

**EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT  
AND  
THE RURAL WOMAN**

**Volume I – A Review of Theory and Principles  
with Emphasis on Kenya and the Philippines**

**NOREEN CLARK**

**This series of monographs is  
devoted to functional, integrated,  
nonformal education programs  
that are designed to promote  
individual growth,  
community action,  
and national development.**

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# INTRODUCTION

This volume is the first in a series of three, and in it I will discuss current theories and principles regarding the education of rural women in developing countries. The second volume in this series focuses on the actual practice of nonformal adult education\* as it emerged in two projects intentionally based on concepts discussed here. The third volume is concerned with the evaluation approaches that are utilized in these projects and constitute an important feature of the nonformal approach.

Education, and particularly education for development, has as its purpose change. An initial question, therefore, is what kind of change does education for development seek to bring about? One assumes that the objectives of change will directly address identified development goals

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\* Education for community development as it is discussed here refers to programs for adults that occur at the community level and are not part of the formal school system. Several terms are used synonymously in this paper: community education, nonformal education, education for development, and adult education.

such as improved health, nutrition and so on. One also hopes that in effecting change, an educational program will employ the best of adult education practice. In other words, the program will be based on approaches that have proven most effective for adult learning. Moreover, one requires that the evaluation of change be carefully noted: that the processes of education be tracked and the results documented so that successful programs can be replicated.

Before embarking on the design of education for development, then, there are at least three initial considerations. First, what are the development problems deemed prior and of greatest significance to rural adults? Next, what adult education approaches in the experience of others are the most effective in helping to solve development problems? And finally, what are the critical questions that educational evaluation must attempt to answer?

I hope to demonstrate that the careful examination of these three issues can aid in the formulation of program objectives, can reveal appropriate educational approaches, and can dictate the shape of evaluation. To reach these goals, it is necessary to consider the three issues within a specific context. This monograph, therefore, intends to show how theory underlies effective practice by focusing on two sites of an education for development project undertaken jointly by World Education, the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, and the National Christian Council of Kenya. This document represents the background research and theoretical discussion that preceded and led to the educational programs implemented in six villages of the coastal area of Kenya, and in six rural communities in the central plain of Luzon, Philippines.

For the purposes of this monograph, I have treated separately the three considerations outlined above, although they are interrelated and interdependent. The first part of this paper focuses on problems of rural development in Kenya and the Philippines, and emphasizes special matters facing women. The second segment addresses the educational processes that appear to hold most promise for increasing participation in development by rural adults in these countries. The final section draws inferences from the first two: it suggests evaluation formats and indicators that might be used to judge whether or not education has addressed relevant problems and used appropriate approaches. The aim of this doc-

ument, then, is to present the reader with the thinking that led project planners to conceptualize, organize, and implement education for development as they did. The programs that grew out of this analysis are described in detail in the other two volumes of this series.



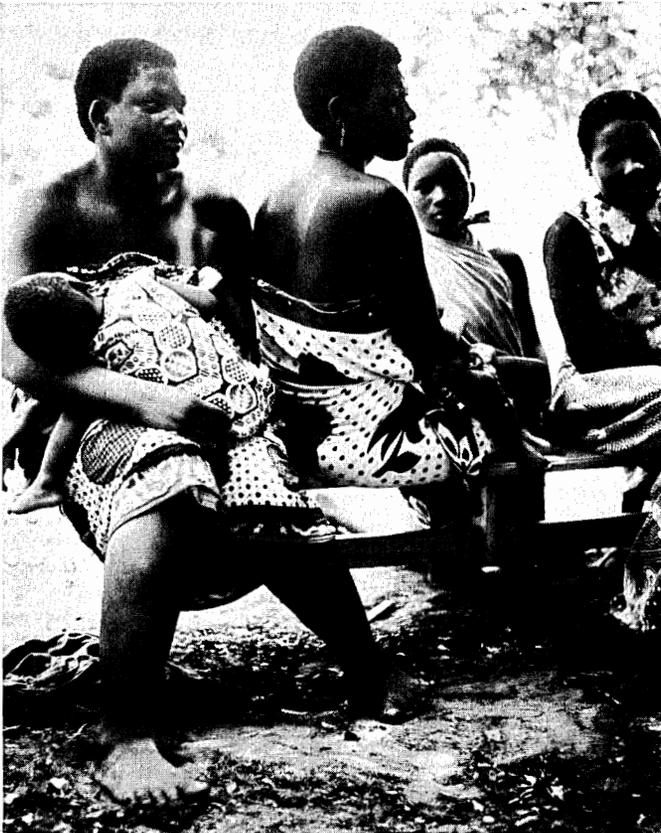
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# PART I

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## Development and Rural Adults: The Special Case of Women

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# PART I

## GENERAL ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Development goals, of course, vary from country to country and from region to region. If one accepts, however, that development is contingent on relationships between economic and social factors, it becomes possible to see similar patterns in the concerns of the developing world. According to a recent UNICEF study, "The first point to bear in mind is that developing countries generally have three distinct employment markets" (74:64).<sup>\*</sup> At any given time, these markets define the range of possible economic activities; wage and salary employment in the "modern" sector; casual employment such as field labor, part-time or odd job work in towns; and self-employment, including subsistence farming, artisan's work, crafts, and trading. Obviously, one's movement within and between these

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<sup>\*</sup> All references are cited in the text in the manner above. The numeral preceding the colon (here, 74) indicates the work being cited and directs the reader to the bibliographic entry under which that work can be found. The numbered bibliography is on page 53. The numeral that follows the colon (here, 64) indicates the page number in that work to which the reader is being referred.

economic sectors is limited by social factors, and mobility for some individuals is greater than for others. Women, for example—in part because they comprise the largest number of preliterates in most developing areas—often have fewer options and choices for mobility. An important development goal, then, is to improve the social situation of women and their ability to take positive economic actions. One way to do this is to concentrate on increasing the ability and confidence of women as income producers and expanding their alternatives for generating income. Frequently, however, programs for women neglect their economic role and center on other factors generally deemed more important to community development, such as literacy, sanitation, family planning, nutrition and so on.

Coombs has wisely cautioned that boosting income in a rural area does not in itself guarantee improvement in the quality of life for residents in that area (19:90-92). He reports, for example, a project in the Sudan where the cash income of farmers was improved but, at the same time, no changes were evident in local social services and family amenities. Conversely, a recent UNICEF study has concluded that “minimum improvement in the quality of rural life is often a *precondition* for economic development—not simply a consequence” (74:64). Social and economic growth are, in fact, inextricably intertwined. They are concurrent elements of development, and programs must integrate aspects of both in order to reflect this. Gilligan acknowledges the interrelationship of social and economic factors in his observation that improvements in the health of the rural poor will not be achieved through the provision of medical care: “Diseases rooted in poverty can finally only be conquered by alleviating poverty itself . . . and that means among other things stimulating agricultural production . . . and . . . bringing women more fully into the development process” (29:4). Harman echoes the theme in his recent argument that literacy can no longer be “considered as a precondition for other elements of development, but rather must be considered in conjunction with them” (31:13).

It has recently been recommended that overall development strategies be in concert with efforts to address the economic problems of women. This recommendation is usually made for one of two reasons, and each reason recognizes the cyclical relationship between income and im-

provements in social conditions. The first is that women must be enabled to "contribute more effectively to the satisfaction of their families' basic needs, within the framework of their traditional responsibilities. The other . . . is to ease [the] work burden [of women] while furthering economic independence and their more equitable integration into the community beyond the narrow circle of the family" (25:61).

The first reason—to enable women more ably to satisfy family needs—of course refers to a woman's mothering role and its critical relationship to such development concerns as nutrition, sanitation, and health. We are told, for example, that because "women are important not only as users but as providers of health care, steps should be taken to incorporate them as fully informed and active participants in the health planning and decision making process at all levels" (22:10). Specific improvement of a woman's health skills enhances her ability to attend to her family. It has been suggested, however, that health education contributes not only to an increase in life expectancy and quality, but is linked as well to changes in income distribution (39:96). The development of women's basic health skills is related to improvement in the economic dimensions of family life, which, in turn, leads to the more adequate satisfaction of basic needs, and so the process continues.

The second category of recommended strategies for women, intended to foster their independence and integration into community life beyond the family, is an extension of the first category. For example, an argument increasingly heard is that it is not the number of children in a family that accrues status for its members, but the fact that there are some children. In some regions of the world, smaller families have become more and more acceptable as childbearing patterns begin to change (61:204). In other areas, however, researchers continue to see a correlation between family size and status. Michaelson, from his extensive study of rural women, has concluded: "If a peasant woman tells an interviewer she wants all the children providence may send her we can predict her contribution to the family food supply tends to be limited\*; and she gets

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\* Given the tendency for women's real contributions to be overlooked or unrecognized, one might argue with Michaelson's phrasing. The conclusion still holds, however, as women often believe they contribute little and seek status elsewhere.

status from having a large family [which is] in many peasant societies perhaps her only source of status in a generally sexist culture" (48:330). According to Blumberg, "fertility behavior is basically rational" and is based on each partner's perception of expected costs and benefits (6:18).

That people act rationally and in accordance with what benefits their status in the eyes of others comes as no surprise. Implicit in Michaelson's and Blumberg's conclusions, however, is the idea that a specific development goal should be to assist women to make status decisions that reach beyond mothering and are amenable to family economics and stability. This social goal appears no less valid in areas where the actual number of children in a family is considered less important in determining status.

Assigning new status to women can be accomplished, it has been suggested, by amplifying their unrecognized roles or creating appropriate new ones. For example, "Crafts industries contribute to the status of women by establishing them as income producers (even credit guarantors) in the family and community, ... expand the employment sector rather than displacing the already unemployed, ... [and] create a comfortable context for health, literacy, and other kinds of education that contribute to improved living conditions" (72:17). Care must be exercised, however, to assure that the means of establishing new economic roles or expanding existing ones anticipate future outcomes. Craftmaking, for example, has many positive attributes. It provides a source of income and employment while safeguarding the tradition and cultural expression of the craftsman. Craftwork also builds on widely available skills and motivates by providing immediate rewards. The danger here is that women could easily be segregated into this accessible form of employment to avoid the difficulties of integrating them into the more technical and therefore more remunerative employment areas (9:221). In effect, concentration on an area such as craftwork, as an end in itself, might limit the access of women to other more potent lines of production.

Fuller integration of rural people into development efforts necessitates expansion of their options. "Small industries and ... cooperatives provide women with opportunities to develop management and organizing skills" (44:102). Motivating and involving individuals through crafts projects, for example, is likely to lead them to other income-generating

activities once capital and needed competencies have been acquired. The means of motivating them (through crafts, cooperative effort, and the like) are varied. The end, however, must be the development of an ability to create and select from a wider range of positive economic alternatives.

When a woman moves beyond her strict family role there will most likely be repercussions. Yet, unless she makes this move it will be difficult if not impossible, in the view of some observers, to realize fully her potential contribution to development. Boserup discusses this point in relation to agricultural practices: "Unfortunately, it is precisely when only men take the step from family production to specialized production—while women continue to work for the family only—that the problem of women's contribution to the local and national economy becomes acute" (8:12).

We know, of course, that a woman wields much influence in family life; she is generally "the prime mover in family care activities" (3:47). However, it is the manner in which her influence is made explicit, and in which it stretches beyond the family, that either engenders or precludes her full participation in development. There is no doubt, for example, that rural women play key roles in agricultural production and marketing. However, for important economic and cooperative activities related to these functions, it would appear that while the wife contributes to decision making it is usually the husband who articulates the decision and acts upon it (3:47). In general we observe that women are socialized to perform household and family-life skills, while men learn skills related to earning the family's living. The need is great for husband and wife to interact as a team, solving problems and complementing each other. Yet men and women often perform traditional roles habitually, without recognition of the erosive effect these roles may actually have on family life and stability. The successful negotiation of responsibilities between mates, an appropriate division of labor, and the development of effective mechanisms for problem resolution, are critical to the community as well as the family. According to Paolucci:

The evidence of increased self-esteem and power of women who enter the market place 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 child-rearing attitudes and practices and subsequent socialization of children. If hopes are realized such change can lead to more effective development and utilization of human resources. (58:47)

The consensus appears to be, however, that such change will not come easily and must be effected carefully.

An issue underlying these arguments is whether women should be viewed and addressed by development programs as members of a unique group. Two primary reasons emerge to suggest why, currently, this is necessary. First, women are a powerful force for development by virtue alone of their distinct role as mothers. Secondly, for the most part women are excluded from the powerful economic arenas in their communities; even more than their husbands and brothers, they are an unrecognized or untapped resource. However, questions of greater interest may be raised. For example, what are the specific needs of given groups of women? In what way are those particular needs to be addressed? How should we respond to unique concerns without fostering separatism? How can the strengths of women be cultivated without undermining those of men?

Satisfactory answers must be found if the educator is to design a program that acknowledges both the reality of the rural woman's current situation, and the fact that development goals can be reached only through cooperation between men and women. The educational program itself will be shaped by responses to these questions. The first question to be addressed must focus on the specific needs of a specific group. We shall explore this issue further as we review development concerns described by observers of rural Kenya and the Philippines. In these two countries, based on the analyses found in the following pages, program developers set about to design an educational approach to meet the particular needs of rural women.

## DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN RURAL KENYA

Kenya has been called the most highly developed country in East Africa (38:49). It is striving toward African socialism, "a term which describes a political and economic system which is specifically African without being imported from another country or being a copy of a foreign ideology" (38:49). The objectives, as outlined in the government's Sessional Paper No. 10, include expansion of the economy with equitable sharing in its benefits (51:23). Kenya is a multiracial and multiethnic society with diverse groupings (38:49). The largest group is Kikuyu, which constitutes, by 1975 estimates, 20 percent of the population. Other major groups are Luo (15 percent), Baluhya (13 percent), Kamba (11 percent), Kisii (6 percent), and Meru (5 percent). These figures do not include the Masai, many of whom are not sedentary and continually move their herds of cattle, often traveling back and forth across the Tanzanian border. The population of the coastal area, with its cities of Mombasa and Malindi, includes a large number of Muslims. Cattle, maize, coffee, and sisal are among the important economic resources of the country. Kenya has one of the highest rates of population growth in the world—3.4 percent per year (1:12)—and family planning is official policy (38:32). Other statistics reveal the kind of development problems facing Kenya. The per capita income is estimated at U.S. \$200 per year (1:12) and illiteracy levels, similar to those of other developing countries, are approximately 65 percent for men and 85 percent for women (45:16). The difficulty of getting services to rural areas and the scarcity of technically trained personnel are reflected in the 1969 figures for population per medical doctor. In urban areas the ratio has been estimated at one doctor for every 880 inhabitants. In rural areas the ratio drops to one per 50,000 (65:83).

Women in Kenya constitute an important economic force. They are the farmers of the country and primary supporters of their children (38:49). Kenyan women, as well, carry out 80 percent of all self-help labor (75:32), building nursery schools (more than 5,000), constructing water supplies, raising community centers, and the like (3:97). In carrying out her role as mother, the rural Kenyan is guided much the way other African women are. As noted by Viscusi, "Work done by women in the home is deeply rooted in tradition. The fact that food customs

and health and child-raising practices are passed down from generation to generation does not mean that they are correct nor wholly without merit but it does make them difficult to modify" (76:13). Nonetheless, it is the very strength of these traditions that is in part responsible for the special place in the community that African women occupy. Their childbearing role has long been revered. According to many writers, prior to colonialism, which precipitated changes in forms of tribal economy, women participated equally with men in all the important activities of daily life and tribal functioning. Indeed, it has been noted that "traditional African structures offered African women a more significant place in society than Western traditional structures have offered women in the U.S." (86:7). In East Africa this status did not stem from or result in the economic entrepreneurship of women, as was the case in much of



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West Africa. Rather, it related to social factors and the contributions of a woman to family economics.

Whether these *ex post facto* views of the previous equality of women are wholly accurate or only partially so, it would be foolish to consider the rural Kenyan outside the context of the economic and social system that she has always belonged to. As discussed in a recent nutrition report from UNICEF, viewing women in a fragmented way—either as members of vulnerable groups or as “social actors”—can contribute to artificial distinctions in action programs designed to assist them. Women, for example, are often treated as “medical cases . . . in need of curative or preventive care to improve their biological role in nutrition [or] as social actors responsible for other people’s nutritional conditions. . . . In both cases the connection with women’s wider economic and social contexts is often dealt with only superficially, if at all” (82:III. 3). It is also important to consider that the traditional role of the African woman as wife and mother may both enable and constrain her in assuming wider economic responsibilities. Simmons, for example, discovered that the ability of Nigerian village women to share most household tasks with other women in the living unit explained the prevalence of individual money-earning activities in the village. On the other hand, the same household conditions could have limited both the choice of occupation for the women and the regularity of their work (68:12).

Several studies have dealt specifically with development goals in Kenya and have illuminated important regional issues. Achola Pala of the Institute for Development Studies has discussed the role of Kenyan women both within the family and in the wider economic system. She describes why women elect to become part of development efforts:

Experience in Kenya has shown (and many government officials agree) that women’s participation in functional literacy classes and self-help projects is very high and that women contribute considerable labour and money to various types of collective projects both in town and in the countryside. Such activities clearly show that women are not resistant to development and new ideas. However, on many occasions women will choose, not out of ignorance or any special resistance to technological change, not to participate in particular development projects when they judge that the disadvantages to them outweigh the advantages (54:26).



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These decisions are made in thoughtful consideration of the perceived benefits, and Pala illustrates this point. For example, women in one region of the country slowed down their production of pyrethrum when cooperatives were formed in their area because money retained by the cooperatives went only to men (the legal landholders), and not to the women who did most of the work (54:27). Women in another area had no wish to participate in an agricultural loan scheme because they were required to pledge their house or farm as security. Because the husband was the landholder, his consent was necessary, and often became a constraint. In addition, the loss risk for participating was considered too great for the several family people sharing the farm or house (54:27).

Pala also discusses studies that have recognized both the active participation of Kenyan women in all types of farming and the general principles of division of labor between men and women in agricultural production. Women are not subservient and share the work with men (55:8). She notes Driberg's 1932 study and comment that the introduction of cash crops to Northern Kenya upset the complementary patterns of male and female labor in which men and women shared and contributed equally to family and village life (55:7). Pala also points to an early study by Monica Hunter (Wilson) who observed that one outcome of the colonial period was economic disparity between males and females. As men began moving to labor centers and learning to use imported technology,

they became the wage earners and, as such, assumed control of money expenditures. Though it was not possible for men to earn enough income in the industrial work sector to feed themselves and their families, they were also withdrawn from the rural areas and unable to contribute to agriculture and related activities (55:24). Pala concludes that this led to marital difficulties among urban couples because women lost their role as economic producers and were confined to dependent domestic and childbearing roles. A shrinking land base in the countryside and the modification of landholding (that is, the conversion of clan-held lands to property registered in a man's name) threatened the security and independence of women, especially divorced ones (55:25).

Changes in land ownership influenced the respective positions of men and women in other domains as well. Traditionally, women have had control over the production of subsistence crops, the sale of possible surplus, and the use of the income earned from these crops. Men, on the other hand, have controlled cash crops regardless of the extent to which women participate in their production. According to the common law of marriage, a woman is guaranteed economic independence vis-à-vis her husband, protection against maltreatment, and other rights that are related to her social and family role. In the event these are not upheld, the clan traditionally has claimed damages or divorce (84:28). Under the old system, a man was greatly influenced by and responsible to the clan and its leaders, who were "authorized by the ancestors to administer the inherited knowledge and the organization of society" (84:28). In the transition from collective (clan) ownership to individual ownership, land becomes the property of the husband and his responsibility to his clan decreases. With the growth in the number and type of perennial crops planted, the husband's control expands in spite of the role played by his wife or wives in the production of each cash crop.

Historically, no comparison was made between the status of men and women, for they were considered incomparable entities. Women traditionally were assessed according to economic criteria: if they were industrious and highly productive they received much respect. Men were largely measured according to social criteria: if they met certain requirements of knowledge, if they were able to make useful contacts, and so on, then they were accorded high status. With the alteration of the tradi-

tional community, and the expansion of a man's economic control over land and crops, it has been suggested that women have lost what was perhaps their major contention for status. One inference made from these observations is that full participation with men as collaborators in economic development involved for women "a reconquest of the status scale that earlier applied to them" (84:36). It would appear that to reestablish the balance, women must have the opportunity to participate with equal responsibility in productive work and they must acquire new knowledge.

It seems, however, that women generally find themselves outside some of the common channels by which rural adults acquire new knowledge. Munene reports that "women are not usually included in modern agricultural training programs and most of them use traditional methods to produce food for their families" (50:18-20). Staudt, who observed that farms managed by women alone have less access to services than farms managed jointly by men and women, noted that nonetheless "solitary women" adopted agricultural innovation at a rate similar to that of couples. This, she concludes, "might suggest an even greater innovativeness on the part of female managers compared to jointly managed farms since to make a decision without expert advice probably required autonomy, self-reliance and a willingness to take a risk" (70:90). These are qualities perhaps fostered by the independent lifestyle of the women. One inference to be made from Staudt's finding, of course, is that the training given to joint managers may not have been effective. This argument might be set forth by those who criticize traditional agriculture extension projects as attempts to sell ideas rather than foster learning. Such an inference is consistent with the view that the exclusion of women from agricultural extension service is an issue only if one can be sure such service delivers what it should to men. Another inference we can make from Staudt's work, however, is that the strong internal group network of communication among women in the area she studied explains, in part, how women came to adopt new practices in spite of their exclusion from agricultural extension services (37:7). Such an observation supports Simmons' earlier finding that the organization of women within the family can foster and enhance economic activity.

It is important to consider the kind of development information a woman needs to acquire in light of the central agricultural role she plays

and her position as a primary provider of family needs. The Institute for Development Studies in Nairobi, for example, has reported on specific measures that would improve Kenyans' nutrition. These include increased production and consumption of poultry and eggs, greater stress on production of beans and other legume crops to reduce over-dependence on maize, improvement of water supplies and sanitation, and inoculation against debilitating diseases that reduce the body's ability to use nutrients in the diet (79:13-28). Similarly, the Institute has reported on some underlying causes of malnutrition, and this is information that women should have the opportunity to acquire. These factors include improving infant feeding practices, avoiding protein-poor staple food, rectifying poor distribution of food within the family, augmenting seasonal food shortages and reducing the influence of food taboos (40:15). [Huston reports, for example, that in Kenya some still say that women must not eat chicken or eggs, which, they believe, will endanger a young woman's chances of marrying or cause her to give birth to a deformed child (34:31).] If change is to occur in such basic practices as these, then education about them must be related not only to a woman's role as wife and mother but to her responsibilities as worker as well.



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## DEVELOPMENT AND WOMEN IN RURAL PHILIPPINES

The Philippine archipelago's placement has often led geographers to classify it in the Pacific Island group but it is, in fact, part of Southeast Asia. Many cultural groupings are evident among the Filipinos, as they are a people derived from diverse stock. Nonetheless, the vast majority share the Indonesian-Malayan ethnic element (59:124). There are about 70 languages and dialects used in the country and nine of these are the first language of almost 90 percent of the population. Christian Filipinos, primarily Catholics, dominate Luzon, Visayas, and portions of Mindanao. Muslims are found in several provinces of Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan. Pagan cultural patterns exist among tribes living the mountains and extensive forest areas (59:24).

The country has an agrarian economy and it exports agricultural products such as sugar, pineapple, and most recently, rice. The Central Plain area of Luzon, called the "Rice Granary of the Philippines," produces one-third of the country's *palay*, the staple food. There is a wide distribution of natural resources throughout the islands, but these have not yet been scientifically developed (59:13). Like Kenya and other developing areas of the world, the Philippines has high morbidity and mortality rates. Lack of trained personnel may contribute to this problem. For example, there are 10,000 people to every physician in rural areas of the country (65:83). Pneumonia and tuberculosis accounted for over 26 percent of the deaths in 1971, and 34 percent were caused by communicable diseases in general (17). According to Concepcion, "the health problems remaining, however, are not susceptible to education, through straightforward spraying, or inoculation. Their roots are imbedded in poverty and fertilized by inadequate knowledge of preventive medicine and environmental hygiene" (17). Popkin cites a related and alarming problem: the high and possibly growing incidence of malnutrition. The Department of Health estimates that 80 percent of all children under the age of six are affected, with one in 14 having third-degree malnutrition (60:226). These rates are highest in rural areas and in urban squatter districts.

At last census, population density in the Philippines was twice that of the rest of Asia: 122 persons per square kilometer (59:5). Family plan-



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ning is official policy, and the President has underscored the seriousness of the population problem by decreeing that neither government officials nor Catholic priests can officiate at a marriage unless the couple has attended a course on family planning and birth control (62:56).

According to Concepcion, marital fertility is as high as 9.3 children per couple in Luzon and 10.4 in Mindanao, and data suggest that the figure in rural areas is continuing to rise. Overall fertility has declined in recent years and this has been attributed to the widespread delay of marriage by urban, employed females, a trend that appears to be associated with labor force changes and the creation of new single adult rates for women (17). The Philippine government estimates that a family of six needs 5000 pesos per year to subsist. Currently 84 percent of the working population has an income below this figure (67:3). The World Bank has set the per capita income of Filipinos at U.S. \$330 per year (1:6, 16).

Available materials suggest that the Filipino family is more supportive than authoritarian, and this is evident in the typically egalitarian relationship between husband and wife (47:VI). In the Filipino story of creation, the first woman sprang full-blown from the same cylinder of bamboo and at the same time as the first man. Given such a beginning, it is understandable why Filipino women have been called the most liberated in Asia. Historically, the Filipina's position in society has been described as a most tenable one, as evidenced by customs that existed for centuries

before the Spanish came to the Philippines. The Filipino woman "was not merely a partner in the marriage contract; in many cases she was practically the head of the house, making contracts and business arrangements without necessarily consulting her husband" (46). With status exceeding that of her sisters in Europe or Asia, she independently administered her dowry and whatever property she owned before her marriage. Many aver that the deterioration of the Filipina's active social and economic role beyond the family came about with the arrival of the Spanish, who placed much value on the shy, retiring, housebound version of femininity. The view that there is a connection between the period of control by outsiders and a more passive role for women is evident in the words of the President, who recently urged that the Filipina "can and must widen her sphere of social participation. Only then can she erode the last vestige of colonialism—the sexual discrimination against women and their seclusion from the task of national development" (43).

The relatively equal status of the Filipina as compared to women in other parts of the world is demonstrated in one or two important ways. Of those who comprise the Philippine work force, for example, one in three is female, a statistic that equals both U.S. and Canadian figures. The Filipino woman also controls the family purse. She manages the finances and accounts, and the extent of support for this practice throughout the country was made clear by a public opinion poll conducted in 1965 in which 95 percent of those interviewed endorsed women as the holders of the purse strings (27:38).

The paradox of the situation of Filipino women has been aptly described by observers within the country: "On the one hand, women are up there exalted by history to a pedestal of deference and indulgent affection. On the other, they are low in the pecking order, overworked, long-suffering slaves, putting up with the famous male's errant sexuality and his equally famous improvidence" (46). According to Reining et al., in the area they studied, "Increased dependency on their husbands... does not seem to characterize Philippine women. Indeed, the women seem very strong, especially in economic terms. On the other hand they are continuously at work, while the men seem to have considerable leisure. Hence, the women tend to want more children to help them with their housework and their cash producing occupations" (61:204).

Gelia Castillo has written extensively and with authority on the role and status of Filipino women, and her observations help us see their particular needs more clearly. She notes that although the husband is traditionally viewed as the breadwinner, there are more married than unmarried females in the labor force and "the wife is a source of income for about 43 percent of Philippine households" (13:147). In addition, there are proportionately more wives in rural households who contribute to income. The average wife, however, has only five years of schooling, and less than three percent have vocational training (13:244). Although the women make a significant contribution to income and are the family treasurers, Castillo poses this question: "To what extent are they 'managers' of the household or are they simply 'implementors' of their husbands' wishes?" (11:459). As if in answer to this question, a study by Sylvia Guerrero reveals that family decisions in rural areas are made both jointly and independently, but women make independent judgments only about household matters. The wife never makes independent decisions about farming, although she is involved in many farm-related decisions (30). According to Dimaano, the wife is "mostly concerned with allocation of money or other resources but when it comes to operational decisions on the farm the farmer makes them himself" (24). Generally, observes Castillo, although "the wife is never sole decision maker, she is consulted and exerts influence, especially when additional expense is involved in adopting a new farm practice" (11:460).

Since food takes up to 60 percent of a rural family's income, Castillo comments, women are preoccupied literally with bread and butter issues. In addition, whether their main activity is housekeeping or other work, 57 percent of Filipino women spend 29 days or more keeping house each month (11:23, 203). Just as in Kenya and most other countries, the activities of women who stay at home to take care of the family are neither reckoned into the national economy nor reflected in computations of the gross national product. As outlined in the Philippine report for International Women's Year, "Since her numerous contributions are not quantified in the economic sense, they are simply taken for granted. Correspondingly, her 'worth' is deemed low when in reality the economic activities she performs would command substantial sums if a household head had to hire someone to do them" (64:23).

Although the relationships among women housekeepers and workers in the barrio may be strong and supportive, there is little if any formal cooperative activity. For example, only 10 percent of the members of the national farmers' cooperative, Samahan Nayan, are women. However, almost 80 percent of these women members are officers, primarily secretaries and treasurers (11:232).

Similarly, the concept of mutual help, or *bayanihan* as it is traditionally called, is only used by three percent of the population (13:215). Thus it is, for all practical purposes, nonexistent.

Although most rural women are involved in farming, the agricultural extension services provided for them appear to address home management rather than agricultural production, and some women have voiced a need for the latter. In the words of Gelia Castillo, "Since farmwork is the most important source of employment for rural families, this is a significant occupation indeed. . . . What do we know about female farmers and farm workers besides the fact that most of them are in rice and corn production? How can we make them more productive in this role?" (13:249). This is not to diminish the importance of the home management services that are offered by the extension bureau, particularly those concerning feeding practices and nutrition.

The National Nutrition Council has identified major nutritional problems in the country: iron deficiency, vitamin A inadequacy, low calorie intake, and low protein intake (67:6). Protein and calorie malnutrition have been identified as the most prevalent kinds of morbidity found in preschool children, and the incidence of nutritional anemia is partic-



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ularly high among pregnant women and toddlers (18:401). Major efforts to improve women's cooking and nutritional practices are obviously needed if these conditions are to be rectified. However, it is equally important to acknowledge and increase women's abilities to contribute to the income necessary for buying adequate foods. The Filipina, like her counterparts elsewhere, fulfills her role at home whether or not she is engaged as well in work outside the house. Castillo notes that "as housekeeper, wife and mother, [the Filipino woman] spends more time and energy on her main activity than one who is fully employed on a 40 hour week. Any attempt to alter her status and role has to start from this very basic premise" (13:252). That the Filipina is not adequately recognized for the contributions she makes to the community and society is evident in the low status assigned to what Castillo calls the four female occupations, "which exhibit deprivation relative to the service they render." These occupations are schoolteacher, domestic helper, unlicensed midwife, and farm worker. "Enhancing the status and role of women who are employed in these occupations will not only elevate their own status but will also benefit those they serve" (13:247).

In reporting on a three-agency cooperative rural development project, Castillo has also observed that "although most administrators pay tribute to the role of women in action programs, much of the emphasis has been on the sentimental and inspirational rather than on the real, down-to-earth functions of barrio women in development work" (12:37-66). As in Kenya, it seems unlikely that the status due to women in the Philippines will be adequately assigned until their actual economic and social contributions are more widely recognized. Similarly, it would seem that social and health problems rooted in poverty cannot be solved without expanding and improving women's economic participation.

## SUMMARY

I have proceeded from the perspective that fuller participation of rural adults in development programs is dependent on special strategies to integrate women into these programs, with the aim, in the words of Achola

Pala, to “promote the complementarity of men and women in society” (55:27) and to enhance individual, family and community potential. From this review of the literature, we can see that certain themes emerge that are basic to development in general and to efforts in Kenya and the Philippines in particular. Each theme can be regarded as a development goal.

To summarize, it would appear that the task of rural development must include efforts to:

- Create and expand economic alternatives for adults,
- Enable adults to enhance their roles as spouse and parent,
- Enhance and reestablish complementary patterns of interaction between men and women,
- Integrate women more fully into the community beyond the family circle,
- Acknowledge women’s overlooked economic contributions to family and community life, and enhance their status as participants,
- Recognize the strength of informal networks of women within the family and community,
- Create programs where there are sufficient benefits to women for participating that will outweigh the disadvantages,
- Assist women to acquire specific knowledge and skills related to agriculture, family planning, animal husbandry, nutrition, literacy and health practices.

Each of these goals necessitates special attention to the unique needs of women as a group, yet none, of itself, demands the advancement of women at the expense of men. The program of education that seeks to achieve these goals must accept collaboration between men and women as an explicit purpose, and recognize that reaching one goal is dependent on reaching every other one. The task, therefore, is to determine how each goal can be addressed through an appropriate educational process.

# PART II

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## Characteristics of an Education Process for Enhancing Participation of Rural Adults in Development

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CHRIS DELKER

## PART II

### COMMUNITY-WIDE SUPPORT

If one aim of education for development is to integrate women more fully into development efforts, then a most reasonable question is: Should the educational strategy consciously exclude men? And the prevailing experience says *no*; an approach designed to focus exclusively on women would defeat the purpose. The objective of fuller participation by women is to enhance the complementary responsibilities of men and women as partners in development. There may be, in an educational strategy, points in time or areas of concern that address the interests of women more emphatically than those of men. Joy Wilkes points out that in much of the action work to be done, women need to be “involved by working or participating as much and sometimes more than men” (81:13). But one hopes that this emphasis would be a response to the needs and priorities of a particular learning group, not a planned effort to ignore the legitimate interests of the entire community. Indeed, Kebede argues that one reason for the lack of success of a women’s program in Ethiopia was its isolation from other education and training activities (36:10). Her recommendation was that men and women be taught together.

Abeba Wolderufael and I observed in another Ethiopian project that when men in rural areas noticed there was a benefit to themselves in the things women were learning through nonformal education—for example, literacy and farming practices—then they began to join classes even where it was not customary for men and women to participate together in learning (16:189-99). A Women's University study in India discovered that when questions were asked and "a thinking and dialogue process was started, most people, including men and organizational leaders, developed a positive attitude toward including women in development" (63:43).

Pala's observations of the constraints placed on women in the development process of Kenya reveal that in the Kisumu and South Nyanza regions of the country "the family planning campaign...is largely directed to women with the result that the decisions concerning fertility, which in reality involve both men and women, the men having quite a strong say, are made to appear as if they are the entire responsibility of women" (54:6-10). Browne and Pala, in their study of the Kwale area of Kenya, discovered that village chiefs and husbands were resistant to the women's component of the Special Rural Development Program because they did not think that training for women could serve any useful purpose (10:6). This is interesting to consider in light of the Ethiopian observation noted earlier that when village men do see value in training they both support it and participate in it.

In implementing nonformal education, planners, of course, must "understand the social context in which their development work is to take place" (10:8). This includes knowing what would constitute an acceptable approach in a given village. In some areas men and women may initially be prepared to learn together. In others, where women cluster together in natural groupings, separate activities may be more appropriate. Indeed, in most villages there are formal and informal groups of women, and these would be the logical starting point for programs that intend to address the goals described in Part I of this paper. However, attending to the interests and concerns of both village men and women, refraining from isolating one group from the other, and linking activities of value to both, seem critical.

In the report of their Kwale study, Browne and Pala discuss some

factors that may diminish resistance and increase support for women's activities. Among these are steps to ensure full cooperation from village leaders and other influential individuals: "The full cooperation of the local community is necessary. If some local people are antagonised and others neglected with hasty unilateral efforts to implement the programme quickly, the long run success may be very limited" (54:25-26). The comprehensive development plans of the Kenyan government mandate development committees in each village. It is their responsibility to make decisions about the relevance of community activities and to secure start-up funds for projects. The Barangay Advisory Councils of the Philippines perform similar functions. These councils are likely to constitute the primary entry point for nonformal education programs and are a source of village backing. Pala suggests that another way to engender support is to build on the existing women's organizations. "It seems that where there are a number of well organized local women's groups working together with a government official the women tend to generate a great deal of initiative and continuity themselves.... This leads to the impression that one of the best ways for government agencies to assist women is to encourage existing women's groups to promote the formation of new groups" (54:25-26). Browne and Pala suggest still another



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way to engender village support, which is to ensure that women selected for training in nonformal education projects are "members in good standing of on-going groups in the area" (10:7). This is consistent with our observation in Ethiopia that support for nonformal education was strong when group leaders for a project were selected by the village residents themselves rather than by project staff (16:189-99). Crone and Srinivasan found that this was also the case in a pilot project for women conducted in the Philippines (21:21).

## LEARNER-DETERMINED PRIORITIES

There is increasing evidence to support the idea that high participation in nonformal education occurs most often in programs whose approaches are formulated from learner-determined priorities and objectives. Individual needs, it appears, are hierarchical\* and integrated; that is, the interests and priorities of daily life are rarely categorical, rather they overlap and concern a wide range of problems and events. Few people, other than health care providers, are preoccupied with health. Few, beyond family planners, see contraception as a fervent issue. For most, interest and priority are perceived as relevant to immediate needs. Education, therefore, must also be integrated and hierarchical. This kind of education, though difficult to achieve, is not impossible. Approaches that integrate a variety of issues and problems seem cumbersome, in large part, because we are not used to implementing them. Programs are generally planned *a priori* by those representing specific disciplines such as health, nutrition, family planning, and agriculture. Such specialists determine, based on their professional knowledge and interest, what rural adults need to know. Increasing attention, however, is being given to an interdisciplinary approach.

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\* Several nonformal education approaches are based on the notion that human needs are hierarchical. Each level of needs, real and/or perceived, must be traversed before one is able to progress forward to the next and one's full potential. This theory is best described by Abraham Maslow, particularly in **The Farther Reaches of Human Nature**, Viking Press, New York, 1971.

There is certainly a precedent for this approach in Kenya, which, as described in the National Development Plan, places importance on the training of multidisciplinary teams for work in rural development (51:172-73). Similarly, the Philippine government stresses the need for comprehensive and integrated planning beginning at the barrio level (28:11). We are generating more and more evidence that the disciplinary approach is not the most effective, and that the contents of programs "have to be elicited from the given human, social, cultural and economic context in which each educational program will be developed.... The contents must be identified *a posteriori* after a long and thorough process of exploration and preparation" (7:79-80). The learners' objectives and expectations become the basis for the organization and coordination of educational resources. People, rather than topics, become the focus of learning events.

Bonnani suggests that in the process of developing a nonformal program, educators must classify the learners' educational expectations by priority, "selecting those among them which are crucial and common to the participatory audience." After this, he advises, the potential participating population must be shaped into groups whose members share common education expectations and therefore will have common learning and training needs (3:81). It is not always the case that the expectations of villagers are consistent with the needs of *developers*. However, in the widening experience of nonformal educators, the objectives of rural adults generally parallel *development goals*. It is often the means of reaching mutual goals that is disputed.

The most common approaches proffered by professionals tend to be categorical regarding nutrition, sanitation, agriculture and so on, and are based on the priorities of planners rather than those of participants. Rural adults generally have a range of interests similar to those of planners; however, it is unlikely that they hold a particular interest—family planning, for instance—at the same time or with the same intensity as the employee of the family planning bureau. This fact necessitates a program that addresses needs hierarchically, in the way the participant perceives the hierarchy. Behrhorst, for example, reports that a strict health sectoral approach to improve health status was ineffective in Guatemala. "Women have been brought into the [subsequent and more successful]

program largely in an extension program which involves nutrition, sewing, home gardens, raising of chickens and any other subject...of interest to village women. Interest in family planning evolved *after* other programs were found to be useful" (4:191).

The success of particular development activities seems directly related to the level of participants' interest. Harman, reporting on the Unesco Experimental Literacy Program, notes that "the results were typical: work-oriented activities that related to participants' interests and needs were more effective than those that were not so related" (32:444-46).

The importance of literacy itself as an interest of learners is not to be diminished with such observations. Several studies would corroborate the findings of the Women's University study in India, where a high positive association was found between "literacy rates and educational levels on the one hand, and adoption of health practices, including family planning, on the other" (63:16). Rather, it is a question of what constitutes a priority for which group of learners, at what point in time. Indeed, for many individuals in the previously mentioned community project in Ethiopia, literacy was given as a primary reason for choosing to participate (16:189-99). Similarly, a recent working paper from the University of Nairobi reports that petty traders in rural Kenya have a particular interest in learning simple accounting or bookkeeping systems (56:6). In the same report, however, Achola Pala identifies the issue of concern here: "We want to stress that rural populations and women in particular should not be perceived only as the recipients of government programmes, but also as *sources* of ideas and means of identifying specific *needs* and developing *priorities*" (56:7).

The development aim of integrating women more fully into the economic system of the village and nation most certainly seems to be a priority shared by potential participants in nonformal education. The community project staff in Ethiopia, for example, determined initially through a process similar to the one suggested by Bonnani that the most common and closely held interest of rural women was learning ways to increase their incomes (16:189-99). After becoming involved in project activities designed to do this, women then expanded their interests to include health, family planning, and other issues. An approach to education that

builds on such a priority as income serves to improve the status of women by improving their economic lot. And, according to Pala, the women's groups involved in income-generating activities in Kenya not only make economic advances, "they also offer their members a heightened sense of self-esteem" (54:26). In addition, group participation in and of itself has been associated with individual innovativeness. Nesman recently found a positive correlation between membership in organized groups and the use of innovative techniques by village farmers (52:10).

In the nonformal education process, if it is to be learner-determined, economic activities must be selected like any other topic of learning, according to the particular learners' priorities and interests and after exploration of the feasibility of the choice in the given situation. Handicraft production, for example, is a learning topic often mentioned by rural women and it has good potential for increasing income, although Browne, reporting on training activities of the Women's Program in the special development area of Kwale, Kenya, cautions that care must be taken to ensure sufficient demand for the products learners are taught



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to produce (10:5). Inadequate marketing organization can easily hinder the success of craft ventures.

In conducting her evaluation of the Women's Program in the Migori/Kuria special development area of Kenya, Pala interviewed participants and found that groups emphasized different activities to varying degrees. However, nearly all the groups whose leaders were interviewed showed, in her opinion, an "unnecessary concern with knitting and sewing articles which cannot be sold easily and take up too much of the valuable time which groups could spend in more profitable endeavors" (57:8). The educational process also must be designed to help groups analyze the implications of their choice of income-generating activity, or of any other learning topic that the group selects. And it seems there must be as much emphasis on the development of problem-solving skills, such as decision making, as there is on the fostering of technical skills. Evaluators of a project in San Joaquin, Philippines, found that the women group members engaged in tiki-weaving increased their incomes substantially. However, little attention was given to training the women in organizational and planning skills. As handicraft skills were acquired, these new needs arose which were, unfortunately, overlooked. "This caused interpersonal problems within the groups adversely affecting their productivity" (66:27). Obviously the educational approach must accommodate the fact that new learning leads to new needs and interests in a continuous process.

Other potential activities for nonformal education—that is, other interests often expressed by rural women—are such things as farming or animal husbandry. In a relatively short period of time, for example, groups of women in the same Kwale area of Kenya discussed above were able to begin poultry-keeping by constructing a large shed and receiving chicks and feed from the Department of Social Service (66:27). The success of such a cooperative venture, however, appears related to the solidarity and collaborative spirit established from the very beginning of the program and to the agreement that the learning topic is indeed the real interest of group members. In the San Joaquin program in the Philippines, hog-raising groups virtually disbanded by the end of the project, and evaluators attributed this to the fact that they "were never organized into a group from the beginning" (66:23). The report of the

Migori/Kuria project evaluation states that participants in the women's training program frequently found that lack of equipment and money made them unable to "implement knowledge offered at courses, especially in poultry-keeping and vegetable-growing." It may be that an action-oriented nonformal education approach must include arrangements for small loans or matching funds to cover the start-up costs of learner-designed projects. This practice was particularly successful in the Ethiopia community project (35:5).

Given the wide range of possible learners' interests and needs, a major aspect of an integrated nonformal education process must be its flexibility to assist group members to explore their own objectives in a variety of ways, and to support a group in seeing selected objectives through to fruition. According to Pala, one significant question we can ask about such a process in general is to what extent does it reflect the "nature and interests of women's groups?" (53:30). In order to formulate an effective program we must acknowledge that its success will be largely dependent on the extent to which participation increases the learner's ability "to make critical choices and... control the course of the project" (20:6).

## AN ACTIVE LEARNING APPROACH

If the learning process is to have a concrete effect upon adult learners, it is more and more clear that didactic approaches are rarely useful because they tend to engender passivity in the learner. According to Zahn, certain kinds of "teaching" encourage creativity:

When a [person] asks a question the teacher's greatest temptation is to answer it. The great problem is to separate sharing of sources and possible avenues of approach which help the student arrive at his own answers, from giving the desperately wanted immediate answer... which [the learner] should seek out for himself (85:21).

Learning as a process of discovery is a concept widely shared among adult educators, and the more relevant the discovery to one's own experience, the stronger its impact. Miller, who is concerned with the



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development of instructional materials for preliterates, finds that this is particularly applicable to them (49:2). The traditional modes of learning for these individuals are observation, imitation, cultural analogues (such as proverbs), and rhythmic modes (music, song and dance). The success of these modes is due in large part to their relevance to specific circumstances rather than to general conditions (49:5). Tailoring learning to fit specific situations may also increase the speed at which new practices can be adopted. One proposition of the diffusion theorists is that learning is more rapidly followed by adoption of the learned practice in proportion to how closely the learning situation approximates the real life situation (78:318).

There are several phases in implementing a learner-determined, situation-specific educational process. If one agrees with the approach described by Bonnani earlier in this paper, the process must include certain elements. At minimum, the learners must have a chance to discover for themselves what interests them, make public those interests,

cluster themselves into interest groups, and develop or increase knowledge and skills related to their interest. In Bonnani's words, the educational means for identifying expectations and objectives of village people is by "opening a deep dialogue among partners in the educational process" (7:81). I have observed that dialogue and group discussion among village men and women not only can lead to group identification and analysis of problems, it also creates social support for members to take new actions (14:14-23). John de Wilde considers discussion and problem analysis particularly important in the development of small enterprises. Through these processes, a learner has the opportunity to examine his own motivations, values and objectives. Subsequently, he can set "realistic and attainable goals involving calculated risks, . . . think clearly about the means for attaining these goals and develop a personal commitment to their achievement" (23:472).

I would conclude, therefore, that materials and activities used by the educator effectively to create dialogue and problem analysis, must also be integrated and hierarchical. That is, they must be based on problems that are a priority to the participants, and they must acknowledge that many interrelated social and economic factors influence problem resolution. Materials and techniques must be based on the specific experience of participants in the learning group. They must, according to Srinivasan, "enable learners to take hold of small segments of knowledge and to interrelate and apply them in the solution of [a] problem before moving on to the next one" (69:97). The momentum of a process in which the "curriculum is developed as a chain of problems which can be progressively overcome" will move learners toward specific outcomes of their own choosing and toward the realization that they can experience success of their own making (69:98).

If the process is to enable participants to choose and to *own* their learning, it must reflect certain features not generally apparent in traditional educational approaches. According to Srinivasan, at least three characteristics must be present:

1. The set-up [must] encourage participants to express themselves in relation to the selected problem, to share their views or interject their opinions or solutions;

2. The materials [must be] structured in such a way as to encourage an inquiry style of learning where participants examine, probe, reflect, interpret, hypothesize, check out and discover knowledge for themselves; and

3. At least some of the learning materials [must be] based on experiences, insights, information or opinions contributed by the participants themselves, including their own creative work, whether practical, graphic, or expressive in any form (69:100).

The process must be dynamic for both learner and educator. They must share knowledge, skills, and resources through sequences of dialogue and action, and the hierarchy of need that determines the nature of the activities to be undertaken must be the learner's.

# PART III

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## Indicators of Success of Education for Development

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CHRIS SRINIVASAN

# PART III

## PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN EVALUATION

There are several dimensions that we must evaluate in a complex educational program of the type described in Part II. For example, we must consider outcomes. We must look for indications of consequences imputed to the program both by participants and planners. We must observe or otherwise verify apparent changes. In addition, we must look for indications of how extensive or effective the consequences are. We must be equally concerned with the processes that led to these outcomes. We must discover if the educational approaches intended were indeed the ones employed. We must look also for evidence of any unintended processes or events and their influence on outcomes, and so forth. It is useful, therefore, to review how others have explained and described these dimensions, so that we can conceptualize a program evaluation that is consistent with adult education practice, and see the problems we are likely to confront in carrying out such assessments.

The nature of nonformal education makes it difficult to evaluate systematically by traditionally accepted methods. Several authors, including Wilder, have identified the reasons that assessment is not easy. Par-

ticipants are often a fluid group, and not stable or constant in their participation. A program may involve several age groups at once. Membership often varies widely during the course of the activity. The program may or may not have an identifiable beginning and end, or a specified content against which one can check achievement. The program may have such a close symbiotic relationship with other activities that it is impossible to separate the effects of one from another, and so on (80:123). Conventional assessment approaches also are undermined, according to Levine, because the programmatic characteristics of community education projects generally include dispersed management, relatively small project size, limited access and communications systems, a limited data base, and emphasis on non-monetary objectives (41:6).

Nonetheless, it is necessary to determine the most effective approaches to nonformal education, and it is apparent that there are ways to collect adequate, if not complete, data upon which to base judgments. Essentially, we must ask: What impact has a program had and what is the extent and persistence of the impact? We must, according to Bigman, distinguish between effectiveness and impact, or the strength of the influence on exposed individuals. A program "may have considerable impact affecting markedly the thoughts and actions of those it touches; it will be necessarily judged ineffective if it is so designed that this impact is confined to a small fraction of the group it is intended to reach and influence" (5:113).

In general we want to know the incidence and extent of change that can be attributed to our program. We want to assess and explain it, eliminate alternative explanations, and judge how durable its effects are. Maleche provides a series of dimensions that we must examine to determine what happens when a program is introduced. We must understand the *context*, that is, the factors that shape the program, especially the environment or situation into which it is introduced. The characteristics of program personnel and facilities, or *inputs*, must be examined. We must describe *transactions*, or what has been done. Finally, we must determine what happened as a result of these activities; we must examine the *consequences* (42:3). According to Ward, learning programs frequently emphasize personal growth over competence (77:6). Although he questions the usefulness of emphasizing the former concern, it is ap-

parent that in nonformal education we design learning events to develop both. Projects aim to assist participants to feel that they are growing toward their fullest potential and to acquire levels of technical competence that further enable growth. I have suggested that the learner himself must help define competence in relation to his own learning priorities, for individuals generally have an idea of the level of competence to which they aspire (15). Steele notes that a primary part of setting a learning objective is specifying the "type of behavior or action expected" (71:29). Personal growth is usually defined and measured by individuals in their own terms. Competence is related both to an individual's determinations and to outside standards or criteria. Evaluation, therefore, must take both into account.

In conducting an evaluation, Farmer has suggested that we consider both anticipated and unanticipated outcomes and make judgments based on both imputed and verifiable consequences. *Imputed* consequences are those that participants claim have resulted from the program. *Verifiable* consequences are ones for which there is empirical evidence of the written or observable kind (26:24). In a sense, these are analogous to a participant's own view of his personal growth and an outside determination of his achievement or competence. In nonformal education, Hoxeng finds it useful to concentrate on "easily observed behavioral changes" as empirical evidence of achievement, an emphasis that also prevents "self-consciousness engendered in research-naive populations" by stricter experimental methods (33:165). However, implicit in all these descriptions is the notion that before one can implement any evaluation approach, or make judgments regarding the outcomes and processes of nonformal education, there must be some initial identification of what one will accept as indications of program success.

## PROCESS AND OUTCOME INDICATORS

Indicators that describe the process of education for development differ somewhat from those that describe its outcomes, although the two are closely interrelated. Indeed, at times one necessarily risks making artificial distinctions between the two and must acknowledge that this may occur

in trying to explain not only what happened but why it did.

We learned from Part II of this paper that there are certain processes that enhance the potential for success of adult education within the context I have specified. In a very general sense, these processes include the support for a project engendered within a community, the extent to which learners identify priorities, and the use of an "active" learning approach. Similarly, in Part I we discussed the goals of a nonformal education process designed to be responsive to preliterate women. In gross terms these goals have to do with expanding economic alternatives, increasing the status of women, integrating them more fully into development efforts, and providing knowledge and skills regarding agriculture, health, nutrition, and so on.

Making inferences, then, from Parts I and II, one is able to generate tentative and preliminary measures of success for an education for development program that accepts the development goals and characteristics of adult education practice I have described here. For example, one might use the following criteria to determine whether an educational approach is characterized by the desired elements:

- Village residents have a role in selecting the individuals to lead learning groups and in other ways take part in the educational program at the community level.
- The learning-group leaders selected by the community use a variety of materials and approaches in a nondirective mode to involve village learners and stimulate discussion among them.
- Learning-group members select their own subject matter for learning.
- Learning-group members set their own group objectives.
- Groups design and participate in activities leading to the achievement of their objectives and the subsequent selection of new ones.
- Group members participate in the development of learning materials.
- Learning materials are group-specific or village-specific.
- Group meetings are characterized by active discussion among participants.

- Group learning activities are closely linked with existing resources, organizations, and services. Participants are members of other groups; providers of community services participate in project activities; and village leaders are consulted whenever appropriate.
- Groups have access to start-up funds for special projects.
- Group members participate in evaluation processes.

If the educational program exhibits these characteristics, then one might expect certain related outcomes, such as:

- The majority of participants regularly attend learning-group meetings.
- The majority of group members, in their own view, experience more success than failure in reaching their personal learning objectives.
- The group, in the view of village leaders, experiences more success than failure in reaching group objectives.
- Village leaders assist and facilitate group projects and activities.
- Spouses of participants see benefit in project activities.
- Spouses of participants assist and participate in group projects and activities.
- The group develops its own ability to use the educational process independent of outside project planners and coordinators.
- Group members continue to work together after the participation of outside project planners and coordinators has ended.

As discussed at length in Part II, the specific learning content and objectives of each adult education program should be contingent on the priorities and interests of its members. It is possible, however, given the range of issues reviewed in Part I of this paper, to postulate indicators consistent with the kind of development needs evident in the rural areas in question. It might be expected that a given group of adult learners would demonstrate abilities associated with one or more of these indicators, and abilities will differ from group to group according to how each chooses its learning subject. The following, therefore, might be in-

cluded among those things that indicate that the outcomes of the educational program are parallel to development goals:

- Group members join or develop one or more income-generating endeavors.
- Individuals participate in these income activities over time.
- Group members adequately learn the specific skills of the income endeavor to a level of competence that enables generation of income, e.g., poultry-raising, beekeeping, handicrafts.
- Participants develop skills associated with income endeavors, e.g., participate in a savings plan, become a credit guarantor, develop an accounting/budgeting system, participate in literacy learning, develop systems for organizing and managing activities, and so on.
- Individuals' incomes are increased by participation in these economic activities.
- Status of the participants' children changes positively; children enroll in school; their general nutrition improves; they receive available health services (e.g., immunization), and so on.
- Participants form or join mutual assistance groups or cooperatives for child care, food buying, income activity, etc.
- Participants assume or are given leadership positions in the village.
- Status of participants' dwellings changes positively: home improvements are evident, general sanitation practices improve, etc.
- Participants learn and use appropriate agricultural techniques.
- Participants learn and use appropriate animal husbandry practices.
- Individuals increase their participation in community-sponsored development activities: they contribute time, money, or labor to water projects, school projects, etc.; or they initiate development projects of their own.
- Participants' views of their own abilities to contribute to family and community life change positively.
- Participants' confidence in themselves as parents increases: confidence to provide for children in general, to provide adequate, nutritious food, and to provide sanitary living conditions.
- Participants value positively and act on certain basic health and

nutrition principles: eating protein-rich food (e.g., eggs, poultry, legumes); seeking immunization; keeping water supplies clean; safely disposing of waste, etc.

It is important to note here that these indicators of success are in no way gender-specific; their achievement is as important to the advancement of men as to the advancement of women. As discussed earlier, the educator must recognize that the way in which these goals will be reached depends on how rural adults perceive, value, and choose to act on each as a learning objective, and there is often similarity in the way women in a group will make learning choices and take action. With the exception of giving birth, which is a privilege and hardship reserved for the female, these differences between men and women are not the result of genetically determined abilities that would require that certain tasks be performed solely by one sex or the other. The differences are, instead, the result of how individuals, who happen to be men or women in a given societal context, learn to view themselves, their role, and their abilities.



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Education for development, if it is to foster collaboration between men and women, must be organized to assist individuals to capitalize on their unique strengths and to expand their role perceptions and range of abilities. Fuller, richer roles and a wider spectrum of abilities for both men and women is the aim. En route, educators must sometimes choose to address specific needs as they are perceived, expressed, and defined by groups of women. Only in this way can we follow the educational tenet that requires us to begin with how the learner sees and interprets the world.

## SUMMARY

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss at length the design one must employ in order to assess whether the indicators discussed above exist at the conclusion of a project, and to what extent. That is covered in detail in another volume of this series. It is apparent, however, that to address the evaluation concerns enumerated earlier, such a design in general must include several elements. An initial study must be conducted of the specific village context into which the educational program will be introduced, and documentation must be maintained of important community occurrences during the life of the project. There must be collection of data regarding the objectives and interests of learning group members, in other words, early identification of those things that will indicate success to them as participants in the educational process. This information must be used to refine and reformulate the kind of general indicators discussed here into situation-specific objectives against which to measure eventual project outcomes. The assessment procedures must yield baseline information on specific indicators for each participant, that is, on each individual's abilities and views, initially. The same information must be compiled at points in time subsequent to the program's operation.

It is clear that to be consistent with the issues and approaches discussed in Parts I and II of this paper, methods used throughout the assessment stages of the project must be manageable, acceptable to the participants, and designed to reflect successes and failures in the view of

participants as well as that of project planners. In this regard, Pala suggests that such approaches as case study and participant life histories are particularly useful, as they generate a more qualitative form of data (53:26-27). The overriding objective of evaluation, however, is to address a current and major need in development: to integrate into the process "assessments of women's [participants'] views of their own roles in the family and society" (83:27). Evaluation must become part of how the entire flow of learning is conceptualized and implemented. Its characteristics must parallel other learning activities. In large part, it must be "self-evaluation undertaken by participants themselves enabling them to realize what progress they are making, what problems crop up, and how to solve them step by step" (73:194). We will examine, in Volumes II and III, how such approaches are actually working and to what degree they are achieving these objectives.

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# ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Noreen Morrison Clark, Ph.D., is a health educator who trained in adult education at Columbia University, where she earned her master's and doctoral degrees. She is presently Director of Public Health Education at Columbia University School of Public Health, and is responsible for the academic program to prepare public health education specialists. Her particular interest is nonformal education leading to improvements in community health. Problems confronting women and their families are her primary concern.

Dr. Clark brings to this monograph her extensive experience in the design and practice of nonformal education. She has been involved in programs in Kenya and the Philippines, as well as in the United States, Ethiopia, Thailand, and Pakistan. In 1972-73, she was the research officer in charge of World Education's special project to design and implement a basic education program for low-income adults in the U.S. Her other professional activities have included: membership on the National Task Force on Education and Training in Prevention, for the American Board of Preventive Medicine and Fogarty International Center (1975-76); participation on the Advisory Council for the Evaluation of Community Education at Tuskegee Institute (1978); and preparation of numerous articles and papers relating to health education. In addition to her current work with World Education to develop and assess innovations in education for community development, she is director of two major action-research projects at Columbia University: design and evaluation of self-management systems for asthmatic children; and an investigation of the use of professional skills by nurses and the influence of nonformal education on knowledge use.

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