must be given greater attention. The family can be described as educator utilizing processes frequently associated with informal as well as non-formal learning. It links to external non-formal as well as formal educational systems.

Informal Education and the Family

Informal education is the process by which a person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and sensibilities from daily experience and exposure to the environment (in an unplanned way). Informal education accounts for the greatest share of any person's total lifetime learning (Coombs and Ahmed 1974). In many respects it is also the most crucial, since it is what begins earliest in life, in infancy, and includes the learning of basic codes necessary to future learning and survival. It is equated by some with socialization, the process by which a person learns how to exist as a social being and acquires consciousness, language, control of body processes, use of physical and motor resources, restraint of impulses, how to relate to various other people, and other learnings necessary to life in a given social group or culture (Ward and Detonni 1974).

As one continues throughout life, informal education, even for the most highly schooled persons, continues to play a vital part in helping to learn necessary skills, information and values for the many roles a person plays in life: worker, citizen, spouse, parent, child, sibling, consumer, community volunteer, neighbor or friend. Informal education goes on in the context of everyday life in practically any kind of setting or environment in which humans exist. It is casual rather than planned, for both the teachers and learners, and often incidental to some other activity.

The family is probably the single most influential source of informal learning. For most people it is the primary learning group, in the sense of being first and also in being most important. Not only does it start to function at birth, it continues for many people in some form or another throughout life, in all stages of family life, people learn from each other, parents from children, children from parents and grandparents, sisters and brothers from each other, and from the various and assorted relatives in linked and extended families (Leichter 1974). The family originates many early learning efforts, it mediates others which take place in other settings and it can also insulate from education some family members, either because it cannot or will not accept some kinds of education, or because it knows nothing at all of possible learnings and education (Getzels 1974).

In a sense, the family is an expert informal learning system--early learnings of such matters as language patterns, expression of emotions, ways of relating to other people, moral values of right and wrong, sexual identity and sex-role behavior may be very well learned, because they are largely unconsciously acquired through modeling and identification, often with partial reinforcement. The family as educator is also a novice; it is often untrained and unskilled for some of what it teaches. For much of what is learned, there are no specified criteria by which to judge what is learned. However, the informal learning which goes on in the family

is often evaluated when children enter the formal learning system, the schools, and so-called deficits in learning, or learning which is at variance with the codes and norms of what is "correct" on such matters as language, values, attitudes and behavior, are defined as "problems". The family is then "blamed" for what it has taught as well as for what it has not taught.

Margaret Mead (1970) has called those societies, in which change is so slow that the child sees its own future as it observes its grandparents, postfigurative. In these societies the family for many people is the major educational agency, and there are few, if any, other educational systems needed to prepare people for a life essentially as it was in the past. Those societies in which a large proportion of children learn from their peers who are at the same stage of learning as themselves, Mead calls cofigurative, and those in which the experience of children differs so markedly from that of their parents and grandparents that elders must also learn from the experience of children, an experience to which they themselves have only secondary access, she calls prefigurative.

With the present rate of social change and development, few societies are postfigurative, or will remain so very long. Many are cofigurative, and others, the advanced industrial societies such as the United States and much of Europe and Japan, are prefigurative. In these latter societies, gaps

between experiences of children and adults are often very large. Informal learning previously taken for granted may not occur at all when parents and children spend little time together in meaningful activities or shared work and play. At the very time when families are most needed by societies to help prepare individuals for development, and by individuals to help them adapt to change and to deal with the strains which result from changes in roles, values and customs and patterns, people may spend less time within families. The links between work and family life become attenuated in industrial society as work becomes more specialized and moves away from the home; opportunities for informal learning diminish. In addition, the informal learning which goes on within the family may not be appropriate or sufficient for the family or its members to function in complex industrialized society.

Non-Formal Education and the Family

Non-formal education is often distinguished from informal education as consisting of consciously planned learning. (It is seen here as sharing this process characteristic with formal education but differing from formal education with respect to a number of other process characteristics as well as in structure and content.)

The family is a setting for non-formal education in that it is an arena of self-planned learning efforts. Family members engage in sustained and focused learning projects, setting their

own goals, deciding their own rate of learning, and seeking subject matter information from other family members as well as acquaintances, experts, and printed sources located both inside and outside the home. Allen Tough, in reviewing a series of research studies done on adults residing primarily in North America, points out that among one group studied as much as 70 percent of all learning efforts were self-planned. The major content of these learning efforts were home and family relationships. These findings suggest that for those men concerned with enhancing non-formal education which impacts on the competencies of adult family members, supporting self-planned learning efforts is of central concern.

Other non-formal education efforts, consciously conducted, occur between family members. Frequent examples are demonstrations of skills in one-to-one relationships.

Operational definitions of NFE describe organized educational efforts sponsored by an agency or institution which seeks to affect specific behavioral changes in a target population (Paulston 1973).

These outside sponsored programs for the family may have as an objective the effecting of consciously planned, as well as informal, learning that occurs between family members. Self-planned and outside sponsored non-formal education activities, because of their flexibility in adapting content and structure to the needs and motivations of family members

at critical "teachable moments" in their lives, are singularly well-adapted to helping the family carry out its many functions and to make more explicit and conscious its important learning activities. The need for learning in the family is continuous and life long. As family members grow, mature, and interact with ever changing environments, problems emerge that demand immediate attention, i.e., development of saleable skills, information about health, techniques for improving farm production. Non-formal education, as organized activity carried on outside the framework of the formal school system, is particularly well adapted to helping family members -- young and old -- meet immediate and specific needs. These needs are best accommodated by non-formal programs which build on self-initiated efforts of learners.

The family will also benefit from non-formal education to help it deal with the recurring human crises of birth, death, illness, changes in roles and self-perceptions as people move through the life cycle. This education will also help the family handle those idiosyncratic events with which no other human institutions can so effectively cope. Traditionally, non-formal education programs have focused on skill development. But a great opportunity for non-formal programming lies with providing self-actualization experiences, interpersonal communication techniques and family/community focuses.

Formal Education and the Family

Drawing attention to the key informal learning and educational role of the family, and of the fundamental need for non-formal education to help the family carry out its role does not deny the necessity for formal education -- the institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system ranging from primary school through graduate education (Coombs and Ahmed 1974). For effective and efficient learning of essential concepts, principles, abstractions and acquiring skills needed for jobs, professions and other roles, and for the systematic advancement of knowledge and creative effort, formal systems are necessary. The family has a crucial role to play here, too, in preparing for, and motivating its members to participate in increasing numbers, and at more and more advanced levels of formal education thus supplying the society with an increasingly more sophisticated labor force to meet demands of change and modernization, as well as enabling individuals to obtain the highest level of development possible within their value systems. Formal education, in turn, will increase the competencies of family members in both market and non-market activities.

Links between the Family and Education System

All of the educational systems, formal, non-formal and informal, must be seen as playing complementary and supplementary roles in relation to each other in a total educational

system that is directed toward enhancing the role of family in social and economic development. The interaction and links between these systems, with the family as a key component in the educational process, is presented in Figure 1. (The figure portrays some examples of components with system, it is not intended to be all inclusive.)

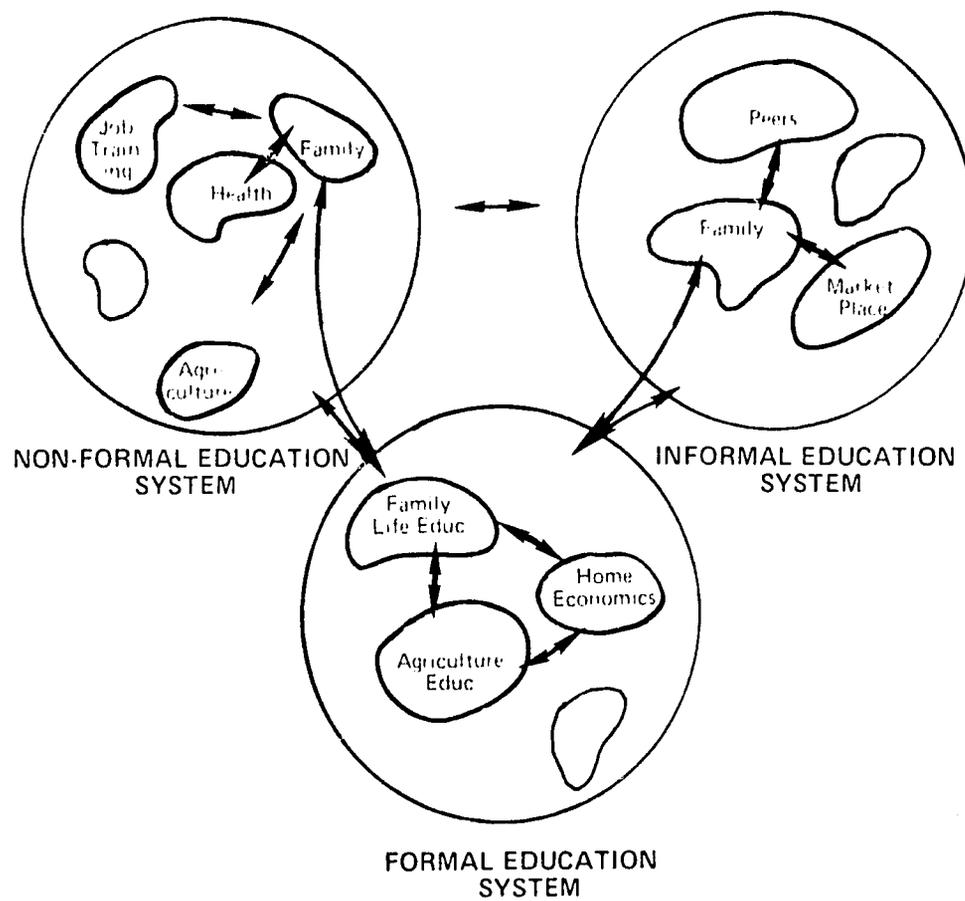


Figure 1. Links Between the Family and Education Systems

It is not possible for the family to function effectively in its educative role without major inputs from other educational systems, especially the non-formal system with its array of programs ranging from adult literacy, para-professionals in family planning centers, agricultural and home economics extensionists and on-the-job training. The informal education system of the family needs the continued support of the non-formal network to remain viable and relevant to the world outside the family.

As the world becomes increasingly complex, continuous learning during the life cycle becomes a necessary process to combat obsolescence in work, to understand self and to being able to function effectively in the family and community. The nature of such learning places the major activities in the arena of the home and family. To be functional, these informal and non-formal learnings must be undergirded by a systematic knowledge base. The non-formal education system, with direct links to formal education, can provide this base through its array of flexible delivery systems. A conceptualization of linked educational systems, with non-formal education viewed as central to supporting the informal family education system, provides a background and perspective for the contributions the family can make to social and economic development.

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CHAPTER II

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FAMILY TO HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: NON-MARKET ACTIVITIES OF FAMILIES

Families provide their greatest contribution to a nation through the creation and maintenance of human resources and the environment that impinges on those resources. In large part, these activities are carried on outside the market economy. Primary among these activities are (1) survival activities, the management of resources for the physical maintenance of the family and its near environment, and (2) humanizing activities, the education, socialization, and emotional support of family members.

This chapter explores family influences on the well-being and competence of family members, the degree to which children are prepared to function in educational systems and the socialization outcomes of variations in family functioning.

The Family's Role in Physical Development and Maintenance

A basic and fundamental responsibility of families in all societies is to provide for the nutrition and health requirements of family members. Within all countries, even developed ones, segments of the population exhibit deficiencies

in the nutritional and health status. However, in many developing countries under-nutrition is a way of life and malnutrition is often widespread.

Children, especially infants, are most vulnerable to nutritional inadequacies and accompanying health problems. The general health status of a country's population is often reflected in infant and child mortality rates. Huge discrepancies in these rates are observed between developed and developing countries. "In some developing countries 30 to 40 percent of the children die before reaching the age of five years" (UN Report on Children, 1971). These figures are usually estimates, however, as accurate child mortality figures are difficult to secure. Generally, the more poverty stricken the area, the higher the death rate and the poorer the available records. There is little doubt that poor nutrition, ignorance and unsanitary environments characteristic of poverty are primary contributors to child mortality. Malnutrition and under-nutrition sap the strength and resistance of children, allowing common childhood diseases and respiratory and gastro-intestinal infections to develop into "killers." More than two-thirds of the 300 million children growing up in developing countries are expected to encounter sickness or disabling diseases, either brought on or aggravated by protein-caloric malnutrition (Borg 1973). Widespread milder deficiencies in critical vitamins, and proteins also lower

resistance to infectious diseases and contribute directly to physical disabilities and poor physique thus affecting long-term mental and physical development.

Studies have indicated that the prevalence of nutritional diseases can impede national development and that the problem is closely related to available food resources and to predominant eating patterns. Social and economic development cannot be achieved without a healthy, resourceful population. If development is to be self-sustaining and continuous, people must be provided with adequate and well-balanced diets. (May and McLellan 1968).

One of the most critical periods for adequate nutrition from the health standpoint is the ten months from conception until one month after birth. The health and nutrition of the mother prior to and during pregnancy critically affect the developing child. Increased research attention has been focused on the effects of prenatal environments on mental development. Although definitive cause and effect relationships are difficult to secure, some data have been accumulated to suggest that severe protein deficiencies result in permanent impairment of normal maturation of the brain (UN Report on Children 1971).

Youngsters who are malnourished perform less well in all life situations and exhibit behaviors that interfere with learning: listlessness, unresponsiveness to stimulation,

lack of curiosity and reduced motor-sensory development.

A second critical period for children is from six months to three years. These are the years when mother's breast milk may be inadequate to support normal growth. The birth of a younger sibling drastically changes the toddler's dietary intake; nutritionally insufficient and unsanitarily prepared foods take their toll in illness and mortality. Although numerous supplemental infant feeding programs have been introduced around the world, still the needs far exceed the resources.

Long-term consequences of the wastage of human potential as a result of nutritional inadequacies are evident in the reduced productivity of both children and adults (UNESCO 1968). High levels of mortality and morbidity in childhood, low levels of vitality and short life expectancies all add up to a low rate of return on the investment in human capital.

The problems of malnutrition, however, are deeply rooted in the economic, cultural and social organization of a society and, therefore, require an ecological approach in amelioration. One of the factors that influences the ability of families to provide for the health and nutrition of their members is per capita income or available resources. The size of the family, its buying or production power, and the other needs competing with food for scarce resources are critically associated in determining the quality and quantity of the nutritional intake of families.

Perhaps most critical to family per capita income and the resulting level of living attained is the birth rate. High birth rates usually are accompanied by high infant and child mortality rates and reduced levels of living. Parents who expect to lose children usually invest less in each child and produce more children than parents who do not expect to lose children. In poor families, children are seen as a form of social security and the investment in them in terms of nutrition is often minimal.

Rural families traditionally produce most of the food for family consumption. Although diets are usually very simple, the resourcefulness of family members usually determines its adequacy. However, numerous factors influence how families allocate their resources, i.e., time, labor, land and money to fulfill consumption needs for food stuffs. Often the introduction of cash crops drastically reduces the nutritional standards of families. These crops compete with food crops for land and labor, and the money they bring is often not spent on basic food needs, but rather on status items or other consumer goods. In the developing world much of the farm work is carried out by women. They have had limited access to non-formal education programs in agriculture which could provide them with information for increasing productivity. Also subsistence level farmers often do not have the reserves to invest in fertilizers and improved seeds. As a result,

yields are often less than optimal, thereby decreasing the ability of the family to maintain health. Modern agricultural education and the availability of critical resources must accompany nutritional education to improve agricultural productivity and distribution prerequisite for improved consumption.

However, a common strategy to improve nutrition is often the introduction of new or more diverse food stuffs. This often requires changes in food practices. Food consumption patterns are deeply rooted in cultural and social history. Although environmental conditions change, often traditional attitudes and practices do not change without self-initiated learning accompanied by training in new preparation techniques and reinforcement of innovative behavior. Some food patterns may change more easily than others. For instance, certain preparation techniques for infant supplemental food may increase the nutritional adequacy of the diets of young children without upsetting the ingrained food patterns of all family members. Thus, these changes may be accepted more readily than some others. But food practices based on superstition, or non-scientific medical theory are often persuasive and difficult to change, because it is hard to trace their origin or meaning in the lives of people. Non-formal education programs focusing on improved nutrition must consider these social-cultural elements of the family's ecosystem as well as

the availability of physical resources to effect motivation for change.

The Influence of the Family on Education

An educated population is one that can incorporate new ideas seen as a necessary element in social and economic development and in the improvement of standards and levels of living. The factors that influence school achievement and/or the successful participation in non-formal educational programs of individuals are a critical concern to all societies. Education is perceived as a prerequisite for entrance into the market economy and the wider social system. Admittedly, in many areas of the world, educational opportunities are limited. Situational conditions prevent specialized groups of the population from taking part in these opportunities. As a result, much of what an individual learns is still derived informally and non-formally from the family, peer group and craftsmen of the locale.

But regardless of what system of education individuals participate in, the family provides a critical role in preparing, motivating, supporting, complementing and reinforcing learners. In the following sections, discussion centers around interactions of families with the formal school system in industrialized societies. Although it is recognized that such an interface with the formal education system may be

less functional for developing countries, it is included herein to support the notion that: (1) families are educators, (2) families interact with other educational systems in determining learning outcomes, and (3) intervention programs can effectively support families so that their influence is more compatible with the larger system and societal goals.

Much of the current interest in the family and human resource development in the United States has been focused on the family's role in facilitating a child's success in the formal school system. This is a critical area of inquiry, since it attempts to differentiate the effects of schooling from the effects of the home and environment. In setting priorities for educational monies or strategies, the potential of the family in supporting or negating the effects of education of children is an important issue.

During the decade of the 1960s the United States mobilized its efforts to equalize the educational opportunity of children regardless of income, ethnic background or geographical location. These were the years of "Head Start" and short-term preventative and remedial programs at the preschool, elementary and secondary levels. Although widespread gains were observed in children's verbal and intellectual functioning as a result of these programs, the gains were short-term (Schaefer 1970; Jensen 1969). Disadvantaged children remained less able to compete academically than more advantaged peers, even when given special attention. As a result of these evaluations,

present intervention programs in the United States have long-term intensive support components.

An important conclusion derived from these evaluations was directed at the joint role of families and schools in learning. Comprehensive evaluations of academic achievement of children during these years highlighted the role of families and communities as explaining more of the variation in school achievement than the characteristics of the schools themselves (Coleman 1966; Jenck 1972). Thus, the influence of the family and rearing environment seemed to have a greater impact on children's chances for school success than was once thought. Formal school seemed to be effective if children had the prerequisite skills for learning and the motivation to learn, but was not effective for children who lacked these attributes.

Similar results were found in Great Britain. A large-scale longitudinal study of children born in 1946 (Douglas 1964) found significant differences between social classes in standards of infant care and management, use of medical services, interest in child's school progress, age at which parents wished child to leave school and the desire for the child to enter secondary school. Children of working class parents showed a decline in tests of mental ability and school achievement between 8-11 years of age. Variations in children's test scores were more related to variations in degree of parent interest than in variations in the quality of the schools.

Specific factors related to the school achievement of preschool (Head Start) children in the United States have been identified as: (1) materials for learning in the home, (2) parents' awareness of the child's development, (3) rewards for intellectual attainment, (4) expectations the parents have for the child's schooling and (5) activities focusing on pre-reading skills (Ware and Garber 1972).

Hess (1969) in studying the home environments of disadvantaged children confirmed this summary, concluding that the use of the home as an educational resource with respect to types of materials available and parental interaction style is related to later school achievement. The mother's teaching behavior, the experiences she provides and the model she sets for the child were found to be important influences on the child's educational achievement.

Parents are responsible for the way in which children approach educational experiences. A study of British school children of the working middle classes indicated that the child's perception of parental attitudes toward school and the child's relationship to parents determine attitudes toward school (Miller 1970). Similarly, in the United States, maternal teaching style and attitudes about the school were directly reflected in children's initial responses to the school in the form of thinking of the school as a place to learn versus a place to obey the teacher (Hess and Shipmen 1966).

Such attitudes and reactions to school influence the way the child approaches school activities and the resultant learning that occurs.

Attitudes and educational motivation are important dimensions associated with school success. In turn, educational motivation is influenced by expectation within the home, the atmosphere of the interpersonal relations there, and especially feelings the child has about self- or self concept (Butler 1971; Hess 1969).

Thus children's success in educational systems seems to be greatly influenced by children's prerequisite skills and experiences and family expectations and attitudes. These influences reside in the domain of the family and near environment. Educational programs need to recognize these influences and work with and through them rather than ignore or try to merely counteract their impact.

Family Socio-Economic and Educational Factors Related to Human Resource Development

Considerable research has revealed relationships between education, income and other socio-economic variables within the family and human resource development.

Decline in intelligence test scores of children is highly correlated to increasing size of family and decreasing social economic status. (Douglas 1964; Elder 1962; Sears 1970). Perhaps as family size increases, parents are unable to spend

as much time with each child and the individual needs of specific family members are less likely to be met. Other ecological features of the environment of large families may also contribute to these results. Overcrowding, pressures for available resources, and authoritative power structures may all interact to decrease the chances for success of these children.

In addition, the cycle of poverty evidenced among many low socio-economic class families seems to have an impact on the individual's hopes. Hess (1969) found that although low income mothers valued school achievement highly, they also exhibited a sense of powerlessness regarding their ability to help their children achieve in school. Other studies have found that low-income parents tend to underestimate their children's ability and thus expect their children to do only as well as they themselves have done in terms of job ambitions. Thus the complex interactions of poverty, poor education and large families are important influences on children's aspirations and achievement.

A nationwide longitudinal study of 5,000 American families (Duncan 1974) revealed the pervasive effects of education on the economic well-being of families. As in other studies, education of parents was found to be importantly related to educational attainment of children as well as to characteristics of children which influence their educational attainment. Father's education was highly related to son's education

and to their achievement motivation. Mother's education was also strongly related to the cognitive skills of sons. Family size had twice as much negative impact on the educational attainment of daughters as it did on sons, reflecting perhaps the greater social value given to preparing sons for occupational and work roles requiring education. There seems to be an important effect of socio-economic background and parental educational attainment on educational attainment of children.

Mother's level of education seems to be related to success and health of family members as well as size of family. In developing societies education of parents, especially that of mothers, has been found to influence the performance of children in school and later at work. Woodhall (1973) in examining rates of return on women's education and training, summarizes what she calls the "indirect benefits" of women's education; that is, that children of more highly educated mothers are more likely to do well in school, to continue their education beyond the minimum school leaving age and enter higher-income occupations. Literacy of mothers in Kenya was found to be far more predictive of later earnings of family members than literacy of fathers. (Thias and Carnoy 1969). In addition, a study of the new elites of Tropical Africa indicates that an effect of mother's education is lower rates of child mortality. Because of higher standards of nutrition and hygiene, the children of educated women are healthier than the children of illiterate mothers (Woodhall 1973, p.24).

A relationship of educational attainment and family size is also evident. Families can have fewer children and invest larger amounts of resources in these children (higher quality) or have larger numbers of children with a smaller investment in each child (Detray 1972). It has been found that at given prices and incomes, more highly educated parents will desire higher quality children and thus have fewer children.

These conclusions have been supported by time analysis studies. Leibowitz (1972), in studying the allocation of women's time to market and non-market activities, found that, although education increased the value of women's time in the marketplace, better educated women spent more time in child care than less educated women, hence investing their time in building the child's human capital.

Hill and Stafford (1974) in an analysis of the relationship of housework time and market work and the number of children in different age categories report several findings which support Leibowitz' work.

Men from higher social classes with higher educational attainment also spend more time with their children than men from lower social classes. White-collar men of higher socioeconomic status spent as much as a third more time with children on weekdays than did other employed males (Szalai 1972).

In general, the more years of schooling a woman completes, the more time she spends with her children, even when holding

family wealth constant. This time is also more likely to be related to the children's subsequent educational attainment and hypothetically to potential life earnings (Leibowitz 1972).

Since time spent with children seems to be an important dimension of the quality of the child's intellectual and socio-emotional development, what happens when mothers enter the marketplace for the day or even part of one?

Studies specifically focusing on the effects of maternal employment in the United States have generally found no detrimental effects on the children as the result of mother's participation in the labor force (Nye and Hoffman 1963). A more salient variable has been mother's satisfaction with her role. Mothers judged most deficient in the performance of maternal duties in relation to their children were non-working mothers who aspired to employment outside of the home (Yarrow 1962).

There is no doubt, however, that maternal employment places additional strains on traditional family patterns. In most cultures, even when employed, women continue to carry the bulk of household and child care responsibilities (Ward 1963). In both the United States and Africa, as women become economic producers their level of power and/or authority in the family increases (Oppong 1970). Thus, traditional power structures and decision-making patterns break down as women gain status, but this increase in status and associated increased self-confidence and feelings of control over one's life can have

positive effects on children. These positive effects are reflected in children's increased self-concepts and school achievement (Hess and Shipman 1969; Cunningham 1975). In part, this is due to the enhanced social map of the mother who serves as a model and interpreter of this wider view.

In summary, as socio-economic level increases, as parents receive more education and as women use their education for either market activities or child rearing, the investment in the human capital of children increases. In light of the indications of the influence of the family on school achievement and the above conclusion regarding differential contributions of parents based on education, important questions are raised as to how educational priorities and monies are allocated to affect the greatest impact on present and future generations.

Non-formal Educational Strategies to Increase Human Resource Development in the Family through Parent Education

In light of the impact of the family on the formal school achievement of children, much is being done in the United States to intensify the compensatory inputs to high risk children. Bronfenbrenner (1974) and other educators have emphasized the importance of including parents as partners with the schools in educating children. No one system, the family or the schools, can work in isolation. By educating and supporting parents in providing the learning experiences necessary for good intellectual growth, not only do the children reap benefits immediately,

but the home environment is more likely to be improved, and that environment will have more lasting impact on both children and other family members than the schools. However, the school time inputs of parents can also be supplemented by the time inputs of other adults, presumably the high quality time inputs of specially trained adults.

A variety of intervention attempts to provide supplemental educational inputs to children during the early years and to provide non-formal education to parents to enhance their role of teacher and agents of change in children's lives have had encouraging results in the United States.

In the area of educating for parenting, either directly in the home on a one-to-one basis or through parent-group programs, parental patterns of interacting with their children can be effectively changed and have subsequent positive effects on children's cognitive functioning, verbal skill development and self concept (Boger, Kuipers, Berry, 1969). The earlier in a child's life that these non-formal parent education programs are begun and the longer they continue, the greater the benefit to the child. Some of the specific target behaviors for parental education have been directed toward increasing: (1) the stimulation value of the home for specific learning tasks; (2) parent-child verbal exchange, (3) effective interaction and (4) rational discipline techniques that allow the child to learn from the experience.

Both in-the-home and group non-formal education programs directed to parents have been successful, although in-the-home programs providing direct modeling and immediate reinforcement for positive parenting behavior seem to have a longer lasting impact. Group programs must focus on specific activities and procedures that parents carry out with their children at home. Traditional discussion and information exchange formats have not been successful (Boger and Andrews 1975). Parent education is, by and large, family centered, supported and served by paraprofessionals who are a part of the near-environment of the families they serve. These paraprofessionals have, however, acquired special competencies through their links with formal and/or non-formal programs which provided them with knowledge and skills for educating parents to be more effective teachers of their children.

As with any input into a system, changes occur in diverse aspects of the system. Comprehensive early education intervention thrusts that meet medical, economic and educational needs of families have had greater impact on children's development than fragmented approaches. But even within the more narrowly focused approaches, benefits have been noted that were of secondary importance to the immediate goal of educating children.

Mothers who participated in teacher aide training as part of "Head Start" participation made substantive changes in their own feelings of control over their world and in self-confidence.

Often such women subsequently sought jobs in the marketplace removing themselves from the public assistance roles. Mothers provided with skills to interact in more positive ways with one child were found to apply this knowledge to interactions with other children and to spread this information to other women and neighbors. Thus, a larger group of people in diverse sectors benefited from the initial training.

In one evaluation of a parenting program that studied rural and urban mothers' attitudes and feelings of power over their lives (Pacer and Cage 1972), it was found that urban mothers in the United States had significantly higher self-concept scores, saw themselves as being more socially competent and had better personal appearance than did rural mothers. When both groups of parents of disadvantaged school-aged children participated in a non-formal parent education program, urban mothers exhibited greater positive change over the course of the first year of the educational program than rural women. They had higher beginning scores, and also gained more on measures of the educational values of the home environment. Reasons given for the greater receptiveness to the educational inputs of the urban mothers were: recent migration suggesting adventuresomeness; greater exposure to mass media and pluralistic life styles; greater contact with an array of non-formal education programs and opportunity for the exchange of ideas due to greater density of people. Perhaps educational thrusts

in the rural areas of developing countries will also meet with more resistance. The rural peoples of most developing countries are in the majority, hence every effort must be made to build a foundation for change and receptivity to new ideas and life styles if the economic and social life chances of children are to be enhanced.

Ecologically oriented programs hold the most promise for enhancing the rearing environments of children to affect more positive human resource development. Health care and nutrition, family planning, agricultural education, job training and education for parenthood are fundamental non-formal programs for enhancing the family's quality of life and human resource development.

The Family's Role in Childhood Socialization²

The family has the most enduring and pervasive affect on the total socialization process. Socialization has been defined as "the whole process by which an individual born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range -- the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group" (Child 1954). Although traditionally the socialization process had been viewed as a one-way

2. No real differentiation between "socialization" and "education" is implied. The previous section merely focused on that specialized area of socialization-- preparation and support for participation in educational systems.

process of adults socializing children, today, with increased emphasis on ecological inquiry, children and other elements of the family system have been shown to impact on adults, and interactively on their own socialization (Bell 1967). Although the family makes a continual impact on individuals' lives throughout the life span, the way the family influences the early development of children through patterns of family life and child rearing practices is of the utmost significance. Through its nurturing, modeling, directing, and reinforcing functions the family shapes the way children view the world and participates in it. These are the elements of the socialization process that leave an indelible mark on future generations and thus determine the attitudes, values and behavioral potential of a nation's human resource.

Bronfenbrenner (1974) views the most intimate layer of influence for humans as the family and its near environment. This consists of physical space and materials, people of differing roles and relationships, and activities that people are engaged in. This is the most important environment influencing the child and other family members directly and most continuously. How the family allocates roles, tasks, material resources and esteem have an immediate impact on individuals. This "immediate setting" of the family ecosystem, limits the alternatives available to individuals and acts as a buffer for inputs entering into the family from the larger environment.

For example, just the mere presence of a radio in the home influences the type and source of information coming into the home.

The way the family behaves in relation to children is determined by the conditions within the immediate setting as well as the influences from the larger social and cultural systems. The family as an open system responds to needs, opportunities, and influences of a multitude of forces, and thus its behavior can only be interpreted based on the family's composition, its history, and the environment in which it finds itself.

An interesting theory that helps to develop this idea was proposed by Marvin Kohn (1969) in emphasizing the possible interaction of occupational role and parental role. Kohn suggests that parental values tend to be extensions of the modes of behavior that are functional for parents in their occupational structure and are reflected in styles and circumstances of parental discipline. White collar occupations require the individual to deal with ideas, symbols, and interpersonal relations; therefore, such parents stress the reason underlying behavior. Blue collar workers, however, are required to standardize work with much supervision and compliance. Their interactions in the home reflect similar compliance to rules and expectations.

Although Kohn's studies reflected "paternal" occupational status, similar results were found in "maternal" socialization

practices of women who lived in traditional three-generation-extended family households in Taiwan (Olson 1974). Mothers who were subordinate to powerful mothers-in-law valued behavioral conformity in their children and used direct forms of discipline, hindering opportunities for the development of autonomy and self-direction in their children. Even when holding educational level constant, family structure was found to affect socialization attitudes and practices. Using Kohn's findings, Tallman suggests that the occupational role is the family's window to the social structure and the experiences of the role occupant in achieving personal ends (i.e., the cost reward ratio of efforts, and the degree to which the individual personality controls the means of reach ends) have their corollaries in family behavior and in the orientation of offspring (Tallman 1972).

Thus, in these examples, the man through his occupational role and the woman through her domestic role develop a view of what is expected and appropriate behavior. This is then related to other family members and especially children, through interpersonal interactions in the home. Recognizing these world perspectives and utilizing them in planning non-formal programming strategies is essential to help assure relevancy and effectiveness.

Adult Social Roles and Human Resource Development

In most societies women are taught how to care for a

household and develop skills in basic tasks necessary for family life. Men also learn skills and roles that are needed for the family to survive. Much of their socialization, however, is in skills related to earning a living or in career preparation. Neither spouse is truly prepared in the more interpersonal skills needed for men and women to relate as a team, solving problems and complementing each other's abilities so that the family unit can be strong and purposeful. Skills such as these can be assimilated from strong role models, or can be developed over time with experience. But often these skills are never developed as each mate performs his or her traditional roles with a strong and unalterable division of "sex-appropriate" behavior. There are those in any society who rely on traditional roles and norms to give direction and meaning to their lives. Others evolve new interpersonal relationships, divisions of labor, and sex-roles to fit their own unique life styles. Whether or not such new patterns emerge is a function of both the individual capabilities of each spouse and also the social climate in which they find themselves.

Kenya provides as interesting example of traditional family life styles interfering with the potential of the family in contributing to development goals and better living conditions. Traditionally, men make all decisions concerning the use of lands and the marketing of cash crops. With increased economic demands for cash crops, men often choose to plant more and more of the

families' land in such crops. Women, however, do most of the weeding and harvesting as well as care for crops used by the family in household consumption. Since the women's first concern is for the families' food crops (and they have little control over the cash flow), often the cash crop is left untended thus decreasing yields. As a result, the family as a whole loses out, because less land is available for food grains and less income returns from the sale of cash crops. If both husband and wife could plan together the use of lands and the needs of labor, the family could realize a better level of living (Pala 1975).

A similar situation occurs in relation to family planning. Some husbands and wives do not communicate about such traditionally taboo subjects and do not relate to each other in a manner so that joint decisions can be made and implemented.

A characteristic of rural peasantry is isolation and exposure to a limited variety of role models. Interpersonal interactions are confined within family, lineage, or village lines; these are commonly tightly knit homogeneous networks that provide few alternatives to traditional roles and norms. Even with exposure to mass media and contact with people from other areas, rural peasants often fail to utilize such contacts as role models, relying on the traditional ways that are known and acceptable to the group.

A survey of social networks in the United States found

that when confronted with personal family problems, low socio-economic class wives kept more of their concerns to themselves and revealed them only to their like-sex relatives, while middle-class wives sought out contact with their husbands as well as a variety of friends and relatives to aid in solving their problems. Lower-class wives also often felt that they could not effect a change in the problem while middle-class wives tried a variety of alternatives in working out their problems (Meyer 1966). This openness to explore alternative ways of interacting in the family paves the way for creating more satisfying life styles and is more characteristic of educated, socially mobile individuals.

Increased pressures for consumer goods, expanded educational opportunities, and alternative uses of one's time associated with development place strains on traditional patterns of family life. How individuals cope with these pressures depends on their ability to perceive alternatives, to use role models, and to communicate successfully to spouse and other family members about concerns. Whether or not individuals have the interpersonal skills necessary to communicate about and cope with these pressures for change influences whether the family is strengthened or divided. Families, in developing countries as well as the developed countries, experiencing rapid social and economic change are often not prepared to accommodate such change in their family life patterns.

Some sociologists suggest that women are more open to changes in family roles and life styles, since they have a greater commitment to the family, being primarily responsible to care for family members. Thus, they would be motivated to modify and embellish their roles to make their performance more effective than men. Others contend that women often lack the skills and status necessary to effect change in family roles. Because of close contacts with relatives, women often are more resistant to changes in family life patterns and are bearers of tradition, (Hill and Aldous 1969). The skills and contacts individuals have may be the most accurate predictors of their ability to change and respond to new living situations (Misch and Margolin 1975). And these skills and contacts can be expanded through involvement in non-formal and formal education programs that help individuals recognize their worth and potential impact in social groups and provide individuals with the interpersonal communication skills necessary to strengthen group decision-making.

Human Resource Needs of Development

Modern nations and institutions call for people with personality attributes and characteristics, modes of consciousness and a so-called "modern" perspective who are able to function in the "new world." This requires people who can exercise rationality, keep to fixed schedules, observe abstract rules, make judgments based on objective evidence and technical

competence, work in bureaucratic organization and coordinate their work with others. Becoming "modern" requires people who can accept new experiences and change, who will search for new information, who feel a sense of personal efficacy that they can exert control over their environment, and are able to plan and visualize a future different from the past or present (Inkeles and Smith 1974). Processes of modernization and development thus draw into sharper focus than ever the informal and non-formal education and socialization that goes on in the family, for it is there that the basic foundations of personality and consciousness for human resource development are laid. The necessity of supplementing and complementing the family in this task is evident.

One of the skills needed lies in the area of information processing. The process of industrialization is characterized by a more complex division of labor, increase in occupational roles, increase in material goods, and subsequent increase in the number of choices available to people (Apter 1971). Corresponding to increased alternatives is a need for increased amounts and types of information that need to be processed to make appropriate choices. Sufficient information and the ability to process that information effectively are critical elements in the process of adaptation.

Schroder, Driver, and Streufert (1967) have developed a theory of human information processing that, roughly speaking,

delineates a relationship between environmental complexity and the levels of complexity with which people are able to perceive, assimilate, and generate information. Schroder et al. suggest that the environmental demands on individuals interact to influence their ability to process quantities and complexities of informational input and, in turn, influence their life view.

"Life in a traditional rural village, for example, involves relatively simple relations. Inhabitants depend upon a few, long-standing occupations. Life styles may have changed little from generation to generation. There is little need for complex division of labor, since the focus of effort for most people usually involves time honored tasks. The social structure in such a village employs few and fixed rules since the relationships in the structure are relatively stable. Socialization of the young in such structures therefore involves little ambiguity--the rules and dimensions are few and clear. Any sudden introduction of new information, if it cannot be processed along established lines, will either not be perceived, ignored, or rejected" (Tallman 1972).

For people functioning in simple social structures, life is clear and unambiguous if, admittedly, hard. Relatively few people world wide have been left untouched by technology and new information both of which increase complexity. Concomitantly, increasing visibility of more affluent life-styles increases pressure for change. The desire for living better is pervasive, and if new information is introduced with clear beneficial

consequences it may gradually be incorporated in people's thought processes. Chemicals may be introduced which improve the crop yield and create excesses for marketing. New rules and additional knowledge then become necessary; chemistry, knowledge of the soil, marketing expertise, knowledge of transportational routes and facilities, the need to maintain mechanical apparatus, knowledge of banking and interest all become vital as the social structure of the village becomes more complex (Tallman 1972).

Individuals with the ability to process large amount of information by using many rules or attributes are more able to prosper in complex, changing social environments.

How do families influence the development of information processing skills? Families provide for their children an arena for evaluating conflicting ideas and viewpoints. The atmosphere and environment of the family provides structure for information processing. The way the family interprets familiar and new events and tolerates non-conformity and creative activity in generating solutions to problems, directly impacts on children. The family is a role model. Through parental discipline, the reinforcement of problem-solving events, and the example of adult decision making, the family sets the example for information processing on all members. Families that accept conflict and accommodate to new strategies of processing and deciding offer a better opportunity for modeling and flexibility needed in coping with change.

The capacity of the family, then, to help its members acquire the values, habits, information processing and other skills required of development is crucial, if a nation is to advance economically and socially. Women play a crucial role since they are major care-givers and educators of children. Non-formal education programs can be designed to help families, especially women, reflect on their own styles and patterns of interpreting reality and can help them move to more realistic perspectives.

Summary

In summary, Foote and Cottrell (1955) suggest that "whether the person who commences a new family cycle will re-create a link in the chain of transmission identical with his parents' depends upon how well prepared he is to do better or worse or the same." Thus, even if environmental conditions have changed, parents may persist in outmoded education and socialization patterns merely because they know of no better alternative. Or it may be that socialization practices and life styles that have evolved over the generations, although appropriate for the parents' point of view, are no longer consistent with the needs of preparing children for their future in a rapidly changing society. For example, the socialization practices of traditional Indian family life prepare children for dependence and conformity. Such characteristics in people are not associated with the flexibility, creativity, and mobility that may be demanded

of modernization. Thus the family's practices may be hindering the development of personal skills needed for modern life. Although cyclic patterns of child rearing evolve, each generation taking on child rearing practices they were exposed to, still an element of change is possible if environments influence parenting as Kohn suggests. As individuals move into life styles with associated new expectations and demands, it is possible that the family life patterns and child rearing styles will reflect these new conditions. Likewise, specially developed informational and intervention thrusts can have immediate effects in changing parental and family roles and relationships. Thus change is possible.

Because women have such continuing contact with children, the way the woman perceives the world and how she processes information is especially critical for the socialization of children. The evidence of increased self-esteem and power of women who enter the marketplace may be attributed to increased ability to deal with alternatives satisfactorily. As women take on specialized roles in the economy and alter traditional patterns of family life, their experiences will interact to influence their child rearing attitudes and practices and the subsequent socialization of children. If hopes are realized, such change can lead to more effective development and utilization of human resources. Non-formal education programs can be especially designed to build competencies for both roles--that of family member and paid worker.

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CHAPTER III

THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Increasing attention is being given to the role of women as human resources in social and economic development, and efforts are underway throughout the world to improve their status and increase their opportunities for economic and social participation. Attention is also beginning to be given to the large amount of unreported and unmeasured contributions made by women to the society and economy through child care and education, housework, agricultural work, trade in the market place and voluntary participation (Hammond and Jablow 1973). This chapter summarizes briefly some of the most salient factors related to women's status and role in social and economic development, with data from selected Southeast Asian countries and the United States for purposes of illustration.

Literacy

If persons are to have the power beyond the immediate household through decision-making that affects their well-being, they must have access to information. Access to information in large part (but not exclusively) is dependent upon literacy, i.e., competence in numerical skills, reading and writing. According to some sources (UNESCO 1973) about half of the people in the world cannot read and write. Most of these are

in the developing world. Rural people and those who are older are more likely to be illiterate. Women also are more likely to lack literacy skills.

Table 1. LITERACY IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	YEAR	AGE GROUP	Percent Literate	
			MALE	FEMALE
USA	1972	14+	99	99
JAPAN	1972	14+	98	98
KOREA	1970	6+	96	87
INDONESIA	1971	10+	71	49
PHILIPPINES	1970	10+	85	82
THAILAND	1970	10+	89	75

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1973.

In all the developing countries represented in Table 1 literacy rates are lower for women. Examination of the data for Korea by rural and urban residence reveals that among the adult population over 45, about three times as many women as men are illiterate. The picture is similar for Thailand and other developing countries (UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1973). Literacy is a basic competence which is essential in order to meet the demands of modern society and to participate fully in education and market activities. Non-formal education for literacy thus is one of the most compelling needs in many developing nations, particularly for women.

Educational Levels and Participation

Literacy and formal schooling have been intimately related in the past, although non-formal literacy programs have more recently supplemented formal schooling. In developing nations, opportunities for education have been limited for both men and women, particularly in the rural areas. However, in most developing nations, men have had more formal educational opportunities than women. Data for the developing nations reported in Table 2 indicate that adult women in these countries have fewer years of schooling than the population as a whole.

Educational goals of developing nations indicate awareness that human skills beyond literacy and basic competencies are needed, and larger numbers of Second-and Third-level programs in rural as well as urban areas are being planned (Economic Development Plans, Korea, 1972-76; Thailand, 1967-71; The Philippines, 1963-67). Table 3 indicated enrollments in second-level education streams. In developing nations, girls are less likely than boys to be enrolled in vocational streams, and of the total enrollment a lower percentage of girls is enrolled.

Table 4 presents data on students graduating from the Third-level of education by type of degree or diploma. In all countries represented, other than the Philippines, less than half of the bachelor's, master's or doctoral degrees are obtained by women.

Long-range planning for social and economic development must consider the types and levels of formal education available to both men and women in the light of needs to fill needed occupational and other social roles. These considerations can provide one basis for determining non-formal education needs.

Table 2. MEDIAN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF ADULTS OVER 10

COUNTRY	YEAR	MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING					
		POPULATION		RURAL			
		TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE		
JAPAN 1970							
	<u>AGE</u>						
	25-34	7.84	7.84	8.32	5.90	6.40	6.10
	35-64	5.62	5.44	6.04	5.86	4.78	4.72
	65+	4.30	4.12	4.48	4.24	4.00	3.82
	25+	5.86	5.62	6.34	6.10	4.90	4.78
KOREA 1970							
	<u>AGE</u>						
	25-34	6.76	6.32	7.75	6.90	6.24	5.92
	35-54	5.74	5.14	6.78	6.04	5.12	3.48
	55+	1.28	0.78	3.60	1.16	0.94	0.70
	25+	5.82	5.28	6.84	6.16	5.16	3.64
INDONESIA 1971							
	<u>AGE</u>						
	10+	2.35	0.97	5.70	4.18	1.71	0.89
PHILIPPINES 1971							
	<u>AGE</u>						
	15-24	5.70	5.80				
	25+	3.93	3.44				
THAILAND 1970							
	<u>AGE</u>						
	25-34	4.36	4.01				
	35-64	2.54	1.08				
	65+	0.61	0.54				
	25+	3.03	1.98				

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1973.

Table 3. ENROLLMENTS IN SECOND LEVEL EDUCATION STREAMS:
GENERAL, VOCATIONAL AND TEACHER TRAINING

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE FEMALE	GENERAL STREAM		VOCATIONAL STREAM		TEACHER TRAINING STREAM	
				TOTAL ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE FEMALE	TOTAL ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE FEMALE	TOTAL ENROLLMENT	PERCENTAGE FEMALE
JAPAN	1971	8,864,751	49	7,148,409	50	1,716,342	44		
KOREA	1972	2,437,748	39	2,055,871	41	381,877	33		
INDONESIA	1971	2,104,734	35	1,394,593	39	589,541	25		
PHILIPPINES	1972	1,791,176	51	1,631,363	52	159,813	39		
THAILAND	1970	626,573	42	511,729	41	85,962		28,682	51

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1973.

Table 4. SUMMARY OF STUDENTS GRADUATING FROM THIRD LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY TYPE OF DEGREE

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL NO.	PERCENTAGE FEMALE	TYPE OF DEGREE OR DIPOLMA					
				A*		B*		C*	
				TOTAL NO.	PERCENTAGE FEMALE	TOTAL NO.	PERCENTAGE FEMALE	TOTAL NO.	PERCENTAGE FEMALE
USA	1970	1,331,200	40.9	188,164	43.0	877,676	41.8	265,360	36.5
JAPAN	1971	414,085	37.8	125,362	81.1	274,929	19.5	13,794	7.5
KOREA	1971	46,136	30.5	13,580	45.8	30,293	25.0	2,263	13.6
INDONESIA	1971	13,370	23.3	-	-	9,200	24.3	4,170	21.1
PHILIPPINES	1968	91,986	64.9	10,761	77.4	80,164	63.3	1,061	59.8
THAILAND	1970	12,544	45.3	1,803	42.0	9,806	46.3	935	41.9

**
Level A = Diplomas and certificates; generally less than 3 years study (Associate degree, nursing, etc.)
Level B = First University degree; usually 3 to 5 years; bachelor's degree or first professional degree.
Level C = Post graduate University degree; master's degree or doctorate.

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1973 Percentages Calculated

Non-Market Activities and Contributions of Women

A Large share of a woman's and a family's contribution to the economic and social system is invisible. It is comprised of the non-market, unpaid activities of family members in the form of production of goods and services for family consumption. These include: (1) personal care of children, and sometimes adults, composed of such essential requirements as feeding, clothing, comforting, health care, supervision, playing, teaching, assisting with school and other activities outside of the home; (2) household management and maintenance such as planning, budgeting marketing, paying bills, food preparation and associated activities, housecleaning, clothing care, often clothing construction, laundry, maintenance and improvement of the home, gardening, and yard care; (3) expressive functions in the home and family such as resolving conflicts, providing affection and emotional response; and (4) social participation and integration activities such as entertaining, keeping and maintaining relationships with relatives, neighbors and friends, involvement in religious, voluntary and community activities (Ihroni 1973). While these activities are carried by both men and/or women in some families and cultures, to a large extent many of them are performed by women (AID 1974). It has been suggested that if these activities were to be paid for and counted

the Gross National Product would be increased manyfold. As indicated in Chapter II, it is through these activities that the family makes its greatest contribution to human resource development, and thus to the social and economic development of a nation.

Participation of Women in Agriculture and Market Activities

In the least developed countries rural farm production for use within the family is necessary for survival. It accounts for a considerable share of the national output, and men and women share the work necessary to feed the family. It is estimated that in Africa, for example, that between 40 and 70 percent of the agricultural labor force are women (UN/ST/SOA/RO 1975). As economic development proceeds, more and more of the production for family use is replaced by family production for the market and by shifting some family members to wage labor and non-farm enterprise (Roserup 1975). In this process men generally shift first from production solely for family use to wage labor, while women continue to use their time for family services and production. In some developing countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia, where there is a large male migration from rural areas, women may take over a larger share of the farm work. Yet, educational and development efforts to improve agricultural efficiency and production have frequently overlooked the important part women play in food production (UN/ST/SOA/RO 1973).

As economic and social changes take place, the need for additional cash income provides women with strong incentives to earn. In many developing countries there is a large supply of labor from women who are engaged in market trade or other small businesses (AID 1974). During the intermediate stage between involvement in agriculture and widespread employment of women in factories, offices, modern shops and service industries, women may be particularly disadvantaged, because there may be an over supply of market and small services with resultant low economic returns to the women engaged in these activities (Boserup 1970).

Following World War II there has been a marked upward shift in the developed countries in the employment of women outside the home, with current rates as high as nearly 60 percent in Finland, and close to 50 percent in Sweden, England and the United States (Blake 1974). In both developing and developed countries, clerical service and sales jobs employ the highest percentages of females (Table 5). These have traditionally been among the lowest paying jobs. Experience in the United States, one of the world's most highly industrialized nations, indicates that women's opportunities for employment, while expanding to some extent, have continued to be restricted to sex-stereotyped jobs, and they are frequently unemployed, underemployed or partly employed. In addition, they frequently receive lower pay than men for equal work (Monthly Labor Review 1974). In the developing

Table 5. WHERE THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGES* OF FEMALES WORK

RANK	USA 1972	JAPAN 1970	KOREA 1972	INDONESIA 1971	PHILIPPINES 1970	THAILAND 1970
1	Clerical (75.9%)	Service (56.3%)	Service (55.8%)	Sales (43.9%)	Service (66.0%)	Sales (54.6%)
2.	Service (62.4%)	Agriculture (53.2%)	Agriculture (43.2%)	Production (42.8%)	Sales (56.9%)	Service (50.3%)
3.	Sales (42.3%)	Clerical (49.8%)	Sales (42.3%)	Service (32.3%)	Professional/ Technical (56.8%)	Agriculture (49.7%)
4.	Professional/ Technical (39.4%)	Sales (42.3%)	Production (23.0%)	Agriculture (31.4%)	Production (42.6%)	Professional/ Technical (41.9%)
Total Percent Female	37.4	39.1	36.3	33.1	31.9	47.8

* Percentages indicate percent of the total number employed who are female.

Source: Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1973.

nations, as family size goes down, as fewer people are engaged in agriculture, and as women's contributions to family production declines, we can expect that more and more women will enter paid employment. Formal and non-formal educational opportunities to prepare them for employment in a range of work must be provided so that not only will women and families benefit, but so that society will have a better prepared, more competent labor force.

Women in Two Jobs: Market Activities and Household Work

Along with paid employment, most studies indicate that women in all cultures carry the major role of family maintenance, thus those who are engaged in agriculture or market activity, plus home responsibilities have two jobs (Ward, Van Haeften and Caton FAO 1974). Rather than using a traditional definition of work as paid employment in the active labor force, Szalai (1972) found that three characteristic patterns of activity could be used to characterize the relatively firm social and economic responsibilities required in all societies:

1. Men in the active labor force- paid engagement in a relatively impersonal manner in the labor force;
2. Women in the active labor force- paid engagement in a relatively impersonal manner in the labor force and unpaid engagement in personalized household maintenance;
3. Women particularly, and some men, engaged in unpaid responsibilities.

It is found that by using these categories of work, and including as work the time consuming range of chore and responsibilities essential for maintaining a household, the total amount of time devoted by a society to work is nearly double the amount of work accumulated by a society when work is defined only as activities having paid involvement. In the United States, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Special Labor Force Report (1975, p. 2) the percentages of workers, 16 years of age and over in each of the three categories is:

1. Proportion of all men in active labor force (employed and unemployed) 77.5%
2. Proportion of all women in active labor force (employed and unemployed) and in household labor force 46%
3. Proportion of all women not in active labor force, in household labor force only 54%
4. Proportion of all men not in active labor force 22.5%

The significant size of the second group, women assuming a dual role of paid employment and household responsibilities (whether single and head of household, or married) is particularly important when characteristics of the group in terms of time use are analyzed. The female spends less time per day at formal work than the male, partially due to more prevalent part-time work which results in lower rates of pay for the woman. In addition, employed women spend less time on housework than housewives. However, when the two previous

conditions coexist, although less time is spent in employment and in housework, the working woman is much busier than either her male counterpart or her housewife counterpart. After the obligations required of her two roles she has less free or discretionary time than either group (Szalai 1972).

Services for Working Women

The majority of women who work for wages are married, and many have children. Research in the United States and Europe (Blake 1974) has indicated that a large majority of both men and women agree that the primary obligation of a woman is to her home and family. Because of the primacy accorded to family and marriage, few societies offer much supplementary help to working women with families, although an increasing number of countries are adopting maternity benefit schemes. For instance, in the Philippines, maternity benefit programs provide 60 percent of the average regular pay for six weeks before and eight weeks after confinement. In Thailand the maternity benefit is the current wage rate for 60 days, with a qualifying condition of 180 days of prior employment (ILO, Tokyo 1968; Geneva, 1968).

In a recent cross-cultural study of working mothers by Cooke (1975), it was found that the major concern of these women centered around finding appropriate care for their children. However, with the exception of such countries as China (Sidel 1975), child care facilities, even in countries such as Sweden, where child care assistance to working mothers

is accepted as a social responsibility, are often inadequate in number and quality. In the United States, over 30 percent of mothers of pre-school children work (Social Indicators 1974). This accounts for about six million children under six years of ages, but only about 10 percent are enrolled in licensed day care facilities (U.S. Senate Sub-Committee Hearings on Children and Youth 1973).

One survey of the child-care arrangements of working mothers in the United States found 47 percent of the children under six with full-time working mothers were cared for by other adults in the child's home, 37 percent were cared for in someone else's home, 7 percent were cared for by their own mothers while they worked, 8 percent were in group care programs and 1 percent were in group care (Low and Spindler 1968). By and large, group care as an alternative for working parents is available to only a small percentage of the population, although its availability has expanded in recent years. Low and Spindler, 1968, reported that 42 percent of the mothers interviewed in their study were dissatisfied with their child care arrangements because they felt that the children were receiving little attention and no educational stimulation. In many of the developing countries where the extended family has been a primary family form, child care has been readily available, and where formal schooling has been limited, older children have had responsibility for care of younger siblings.

As industrialization and development proceed, both of these sources of child care diminish. Older children are in school, more women work away from home, and the extended family living in one household or in adjacent or nearby structures begins to give way to the conjugal unit (Goode 1970). Adequate child care becomes a major need.

The Status and Role of Women and Population Management

The management of population in relationship to resources is one of the most pressing problems throughout the world. Education in family planning and the provision of safe, effective, cheap, easily used and acceptable methods of contraception are essential. These, however, are not believed to be sufficient without changes in the social structure, particularly in the role and status of women (Ihroni 1973). A recent study at Michigan State University (Bedwany 1974) supported other research (UN 1972) which reveals a close relationship between the status of women and level of fertility. Correlation between the gross reproduction rate and various indicators of the status of women were examined for five developing nations and five developed nations. Indicators of women's status were literacy, employment, legal rights, (age at marriage, property rights, social security, polygamy, and divorce), political rights (voting and election to office), cultural values, religion and social factors reflecting attitude toward family size and the role and status of women. High fertility and low fertility

countries differed greatly in every aspect of status of women represented by the indicators. Statistical analysis supported the conclusion that in all countries considered, when women's status and role improved, fertility went down.

Summary

The material presented in this chapter lends strong support to the urgent need for implementation of formal and non-formal education and legislation which will assure women full rights to economic and social participation, as a means not only of bringing about family and personal development, but also of contributing more fully to the social and economic development of a nation. This will come about through increased education, greater participation in social and economic life and through decreased family size, so that future generations will be able to live longer, healthier, and more productive lives. This will in no way diminish the importance of the family as the basic social unit for reproduction, child rearing, informal and non-formal education and for economic participation and social integration. Since women play such a major role in the family, this makes it all the more important that non-formal education programs give attention to enhancing their status and role. Non-formal education in literacy, family planning, for assistance in developing new roles in family life and in the community, and in market skills will contribute to women's competence and capacity to participate more fully in national development.

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CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAM PLANNERS

Overview

The analysis of pertinent data and synthesis of literature relative to the contributions of the family and especially women to social and economic development affirms that through time and across cultures the family has been and continues to be a primary economic and social unit of society. The family is an economic unit in the sense that it serves as the basic arena for the production, allocation and distribution of goods and services essential to the day-to-day survival and maintenance of family members. It is a social unit in the sense that through the continuity of communications and interactions between and among family members everyday tasks are carried out and individual personalities, attitudes, skills, and the discipline necessary for living in the larger world are shaped.

The significant contribution that the family can make to economic and social progress is often underestimated. This is true because estimates of contributions to economic and social development are computed largely on the basis of inputs by family members into the market economy in the form of sale of agricultural and home produced products and for paid employment

in the form of labor and professional services. A large part of a family's contribution to the economic and social system is invisible. It is comprised of the non-market, unpaid activities of family members in the form of production of goods and services for family consumption, i.e., the production and preparation of food for the survival of family members and the nurturing, caring and educating of family members so they can cope with their immediate environments and function productively in the larger society.

Social and economic progress is dependent upon the productive capacity of humans, i.e., the quality of human resources. The family is critical in both the formation and development of human resources.

The pervasive influence of the family upon its members, especially children, is widely acknowledged (White and Watts 1974; Bronfenbrenner 1974; Hess, Shipman et al. 1968; Boulding 1973). Characteristics such as mother's attitude, self-esteem and sense of internal control during the child's infancy seem to be related to its later intellectual performance. The effect of differential parental time investments in activities within and outside the family environment in large measure shape the child's view of the world and his/her role within the society. Sex roles are learned very early in life. What is considered appropriate and right for males and females plays a decisive role in a person's aspirations and motivations for a career.

The increasing attention currently being drawn to under-utilization of the potential of women requires that both men and women establish sex-role behaviors and attitudes which will facilitate optimum life fulfillment and societal contribution for both sexes. Socialization patterns for relating to others also appear to be in large part formed in the family.

The need to maximize the human potential suggests that attention be given to learning and education throughout the life cycle. The family has a special function to play in socialization for dealing with everyday problems, in re-socialization for new roles, and in anticipatory socialization for people to enter or re-enter the work force or to undertake education for a new career. The map of the world held by family members, their view of potential behaviors of those around them as well as of places and things, will determine the life chances of individuals: how far they can go and what they can do (Boulding 1969).

In addition to their significant - albeit often unmeasured and uncounted - non-market and social contributions, family members also participate in and contribute to the market economy. In the least developed countries, rural farm production for use within the family is necessary for survival and accounts for a considerable share of the national output. As economic development proceeds, more and more of the production for family use is replaced by family production for

the market and by shifting family members to wage labor and non-farm enterprise (ST SOA 120, 1973). As nations become more industrialized, both men and women work away from home in increasing numbers, but women continue to play a major role in the family, along with outside employment (Boserup 1970; Boserup 1975; Blake 1974).

The family provides an integrative function for society through its essential contribution to the development of individual trust and the expectation of reciprocity in human transactions. These provide the glue which enables social and economic systems to function. Continuity and conservation of human relationships, values, religious systems and traditional arts and crafts are also rooted in family life and provide stability, meaning and integration for society. The family plays a significant part in the quality of life experienced. In a six-year study of factors contributing to the quality of life in the United States it was learned that the family and the responsibility that people have for one another were more important than any other factor in determining the distribution on income and well being (Morgan, et al. 1974). Similar findings have been reported in other research (Andrews et al. 1974; Bubolz et al. 1975).

The ultimate aim of social and economic development is that of improving the well-being of humans. According to Presvelou 'development goals must include: satisfaction of

the elementary needs of food, shelter, clothing and health, and improvement in the way of life of more than 60 percent of the world's population living in rural areas; establishment of social justice through a humanly acceptable distribution of goods and services; exploration of the possibility of freeing the individual from the uncertainties of nature through education and self-actualization." (Presvelou 1973).

Much of this development begins at the family level; in all cultures the family is the major provider of human resources and is a key instrument in shaping their development. Thus, the family can be a powerful force in developing an awareness in members of their worth, enabling them to function more productively in becoming the ultimate resource for the creative reconstruction of society and for achieving the pinnacle of development: improving the well-being of people.

Ecological Model for Viewing Role of Family in Social and Economic Development

The family exists in a complex milieu of physical, social and institutional systems that form the environments of the family. The model presented in Figure 2 is an ecological,³ descriptive model that conceptualizes the family (B) as a human system made up of subsystems of individual family members

3. An ecological model addresses both systems and environments and the interactions between the two.

organized as a unified entity, in interaction with the environment (A). The family system produces human resources and with the help of other social systems, transforms those resources to provide the human capital reserves of a society. The family exists in and interacts with a number of environments (A) and influences the resources available to the family and the manner in which activity is performed. The family, as a unit, and through its individual members participates in both market and non-market activities (C) that contribute to the social and economic well-being of the family, the community, and the society (D). The ever-changing status of the family's and the society's social and economic development provide feedback to the family and to other social systems. Such feedback aids in making management decisions about the allocation and dispersion of human and non-human resources.

The primary value of the ecological model is to call attention to the multiple and interacting systems that impact on the family and the diversity of functions performed by the family that contribute to development goals. The model provides a framework for the description and analysis of populations and activities for need and resource assessments, for planning programming strategies, and for program evaluations. The model, applied to a specific family or community, can aid educators and planners in:

1. Identifying the systems that interact with families and therefore link families to the larger physical and social environment;
2. Assessing the human and non-human resources available to families for specific tasks;
3. Identifying and quantifying activities or contributions of families and family members in the marketplace, the community, and the home.
4. Tracing the origins of and the effects of social and economic development.

Although the model would need to be adapted to the specifics of a given community or family and to a given situation, it may be useful in research for identifying potential relationships for analysis. For example, the aggregate activities of families in self-help village projects may be quantified and compared to the resultant perceived community satisfaction or morbidity statistics of villagers. In this example, one relationship between (C) and (D) is established. Similar relationships can be generated between environmental inputs (A); the quantity and quality of family activity (C), and resultant nature of families in social economic terms (D).

The reader may note that this model represents merely one way in which to label and classify the people, things, and actions that influence development. The main focus in this model is the family, as individuals exist primarily in this human system. However, this is not to say that other human systems or environmental influences cannot be moved

to the central focus and then their interactions with other systems and their contributions be analyzed.

An especially important interface (i.e., point where interactions occur) is that between the family and non-formal educational programs. To aid in applying the model to this group of educators, two specific examples follow:

Example One: Task- to analyze the specific needs, competencies, and interactions of a target population, young farmers, so as to plan appropriate instructional strategies for an already identified educational thrust.

1. Locate the target population in the model. In this case the young farmer would be located within the family (B) and further within a specific set of interacting environments (A).
2. Analyze the personal attributes of the young farmer (B1). Consider such things as past experiences, interests and motivations, competencies for this and similar tasks, learning styles, literacy, etc.
3. Determine the present contributions of the young farmer and other family members in both market and non-market activities related to the goals of the program (C). Present activity patterns may provide clues as to when to introduce new information and how best to construct examples and learning tasks for immediate relevancy and application. If new activity patterns are required, consider the way in which the entire family will be affected as it reallocates resources to maintain on-going activities.
4. Identify competing or complementing inputs to the family that may influence the reception of the instruction, its content and delivery (A). What systems do the family participate in? How may social or cultural institutions inhibit or aid the implementation of the instruction? What is the status of the physical and human-built environments that contribute resources for family activity?

5. Analyze the family structure attributes (B2) to determine how best to provide information/encouragement to receive the support of the family and to contribute to its knowledge base? Consider past participation patterns of other family members in educational programs. Be prepared to work through lines of authority and influence within the family and within the larger community.

Example Two: Task- to evaluate the impact of a handicraft training program designed to increase traditional handicraft skills of women or the social and economic status of the family.

1. How did participation in training affect the women's on-going participation in market and non-market activities (C)? If changes in activity patterns were necessary, were these changes disruptive or easily accommodated to by other family members? Did these changes in activity patterns produce any perceivable changes in the structural attributes of the family (i.e., allocation of roles, esteem, power, or effect within the family) (B2)? Did these changes in activity patterns produce any perceivable changes in relationships to people and institutions outside the family (i.e., money-lenders, shop-keepers, peers) (A3)?
2. Did participation in the training program change the personal attributes of participants (i.e., skills, motivations, self-esteem) (B1)?
3. Did participation in the training program change the production activities of families in regard to the handicrafts involved? Were more or better quality goods produced to exchange for goods, services or status? Were more or better quality goods produced for sale?
4. If goods were sold or exchanged, were there "profits"? How were profits utilized? Did the production, sale, or exchange improve the family's well-being (i.e., accumulation of resources or allocation of resources to need specific needs or goals)? What effect will changes in the family's resource base have on future activities of the family (i.e., nutrition, division of labor, need for more education)?

5. Did participation in the training program have an impact on the production of other goods or services not directly related to the instruction, or the management and interpersonal communication skills of the participants (i.e., were there "carry-over" effects in other areas of production and management)?
6. Did participation in the training program have an impact on the personal attributes of other family members? Were skills and knowledge shared and passed on to others? Did such a contact motivate others to participate in similar activities? Did changes in participants have a negative or positive effect on the personal attributes and relationships of others?

The model, with the competencies outlined as necessary for effective functioning in the several environments in which human beings live, is suggested as a basic framework applicable to a range of cultures. Description of specific target audiences, delineation of major needs for non-formal education, and strategies for delivering non-formal education must await a more intensive and critical analysis of how families in different cultures are structured and how they function in a particular culture.

In the last analysis, the model must make sense to the particular non-formal education personnel whose responsibility it is to deliver programs that fulfill the promise of building human resources with a specific group of persons. The model must be situation applicable. Its applicability was in some measure tested by submitting it for reaction to a non-formal educator with extensive Latin American experience.

Questions to be Addressed In Conducting Family
Needs and Resource Assessment

All educational programs need to be continuously supported by a knowledge base undergirded by a thorough assessment of the needs and resources of the target population. In order to understand the family's needs and resources the ecological model is proposed. The model helps to focus on the family in a wholistic sense. Viewing the family and the environments which impact upon it should be helpful in identifying family stresses and problems. The family also impacts the environments, i.e., productive family members contribute to the market and non-market activities of the community. The model highlights areas where non-formal education is needed and can be most efficiently introduced to increase the competencies of family members and hence their social and economic contribution. Surveys of whole families need to be carried out in order to gain a view of the totality of family activities within the context of their environment. Family problems do not exist in isolation. They are interdependent and interrelated and situation specific. Problems affect not only individual family members but also the family unit. Hence their solution is dependent on a wholistic view.

Some of the questions which need to be addressed in planning non-formal education programs for the family are:

1. What are the marriage and family patterns? The number, sex and relationship of persons living in a household or compound or cluster?
2. What are the decision and authority patterns in the family? Who decides and who carries out family activities such as spending the money, doing farm and housework, caring for and disciplining children, determining which children attend school, determining who participates in community activity?
3. How do rural family members spend their time? Who does what, where, when, and with whom, and how much time is spent? How much time is spent by women, men, boys, girls, in activities such as: farm work, and food production and marketing; household work including production of goods and services used in the home; care of children and other family members; paid work off the farm; producing and selling items in the market place; travel, sports, leisure activities; formal and non-formal education; religion, recreation and cultural events; rest, eating and visiting?
4. What are the primary resources, values and goals of the family as a unit? Of individual family members?
5. What are the patterns and modes for carrying out everyday activities related to food, clothing, household maintenance, sanitation and health care, care of young and ill, and communication within the family?
6. How is the family linked to the community? Who in the family leaves the home to attend work, school, day care, or child development and nutrition centers, health and family planning clinics, extension and community meetings and religious and political events?
7. What organizations and services are available to assist families? Do these services compete or complement each other?
8. What is the mobility pattern of family members? Who leaves the farm and village to work in urban areas? What kind of jobs do they find? What connections with the family and village do they maintain?

9. How available is information through mass media? Do homes have transistor radios, television, newspapers, books, magazines?
10. What informal learning activities go on in the home and family? In the community? What kind of self-planned learning takes place in the home? Where does the family go for information for its self-directed learnings?

Survey of whole families will provide baseline data for development of non-formal education and other programs. They will also provide a benchmark by which to measure and document social and economic change.

Guidelines for Identifying Family Competencies

Building and enhancing competence is the essential process in the development of human resources. The effectiveness with which people live can be seen as based on their competencies with respect to the environments in which they function.

Competencies essential for everyday living can be seen as occurring in three related domains: family, community and world of work. These include the ability to carry on family functions, to participate in the community and utilize social institutions and to perform successfully in social and economic institutions.

The model summarizes data previously presented and highlights the need for the following competencies which can be achieved through access of learners to non-formal programs and reinforced in the family setting:

A. Competencies Needed to Function as a Family Member

1. Health and nutrition

The goods and services produced by family members. require knowledge and skills concerning food production and preservation, health, sanitation and personal care.

2. Valuing, decision-making and problem-solving

The forging of values and attitudes in the family is behavior-learned not only through interactions between parent and child, but among all family members. While the family is the initial setting in which the infant learns to trust its environment, all family members continuously learn how to work cooperatively, set and reset goals, make decisions and resolve conflicts with respect to problems both inside and outside the family. A critical competency affecting family welfare is use of a framework for making decisions with respect to family size and the spacing of children that will be in keeping with the limits of resources available. Resources to be considered should include the time and talent of family members as well as material wealth required.

3. Family living and parenthood

New demands on, and changing roles of, men and women require new patterns of interaction and relationships both within and outside the family. Previous models may no longer be appropriate. Education in family and parental roles and relationships is indicated. Understanding of child development and ways to teach children can enhance parental effectiveness and add to the potential productivity and health of people. By understanding and directing family interaction a major area for forging skills, attitudes and values for the future can be shaped. Social equity as a value, heralds a reassessment of the family roles of men and women, children and adults.

4. Household production of goods and services

In many settings, varying according to availability of goods in the market place and resources of the family, skills are needed with respect to production of food crops, fish and meat for household consumption, construction and maintenance of the home, weaving, sewing and care of clothing and beautification of surroundings. Increased emphasis will need to be placed on family services -- care and nurturance of children, aged and the ill.

B. Competencies Needed by Family Members to Function in the Community and Utilize Social Institutions.

1. Social mapping

Adults carry with them knowledge of the location of resources in the communities in which they live. These social maps of the environment enable their holders to function in bureaucratic systems, utilize political and social structures, recognize where to make purchases, obtain jobs, lobby for their interests, use social services such as libraries, protection from fire and theft, and health care. Although roles of family members differ from society to society, the social mapping competencies of mothers can be critical in meeting minimal requirements for survival and in passing on these survival skills to other family members.

2. Marketing competencies

Ability to make effective consumer decisions requires knowledge of an increasingly wider range of goods and services with respect to use, characteristics, and quality. These decisions depend on literacy and numeracy skills to read, assess contents and material, calculate costs and make purchases. Increasingly acknowledged is the importance of knowing how to obtain and use credit, and other financial mechanisms. Ability to market goods produced in excess of household needs may also be necessary.

3. Civic participation

Competencies needed to be an effective citizen include an understanding of the political system. It requires advancement by the adult to a stage of valuing and decision making which analyzes issues related to the social good be reference to a social ethic. These decisions require expression through the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizens i.e., voting, taxation, participation in government.

4. Voluntary participation

The quality of community life relies on the commitment of individuals through contributions of their resources of time, abilities, and wealth, often as members of voluntary associations, and through participation in self-help projects, contributions to the celebration of local festivals and other activities. The support and participation in projects at the community level calls for a wide range of skills ranging from administrative leadership, group participation, financial management, and specific talents in areas such as recreation, teaching, music, art, and politics.

C. Competencies Needed by Family Members to Participate in Social Institutions

1. School

Success in school can be traced to the impact of different family environments. Competencies enhanced through the home which impinge on success in school vary from culture to culture in both degree and kind. These include such competencies as motor, cognitive and linguistic skills, achievement orientation, ability to participate in cooperative relationships, respect for authority and ability to make choices.

2. Work

Information directed to family members can affect participation in careers by bringing them to a level of awareness of available alternatives. Through behavior learned in the family anticipatory socialization occurs, thus equipping the individual with a repertoire of skills, attitudes and values

required to aspire to and succeed in training and educational programs and to persevere and perform at work. Adult motivation to work comes largely through encouragement from the family, and the need to provide for family maintenance and achieve family goals. Release from emotional tensions sustained at work is largely a family responsibility.

Recommendations for Program Development

Curriculum Development and Implementation: Curriculum, designs focusing on family learnings need to be developed by non-formal educators working cooperatively with subject-matter specialists such as nutritionists, home management specialists, health educators, and agriculturalists. Particular materials for developing family competencies need to take into consideration the unique nature of learning in the family: its diversity in age span, sex roles, and cognitive skills; its reliance on self-motivation and self-direction of the learner, and its dependence on materials that can be used in a variety of settings.

Curriculum materials should include not only specific content areas but also be attentive to process learnings. They should foster skills in how to learn, that is in how to set goals, determine the pace of learning, seek information from appropriate sources and establish criteria for determining success.

Non-formal curriculum designers should make a special effort to bring together formal and non-formal educators to examine programming in its entirety. Such efforts will result in integrated programs that will facilitate developing family

competencies, avoid duplications of efforts and assure the meeting of essential needs.

Because of the nature and scope of family-focused non-formal education, it is recommended that special attention be given to the training of para-professionals who can assist family members in their particular settings. For example, a nutrition aide who assists the family to use local foods and familiar recipes to meet nutritional requirements can be more effective because of their familiarity with local culture as well as their specialized nutritional knowledge.

Programming: Family-focused, non-formal programming should begin by offering assistance in areas of critical need, i.e., food production and preservation, child care, family planning, and preparation for new roles in the labor force. Because the home provides a natural laboratory for learning, non-formal educators should recognize appropriate time and place for intervening with new information. They should approach family members when they have time free to learn and suggest projects which, while begun outside the home in group settings, can be pursued in depth and applied in the home.

For much of family learning, family members are teachers of other family members. Non-formal programs for family should help family members in these teaching roles. Methods and materials should be developed that would be useful for parents as teachers as well as children as teachers.

Evaluation: Evaluation procedures which measure changes in behavior resulting from non-formal learnings should be developed. These measures should identify what was learned, what competencies were developed and the impact of the new level of competence on market and non-market activities of family members. These measures might include before and after comparisons of how family members spend their time and money.

The efficiency and effectiveness of non-formal family education programs can be determined by making comparisons between learning projects which are self-planned versus group planned, carried on in the family versus community settings, delivered through mass media versus on a one-to-one basis, or utilizing single versus formal and non-formal education systems.

Non-formal Family Education: Reactions from a Latin American Field Experience ⁴

What is attempted here is the identification of some of the reactions of one person who has worked for many years in Latin America and who has experienced some of the satisfactions and frustrations of efforts to change women and families in hopes of promoting social and economic development. Obviously, other non-formal educators will perceive other issues and variations in priorities and strategies. This is merely one example of

⁴. By Linda Nelson, Associate Professor and Chairperson, Department of Family Ecology, Michigan State University

how the documented suggestions might be translated into action.

Thinking. Evaluating. Wondering. Choosing. Trying. Questioning. Programming. Acting. All of these are possible reactions to what has been presented. Given the realities of the interrelationships of the systems in the two fields (each system with its own past, present and future; each system with its own goals and methods), it is unlikely that all concepts developed and suggestions made, will be meaningful and feasible in any one setting.

Decision makers, program planners and practitioners in all systems execute their tasks with limited resources and are expected to produce results within relatively short time periods; therefore, one of the major issues raised by the presentation is the consideration of where the non-formal educator might initiate actions to implement these suggestions.

Each cultural setting will filter the concepts in different ways. Ideas will be perceived on various continua which may range from boring to stimulating, repellent to attractive, practical to esoteric. Where any practitioner might decide to begin implementation will depend also upon the specific responsibilities of employment in combination with the needs and goals of the agency and the present status of women and families in the local, national or other geographical area for which programs are to be developed.

If non-formal educators see merit in the reasoning presented, each will need to make a commitment to the central role of women

and families in social and economic development. This is not always easy, because women and families are not often high prestige groups. All non-formal educators involved in programs may need to take some risks and the benefits may appear elusive. While it might appear that this refers to high-level planners only, for change to occur, all levels of non-formal educators must demonstrate commitment. The plans, no matter how promising, will seldom be put into practice unless non-formal educators at all levels are willing to try. Although high level planners may need to be committed in order to allocate resources, the local educators need to provide data on local needs and acceptance and are unlikely to do this unless convinced of their importance.

Following commitment to the potential role of women and families in economic and social development, concrete content ideas and a system for diffusion of the educational content are required. These are interdependent and need to be developed simultaneously. In many countries at least the rudiments of a non-formal educational system exists; therefore, some of the first actions might revolve around strengthening the system to involve more women and families.

Who are the non-formal educators? What are the expectations of their programs? What kinds of support do they experience?

In many rural Latin American communities the non-formal educational function is added to the responsibilities of the

local school teacher. One of the reasons for this is that the local school teacher maintains contact with the community for a time period sufficiently long to permit trust to grow. Trust is a relationship which is built slowly. It is a factor which appears repeatedly in the literature as a component in successful efforts to promote change.

In addition to school teachers, there are few others who are dedicated, skilled and available to live in isolated communities for the time necessary to develop trust on the part of the potential participants in non-formal educational programs. Although the teachers in the formal school system may have the skills and the trusting relationship, they usually lack the time and the kinds of information which are timely and useful in non-formal programs. While the teachers may be sympathetic to the needs and goals of non-formal programs, they are already fully occupied and cannot easily divide their efforts.

Educated people in Latin American tend to reside in cities; roads are limited, transportation is costly in relation to income; literacy is low. This is part of a cycle which makes communication slow and barrier laden. Local leaders may be strong in manual skills and knowledge of local language and customs; however, they are often weak in information, attitudes, non-manual skills and behaviors which are indicated as necessary or helpful in complex societies. If local people leave an isolated community they are not likely to return or, if they do return, they are likely to be reabsorbed without making any

major changes in the community life. Some catalyst is needed if women and families in isolated and usually traditional communities are to be reached. That catalyst needs to be a trusted person.

Long-term investments need to be made in continuous training for local leaders which may include transportation, special housing, and the use of intermediary personnel between local communities and highly educated specialists. To envision productive, non-formal educational systems without some investment and some sacrifice from educated nationals seems unrealistic.

In many Latin American families it is common for older children to care for younger siblings. Obedience is highly valued and children have few ideas on how to educate or entertain; therefore, children of various ages can be seen sitting in a doorway waiting for parents to return from field or market. Some of the apathy is related to malnutrition, but much of it is related to lack of ideas for activities. Non-formal programs connected with, or independent of, formal school systems might help older children to play with and transmit learning to their siblings. Vocabulary, numerical concepts, physical skills, gardening, and notions of how to complete errands could be contents of non-formal experiences.

Decision-making is one of the crucial skills needed to move family members from passive to active participation in their communities and nations. The range of options which are available so that people recognize opportunities to experience choice,

observe the consequences and develop the realization that there is more than one way to confront any situation. Non-formal educators need to be alert to ways to help all family members learn to make decisions which relate to their needs and desires and to the changing communities in which they live.

Many non-formal programs for women in Latin America have been based on making a product, that is, the learning of manual skills such as cooking and sewing. In many communities, the males have only permitted the women to attend a meeting when they brought home a product as evidence of their activity. The results of decision-making experiences are more difficult to see.

In one community a planned program to teach decision-making aspects of meeting family food and clothing needs was developed by non-formal educators. In a series of meetings, the farm homemakers were encouraged to examine different ways to solve a situation and to compare the results. For example, the families were encouraged to think of all possible ways to obtain school uniforms for their children. Some remade uniforms of others, some bought new uniforms, some made new uniforms on the sewing machine and others by hand. All the products were compared for costs in money and time as well as the quality and appearance and the reactions of the children who were to wear the uniforms. In another series of sessions, the families made different kinds of holiday breads, and purchased some too. The home and commercial products were compared for flavor, appearance, costs in money and time. In each of these experiences, the conclusion

of the participants was that each of the solutions was "best" for at least one of the families. All the people shared different ways of reasoning and learned that there are many different ways to reach goals, solve problems, use resources and make decisions. It was a revelation to the families and to the non-formal educators that there are seldom "correct" answers in family and community living. These non-formal teachers and learners gained a great deal of knowledge and skill in decision-making and awareness of other people and how to work with them.

As family members learn new skills and attitudes, they need to be helped to teach these to children. Mothers have the long-term contacts and the trusting relationships with their children. They can be helped to teach the children before they enter school and can also reinforce formal learning experiences. Much informal learning is vicarious as the children learn through imitation and incidental learning. Non-formal programs might orient parents to teach consciously in the many opportunities which are open to them. Children can be helped to reason and use information and thus learn how to learn and to teach others.

One mother in a rural community was observed to help her six-year-old to apply her numerical knowledge, orient her daughter to teach her siblings and to help with household work simultaneously. This mother was peeling potatoes for her family's lunch. The potatoes were in a sack in another room.

The six-year-old was asked to bring two potatoes to her mother. The mother began to peel these potatoes and asked the child to bring her three more potatoes. When the child returned with the potatoes, the mother asked her to show the three potatoes to her younger brother. As the mother continued peeling potatoes, she sent her daughter to the next room again and again with instructions to bring a specific number of potatoes and share her counting knowledge with her younger brothers and sisters. The mother could have carried all the potatoes she would need from the next room to the kitchen at once in her apron; however, she chose to teach her daughter a variety of uses of numbers as she worked slowly and cared for her family at the same time.

Many observations of this kind of opportune and conscious teaching by parents could be combined into a series of lessons for use by non-formal educators in a cultural area. One of the possible economical ways to accumulate ideas for feasible content would be to have a non-formal educator on a researcher interview a number of people who have had opportunities to observe families. The object would be to determine useful practices already in use by some families which could then be taught to other families. These practices which are already "known" by some families could be extended to others through the non-formal system or the families who employ them might be encouraged to become non-formal educators and transmit these practices which contribute to competencies needed for social and economic development to neighboring families.

Summary

Based on the synthesis of data presented in this report, it appears that increased attention needs to be given to supporting and undergirding education within the family system for it is here that the foundations for learning are first established and in one way or another are continued through out life. The family is a pervasive and influential educator. One of its untapped potentials is that of preparing all its members, male and female, to function productively in the larger social and economic systems, thus adding measurable to national development. Through linkages with other educational systems, the informal and non-formal family education system can efficiently accomplish this task.

Changes in family roles of any family member, such as increased participation in the market economy, will bring changes in the family unit -- its function, structure and the roles of all members. Because of the nature and content of learning in the family, non-formal educational delivery systems are viewed as critical in supplementing and complementing family learning. Those interested in enhancing development would do well to look closely at the major contributions the family can make. The quality of life achieved by individuals in their family settings directly affects the total society. In its simplest and yet most important form, a nation is no more than a reflection of the sum of its families.

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